

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXVII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.)

Nos. I to IV.—1898: (WITH 14 PLATES).

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, 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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CALCUTTA :
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
AND PUBLISHED BY THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.
1898.

1042-27/4

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ERRATA.

P.	L.	For	Read
32	Last	<i>tsok*</i>	<i>tsök*</i>
"	"	<i>tswak*</i>	<i>tsök*</i>
34	16	<i>dob*</i>	<i>döb*</i>
"	"	<i>dwabiñ</i>	<i>döbiñ</i>
35	6	39	38
47	11-14	Substitute the following—	

If the final consonant of a noun in this declension is preceded by *u*, that *u* is changed to *a* in all cases except the Nominative Singular. Thus, वाँदुर् *wādur*, a monkey; nom. pl., वाँदुर् *wādar*; instr. pl. वाँदुर् *wādarau* *sṛtin*: करन् *karun*, the act of doing; acc. sg. करन् *karanas*: पस्तक् *pōstukh*, a book; nom. pl., पस्तक् *postakh*.

75	4	<i>kunasatāth</i>	<i>kunasatath</i> (and so throughout the seventies up to 78).
"	24	<i>kunanamāth</i>	<i>kunanamath</i> (and so throughout the nineties up to 99).
91	3	<i>w or v</i>	<i>w or v, or</i>
196	4	घाकञ् <i>grākañ</i>	घाकञ् <i>grakañ</i>
232	19	substances	substantives
294	8	प्रतिवाचिनश्च	प्रति०
295	12	आसनमनुभति०	०भति०



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NEW SERIES.

VOL. LXVII.

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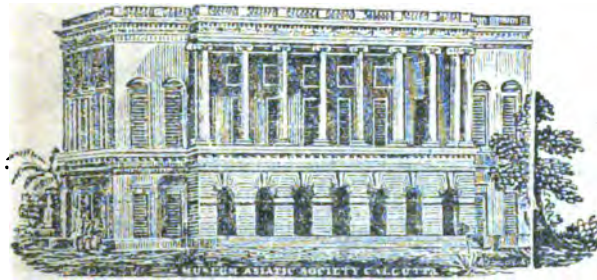
JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

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Part I, No. 1.—1898.

EDITED BY

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“The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia: and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature.”—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

* * * *Communications should be sent under cover to the Secretaries, Asiat. Soc., to whom all orders for the work are to be addressed in India; or care of Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W. C., or Mr. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, Germany.*

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,

AND PUBLISHED BY THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1898.

Price (exclusive of postage) to Members, Rs. 1-8.—To Non-Members, Rs. 2.
Price in England, 3 Shillings.

Issued 11th May, 1898.

REPORT

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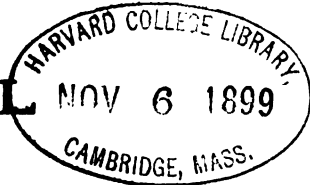
Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstāni.
آی ai	ح ḥ	
او au	خ <u>kh</u>	
	د d	ڌ dh
		ڏ ḍ
		ڙ ḏ
	ذ z	
	ر r	ر r

ک	ک	ک kh
گ	گ	گ gh
ل	ل	
م	م	
ن	ن	
و	when representing <i>anunāsika</i> in Dēva Nāgarī, by ~ on the preceding vowel	
و	w (or rarely v)	
ه	h	
ی	y	
	Hamzah ʾ (where necessary)'	

The **و** of the article **ال** in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدوله Iqbālu-d-daulah.

Tanwīn may be rendered by *n*-e. g., *ittijāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final *z* need not be written in Persian and Hindūstāni words, but should be written in Arabic words.



JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1898.

*Notes on new inscriptions discovered by Major Deane.—By M. A. STEIN.
Part I.*

(With Plates I-VII.)

[Read December, 1897.]

It was in the autumn of 1894, that a paper read by M. SENART, before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists and subsequently published in the *Journal asiatique*¹ drew the attention of all Indologists to the remarkable series of epigraphical documents, which the zeal of Major H. A. DEANE, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, had brought to light on the northern border of this district and in the independent territory beyond it. These inscriptions from the ancient *Gandhāra* and *Udyāna* have attracted all the more interest as the characters which appear in the great majority of them, have previously been wholly unknown and differ strangely from any known system of Indian writing.

Major DEANE has since continued his epigraphical search with unflinching energy, notwithstanding the heavy and responsible official duties which his appointment as Political Officer during the Chitral campaign and subsequently as Political Agent for Swat and Dir must

¹ *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne.—V. Les Récentes Découvertes du Major Deane, Journal asiatique, 1894, tome iv., pp. 332-353; 504-518. Also in reprint, Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne, Fascic. 5^e, 1895.*

have thrown upon him. The exceptional success which has attended his efforts in the interest of research, is amply illustrated by the fact that the number of new inscriptions which he has forwarded to Lahore since M. SENART's publication, is nearly twice as great again as the number comprised in the latter. These epigraphical documents have reached Lahore either in the form of the actual stones where these were obtainable, or as ink impressions on paper or cloth, taken by Major DEANE's agents in the case of inscriptions beyond British territory which could not be secured otherwise.

The stones with inscriptions have been deposited without exception in the Lahore Museum which contains now also the stones previously communicated to M. SENART for publication. In order to keep together in the same place, as far as possible, all that bears on the epigraphy of those interesting regions, Major DEANE has been kind enough to entrust to me the impressions above referred to. For this mark of confidence which I must value all the more in view of the great trouble and the expense connected with the collection of these materials, I may be allowed to express here publicly my grateful acknowledgments.

By making me in this manner the depository for at least a part of his discoveries, Major DEANE has also, as it were, put me under the obligation of bringing them to the notice of fellow students. From a personal point of view I might well have wished that the honour of this first publication may have fallen on one more competent than myself and better able to do it justice. The want of necessary leisure at Lahore and the obligation of devoting whatever time was at my disposal in Kashmir, to my translation of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, have prevented me from making that minute study of the inscriptions 'in unknown characters' which seems indispensable even for the slightest advance towards their decipherment. As these inscriptions form the great majority of the new finds, I must also regret my want of acquaintance with that field of philological research which, as will be seen below, might possibly furnish a clue to these puzzling documents.

Under these circumstances, I hope to meet best the interests of those who are in a position to undertake a serious study of these monuments, if I avail myself without further delay of the opportunity offered by the Asiatic Society's kindness in order to publish the new inscriptions in unknown characters in faithful mechanical reproductions. To the latter I have added such information regarding the find-spots, present condition, etc., of the inscriptions as Major DEANE has communicated either along with the inscriptions themselves or in subsequent letters addressed to me. My own remarks must necessarily be restricted to a few observations which the examination of the docu-

ments themselves and the grouping on the map of their places of origin have suggested to me.

In a separate notice I intend to discuss the few short Sanskrit inscriptions in Çāradā characters which have reached Lahore along with those in unknown characters.

The order in which the inscriptions have been shown in the following list, is chiefly based on topographical considerations which will be explained below. I have indicated for each inscription or group of inscriptions the information received regarding it from Major DEANE, but have reserved further details regarding the position of the find-spots for the succeeding remarks. In each case it has been shown whether the stone itself or only an impression has been received. For purposes of subsequent reference I have given in brackets the numbers which the inscriptions bear in the Museum Catalogue or in my own list of impressions. The plates accompanying this paper show the inscriptions reduced, according to a simple scale, to one-half, one-fourth or one-eighth of the original. The actual size of the characters and of the written surface of a stone can thus be ascertained with ease and accuracy.

In the case of all stones deposited in the Museum and in that of a number of impressions, the reproductions given in the plates have been prepared from photographs which my friend Mr. F. H. ANDREWS, Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, and Curator of the Lahore Museum, has most kindly placed at my disposal. For the help thus rendered I wish to record here my sincere obligation.

M. SENART's remarks, *l.c.* pp. 13 sqq., have already made clear the serious difficulty which is caused by the impossibility of determining in most cases the position intended for the inscription, *i.e.*, what is to be considered as its top or foot. For a few inscriptions (Nos. 39, 40, 43, 53) Major DEANE has indicated the original position, and this point has accordingly been noted in the list. For the great mass of the stones and impressions, however, no direct evidence of this kind is available. I have accordingly been obliged to follow M. SENART's example and to arrange the reproductions on the plates either with reference to certain peculiarities in the shape of the stones which suggested a particular position, or by the still less safe guidance of the direction of writing which the characters themselves seemed to me to exhibit. As I have as little as my learned predecessor succeeded in finding conclusive evidence for any inscription as to the direction in which the characters are to be read, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the position in which all these inscriptions are shown on the plates, is purely conjectural.

The list of the inscriptions is as follows :—

1. Stone, obtained from *Spankharra*.³ (Mus. 64 ; scale of reproduction, one-half of original).

2. Stone, found in mound at *Khalil Banda* (near Toru, Yusufzai). (Mus. 37 ; scale one-half).

3-19. Impressions on cloth " of small stones found buried together near an old Buddhist wall and at the foot of a cliff. The place is near *Darwasgai* and about a mile S. S. E. from *Spankharra*." " These little stones were buried in a small receptacle at the foot of the cliff and covered over with another stone." Nos. 5 and 6 inscribed on two sides of the same stone. (Nos. xxi.-xxxvii. ; scale one-half).

20. Impression of a stone " in possession of a Sheikh at *Spankharra*. It is not known where it was originally found. Used by him for baking his food on." (No. xx. ; scale one-half).

21-23. Impressions on cloth of 3 small stones sent to Lahore Museum in August 1896. The characters resemble those on impressions 3-19. [A subsequent note by Major DEANE informs me that these stones form part of the *Darwasgai* find, but were obtained since the first lot of impressions, i.e., Nos. 3-19.] (Nos. xli.-xliii. ; scale one-half).

24. Stone " from the hill above *Elai*, Boner ; (no ruin near)." (Mus. 65 ; scale one-half).

25. Stone " buried in the soil near an old spring at *Elai*, Boner." (Mus. 63 ; scale one-half).

26. Impression on paper of an inscription at *Tangi*, near *Miangam* village, on Ilm, Boner." (No. i. ; scale one-half).

27. Impression on cloth " of an inscription on a stone in the wall of the house of a Mulla, *Torsak* in Boner. It is said to have been taken originally from some old ruins with other stones for building purposes." (No. v. ; scale one-half).

28. Impression on cloth " of a few letters inscribed on a stone lying in the jungle in the *Malandri* Valley which is the continuation of the *Sudhum* Valley towards the Boner Hills and *Malandri* Pass." (No. vi. ; scale one-half).

[28b. Impression on paper (No. xixb.) " of an inscription on a stone lying near the village of *Padshah* in Boner, broken in half," is too

³ I have followed throughout in local names the spelling of Major Deane's notes, and have not attempted to transcribe them according to the Society's system, as their actual pronunciation is unknown to me.

indistinct to be reproduced. The few characters of which traces are visible, resemble those of Nos. 26, 28 above.]

29. Impression on paper "of a stone at *Ilm-o-Mians* in Boner, near Padshah and Bichounai on Ilm. It was at one time built into the walls of a Masjid and removed as unfit to be in a Masjid wall. It is still lying in the Masjid in the Miangam village, too large to be moved."
(No. iii.; scale one-eighth.)

30. Impression on paper of "broken bit of stone lying near the other at *Ilm-o-Mians*, Boner."
(No. ii.; scale one-fourth.)

31. Impression on cloth of inscription "found near *Shahbazgarhi*."
Stone sent to Lahore Museum.
(No. xxxix.; scale one-half.)

32-34. Impressions on cloth of inscriptions "lying close to the village of *Chargam* in *Puran*, a country above Boner. They were found bound together, one on the top of the other. Ruins exist near where they were found, but nothing is known as to where they originally came from." In a note dated 13th April, 1896, Major DEANE adds: "The three inscriptions are on separate slabs, and the three of them had been fastened together with hasps in order evidently to remove them. As the fastening had been made by the stones having been bored through, I can only conjecture that they were put together by the original inhabitants of the country and they must have lain a long time in the place where they were found."

(Nos. xvii., xviii., xix.; scales one-eighth, one-fourth and one-half, respectively, Impression No. 32 being of exceptional length had to be shown on the plate divided into two portions. A part of the central piece of the impression, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches on plate, has been reproduced both in the left and right portions.)

35. Impression on paper of inscription found in "the valley leading up from Surkhavi to *Surah* in Chamla. It was found about 5 miles from Surkhavi and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from *Surah*."

(No. xxxviii.; scale one-fourth.)

36. Impressions on cloth of two sides of stone "found at *Shera* in *Amazai* territory."
(No. xl.; sent to Lahore Museum; scale one-half.)

37. Stone "found in *Asgram*."

(Mus. 60; scale one-half.)

38. Stone "found lying amongst ruins at *Asgram*."

(Mus. 62; scale one-half.)

39. Stone "from *Palosdarra*; in situ, round edge uppermost."

(Mus. 69; scale one-fourth. Reproduced in woodcut by M. Senart, p. 25.)

40. Stone "from *Palosdarra*; found in situ."

(Mus. 66; scale one-fourth.)

41. Stone "from *Palosdarra*."

(Mus. 83; scale one-fourth.)

42. Stone "from *Palosdarra*."

(Mus. 84; scale one-fourth.)

43. Stone "from *Suludheri*; in situ, standing on end, thin end top."

(Mus. 68; scale one-fourth.)

44. Stone "from *Khudukhel* territory."

(Mus. 82; scale one-fourth.)

45. Stone "from an old wall at *Sarpatti*, a spur of Mahaban overlooking Chamla."

(Mus. 61; scale one-fourth.)

46. Stone "from *Kaldarra*, near Dargai."

(Mus. 77; scale one-fourth.)

47. Stone "found at *Zangi Khan Banda*, Boner. Had been removed from ruin and built into wall of Masjid. Came probably from site of Nos. 48-50."

(Mus. 70; scale one-fourth.)

48-50. Stones "dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stupa completely buried in the ground at *Bughdarra* which is the ravine near *Zangi Khan Banda* in Boner."

(Mus. 79-81; scale of No. 48 one-fourth, of Nos. 49 and 50 one-half.)

51. Stone "from *Khrappa*, Panjpac, Boner."

(Mus. 67; thin piece of slatery stone with characters on both sides; scale one-fourth.)

52. Impression on paper of inscription "from rock on hill above *Odigram*, Swat."

(No. vii.; scale one-fourth.)

53. Impression on paper "from rock near *Odigram*, Upper Swat."

(No. ix.; scale one-fourth.)

54. Impression on paper "taken from a stone lying near *Kanai*, Ilaqa *Kana*, near *Ghorband* between Swat and the Indus."

(No. viii.; scale one-fourth.)

55-60. Impressions on cloth of Sgraffitti "on rocks found close together on the banks of the *Swat* river, just above *Ramora* Fort on the right bank and at the boundary of the *Adinzai* Valley."

(Nos. xi.-xvi.; scale one-eighth.)

M. SENART had already clearly recognized the fact that the inscriptions before him showed at least three distinct types of writing, each of which, on examining the find-spots of the inscriptions exhibiting it, could be connected with a well-defined locality or territorial division. These types which he accordingly distinguished under the very appropriate name of *Spankharra*, *Boner* and *Mahaban*, are all largely represented among the new inscriptions. It is a fresh proof of M. SENART's well-known penetration and sagacity as an epigraphist that the local distribution of the new inscriptions entirely supports his grouping.

This fact is most convincingly illustrated in the case of M. SENART's first group, that of *Spankharra*. Though M. SENART had only a single small inscription—probably a fragment—to place under this head, he did not fail to realize that its characters, both in form and execution, differ considerably from those met with in the other two classes. Their curiously irregular scrawly lines made M. SENART compare them rightly enough to mere Sgraffitti. These we now find reappearing on not less than twenty-three specimens which all, with one doubtful exception, come from the same locality or its immediate vicinity. *Spankharra* lies in Ranizai territory just beyond the northernmost point of the Hashtnagar Tahsil, circ. $71^{\circ} 42'$ E. Long. $34^{\circ} 27'$ N. Lat. according to the Revenue Survey Map of the Peshawar District.⁸

No. 1 is a fragment resembling closely M. SENART's No. 1. More interesting is the collection of small stones Nos. 3-19, 21-23 which were found packed together "in a small receptacle at the foot of a cliff" near *Darwasgai*, about a mile from *Spankharra*. It would be of little use in the absence of an accurate description of the spot to make conjectures as to the purpose of this peculiar deposit. But it deserves to be noted that all the little stones show different groups of characters, some so curiously twisted and cursive as to suggest monograms or signatures. Some stones, in particular Nos. 18, 19, seem to contain also a few characters resembling those found on the inscriptions of the second (*Boner*) and third (*Mahaban*) classes. But from the majority of the characters and the general appearance of the writing it is evident that none of the stones can be specially connected with either of these

⁸ "District Peshawar"; scale 1 inch to 4 miles; photozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1884. This map shows the "independent" territory immediately to the north of the Peshawar District with more detail than the corresponding sheet of the Atlas of India or other maps at present accessible to the public. As the topography of the hill tracts beyond the border is (apart from peaks fixed trigonometrically) not shown on the basis of any regular survey, the geographical positions indicated above for localities in that territory cannot be accurate. They are intended merely to facilitate identification on the map named.

classes. The same remark applies to No. 20, the "Sheikh's baking stone" which is the largest specimen of this type of writing and also exhibits a closer approach to regular lines.

Regarding No. 2, the only piece showing the characters of the Spankharra type, which was not actually obtained from that locality, Major DEANE believes that it may have been carried to *Banda Khulil* (a small hamlet south of Hoti-Mardan in Yusufzai) by a *Tālib*, it having been a *Tālib* from whom he got it.

The second type which M. SENART designated as that of *Boner*, was represented in his collection by four inscriptions all found near the village of *Bichounai* on the southern slopes of Mount Ilm, which divides Boner and Swat. M. SENART has already called attention, *l. c.*, p. 17, to the relatively large number of complicated and elaborate characters found in this group. This peculiarity induced him to separate it from the third, notwithstanding the common occurrence of certain simpler signs in both of them.

That this distinction was justified, is now shown by the new inscriptions gathered from the same region, Nos. 24-33. They all show a great variety of signs of a peculiarly elaborate type, either identical with or similar to the characters found on the Bichounai inscriptions.

As the find-spots of the new inscriptions are situated with one exception within the territory known as Boner, the designation given to this group by M. SENART has proved singularly felicitous. At the same time we can see from a glance at the map that the localities which have furnished these inscriptions, are spread over a considerable tract of country.

Nos. 24 and 25 come from *Elai* situated in the central part of Boner, *circa*. 72° 28' E. Long., 34° 32' N. Lat. No. 26 is a somewhat indistinct impression of a stone found near *Miangam*, a village on Ilm and hence probably not far from Bichounai. *Ilm* itself is shown on the 'Atlas of India' Sheet No. 14, as the name of the mountain range whose highest point is Peak No. 81 (9,341 feet) as marked by the Trigonometrical Survey. *Torsak*, where the original of No. 27 is said to be walled into a house, is a place about 3 miles due west of *Elai*.

Ilm-o-Mianz, where Nos. 29 and 30 come from, is a village which according to Major DEANE's information is situated somewhere on the southern slopes of Mount Ilm and near to Bichounai and Padshah. From the latter place was obtained the impression No. 28*b*. Still further to the north lies apparently *Chargam*, in Puran, which has furnished the interesting inscriptions Nos. 32-34.

To the south we are taken again by the small inscription No. 28 which was picked up in the *Malandri* Valley leading up from Rustam

and Surkhabi to the Malandri Pass, circ. $72^{\circ}26'$ E. long., $34^{\circ}24'$ N. Lat. Finally we have in No. 31, a small stone recently found at *Shahbazgarhi* far to the south of the Boner hills.

Some significance may, perhaps, be attached to the fact that this group of inscriptions which seems topographically to extend over the widest area, is also the one in which varieties of the same system of writing can be most readily distinguished.

In their clearest and sharpest form the characters appear in the four inscriptions from *Bichounai* (M. Senart's Nos. 2-5) which look as if engraved by the same mason or after an identical pattern. Closest to them range in this respect our Nos. 26-27 from *Tangi* and *Torsak*, though here the characters bear a slightly more rounded form. Similar in type are also Nos. 24-25 from *Elai*, but the execution is far less careful. Both these little inscriptions are cut into rough stones of small size which do not appear to have ever belonged to a building or other structure.

With a peculiarly cursive yet clear enough form of these characters we meet on the three inscriptions from *Ohargam*, Nos. 32-34, which, as Major DEANE's note seems to show, were originally fastened together. No. 34 contains only a few stray signs which, however, can be traced also in the far more regular lines of the other two inscriptions.

Nos. 28 and 31 from *Malandri* and *Shahbazgarhi*, respectively, are too small to show any striking peculiarity of their own. Such, however, is amply displayed by the large-sized characters of No. 29 from *Ilm-o-Mianz*. I should have hesitated to class this inscription with the Boner group, were it not that on closer examination the peculiarity of these characters appears to be due more to a kind of ornamentation with hooks and flourishes than to any real difference of type. The fragment No. 30 from the same locality can certainly not be separated from this group, the shape of the few signs approaching closely to some found on No. 24.

With the Boner group too, I have thought it best to arrange Nos. 35 and 36 which come both from valleys lying to the north of the Mahabau range and opening into Boner proper. No. 35 found near *Surak*, circ. $72^{\circ}36'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ}24'$ N. Lat., shows a few characters resembling the Boner type, arranged in a circle amidst what are evidently symbols. A similar arrangement is exhibited by M. SENART's No. 4 from *Bichounai*.

No. 36 which comes from *Shera*, a locality of uncertain position in Amazai territory, is a small loose stone showing on both sides scrawls which may be compared with a few signs occurring on No. 30 and elsewhere.

I cannot conclude this brief notice of the inscriptions of the Boner group without pointing out that this is the only one in which inscriptions of an approximately monumental look have yet been met with. The inscriptions of the first or Spankharra group are scarcely more than Sgraffitti on small stones which show no mark of having been specially prepared for bearing records. The inscriptions of the third group to be noticed next are also without exception engraved on stones of comparatively small size which, whether found detached or fitted into walls, are equally irregular in their shape. Against this, we find in the Boner group several inscriptions of greater size, like M. SENART's No. 5 and our Nos. 27, 29, 30 which are engraved in regular lines and evidently with far more care and routine than those referred to.

The new inscriptions of the third or *Mahaban* group, Nos. 37-41, come almost all from the identical localities from which M. SENART's specimens were procured. *Asgram* lies at the end of a spur which runs down from Mount Mahaban to the south, at a point circ. $72^{\circ} 45'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 7'$ N. Lat. *Palosdarra* according to Major DEANE's note seems to be situated about $72^{\circ} 35'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 9'$ N. Lat. close to the village Boka marked on the map near the Border towards Khudukhel territory. *Suludheri* seems to be about 3 to 4 miles to the north of Boka. The Khudukhel territory begins immediately to the west and north of Suludheri. *Surpatti* is the name of a spur running to the north-west of Mahaban; its highest point is marked on the map at $72^{\circ} 40'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 21'$ N. Lat.

Whereas the find-spots of all the other inscriptions of this group are closely gathered round the spurs of Mount Mahaban, No. 46 which comes from *Kullarra* near Dargai takes us far away to the west into the vicinity of the Malakand Pass.

Regarding the characters which appear on these stones in such bewildering variety I have nothing to add to M. SENART's remarks, p. 21 *sqq.* No. 41 is of some interest as a socket cut into the stone, evidently with the intention of fitting it to another, makes it probable that the original position of the stone was the one shown in the plate. At the same time it appears that the inscription was engraved *after* the stone had been fitted in the above manner, as none of the characters falling near the out edges seem to be mutilated. If a conclusion can be drawn from the fact that in the three outer lines which follow the rounded contour of the stone, the terminal signs below are cut up to the very edge of the socket, a direction of the writing from right to left would appear probable.

Perhaps the most curious of the new inscriptions in unknown characters are the five stones Nos. 47-51, which come from *Zangi Khan*

Banda and *Khrappa* in Boner. The characters which they exhibit, differ so strikingly in form and arrangement from those found on any of the inscriptions hitherto mentioned, that I cannot hesitate to recognize in them a fourth independent type. As both Zangi Khan Banda and Khrappa fall within the tract occupied by the clan of the *Nurizai*, I should suggest provisionally for these inscriptions the name of Nurizai group. The first named locality from which four of the stones have been obtained, lies according to the map close to the range of the hills which forms the southern boundary of Boner towards British territory, circ. 72° 25' E. Long., 34° 26' N. Lat. *Khrappa* is marked as *Krapa* on the map, some 7 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Zangi Khan Banda and not far from Ekai.

The inscriptions of the new group are already outwardly distinguished from the rest by the peculiar shape of the stones on which they are engraved. These are all longish pieces of a slaty material which as the dowel on No. 47 and the socket on No. 48 show, were evidently intended to be placed upright, i.e. with one of the narrower sides topmost. Another distinguishing feature is the engraved frame of straight lines which encloses all inscriptions except No. 49. On the reverse of No. 51 and in part of No. 47 the characters are actually attached to these lines.

The characters themselves which seem to consist of a series of curves, angles and simple strokes either separate or combined, do not show (except perhaps in part of No. 47), any approach to a linear arrangement such as we have found in the inscriptions of the other groups. If the information recorded regarding Nos. 48-50 is correct in describing their find-spots as a buried Stūpa, we could have little doubt as to the votive character of these small monuments which is suggested already by their shape.

The only reason for grouping together in the list and plates the series of impressions shown in Nos. 52-60, is that the stones from which they were taken are all situated in *Swat* territory or in its immediate vicinity. Leaving aside Nos. 55-60 in which some marks are perhaps mere symbols, we find that the characters of the other three inscriptions differ markedly from those found in the four groups above described, without yet showing any distinct affinity amongst themselves. No. 52 comes, perhaps, nearest to the type of the Mahaban group, but exhibits yet peculiarities which make it inadvisable for the present to range it under that head. In No. 53 again, which like the last-named inscription is engraved on a rock near *Odigram* (some ten miles north-east of Thana on the Swat river), we have characters of a peculiar rounded shape which bear no resemblance whatever to those of the third group.

No. 54 comes from the vicinity of *Ghorband* which is described by Major DEANE as a "range of hills running parallel with the Indus for a short distance and northward or possibly a little N. W. from the Ilm and Dossira mountains." A few of the simple characters shown by this inscription occur also in the Mahaban group. Others, however, in particular the compounded (?) signs in the first two lines which are attached to horizontal strokes, I have not been able to trace in the large number of inscriptions we already possess of that type.

Until a larger number of inscriptions is obtained from that region, it must be left undecided whether we have in Nos. 52-54 fresh types of writing or only marked local variations of one or the other known group, such as M. SENART has very appropriately suggested (p. 18 note) in the case of Nos. 25 and 26 of his series.

The impressions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 exhibit a series of large Sgraffitti which are found engraved on rocks situated close together at a point on the upper course of the Swat river. Most frequent among them are signs which seem nothing but variations of the Triçûla symbol. In the largest of these 'inscriptions' No. 55, and also in No. 56 there appear a few signs which faintly resemble Devanâgari or Çaradâ letters. On the whole, however, it is improbable that we have in these detached markings anything more than emblematic signs or possibly ideograms of an unknown system.*

Large as the number of inscriptions is, which has rewarded Major DEANE'S search during the last two years, we look yet in vain among them for one which would furnish a clue to the puzzling characters they display in so bewildering variety. The new inscriptions exhibit as little as those contained in M. SENART'S publication any well-defined groups of characters which by their repeated occurrence in particular positions might allow of some conclusion as to their significance or the character of their language.

There are not wanting in the new inscriptions stray signs which show a curious resemblance to the characters of one or the other known alphabets. But after what M. SENART and Prof. BÜHLER have said on this point, it is scarcely necessary to emphasize how hazardous it would be to take the mere resemblance of a few characters, unsupported by other evidence, as the basis for further speculations.

In view of these circumstances it appeared as if we should have to wait with resignation for the discovery of a bilingual stone or some other lucky accident of this kind, before we could approach even the preliminary question of the origin and date of these puzzling monu-

* [For further information regarding the position of these rock-carvings and the manner of their reproduction compare the "Supplementary Notes," p. 17 below.]

ments. All the more gratified we must feel at the recent discovery of a document which has thrown unexpected light on an obscure period of the history of Gandhāra and the neighbouring regions, and which also seems to show us the direction where the means for the future solution of the riddle may have to be sought for.

I refer to the Itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim *Ou-K'ong*, of which Professors LÉVI and CHAVANNES have published a translation, accompanied by very valuable notes, in the *Journal asiatique*, for September-October, 1895. From *Ou-K'ong's* account we learn that the territories of Udyāna and Gandhāra from which our inscriptions come, were during the pilgrim's sojourn there, A.D. 753-759, 763-764, united under the rule of a dynasty which claimed descent from Kaniṣka and was zealously attached to the Buddhist faith. Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES rightly recognize in these rulers Albērūnī's 'Shāhiyas of Kābul,' 'Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin.'⁶ From the names given to members of this royal family both in *Ou-K'ong's* Itinerary and the T'ang Annals the Editors conclude with great probability, that these princes belonged actually to a dynasty of Turkish nationality and language.⁶

The interesting historical fact thus established fully justifies the Editors in attaching importance to the curious similarity which M. SENART and Prof. BÜHLER had already noticed between certain characters in Major DEANE's inscriptions and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the banks of the Orkhon deciphered by Prof. V. THOMSEN in 1893.⁷ This resemblance deserves all the more attention in view of the fact that the date of these Turkish inscriptions (first

⁶ See Albērūnī's *India*, translated by Prof. Sachau, ii., pp. 10 sqq. Compare regarding this dynasty my paper *Zur Geschichte der Qāhis von Kābul* in 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth,' 1893, pp. 195 sqq.

⁶ See *Journal asiatique*, 1895, vi., p. 378 sq.

It must be noted that the titles *t'e-le* and *t'e-k'in-li* which are most characteristically Turkish, are given in *Ou-K'ong's* narrative not as those of princes belonging to the ruling family of *K'ien-t'o-lo* (Gandhāra), but as designations of 'sons of the king of the *Tou-kiue* or Turks;' see *l. c.*, pp. 354, 357. Though mentioned as founders of Vihāras, both in Kaçmir and Gandhāra, these princes need not have actually resided in either of these countries. Sufficient evidence, however, remains for the above assumption in the name of *Ou-san Te-le-li*, mentioned as king of *Ki-pin* in the Chinese Annals, A.D. 739; in the word *houli* which is found in the names of several Vihāras visited by *Ou-K'ong* in Gandhāra, and which seems to be a Turkish term, and finally in the name of the ambassador *Sa-po-ta-kan* whom the ruler of Gandhāra sent to the Chinese court in *Ou-K'ong's* time.

⁷ According to Prof. BÜHLER's observation, '*On the origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet*,' 1895, p. 89, the alphabets of the Orkhon and Yenissei inscriptions show more than a dozen of the signs found in Major DEANE's inscriptions.

half of the 8th century), as already noted by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, falls close to the time of Ou-K'ong's residence in the monasteries of Gandhāra and Udyāna.

These coincidences have led the Editors of Ou-K'ong's Itinerary to suggest a Turkish origin for our inscriptions. They are certainly striking enough to make it most desirable that the unknown characters of the latter should be fully analysed and compared with the Orkhon texts by a competent Turkish scholar. Unable to undertake even the preliminary steps for such a task, I must content myself here with showing that the conclusions drawn by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES from Ou-K'ong as to the existence of a Turkish dominion in Gandhāra, are well supported also by what Hiuen Tsiang had recorded of those regions more than a century earlier.

From Ou-K'ong's reference to Gandhāra as the site of 'the eastern capital of *Ki-pin*' (p. 349), it is certain that in his time as in that of the earlier Chinese pilgrim, Gandhāra was under the same rule as the Upper Valley of the Kābul River.⁸ Hiuen Tsiang tells us distinctly (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i., p. 98) that the Gandhāra of his time 'was governed by deputies from *Kia-pi-shi*.' Accordingly we find that when the pilgrim on his return-journey crossed the Indus near *Uda-bhāṇḍa*, the old capital of Gandhāra at the site of the present *Und*, he was received there by the king of *Kia-pi-shi*; compare *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, translated by Beal, p. 192.

Kia-pi-shi or *Kapiça* is undoubtedly the *Karīra* of Ptolemy and identical with the hill-region between Kābul and the southern foot of the Hindukush. In describing its inhabitants Hiuen Tsiang tells us that 'their literature is like that of the Tuhāra (*Tu-ho-lo*) country, but the customs, common language and rules of behaviour are somewhat different' (*Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 54).

Retracing then our steps in the pilgrim's narrative to the country of the *Tu-ho-lo*, i.e., Tuhāristan on the Upper Oxus, we find the numerous petty states constituting it described as all dependent on the *Tuh-kiue* tribes, i.e., the Turks (see *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 37 sq.). The language of the inhabitants is said to "differ somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five; by combining these, they express all objects around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right. Their literary records have increased gradually."

⁸ From the Chinese notices regarding *Ki-pin*, lucidly set forth by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *l.c.*, pp. 371 sqq., it appears that *Ki-pin* as a geographical term in Chinese texts has had a varying employ at different periods. On the whole, however, preponderating evidence points to *Ki-pin* having been originally the designation of the Upper Kābul Valley.

Meagre as these details are they show yet clearly that in searching for the national and literary affinities of the race which held the rule of Kia-pi-shi and Gandhāra in Hiuen Tsiang's time, we have to look to the Turkish tribes in the north and not in the direction of India. A century later Udyāna too had passed under the same dominion. Whereas Hiuen Tsiang speaks yet of independent kings in Udyāna (U-chang-na, *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 121), we see from a passage of the T'ang Annals (*L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong*, p. 349 note) that A.D. 745 this territory was already united with Gandhāra and Kia-pi-shi under the same rule. In that year P'o-p'o, king of Ki-pin, is said to have received the imperial authority for assuming the title of 'King of *Ki-pin* and *Ou-chang*.'

This historical fact would allow us to account for the occurrence of Turkish inscriptions in regions like Swat and Boner which undoubtedly belonged to Udyāna, notwithstanding the record which Hiuen Tsiang has left us as to the connection of the language and writing of Udyāna with that of India.⁹

The publications of the Danish Academy and the Finno-Ugrian Society, containing the Orkhon inscriptions, are to my regret not accessible to me at present. I am, therefore, unable to ascertain with which of the several types of writing distinguished above their characters show most affinity.

Perhaps, a comparison of the Orkhon inscriptions will also throw some light on the relation of these types amongst each other. The first three as well as the fifth have undoubtedly numerous simple characters in common and might represent modifications of one and the same system of writing adapted to different languages or dialects. It is, however, evident that other explanations are also possible, and that all conjectures on the subject must for the present remain extremely hazardous.

Camp, Kashmir : 19th September, 1896.

⁹ "Their language though different in some points, yet greatly resembles that of India. Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before." See *Si-yu-ki*, i. p., 120.

The local names of Swat and Boner, as far as shown on the map, with their frequent terminations in-*grām* and-*kōt*, seem to support the belief that these regions were at a time preceding the Paṭhān conquest inhabited by a population which in its great mass spoke an Indian language. This circumstance, however, could well be reconciled with a prolonged dominion over those territories of Turkish masters or even their temporary occupation by a Turkish-speaking population.

Without going for analogies to Europe where, *e.g.*, the Balkan Peninsula would furnish them in plenty, we may refer to the local nomenclature of the Upper Derajāt along the right Indus bank and to that of Yusufzai-Gandhāra itself. This has preserved its Indian character notwithstanding the fact that the great mass of the population in these tracts has for centuries back been speaking Pus̄thu.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

More than a year has passed between the time when this paper was first sent to the press, and the date of its publication. This long delay has been due solely to the difficulty first experienced in providing for the adequate reproduction of the inscriptions. On reference to the only Indian establishment capable of undertaking such work it was found that the required plates could not be prepared there except at a cost which would have considerably exceeded the funds available for this purpose. Even then it seemed doubtful whether the process to be employed would secure satisfactory reproductions of those impressions on paper or cloth which were faint in color or otherwise difficult to reproduce mechanically.

In view of these circumstances, it was particularly gratifying that Mr. W. GRIGGS, of Peckham, London, whose photographic and chromolithographic works have already on many occasions served the interests of Indian archæological and epigraphical research, kindly offered to undertake the task on terms acceptable to the Society's Council. A visit paid to England during the last summer enabled me to watch personally the preparation of the plates. I was thus in a position to appreciate more thoroughly the exceptional care and attention which Mr. GRIGGS has bestowed on the work. The difficulties resulting from the deficient nature of part of the available materials could not have been overcome so successfully without Mr. GRIGGS' personal efforts, and for these my special thanks are due to him.

For the technical defects in many of the available impressions it is easy to account in the light of the explanations with which Major DEANE has favoured me on a subsequent occasion. The persons through whose hands almost all these impressions have been obtained were wandering Pathān Mullās and Tālīb. Individuals of this class, being aware of Major DEANE's interest in epigraphical remains, had for some time back been in the habit of bringing to him any inscribed stones which they came across and could conveniently carry along. Some of them on their wanderings across the border had seen similar stones which either on account of their size or for other reasons could not easily be removed.

Fanaticism among transfrontier tribes, like those of Boner and the Utman Khel, is still strong enough to make the open removal of inscribed stones which may be suspected to be of a 'Kāfir' origin and to give

eventually information as to hidden treasures, etc., a business of considerable risk even for such people. Major DEANE, therefore, thought it best to initiate his occasional visitors into the art of taking impressions on paper or cloth and to provide them with the necessary materials in order to secure through them impressions of stones not otherwise obtainable. Some of them incited by the hope of a small remuneration have actually carried out Major DEANE'S wishes, and the impressions now published (together with a considerable number of others subsequently received) represent the result of their efforts.

It would in no case be reasonable to expect from agents of this peculiar type such work as we are accustomed to from trained assistants of archæological surveyors in other parts of India. But indeed the awkward conditions under which generally these impressions have to be secured, would render the taking of really good impressions impossible even if Mullās and Tālībs could be got to learn systematically all the niceties of the art. In order to avoid detection and the consequent risks, Major DEANE'S agents have been obliged to take their impressions in the manner which is easiest and quickest. The orthodox method of taking an impression from the stone by means of wetted paper and with the use of brush and ink, would no doubt have given far better results. Yet by following this lengthy process the operator might more than once have exposed himself to the chance of being shot at by a suspicious tribesman while he watched his paper drying. In two or three cases Major Deane's agents have in fact been fired at even while using the quicker process.

It is therefore scarcely surprising to find that Major DEANE'S agents have in most cases contented themselves with a simpler if less effective process. After roughly inking the raised surface of the stone a piece of cloth or paper was pressed against it. On this the inscribed parts ought to appear in white. In some instances (see, *e.g.*, Nos. 27, 33) very fair impressions were thus obtained. In others, however, the evident hurry with which the stone was inked or the cloth (paper) removed, has led to the impression becoming blurred and accordingly very difficult to reproduce (see, *e.g.*, Nos. 30, 32). In those few cases where the operator tried to obtain a sunk paper-impression by the use of a brush (see Nos. 29, 35) his achievement has scarcely been more satisfactory.

A short visit which I had the good fortune to pay to the Lower Swat Valley last Christmas under Major DEANE'S auspices, enabled me to examine personally the rock-carved inscriptions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 of Plate VII. These were the only ones among the inscriptions here published from impressions which were then accessible for inspection. I found the two rocks exhibiting them exactly in the posi-

tion indicated by the remarks quoted above, p. 6. They lie side by side at the foot of a hill-spur which runs down to the right bank of the Swat river, about three miles above Fort *Chakdarra* and quite close to the little hamlet of *Khushmaqām*. Between them and the precipitous river bank passes the road to *Shamozai* territory and Upper Swat, undoubtedly an important route of communication since ancient times. The face of both rocks is naturally smooth and thus seems to offer itself as a convenient place of record.

The large marks which appear on them bear distinctly the character of Sgraffitti. They are cut only to a very slight depth in the hard rock, and form small detached groups spreading irregularly over the surface. Some of these little groups are now almost completely effaced. The careless execution of the marks makes it impossible to obtain an impression of them by any ordinary mechanical process. The attempt I made to photograph them, also failed, partly owing to the faint appearance of the outlines and partly on account of the glare reflected from the rock. For the purpose of the present publication I was, therefore, obliged to fall back upon the impressions which Major DEANE had originally communicated to me.

For these we are indebted to Surgeon-Captain Dr. D. W. SUTHERLAND, who while stationed at Chakdarra in charge of the Swat Civil Hospital 1895-97, had devoted a great deal of attention to the antiquities of the neighbourhood. Dr. SUTHERLAND, finding it impracticable to secure an impression in any other fashion, had carefully inked by hand the whole surface around what appeared to him engraved marks, and had taken his cloth impressions from the thus prepared surface. As he had carried out this process with great care and skill, the impressions of the several groups of Sgraffitti prepared by him can be accepted as very accurate eye-copies of what can still be distinguished with any certainty. On Plate VII, I have shown the groups Nos. 55-57 approximately in the relative positions which they occupy on the rock to the right. The Sgraffitti visible on the left rock are reproduced in the same way in Nos. 58-60.

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During the time which has passed since the above paper was written, Major DEANE has continued with equal zeal and success the collection of epigraphical remains from the interesting regions which lie within the sphere of his influence. The number of inscriptions in unknown characters since secured by him, including those obtained during the recent expedition to Upper Swat, has gradually risen to above fifty. Among them is one coming from Boner which owing to the large num-

ber of characters it contains is likely to prove important for the eventual decipherment of these puzzling documents. Major DEANE'S efforts have, however, not yet succeeded in bringing to light a single 'bilingual,' and in the absence of such a guide the first step in that direction remains as difficult as before. *The preparation of Plates showing Major DEANE'S recent acquisitions has already been taken in hand by Mr. GRIGGS, and with the help of the Asiatic Society I hope to publish soon the whole of these new finds in a 'Second' Series.

In conclusion I may be allowed to state that I have discussed the questions concerning the Turkish dominion in Gandhāra and Udyāna more fully in a paper recently read before the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest ¹⁰. This I hope to make soon more accessible by an English translation.

Lahore: 5th November, 1897.

¹⁰ "A fehér Hunok és rokon törzsek indiai szerepléséről (White Huns and kindred tribes in Indian history)"; see *Budapesti Szemle*, August, 1897.



A Note on the Antiquity of Chittagong, compiled from the Tibetan works Pagsam Jon-Zaŋ of Sumpa Khan-po and Kāhbab Dun-dan of Lama Tārā Nātha.—By SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., Rai Buhādur.

[Read February, 1897.]

About the close of the 6th century A.D. when Çri Harṣa reigned in Kaçmir,¹ in the north, the brother of king Prabhāsa, named Çākyabala, brought under his sway the country between Haridvāra and Kaçmir. He accepted as his spiritual teacher Ācārya Vasumitra, the author of the commentary of the Mahākōça and also of the works on the religious theories of the eighteen sects of the early Buddhists. In the south Dēva Çrama, a pupil of Dharma Rakṣita, who had written the *Mūla Prajñā Tikā*, gained the victory in a disputation with some *Tīrthika* (Brāhmaṇa) Pandits, and succeeded in converting king Sālavāhana to Buddhism. Afterwards in the reign of the fifth Simha, the Tirthika teacher called Dattatri appeared.² Shortly afterwards the Brāhmaṇa Pandits, called Kumāra-lila and Kaṇāda, defeated the pupils of the Buddhist sage Diṅ-nāga and others. When Çamkar-ācārya, who, it is said, could see

1 དེ་ནས་དེ་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་པ་ལའི་ཚལ་པོ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་རིམ་པར་བྱུང་བྱེ། དེ་རྩལ་ཁ་
ཚར་སྒྲི་ཀར་ལ་དེ་ལྷས་ཚལ་མེད་བསྐྱུང་ངོ། (Pagsam Jon-Zaŋ, 110.)

Then the Pāla dynasty of the solar race (*Sūryavaṃça*) consisting of fourteen kings came in succession. At that time in Kaçmir there ruled Çri Harṣa Dēva.

2 (སེང་གེ་ལྷ་པ་) རྩལ་མྱི་ལྷ་ལྷན་ལ་ཡེ་ལ་དེ་འོགས་མེད་ལྷོགས་སྐང་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལ་
ལྷོས་ཀ་མར་དང་ལྷོར་བཞུག་པ་མི་རྒྱུང་རྩད་གམས་དམའ་བ་བྱུང་བྱེ། དེ་ལ་དང་སེང་གེ་ལྷ་པ་ལ་
རྩལ་ལྷ་ལྷན་ལ་ད་ལྷ་དེ་དང་མ་རྒྱ་དེ་ལྷ་ཀམ་འདོད་རྩ་མའོང་བའི་སྐ་ཀར་ལྷ་མ་ཅ་ཅ་ཞེས་
གསེས་བྱུང་བྱེ་ལྷོ་མ་བྱུང་ལ་ལཱ་འོང་ཚེ་ནང་པ་པམ་ནས་ཚོས་གཞི་ལེར་ལྷོ་ཕོ་ཕེད་ཤོར་
བས་དེ་ནམས་ལྷོང་ཞིང་དགོ་བཞུག་ལྷ་བཞུ་ལྷ་ལྷན་ལ་འཇམ་དགོས་བྱུང་ལ། (Pagsam Jon-Zaŋ, 105.)

the three great provinces, *viz*:—Tirabhukti, Baṅgāla and Kāmarūpa. He patronized the *Mādhyamika* philosophers, Çri Gupta, the pupil of Supradatta and also the Ācāryas Ratna Kirtti and Amara Siddha. King Vimala Candra had married a sister of king Bhartḥhari, the last of the line of the Candras who ruled in Mālava, and had two sons, *viz*:—Lalita Candra and Gōpi Candra. After king Bhartḥhari had renounced the world in order to live the life of an ascetic, Lalita Candra succeeded him. King Vimala Candra was succeeded by Gōpi Candra, during whose reign the seat of Government was at Cāṭigrāma (modern Chittagong) in Eastern Bengal. In Cāṭigrāma there were in that early time many *Tīrthika* temples and Buddhist Vibāras. The Buddhist of Cāṭigrāma belonged to the Tāntrik Mahāyāna school. To the south of Cāṭigrāma was the kingdom of Rakhan or Arakhan. In Cāṭigrāma there was Jālandhara, in which flames of fire appeared mixed up with water.

The Buddhist Siddha Bālapāda was born at Nagara Thata in Sindu, in the family of a rich Çūdra merchant. He became a Buddhist and studied a large number of Buddhist works under eminent Buddhist sages. Then entering the holy order of Bhikṣus, he visited Udyāna (modern Swat and Chitral) and there practised *yōga*. From there he proceeded to Jālandhara (a place somewhere between Kaçmīr and Nēpāl), where appeared flames of fire in the midst of water and stone. For his long residence there he was called the Saint of Jālandhara. He visited Nēpāl and there causing the chief *Liṅga* of Çiva to be split by the efficacy of his charms, converted the Nepalese to Tāntrik Buddhism. From Nēpāl he proceeded to the city of Avanti in Mālava. At this time Bhartḥhari, a member of the old royal family of Mālava, had succeeded to the throne on the death of Viṣṇu Rāja. Bālapāda converted a large number of people at Avanti to Buddhism by performing miracles. Once several thousand goats were being sacrificed by the Brāhmins before some deity. Suddenly by his charms he changed them into so many wolves. This frightened the people who, imbibing faith in Buddha, desisted from animal sacrifice. He initiated a man of the weaver-caste, aged 99 years, in the mystic cult of Tāntrik Buddhism and admitted a young Brāhman to the holy order, who afterwards became an adept in mysticism and was called Kriṣṇ-ācārya (the performer of black magic). Lastly, once while he was seated in deep meditation at the foot of a tree in a grove outside the city of Avanti, some robbers came and sat round him. At night they committed robbery in the city and obtained good many precious things. Thinking that good luck had attended them on account of their having seen the sage, they made him large presents of pearl rosaries and other precious things which weighed several hundred ounces. When they had gone away, the people saw in

his possession the stolen goods, and so they took him to the king, who sentenced him to be impaled. The sage was fixed to the stake, and there he remained still and motionless as in *yōga*. When necessary, he used to get away to make ablution in the river, and then again quietly resumed his seat on the stake. On the seventh day of his impalement the king came to inspect the scene. Seeing that the sage sat unhurt on the stake, he became unhappy for the wrong he had done to one who was guiltless and holy. He became a devout follower of Bālapāda, who was so called on account of his child-like simplicity of character.⁶ From Mālava the sage proceeded to the kingdom of Bengal which was ruled by Gōpī Candra,⁷ a son of king Vimala Candra. Gōpī Candra was young when he became king. Being a handsome person, he was very coquettish in his manners. He often used to behold his beautiful face in the mirror. The sage Bālapāda visited Jālandhara (probably the modern Sitākunḍa), where flames of fire were seen in the midst of water and stone. Coming to the city of Cāṭigrāma, he entered the king's orchard and sat meantly attired in meditation at the foot of some trees. It is said that when he felt thirsty, he summoned the cocoa-nuts that were on the tree to come to his lips. They came and, pouring into his mouth their watery contents, returned at his bidding to their respective places. The mother of the king observed this curious phenomenon with wonder, and knowing that the sage who looked mean like a Hāḍi (sweeper of roads) was a *Siddha*, she asked her royal son to call the sage to his presence to get some charms by which he might gain longevity. The sage whispered a *mantra* into the king's ears, and at the same time asked him to put his hand in an empty earthen pot. "Do you perceive anything in it?" asked the sage. "No, nothing" was the reply.

⁶ ସିଂହରୁ ଶୁଣି ଉଦୟନଙ୍କୁ କହିଲେ ଯଦି ତୁ ମୁଁଙ୍କୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି ।
 ଦାମ୍ଭିକ ଯଦି ସାଧୁଙ୍କୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି ।
 (Pagsam Jon-Zań, 108.)

ଶୁଣି ସିଂହରୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି । (Kāhbab Dun-dan, 30.)

⁷ ମୁଁ ସୁଦୂର ଯିବୁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ । (Pagsam Jon-Zań, 109.)

ସୁଦୂର ଯିବୁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ । ଯଦି ତୁ ମୁଁଙ୍କୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି ।
 କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି । ଯଦି ତୁ ମୁଁଙ୍କୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି ।
 ଯଦି ତୁ ମୁଁଙ୍କୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବୁ ତେବେ ମୁଁ ତୁମକୁ କିଛି ଦେଖିବି । (Kāhbab Dun-dan, 28.)

Thrice the same interrogation was made, to which the same reply was given. Then "that *tattva*, i.e., the perception of *nothingness*, is the way to immortality," said the sage. The king did not perceive the truth, and suspecting the sage to be an imposter, ordered him to be buried alive. A pit was dug in the ground, into which the sage was placed. The ground was then covered with the dung of elephants and horses. It was then fenced with thorny trees, so that nobody could take him out. Twelve years after this event his pupil Kṛṣṇ-ācārya, when proceeding to the place called Kadali Kṣētra, visited Cāṭigrāma. His two pupils Badala and Mahila at his instance shewed some miracles to the king, and impressed him with the extreme holiness of their teacher. Being likewise asked for the secrets of immortality by Gōpī Candra, Kṛṣṇ-ācārya whispered into his ears the same *mantra* which was given him by Bālapāda. The king, remembering it, said he had heard the same thing once before, and told the same story. Kṛṣṇ-ācārya informed the monarch that nobody else knew the *mantra* except his own *Guru*, i.e., Bālapāda, the sage of Jālandhara whom he had buried alive. The king became penitent and greatly frightened. They both went over the grave and exhumed the sage. Being in a state of suspended animation in *yōga*, he was alive. He complained of extreme hunger and thirst, having had no food or drink for twelve years. When brought out, he rested his two arms on the heads of Kṛṣṇ-ācārya's pupils, named Dhama and Dhuma, and took some food. The king prayed for forgiveness, which was granted to him on condition that he renounced the world and adopted the life of an ascetic. After staying for six months in Cāṭigrāma in a cavern in the hills, he proceeded to Rāmsēvar-ārāma in the south of India.

Cāṭigrāma was an important city of Bengal in that early period. The country to the south of Tripura and north of Rakhan (Arakan) was Ramma (Sanskrit *ramya*), the land of the picturesque sceneries. It was the headquarters of Buddhism after the decline of Nālanda. In the city of Cāṭigrāma or Cāṭigāō there was a large Buddhist monastery called Paṇḍita-Vihāra. There the Buddhist Pandits used to hold religious controversies with the *Tirthikas* (Brāhmaṇas.) Once when a disputation took place, the leader of the Buddhists, at the suggestion of an old woman, wore a cap pointed like a thorn, at the time of the controversy. He came out victorious.⁸ To commemorate that

⁸ ད་ཅུས་ཡུང་ག་ལའི་རི་གྲོ་བའི་ཐོང་ཆེན་གྱི་པཎ་འི་ཏ་ལ་ཏ་འ་ཞེས་པའི་གཞུང་གི་
ལམ་ཁང་ན་མཆོད་ལྷན་པའི་མོ་ལ་ཞེས་པུང་བའི་རྗེ་མཆོད་ཞེས་མ་ཁ་ལ་གན་མས་རྗེ་འཇ
ཉ་ཡུང་རྗེ་མཆོད་ཞེས་མས་རྗེ་པཎ་ལྷན་པའི་ལམ་པཎ་ཞེས་འིང་དེ་འོ།

(*Pagsam Jon-Zaā*, 109.)

a few Buddhists at Natasva. After that time the Rājas of the Sēna family became vassals of the *Turuṣka* kings. They acted according to the commands of the *Turuṣka* kings. They respected the Buddhist religion. Particularly in the time of Buddha Sēna, Rāhula Çribhadra, Bhūmi Çribhadra, Upāya Çribhadra and others performed Buddhist religious service. They had a limited number of followers and devotees. There were at that time the *Ācāryas* Karuṇa Çribhadra, and Munindra Çribhadra and others who also worked with a few followers. About a hundred years after the time of Pratīta Sēna,¹¹ Cagala Rāja, probably the most powerful king of Cāṭigāḍ, rose to eminence in Bengal. His power was felt all over the country extending from Bengal to Delhi. He was devoted to Brāhmanism. His wife, being a Buddhist, induced him to repair some of the ruined Vihāras of Magadha and to perform religious service at Vajrāsana (Bōdhi Gayā) and Nālanda, and particularly to rebuild the upper storeys of the great nine storeyed *Gandhola* of Bōdhi Gayā. He re-established the worship of Buddha there by inviting a learned Pandit like Çāriputra. From the death of this Rāja (Cagala) up to this year (Earth-dragon year according to the chronology of Tibet) three hundred years have elapsed. Afterwards in Ōṭivisa (Orissa) Mukunda Dēva (Dharma Rāja), who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He too did some service to the cause of Buddhism. Since his death up to this time one hundred and seventy-eight years have passed.

Towards the East, Buddhism spread more and more than before. After the downfall of Magadha most of the learned sages went towards the land of the Kōki. Since that time the Rājas Çōbhajāta, Simha-jaṭi and others established many Buddhist religious institutions in their dominions. The religion of Buddha having spread there, the Pandit Vana Ratna and others visited Tibet from there (Cāṭigāḍ). In later

¹¹ 'ཕ་ཏི་ཏ་སེ་ན་འདུས་ནས་ལོ་བཅི་ཚམ་ནས་བུང་ག་ལའ་ཚ་ལ་ལུ་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་ད་
 ལི་རྩེ་ཆད་ཅི་ཅེན་ཅ་དང་རྩེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ལ་དབང་བཟུང་བའི་ལོ་ལྷོ་བས་འཕྲུང་ཆེ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་མ་
 རྩེ་ལ་མོས་པ་ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་ལ་ཚུན་མོས་སློབ་ཁང་པར་བཟུང་ནས་རོ་རྩེ་ཆེན་དང་རྩེ་ལོ་
 ཅུང་མཆོད་ཅིང་ཕུར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་གམས་པ་འགའ་ཞེས་དང་ཁྱད་པར་ཅ་གན་རྩེ་ལ་དབང་ཤོག་
 གི་རྩེ་བཅིག་པ་ལང་གསོས་ཏེ་པཎ་ཌི་ཏ་ཤུ་རི་བྱ་འདུ་བུ་དང་ས་ནས་ཆོས་གཞི་རྩེ་བྱང་
 བུ་རྩེ་གསལ། བལ་པོ་དང་ལྷོ་རྩེ་དང་ལྷོ་རྩེ་གསལ་དང་ཤར་ཨར་ཁང་དང་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལས་པོ་
 ར་ལ་སོགས་ལྷ་ལྷོ་ནས་མ་གཞུང་བཟུང་པ་རྩེ་པོ།

to have been brought from India the foundation of Lamaism. Its shape is essentially that of the ordinary cap used in the colder parts of India during the winter, with lappets coming over the cap and the nape of the neck, which lappets are folded up as an outer brim to the cap in the hot part of the day. Such a cap is often worn by Indian ascetics when travelling in the winter time. It is quite probable that this kind of cap was introduced either by Padma Sambhāna, Ānti Rakṣita or Aṭiṣa (Dipaṅkara) into Tibet from Magadha. From the account of the origin of the *Pan-zva rtse riā* (called in Waddell's list *Panchen sneriā*) quoted from *Pagsam Jon-zān*, it appears that the Buddhist *Yōgis* and Pandits used caps either during their residence in the monastery or at the time of travel. It is very probable that the cap originated in Udyāna, the country from which both Padma Sambhāna and Bālapāda came. The latter or earlier Buddhist Pandits who visited Cāṭigrāma must have introduced the use of caps among the Buddhist Pandits who were called *Mahantas*. Pilgrims from Kaṣmīr and the Panjāb still visit Sitākunḍa which has been a holy place both to the Brāhmins and Buddhists from very early time. In describing *Panchen sneriā* Dr. Waddell observes:—It is only worn with these longtails by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, the Gaḥdan Khri-rinpo-chō, and the Tibetan Lama King or regent, during the assembly mass and empowering. *Pan-zva rtse riā*,¹⁴ that is the Pandits cap with long or pointed top is generally made with the top point bent a little like a thorn of a rose, symbolical of penetration and piercing.

The name Paṇḍita Vihāra and the story of disputation with the *Tirthikas* (Brāhmaṇas) goes to show that Chittagong was place of learning sixteen centuries ago if not earlier still.

¹⁴ *Pan-zva rtse riā* means the long pointed cap of the Pandits. *Pan* or *Panchen*, means great Pandite, *zva* cap, *rtse* 'point' (Skt. *agra*), and *riā* 'long.'

On the Kāçmīri Noun.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read December, 1897.]

A. Gender.

Kāçmīri nouns are either masculine or feminine. There is no neuter gender in the language. In the case of pronouns, however, there is a relic of a neuter gender, each pronoun having three forms, one, for male living beings, another, for female living beings, and a third for things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine.

The sixth part of Içvara-kaula's *Kāçmīraçabdāmṛta* deals with gender. The following rules are abstracted from it.

The feminine gender is used for the following purposes (vi. 18.) :—

(a.) To denote the female sex, *e.g.*

Masc.

Fem.

मंयुर् *mōyyur**, a male kid

मंयुर् *mōyyur**, a female kid.

बहुर् *waṭṭṭh**, a male calf

बहुर् *waṭṭṭh**, a female calf.

(b.) To denote smallness, *e.g.*

कतुर् *katur**, a large potsherd

कतुर् *katur**, a small potsherd.

(d.) To denote artificiality, *e.g.*

चाष् *ṭṣā**, a cough

चाष् *ṭṣākh**, an artificial cough,
a "hem."

(e.) To denote similarity, *e.g.*

कोथुर् *koth**, a load

कोथुर् *kwōṭṭh**, a bag.

ततुर् *tatur**, smarting (of a wound)

ततुर् *tatur**, the pain felt by an
angry person.

(f.) To denote special meanings, *e.g.*

नर् *nar**, a sleeve

नर् *nar**, an arm.

खर् *khār**, having a scald-head

खर् *khār**, the disease of scald-head.

1. Words signifying human castes or professions, form their feminines by adding बाब् *bāy* (vi. 2) [to the oblique form used in the case of compound words. *Vide post*, under that head]. [The word then means 'wife of so and so'].

Thus :—

बड् <i>baṭṭ</i> , a Brāhman	बडबाब् <i>baṭabāy</i> , a wife of a Brāhman.
दर <i>dar</i> , name of a Brāhman caste	दरबाब् <i>darabāy</i> , wife of a <i>Dar</i> .
कौल् <i>kaul</i> , name of a Brāhman caste	कौलबाब् <i>kaulabāy</i> , wife of a <i>Kaul</i> .
सब् <i>son</i> , a goldsmith	सब्बाब् <i>sonbāy</i> , the wife of a goldsmith.
खार् <i>khār</i> , a blacksmith	खारबाब् <i>khārabāy</i> , a blacksmith's wife.

We can only use this for human beings. Thus, कौतर्बाब् *kōtarbāy* means the wife of a man of the *kōtar* caste, and not the wife of a pigeon (कौतर् *kōtur*), the feminine of which is कौतर् *kōtṛ*.

Cf. No. 9.

2. When respect is not intended कळब् *kōlay* is substituted for बाब् *bāy* in the meaning of wife (vi. 3). Thus :—

बडकळब् *baṭakōlay* ;

So from

खान् <i>chān</i> , a carpenter	खानकळब् <i>chānakōlay</i> , the wife of a carpenter.
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Cf. No. 9.

(3) All words ending in *u-mātrā*, change it to *ū-mātrā* in the feminine (vi. 4), thus :—

पट् <i>paṭṭ</i> , a board	पट् <i>paṭṭ</i> , a tablet.
मब् <i>moṭ</i> , fat	मब् <i>mwaṭ</i> .
गर् <i>gar</i> , hard	गर् <i>gar</i> .
गुर् <i>gur</i> , a horse	गुर् <i>gur</i> a mare.
दब् <i>dob</i> , a washerman	दब् <i>dwab</i> , a woman who does washing. [Thus जान् दब् <i>Jān° dwab</i> , <i>Jāna</i> the washerwoman. A washerman's wife would be दब्बाब् <i>dwab'bāy</i> .]

कृक् *khar*^s, having a scald head
गूरु *gūr*^s, a cowherd

कृक् *khar*^s, the disease of scald-head.
गूरु *gūr*^s, as in कूरुन गूरु *Zūn*^s *gūr*^s,
Zūna the cowherdess. A cow-
herd's wife is गूरुबाय *gūr*^s*bāy*.

Note also words like—

कतुर *katūr*^s, a large potsherd
मंगुर *mōṅgur*^s, a male kid
ततुर *tatur*^s, smarting of a wound
बोवुर *wōvūr*^s, a weaver

कतुर *katūr*^s, a small ditto.
मंगुर *mōṅgur*^s a female kid.
ततुर *tatur*^s the pain of anger.
बोवुर *wōvūr*^s, a woman weaver.
[A weaver's wife is बोवुरबाय *wōvūr*^s*bāy*.]

गगुर *gagūr*^s, a rat

गगुर *gagūr*^s.

As in the five last examples, all words of three or more syllables omit a penultimate उ *u*, when forming the feminine (vi. 8). Cf. No. 4a.

The word कृक् *ṭṣhoṭ*^s, small, makes its feminine कृक् *ṭṣhwaṭ*^s, or कृडिक् *ṭṣhwaṭiñ* (Cf. No. 8.) The latter is only used with reference to human beings. The former is universally used (vi. 5), thus:—कृक् (or कृडिक्) कूरु *ṭṣhwaṭ*^s (or *ṭṣhwaṭiñ*) *kūr*^s, a small girl.

So also we have कृक् *khar*, an ass, feminine कृक् *khar*^s or कृरिक् *kḥariñ* (see No. 8).

(4). Words ending in कृ *l*^s, are subject to the following rules (vi. 7, 8, 29).

(a) Words of three syllables and over, ending in *ul*^s change *ul*^s to *ṭṣj*^s, thus:—

गदुक् *gātul*^s, clever
फुडुक् *phuṭul*^s, a bundle of things
tied up in a shawl, &c.
चकुक् *ṭṣakul*^s, circular
पतुक् *patul*^s, a raft
गडुक् *gōḡul*^s, a big turnip
बटुक् *ṭṣōtul*^s, a sodomite

Feminine.
गदुक् *gātṭṣj*^s.
फुडुक् *phuṭṭṣj*^s a small bundle.
चकुक् *ṭṣakṭṣj*^s.
पतुक् *patṭṣj*^s, a mat.
गडुक् *gōḡṭṣj*^s, an ordinary turnip.
बटुक् *ṭṣōṭṭṣj*^s.

बातुक् <i>wātul*</i> , a low-caste man	बातुक् <i>wāṭaj*</i> .
ढतुक् <i>ṭaṭhul*</i> , a wooden vessel	ढतुक् <i>ṭaṭhaj*</i> , a small ditto.

(b) Words ending in the suffix *बोल्* *wōl**, form the feminine in *बाब्ज* *wājēñ*, thus:—

गरबोल् <i>gar^awōl*</i> , a house-holder	गरबाब्ज <i>gar^awājēñ</i> .
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The word *बोल्* *wōl**, 'a ring' is not formed with this suffix.

(c) Other words in *l** form their feminines in *ज्ज**, thus:—

गूल् <i>gūl*</i> , a kernel	गूज्ज <i>gūjj*</i> , a small ditto.
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Words in *बोल्* *ōl** change *बो* *ō* to *बा* *ā*, thus:—

बोल् <i>wōl*</i> , a small ring	बाब्ज <i>wājēñ*</i> , a small ditto.
मोल् <i>mōl*</i> , a father	माब्ज <i>mājēñ*</i> , a mother.
टरोल् <i>ṭerōl*</i> , watchman	ट्राब्ज <i>ṭerājēñ*</i> .

Irregular is—

दुल् <i>ḍul*</i> , a large bowl	दुलिजि <i>ḍulij*</i> , a small ditto.
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(5) Words ending in *कु* *k**, *ख्* *kh**, *गु* *g** (and also in *क* *k*, *ख* *kh*, *ग* *g*; but no examples are given) change *क* *k* to *क्* *c*, *ख* *kh* to *च* *ch*, and *ग* *g* to *ज्* *j* (vi. 9), thus:—

Feminine.

बातुक् <i>batuk*</i> , a drake	बातुक् <i>bat^cc*</i> , a duck.
होक् <i>hokh*</i> , dry	होक् <i>hwach*</i> .
धुंगु <i>dyūṅg*</i> , a ball of string	धुंगु <i>ḍijj*</i> , a small ditto.

The vowel changes are those prescribed in the declension of nouns.

İçvara-kaula occasionally spells *बातुक्* *bat^cc** *बातुक्* *bat^cc*.

Exceptions are (vi. 10.)

खुक् <i>khākh*</i> , one who speaks through	खुक् <i>khākh*</i> .
his nose.	

तुक् <i>ṭok*</i> , sour	तुक् <i>ṭwək*</i> .
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(6) Words in *t*, *th*, *d*, or *n*, with or without *u-mātrā*, change *t* to *ṭ*, *th* to *ṭh*, *d* to *ḍ*, and *n* to *ṇ*. As usual, *ū-mātrā* is omitted, in writing, after *ṇ*, (vi. 11.)

मत् <i>mat^s</i> , mad	मṭ <i>matṣ^s</i> .
कोत् <i>koth^s</i> , a load	कोṭ <i>kwotṭh^s</i> , a bag.
वरद् <i>wōrud^s</i> , a second husband of one woman.	वरṅ <i>wōr^sṅ^s</i> , a woman who has married twice.
वन् <i>wan</i> , a forest	वण् <i>waṇ</i> , a grove.
गान् <i>gān</i> , a brothel-keeper	गण् <i>gāṇ</i> , a prostitute.
चान् <i>chān</i> , a carpenter	चण् <i>chāṇ</i> , as in चण् चण् <i>Zūn^s chāṇ</i> , Zūna the carpentress.
हून् <i>hūn^s</i> , a dog	हूण् <i>hūṇ</i> , a bitch.

(7) Certain words form their feminines by adding *r* with various other changes, thus:—

Feminine.

कङ् <i>kaṅg</i> , a brazier	कङ्गर् <i>kāṅg^r</i> , a small ditto (vi. 12.)
चास् <i>ṭāṣ</i> , a cough	चास्कर् <i>ṭāṣk^r</i> , an artificial cough, (vi. 13.)
वक् <i>trāk^h</i> , a certain grain weight	वक्कर् <i>trak^r</i> , a scale, (vi. 14.)
मण्ड् <i>maṇḍ^s</i> , a log	मण्डर् <i>māṇḍ^r</i> , a small log (vi. 15.)
फोत् <i>phoṭ^s</i> , a basket	फोत्कर् <i>phoṭ^r</i> , a small basket (vi. 16.)
लात् <i>laṭ^s</i> , a tail	लात्कर् <i>laṭ^r</i> , a small tail, कुटि लात्कर् <i>kūṭi laṭ^r</i> , a piece of wood cut off the end of a beam.
वाप् <i>waṭṭh^s</i> , a male calf	वाप्कर् <i>waṭṭh^r</i> , a female calf.

(8) Certain words form their feminines in *r* *iṅ* (vi. 16–27), thus:—

Feminine.

हस्त् <i>haṣṭ^s</i> , an elephant	हस्तिण् <i>haṣṭiṅ</i> .
काव् <i>kāv</i> , a crow	काविण् <i>kāviṅ</i> .
नाग् <i>nāg</i> , a snake.	नानिण् <i>nāgiṅ</i> .

वृत् *wūth*, a camel

वृत्तिन् *wūthiñ*.

खर् *khar*, an ass

खरिन् *khariñ*, (see No. 3) or खर् *khār^s*.

And so other words signifying animals.

वृत् *vyāth^s*, stout

वृत् *vyāth^s*, stout, but वृत्तिन् *vūthiñ* (in a bad sense) stout, fat.

गुत् *gūth^s*, stupid

गुत्तिन् *gūthiñ*.

बट *bōt^s*, a Tibetan

बटिन् *bōtiñ*, (बुटिन् *butiñ*), or बटबाय *bōtabāy*, a Tibetan woman.

बुगिय *bugiy*, a master

बुगिन् *bugiñ*, a mistress.

ज़ल *zal*, water

ज़लिन् *zaliñ*, sweat of the feet.

गर *gar^s*, a house

गरिन् *gariñ*, a good mistress of a house; distinct from गर्बाय *gar^swājēñ*, a female householder (see No. 9.)

दब *dōb^s*, a washerman

दबिन् *dwabiñ*, a washerman's club, but दबिबाय *dwab^sbāy*, a washerman's wife.

(9) Certain nouns take अन् *añ* in the feminine (vi. 28.)

(a) Names of castes.

Note that बाय *bāy* (No. 1) is used as a feminine of respect; कृतय *kōtay* (No. 2) is only used of a married woman, when spoken of in connexion with her husband, and without respect; while अन् *añ* is a general feminine, without signifying respect, thus:—

बट *bat^s*, a Brāhman,

बटन् *batāñ*, a woman of that caste.

मुसलमान् *musalmān*, a Musalmān

मुसलमानन् *musalmānañ*, a Muhammadan woman.

हाकपाय *hākagrākh*, a vegetable seller.

हाकपायन् *hākagrākañ*.

बोय *wōñ^s*, a shopkeeper

बायन् *wāñyañ*, a female shopkeeper.

So also all nouns with the suffix **बोल्** *wōl*^s, (vi. 29) as given in No.

4 (b). Thus :—

गरबोल् *gar^swōl*^s, a householder **गरबाब्यल्** *gar^swājēñ*.

See also No. 8.

(10) If the masculine word ends in **र्** then the suffix is **ब्यल्** *ñ* (vi. 30), thus (see Secondary Suffixes No. 39.)

Feminine.

सालर् *sāl^r*, a member of bridegroom's party. **साल्येल्** *sāl^rrēñ*.

पहरर् *pōhar*, an invited guest **पहयेल्** *pōharēñ*.

रंगर् *rang^r*, a dyer **रंग्येल्** *rang^rrēñ*.

सन्डर् *sōn^r*, a goldsmith **सन्डेल्** *sōn^rrēñ*.

दाँडर् *dāḍ^r*, a vegetable seller **दाँडेल्** *dāḍ^rrēñ*.

काँडर् *kāḍ^r*, a baker **काँडेल्** *kāḍ^rrēñ*.

So also we have—

सोन् *soñ^s*, a co-father-in-law **सोनेल्** *sōñēñ*.

महाराज् *mahārāj^s*, a great king **महारेल्** *mahārēñ*, the wife of a great king, a bride.

राज् *rāj^s*, a king **राज्येल्** *rājyārēñ*, a queen.

(11) Finally we have **ब्यल्** *ñ* in the following (vi. 31):—

पंडित् *paṇḍīth*, a paṇḍit **पंडितेल्** *paṇḍīthēñ*.

गुजुर् *gujur^s*, a forester **गुजारेल्** *gujarāñ*.

(12) Irregular is (vi. 18)—

मक् *māk^h*, an axe **मक्येल्** *māk^htē*, a small axe.

B. Number.

Kāçmiri, has two numbers, a Singular and a Plural. There is no Dual number. The method of forming the plural will appear from the Declensional Paradigms.

C. Case.

Kāçmiri nouns have, besides the Nominative, two inflected cases the Accusative, and the Agent. Other so-called cases are formed by the addition of postpositions to one of these two. The following are the cases given by Içvara-kaula.

Formed from the Accusative :—

Genitive,
Locative 1,
Dative 1,
Concomitant.

Formed from the Agent :—

Instrumental,
Locative 2,
Dative 2,
Ablative.

There is no Vocative, but, in case of address, a noun assumes a variety of forms which will be dealt with later on.

There are thus, excluding the Nominative, ten cases.

I now proceed to deal with each case separately.

Accusative.

The Accusative has two forms, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is always the same as the nominative (ii. i. 39.)

In the masculine singular, the longer form always ends in *s*. In the feminine it ends in *a*, *ç*, *i*, or *ū-mātrā* (36–40). When the longer form of the accusative singular ends in *i*, that *i* is always fully pronounced. Thus मालि *māli*, not मलि *māl'*. In the plural it always ends in *n* (12, 38).

Genitive.

The Genitive is formed by various affixes, added to the long form of the accusative.

In the case of masculine nouns, the *s* of the accusative singular is dropped before the termination, and the final vowel so left is pronounced short, as a *mātrā* vowel. Thus from दय *day*, God: acc. sg. दयस् *dayas*; gen. sing. दय सन्द *day^s sand^s*: acc. pl. दयन् *dayan*; gen. plur. दयन् सन्द *dayan hand^s*.

So from गुर् *gur^s*, a horse: acc. sg. गुरिस् *guris*; gen. sg., गुरि सन्द *gur^s sand^s*: acc. pl. गुयन् *guryan*; gen. pl. गुयन् सन्द *guryan hand^s*.

The word with its genitive affix is treated as an adjective agreeing with the object possessed in gender and number.

Thus मलि सन्द मयिन् *māl' sand^s nēciv^s*, the son of the father.

मलि सन्दि मयिनि *māl' sand^s necir^s*, the sons of the father.

माँलि सङ्गु कूर *māl' saṅg' kūr'*, the daughter of the father.

माँलि सङ्गु कोर *māl' saṅg' kōr'*, the daughters of the father.

Moreover this genitive may even be treated as an independent base, and be regularly declined, with case affixes added to it.

Thus from मोलु *mōl'*, a father, the genitive masculine is माँलि सङ्गु *māl' saṅg'*, which may be declined like a masculine noun in *u-mātrā*, with a dative माँलि सङ्गि पुङ्गु *māl' saṅgi puṅg'*, which can be used instead of the simple dative माँलि पुङ्गु *māl' puṅg'*. Indeed the dative formed from the genitive is in the case of this word the usual one, and the simple dative is scarcely used (ii. i. 61, 62, 63, 64).

The following are the affixes used to form the genitive:—

A. Masculine nouns with life which are not proper names take

(a) in the singular, सङ्गु *saṅg'*, *E.g.*, दय सङ्गु *day' saṅg'*, of God (46).

(b) in the plural, सङ्गु *saṅg'*, *E.g.*, दयन् सङ्गु *dayan saṅg'*, of Gods (42).

B. All feminine nouns without exception take सङ्गु *saṅg'*, both in the singular, and in the plural. *E.g.*, ब्यन सङ्गु *bēñ' saṅg'*, of the sister; ब्यनन् सङ्गु *bēñan saṅg'*, of the sisters; पोथ्य सङ्गु *pōth' saṅg'*, of the book; पोथ्यन् सङ्गु *pōthyan saṅg'*, of the books (42).

C. Masculine nouns without life take.

(a) In the singular उक् *uk'*, (48) before which *a* is elided (i. 4), and *i* becomes *y* (i. 10). While when it follows *ū-mātrā*, the *u* of *uk'* is elided (i. 5). *E.g.*, अकुक् *dyakuk'*, of a forehead; कुल्युक् *kulyuk'*, of a tree; दान्क *dān'k'*, of a pomegranate.

(b) In the plural, the termination is सङ्गु *saṅg'*, as above; *e.g.*, अकन् सङ्गु *dyakan saṅg'*, of foreheads.

EXCEPTION.—The words सन *son*, gold, and रेष *rōp*, silver, take the termination सङ्गु *saṅg'* in the singular, when the genitive is used in the sense of 'composed of.' *E.g.*, सन सङ्गु चथर *son' saṅg' chath'r*, an umbrella of gold, a golden umbrella. सनुक् चथर *sonuk' chath'r*, would mean an umbrella belonging to gold,—a possessive genitive in fact (ii. i. 47).

NOTE.—When a genitive in उक् *uk** is treated as a declensional base, the उ *u* becomes अ *a* in the oblique cases (64). Thus पट् *paṭ**, a woollen cloth. Gen. sg. पयुक् *paṭyuk**: Dative, पटि पुष् *paṭi puṣṭhy* or पयकि पुष् *paṭeki* (spelled *paṭyaki*) *puṣṭhy*.

D. Masculine nouns which are proper names form their genitive singular in उन् *un**, which is treated exactly like उक् *uk**, (50). E.g., राधाकृष्णन् *Rādhākṛṣṇan** of Rādhākṛṣṇa: राधाकृष्णनि पुष् *Rādhākṛṣṇani puṣṭhy*, for Rādhākṛṣṇa.

The plural is formed regularly with हन् *han**, e.g. रामन् हन् *Rāman han**, of (many) Rāmas.

It will thus be seen that the suffix of the genitive of all plural nouns, and of all feminine nouns is हन् *han**.

When the thing possessed is feminine singular, or masculine or feminine plural, the following changes in the genitive affixes occur:—

THING POSSESSED IN THE

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
सन् <i>ṣand*</i>	सन् <i>ṣanz*</i> (46, 44)	सन् <i>ṣand*</i> (46, 43)	सन् <i>ṣanz*</i> (46, 45)
हन् <i>ḥand*</i>	हन् <i>ḥanz*</i> (44)	हन् <i>ḥand*</i> (43)	हन् <i>ḥanz*</i> (45)
उक् <i>uk*</i>	उक् <i>uḥ*</i> (49)	कि <i>kḥ*</i> (48)	अ <i>aḥ*</i> (49)
उन् <i>un*</i>	अन् <i>ṅ*</i> (51)	नि <i>nḥ*</i> (50)	अन् <i>ṅḥ*</i> (51)

Examples in order as:—

मालि सन् न्यचिषु *mālḥ ṣand* nēcyuṣ*, the son of the father.

मालि सन् कूर *mālḥ ṣanz* kūr**, the daughter of the father.

1 So written by Içvara-kaṇa. अ *aḥ* would be more correct, but, अ *a* being a palatal letter, there is practically no difference in the pronunciation.

- मासि सन्नि अचिवि *māl' sand' nēcivī*, the sons of the father.
 मासि सन्नि कोर्ये *māl' sanz' kōrē*, the daughters of the father.
 मास्यन् हन्द् गुर *mālyan hānd' gur*, the horse of the fathers.
 मास्यन् हन्ज् गुर *mālyan hānz' gur*, the mare of the fathers.
 मास्यन् हन्नि गुरि *mālyan hānd' gurī*, the horses of the fathers.
 मास्यन् हन्ज् गुर्ये *mālyan hānz' gurē*, the mares of the fathers.
 कुल्युक् चंग् *kulyuk' langg*, a bough of a tree.
 कुलिक् चण्ड *kulic' laṇḍ'*, a twig of a tree.
 कुलिकि चंग् *kulik' langg*, the boughs of the tree.
 कुलिक् चञ्जा *kulic' laṅjē*, the twigs of the tree.
 रामुन् अचिवि *Rāmun' nēchyuv*, Rāma's son.
 रामन् कुक् *Rāmañ kūr'*, Rāma's daughter.
 रामनि अचिवि *Rāmañ' nēcivi*, Rāma's sons.
 रामन् कोर्ये *Rāmañ' kōrē*, Rāma's daughters.

Locative, 1.

There are two forms of the Locative. The first I shall call Loc. 1. It has the meaning indicated by its postpositions.

This Locative is formed by adding the postpositions *अन्दर् andar* (ii. i. 52), in; *मन्नु manz* (52), in; *अत् pyāth* (52), upon; *क्यथ् kyāth* (53), in; to the longer form of the Accusative. In Poetry, *वेच vēç'* is also used in the sense of 'upon' (52). Thus *बुल् mūl*, a root; Acc. sg. *बुलस् mūlas*; Loc. sg. *बुलस् अन्दर् mūlas andar*; *बुलस् मन्नु mūlas manz*, in a root; *बुलस् अत् mūlas pyāth*, on a root; Acc. pl. *बुलन् mūlan*; *बुलन् अन्दर् mūlan andar*, in roots.

The postposition *क्यथ् kyāth* can only be used with words which mean a receptacle. Thus we can say *थालस् क्यथ् thālas kyāth*, in a dish; or even *नावि क्यथ् nāvi kyāth*, in a boat; but we cannot say *गरस् क्यथ् garas kyāth*, in a house or *बुलस् क्यथ् mūlas kyāth*, in a root, because a house, or a root, are not used as receptacles for putting things into.

क्यथ् *kyāth* can also be used with any word signifying a means of conveyance, and it must then sometimes be translated by 'on.' Thus गुरिस् क्यथ् *guris kyāth*, or गुरिस् षड् *guris pyāṭh*, on horseback.

Loc. 2 will be dealt with subsequently.

Dative, 1.

There are two forms of the Dative, one formed by adding postpositions to the Accusative, the other by adding postpositions to the Instrumental. The first I shall call Dat. 1, the second, Dat. 2. The Dat. 2, will be subsequently dealt with.

Dat. 1 is formed by adding the postposition कित् *kyut*^o, for, to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 54, 55). The compound thus formed, agrees in number and gender with the thing given, the word 'given' being taken in its widest sense to agree with the original meaning of the name of the case. The following are the forms which कित् *kyut*^o takes :—

Sing. Masc. कित् *kit*^o (*kyut*^o)

Fem. कित् *kite*^o

Pl. Masc. किति *kit*^o

Fem. कित् *kite*^o

Thus माहिस् कित् चतुन् पोष् *māhis kyut^o anun pōṣh*, he brought water (masc. sg.) for the father.

माहिस् कित् चतुन् माष् *māhis kite^o an^on gāv*, he brought a cow (fem. sg.) for the father.

गुरिस् किति चविन् रव *guris kit^o anin rav^o*, he brought blankets (masc. pl.) for the horse.

ग्वरष् कित् चप्पान् पोष् *gōras kite^o añyan pōṭhā*, he brought books (fem. pl.) for the teacher.

Concomitant.

This case is used in the sense of 'with,' or 'accompanying.' It is formed by adding the postpositions इतिन् *sutin* or इत् *suty* to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 60). Thus माहिस् इतिन् चाष्

mālis sptin āv, he came with his father; बा॒यिस् अ॒त्सू॒ ब॒यिस् स॒प्टि म्यूल॑*, he met with his brother; मा॒य्यन् अ॒तिन् *mālyan sptin*, with the fathers.

In this case it is always implied that the person who is accompanied is the principal and he who accompanies, is the appendage (iv. 185).

Thus 'he came with his father' means here that he came in a subordinate character (iv. 185).

If it is wished to reverse the superiority of the parties we must use the word सान् *sān*. Thus मा॒यिस् सान् बा॒य् *mālis sān āv*, he came with his father, means 'he brought his father along with him.' If अ॒तिन् *sptin* had been used, it would have meant that the father brought the son along with him (iv. 185).

Agent.

The case of the Agent is formed in the Singular as follows:—

- (1) In the case of Masc. nouns ending in consonants by adding अन् *an*; thus द॒य् *day*, God; Ag. sg. द॒यन् *dayan*. In the older forms of the language the suffix was र् : e.g., द॒यि द॒य् *dayi day*, by God it was said, God said. The modern phrase would be द॒यन् द॒य् *dayan day* (ii. i. 58).
- (2) In the case of Masculine nouns (except pronouns) ending in *a*, the same suffixes appear. Thus from अ॒क *dyak^a*, a forehead; Ag. sg. अ॒कन् *dyakan*, or (old) अ॒कि *dyakⁱ* (58). Pronouns take *i-mātrā* in the maso. sg., e.g., त॒मि *tamⁱ*, by him, (58).
- (3) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in *u-mātrā*, *i-mātrā* is substituted for *u-mātrā*. Thus, क॒र् *kar^a*, a bracelet; Ag. sg. क॒रि *karⁱ* (56).
- (4) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in *ū-mātrā*, by adding न् *n*; e.g., from द॒ान् *dān^a*, a pomegranate; Ag. sg. द॒ान् *dānⁿ*. [Içvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent of these nouns, but the above is the correct form.]
- (5) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in *a*, by substituting *i* (which is fully pronounced, and not *i-mātrā*) for *a*: e.g.,

from ब्यञ्ज *bhññ* (spelled *byañ^a*), a sister; Ag. sg. ब्यञ्जि *bhññi* (56).

- (6) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in *i-mātrā* or *ū-mātrā*, a fully pronounced *i* is substituted for the *i-mātrā* or *ū-mātrā*: e.g., from पूथि *pūthi*, a book; Ag. sg. पोथि *pōthi*. So from कूर *kūr*, a girl; Ag. sg. कोरि *kōri* (56).

- (7) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in consonants, by adding a fully pronounced *i*: e.g., from माळ *māl* a garland, माळि *māli* (56). The irregular nouns, however, which end in *t*, *th*, *d*, *n*, *h*, and *l*, add *ū-mātrā*: e.g., from रात् *rāt*, night; Ag. sg. रात्तू *rāttū*. [This last rule is not expressly stated by Içvara-kaula, but may be inferred from *sūtra* 7, read with *sūtra* 17.]

The Agent plural is formed by adding *au* (56). Before this, *a* is elided, and *i-mātrā* and *u-mātrā* become *y*. After *ū-mātrā* (except in the case of Feminine nouns in *ū-mātrā*, in which *y* is substituted) *au* becomes *v* (20). Examples are:—

From	Ag. Plural.
दय् <i>day</i> , God	दयो <i>dayau</i>
द्यक् <i>dyak</i> , the forehead	द्यको <i>dyakau</i>
कर् <i>kar</i> , a bracelet	करो <i>karyau</i>
दान् <i>dān</i> , a pomegranate	दान्व् <i>dān^v</i>
ब्यञ्ज <i>bhññ</i> (<i>byañ^a</i>), a sister	ब्यञ्जो <i>bhññau</i>
पूथि <i>pūthi</i> , a book	पोथो <i>pōthyau</i>
कूर <i>kūr</i> , a girl	कोरो <i>kōryau</i>
माळ <i>māl</i> , a garland	माळो <i>mālau</i>
रात् <i>rāt</i> , night	रात्तू <i>rāttū^v</i>

When postpositions are added to the agent of masculine nouns ending in consonants or *a*, the *n* of the Agent singular is dropped. Thus, from मूल *mūl*, Ag. sg. मूलन् *mūlan*; Instr. मूल् *mūl^v* *sp̄tin*, not मूलन् *mūlan^v* *sp̄tin* (4). [The same rule applies to masculines in *ū-mātrā*, though not stated by Içvara-kaula.]

Instrumental.

The Instrumental is formed by adding कृतिन् *sṭin* or कृत्य *sṭy* to the Agent, the final *n* of Masculine nouns in consonants, *a*, or *ū-mātrā* being elided, (ii. i. 4, 59). Thus—

बुक् *mūl*, a root; Ag. sg. बुकन् *mūlan*; Instr. sg. बुक् कृतिन् *mūl^ssṭin*, by means of a root; Ag. pl. बुक्खो *mūlau*; Instr. pl. बुक्खो कृतिन् *mūlau sṭin*.

When कृतिन् *sṭin* follows *i-mātrā*, the *i* is fully pronounced (6). Thus कर् *kar^s*, a bracelet; Ag. sg. करि *karⁱ*; Instr. sg. करि कृतिन् *kari sṭin*.

This case can also be formed by adding the same postposition to the agent case of the masculine genitive treated as an independent base, as explained above (61). Thus बक *dyak^s*, a forehead; masc. gen. sg. बकुक् *dyakuk^s*; Agent of ditto, बककि *dyakakⁱ*; Instr. बक कृतिन् *dyak^ssṭin* or बककि कृतिन् *dyakaki sṭin*.

So from गुर *gur^s*, a horse. Ag. sg. गुरि *guri*; Gen. Sg. गुरि सन्द *gurⁱ sand^s*; Instr. गुरि कृतिन् *guri sṭin*, or गुरि सन्दि कृतिन् *gurⁱ sandi sṭin*.

Locative 2.

The Locative 2 has the meaning of 'from in,' and is formed by adding the postposition अन्द् *andr^s* to the Agent, (*n* being dropped in the case of masculines in consonants, and *a*, and *ū-mātrā*.) Thus, from गर *gar^s*, a house; Ag. sg. गरन् *garan*; Loc. 2, sg. गर अन्द् *gar^s andr^s*, from in the house; ag. pl. गरौ *garau*; Loc. 2, pl. गरौ अन्द् *garau andr^s*, (ii. i. 57).

Examples of the use of this case are गर अन्द् बन् *gar^s andr^s an* bring out from the house, lit. bring from in the house.

गर अन्द् चुक् जान् छौक *gar^s andar^s chuh jān lāk^s*, among the people in (lit. from in) the house, (only) so and so is good.

गरौ अन्द् चुक् जान् छौगुन् *garau andr^s chuh jān āgun*, the only good thing in the houses is the court-yard.

This form can only be used in the meaning called in Skr. *nirdhāraṇā*, i.e., in words meaning जाति *jāti*, a species (including all plurals); गुण *guṇa*, a quality; क्रिया *kriyā*, an act; संज्ञा *sañjñā*, an appellation; and means that one of several is taken.

आत्या मुषेन क्रियया संज्ञया वा श्यक्त्तः ।

सब्रह्मादेकदेशस्य निर्धारणमिति कुतश्च ।

Examples:—

Species. A Brāhmaṇa is the best amongst men.

Quality. Amongst cows a black one gives most milk.

Action. Amongst men who go, he who runs is the swiftest.

Appellation. Amongst the pupils Maitra is the cleverest. See Siddhānta Kaumudī (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) I, 311. In all the above "amongst" means "from among."

It is evident that the form can hardly ever be used except in the plural. In the paradigms, singular forms are given for the sake of completeness, but it is doubtful if they can be used in that number.

Dative 2.

According to Īçvara-kaula, this form is only used to a moderate extent (*sāmānya*) (ii. i. 63). It is in fact rarely used. It has the same meaning as the Dat. 1. It is formed by adding पुञ् *puñshy* to the Agent, or (as has been explained under the head of the Instrumental) to the Agent case of the Genitive. Before पुञ् *puñshy*, as in the case of सृतिन् *sṛtin*, *i-mātrā* is fully pronounced. Thus,—पुत्र पुञ् *putr^o puñshy*, or पुत्र सन्दि पुञ् *putr^o sandi puñshy*.

Ablative.

The Ablative is formed from the Agent by adding the postpositions एत *pyath^o*, literally from on, hence, from near; निज *niç^o*, from near; अन् *andr^o*, from among, from in (ii. i. 65).

Thus, ग्राम एत *gām^o pyath^o*, from the village; गावो एत *gāmau pyath^o* from the villages; सर्पैर् निज *sarpau niç^o*, from the serpents; गृह अन् *gṛh^o andr^o drāv*, he came out from the house; नावि अन् *nāvi andr^o drāv*, he came out from the boat, (65).

[Masculine living beings can also add these postpositions, in the singular only, to the longer form of the Accusative. Thus चूरुष् निम् *čūras niç°*, from the thief; गुरिष् निम् *guris niç°*, from the horse.]

The ablative of comparison is formed with the postpositions खत *khöt°* or खतन् *khötan*, निम् *niç°* or निमिन् *niçin*, which are added either to the agent direct, or to the Agent case of the Genitive treated as a base. In the case of some words, e.g., गुरु *gōr*, a teacher, only the latter idiom is used.

E.g., गुरु सन्दि खत चुरु मातुलु *gōr° sandi khöt° chuh gāṭul°*, he is more clever than the teacher. We cannot say गुरु खत *gōr° khöt°*. कक सन्दि (or कक) खत चुरु चकुर *kañ° handi (or kuñ°) khöt° chuh trakur°*, he is harder than a stone; रोपु निम् चुरु सन् जान *rōp° niç° chuh sōn jān*, gold is better than silver (ii. i. 62).

D. Declension.

Kāçmīri nouns have four declensions.

The first declension consists of masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in अ *a*, or in इ *ū-mātrā*. The base in this declension ends in *a*.

The second declension consists of masculine nouns ending in उ *u-mātrā*. The base in this declension ends in *i*.

The third declension consists of feminine nouns ending in ए *i-mātrā*, ए *ū-mātrā*, or ए *ñ*. The last is only another way of writing ए *ñ*. It may be considered as the feminine form of the 2nd declension.

The base in this declension also ends in *i*, and this declension is closely connected with the second, as feminine and masculine.

The fourth declension consists of feminine nouns ending in a consonant or in अ *a*. Certain feminine nouns of this declension ending in a consonant, are irregular, and form a class by themselves.

There are thus two masculine, and two feminine declensions.

FIRST DECLENSION.

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in अ a, or in ङ ū-mātrā.

(a). Noun ending in a consonant.

चूर tsūr, a thief.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	चूर tsūr (ii. i. 3).	चूर tsūr (3).
Acc.	चूरस् tsūras (36, 38). चूर tsūr (39).	चूरम् tsūran (13, 38). चूर tsūr (39).
Gen.	चूर सन्दु tsūr° sand° (41, 42, 45).	चूरम् सन्दु tsūran hand° (42).
Loc. 1.	चूरस्य षट् tsūras pyāṭh (52), &c.	चूरम् षट् tsūran pyāṭh (52), &c.
Dat. 1.	चूरस् कित्तु tsūras kyut° (54, 55).	चूरम् कित्तु tsūran kyut° (54, 55).
Concom.	चूरस् छतिम् tsūras sṭin (60).	चूरम् छतिम् tsūran sṭin (60).
Agent.	चूरम् tsūran (58). चूरि tsūr° (58) (obso- lete).	चूरी tsūrau (56).
Instr.	चूर छतिम् tsūr° sṭin (6, 59). चूर सन्दि छतिम् tsūr° sandi sṭin (61).	चूरी छतिम् tsūrau sṭin (59). चूरम् सन्दि छतिम् tsūran handi sṭin (61).
Loc. 2.	(चूर सन्दु tsūr° andr°) (4, 57).	चूरी सन्दु tsūrau andr° (57).
Dat. 2.	चूर पुष्प tsūr° putshy (63). चूर सन्दि पुष्प tsūr° sandi putshy (63).	चूरी पुष्प tsūrau putshy (63). चूरम् सन्दि पुष्प tsūran handi putshy (63).
Abl.	चूर निम्न tsūr° niç° (65). [or चूरस् निम्न tsūras niç°].	चूरी निम्न tsūrau niç° (65).

Similarly are declined दय् *day*, God; काव् *kāv*, a crew; सन् *son*, gold; रैप् *rōp*, silver; पुप् *puṭr*, a son; वथर् *wath^{er}*, a leaf; तमुल् *tōmul*, husked rice; हार् *hār*, name of a month, Āṣāḍha; मंज् *mōjg*, name of a grain, *phaseolus mungī*; माज् *māj*, name of a month, Māgha; दध् *dōh*, a day; नाज् *nāj*, a spring; कट् *kaṭ* [nom. sg. and pl. कट् *kāṭh* (66)], a ram; रत् *rat* [nom. sg. and pl. रत् *rāth*, (66)], blood; पोप् *pōṣ*, a flower; वाल् *wāl*, hair; गल् *gal*, the cheek; गोर् *gōr*, a preceptor, a Brāhman.

Numerals take *i* instead of *a* in the Agent and connected cases, e.g., सति सतिन् *sati sṭin*, by sevens (ii. i. 5).

If a noun ends in उर् *ur* [or उन् *un*], the *u* is changed to *a* in all cases except the nominative singular, e.g., वाँदुर् *wāḍur*, a monkey; nom. pl. वाँदुर् *wāḍar*; instr. वाँदुरो सतिन् *wāḍarau sṭin* (32). [So infinitives like करन् *karun*; acc. करनम् *karanaṣ*].

If in the case of masculine nouns of the first declension the final consonant is preceded by the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō*, in all cases of the plural except the nominative, but remains unchanged in the singular and in the nominative plural. The following masculine words ending in consonants do not, however, change this *ū* (35).

मूल् *mūl*, a root.

लूदरुर् *lūd^{er}*, eagerly desirous.

चूल् *chūl*, a cascade.

लूबरुर् *lūb^{er}*, eagerly desirous.

दूस् *dūs*, a stout club.

वूदुर् *wūṭ* (nom. sg. वूदुर् *wūṭh*, 66), a camel.

बूत् *būt* (nom. sg. बूत् *būth*, 66),
a ghost.

हूर् *hūr*, ashes.

रूद् *rūd*, rain.

हूस् *hūs*, an uproar.

[चूर् *ṭūr*, a thief], and others.

लूक् *lūk* (nom. sg. लूक् *lūkh*, 66), people.

Thus from मूल् *mūl*, acc. pl. मूलन् *mūlan*, not मोलन् *mōlan*.

If a masculine noun ends in क् *k*, च् *ch*, त्स् *ts*, ट् *t*, त्त् *t*, or प् *p*, this final consonant is aspirated in the nom. sg. and pl. (66); thus:—

	Nom. sg. and pl.
त्रक् <i>trak</i> , a certain grain measure.	त्रक् <i>trākh</i> .
कात् <i>kāts</i> , glass, a disease of the chest.	कात् <i>kāṭh</i> .
कट् <i>kaṭ</i> , a ram.	कट् <i>kāth</i> .
रत् <i>rat</i> , blood.	रत् <i>rāth</i> .
हत् <i>hat</i> , a hundred.	हत् <i>hāth</i> .
ताप् <i>tāp</i> , sunshine.	ताप् <i>tāph</i> .

The aspiration is very faintly heard, being a final letter, but it affects the preceding vowel. The aspiration does not occur in the other cases; e.g., त्रक् सूतिन् *trak^o sūtin* (instr.); कात् सूतिन् *kāts^o sūtin*; कट् पुष् *kaṭ^o puṣṭhy* (dat. 2); तापस् यद् *tāpas pyāṭh* (loc.).

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t* or च् *ts* forms part of a compound consonant (even when a short ^o is introduced between them to aid pronunciation) (68); thus:—

सृत् *s^ots*, a tailor (Elmslie, *sūts*); nom. sg. and pl. सृत् *s^ots*, not सृत् *s^oṭh*.

मस् *mast*, hair; nom. sg. and pl. मस् *mast*, not मस् *māsth*.

The word ब्याक् *byākh*, another (2, 3, 24), becomes बिच् *biy* in all cases except the nom. sg., and is partially declined like a noun ending in *u-mātrā* (2nd declension); thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	ब्याक् <i>byākh</i>	बिच् <i>biy</i> .
Acc.	बिचिच् <i>biyis</i> .	बिचन् <i>biyan</i> .
Ag.	बिचि <i>biy^t</i> .	बिचौ <i>biyau</i> .

The Fem. Ag. is बिचि *biyi*. In other forms it is the same as the Masc. This is really a compound word: made up of बि *bi*, other, and च् *kh*, one. The oblique forms are made up of the base बि *bi*, together with the emphatic particle च् *y*, which accounts for the apparent irregularities. बि *bi* is of the 2nd declension.

Noun ending in *a*.बक *dyak^a* a forehead.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	बक <i>dyak^a</i> (ii. i. 1).	बक <i>dyak^a</i> (1).
Acc.	बकस् <i>dyakas</i> (38). बक <i>dyak^a</i> (39).	बकन् <i>dyakan</i> (38). बक <i>dyak^a</i> (39).
Gen.	बकुक <i>dyakuk^a</i> (41, 42).	बकन् बन्द् <i>dyakan hand^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	बकस् यद् <i>dyakas pyāth</i> , &c., (52, 53).	बकन् यद् <i>dyakan pyāth</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	बकस् कित् <i>dyakas kyut^a</i> (54, 55).	बकन् कित् <i>dyakan kyut^a</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	बकस् सूतिन् <i>dyakas sūtin</i> (60).	बकन् सूतिन् <i>dyakan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	बकन् <i>dyakan</i> (i. 5a) or बकि <i>ḍākⁱ</i> (obsolete) (58; i. 4).	बकौ <i>dyakau</i> (56; i. 4).
Instr.	बक सूतिन् <i>dyak^a sūtin</i> (6, 59). बककि सूतिन् <i>dyakaki</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).	बकौ सूतिन् <i>dyakau sūtin</i> (59). बकन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>dyakan handi</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	बक बन्द् <i>dyak^a andr^a</i> (4, 57).	बकौ बन्द् <i>dyakau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	बक पुष् <i>dyak^a putshy</i> (63). बककि पुष् <i>dyakaki</i> <i>putshy</i> (67).	बकौ पुष् <i>dyakau putshy</i> (63). बकन् हन्दि पुष् <i>dyakan handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	बक निग् <i>dyak^a niç^a</i> (65).	बकौ निग् <i>dyakau niç^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined गर *gar^a*, a house; बाह *dth^a*, a hand; दास *dāñç*, rice; बत *bat^a*, boiled rice.

(c). Noun ending in द्दान्-mātrā.

दान् *dān^a*, a pomegranate.

Nom.	दान् <i>dān^a</i> (ii. i. 2).	दान् <i>dān^a</i> (2).
Acc.	दान्स् <i>dān^as</i> (38).	दान्स् <i>dān^an</i> (31, 13, 33).
	दान् <i>dān^a</i> (39).	दान् <i>dān^a</i> (39).
Gen.	दान्क् <i>dān^ak^a</i> (41, 48).	दान्क् <i>dān^an hand^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	दान्स् यद् <i>dān^as pyāth</i> , &c. (52, 53).	दान्स् यद् <i>dān^an pyāth</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	दान्स् कित् <i>dān^as kyut^a</i> (54, 55).	दान्स् कित् <i>dān^an kyut^a</i> (54, 55)
Concom.	दान्स् खतिन् <i>dān^as sptin</i> (60).	दान्स् खतिन् <i>dān^an sptin</i> (60).
Agent.	दान्स् <i>dān^an</i> .	दान्स् <i>dān^av</i> (20, 31, 56).
Instr.	दान् खतिन् <i>dān^a sptin</i> (59).	दान् खतिन् <i>dān^av sptin</i> (59).
	दान्कि खतिन् <i>dān^aki</i> <i>sptin</i> (61).	दान्क् चिद् <i>dān^an handi</i> <i>sptin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	दान् चक् <i>dān^a andr^a</i> (57).	दान् चक् <i>dān^av andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	दान् पुक् <i>dān^a putshy</i> (63).	दान् पुक् <i>dān^av putshy</i> (63).
	दान्कि पुक् <i>dān^aki</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).	दान्क् चिद् पुक् <i>dān^an handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	दान् मिक् <i>dān^a niç^a</i> (65).	दान् मिक् <i>dān^av niç^a</i> (65).

Ḫçvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent singular of these nouns. but दान्स् *dān^an* is the correct form.

The following words are optionally declined as if ending in consonants, गन्स् *gans^a*, a leather-worker; गन्स् *gāns^a*, a grass-seller; बान्स् *bāns^a*,

people of a house ; $\text{बहुन् } hāns^*$, a boatman. Thus, acc. plur. $\text{बहुन् } gāns^*$ or $\text{बहुन् } gānan$ (15).

It must be remembered that \bar{u} - $mātrā$ at the end of a word is not pronounced. Before a consonant (as in दण^*v) it is pronounced like a short German \bar{u} . It is, also, slightly pronounced in the Instr. Loc. 2, Dat. 2, and Abl. Sing. Before \bar{u} - $mātrā$, a preceding a or \bar{a} must be modified to ϕ or δ respectively (70); e.g., as in दान^* .

SECOND DECLENSION.

Masculine Nouns in $\text{क् } u$ - $mātrā$.

कर^* $kār^*$, a bracelet.

Nom.	कर^* $kār^*$ (ii. i. 8).	करि^* $kār^i$ (30).
Acc.	$\text{करिस् } karis$ (30, 38).	$\text{कर्यन् } karyan$ (12, 30, 38).
	कर^* $kār^*$ (39).	करि^* $kār^i$ (39).
Gen.	$\text{कर्युक् } karyuk^*$ (41, 48).	$\text{कर्यन् } \text{कर्युक् } karyan hānd^*$ (42).
Loc. 1.	$\text{करिस् } \text{पठ } karis pyāṭh$, &c. (52, 53).	$\text{कर्यन् } \text{पठ } karyan pyāṭh$, &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	$\text{करिस् } \text{कित्तु } karis kyut^*$ (54, 55).	$\text{कर्यन् } \text{कित्तु } karyan kyut^*$ (54, 55).
Concom.	$\text{करिस् } \text{स्यतिन् } karis s̄tin$ (60).	$\text{कर्यन् } \text{स्यतिन् } karyan s̄tin$ (60).
Agent.	करि^* $kār^i$ (6, 56).	$\text{कर्यौ } karyau$ (56, 80; i. 10).
Instr.	$\text{करि } \text{स्यतिन् } kari s̄tin$ (59).	$\text{कर्यौ } \text{स्यतिन् } karyau s̄tin$ (59).
	$\text{कर्येक } \text{स्यतिन् } karēki s̄tin$ (61).	$\text{कर्यन् } \text{हन्दि } \text{स्यतिन् } karyan handi$ $s̄tin$ (61).
Loc. 2.	$\text{करि } \text{अन्द् } kari andr^*$ (57).	$\text{कर्यौ } \text{अन्द् } karyau andr^*$ (57).
Dat. 2.	$\text{करि } \text{पुष् } kari puṣṭhy$ (63).	$\text{कर्यौ } \text{पुष् } karyau puṣṭhy$ (63).
	$\text{कर्येक } \text{पुष् } karēki puṣṭhy$ (63).	$\text{कर्यन् } \text{हन्दि } \text{पुष् } karyan handi$ $puṣṭhy$ (63).
Abl.	$\text{करि } \text{निष् } kari niṣ^*$ (65).	$\text{कर्यौ } \text{निष् } karyau niṣ^*$.

[also $\text{गुरिस् } \text{निष् } guris niṣ^*$ (in the case of masculine nouns with life).]

Similarly are declined गुर् *gur**, a horse; गूर् *gūr**, a cow-herd; गुल् *gūl**, a kernel, especially of the singārā; कुल् *kul**, a tree.

The final *u* becomes *i* (or *y*) throughout, except in the Nominative Singular, (30).

If the penultimate of a masculine noun contains the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō* in all cases of the Plural except the nominative. It does not change in the singular, or in the nominative plural, (34).

Thus गूर् *gūr**, a cowherd; acc. sg. गूरिष् *gūris*; nom. pl. गूरि *gūrī*, but acc. pl. गोर्यन् *gōryan*.

The following words in *u-mātrā* are exceptions, and do not change the *ū* (35).

कसूर् *kastūr**, the nightingale.

कुट् *kūt**, a tree-trunk.

चूट् *chūt**, an apple.

दूर् *dūr**, a woman's eating platter.

दूर् *dūr**, a flower-bed.

नसूर् *nastūr**, having a deformed nose.

Thus from कसूर् *kastūr**, acc. pl. कसूर्यन् *kastūryan*.

If a masculine noun ends in *u-mātrā*, and has *ō* in the penultimate, this *ō* becomes *ā* in all cases of the singular except the nominative, and throughout the plural. Moreover, this *ā* is modified to *ā̄* before *i-mātrā*, and in the accusative singular (69, 70). Thus, मोल् *mōl**, an earring; acc. sg. मालिष् *wālis*; gen. sg., माल्युक् *wālyuk** (from मोल् *mōl**, a father, मालि चन्द् *māl' sand**); ag. sg. मालि *wālī*; instr. sg. मालि स्यतिन् *wālī sytin* (here the *i* is not *i-mātrā*, but is fully pronounced); nom. pl. मालि *wālī*; acc. pl. माल्यन् *wālyan*; ag. pl. माल्यौ *wālyau*. Similarly are declined मोल् *mōl**, a father, and बोय् *bōy**, a brother; also masculine possessive pronouns, such as म्योन् *myōn**, mine; चोन् *cyōn** hine; सोन् *sōn**, our.

Thus nom. sg. *म्योनं myōn**; acc. sg. *म्यानिस् myānis*; gen. sg. *म्यानि संदु myān' sand**; ag. sg. *म्यानि myān'*; nom. pl. *म्यानि myān'*; acc. pl. *म्यान्यन् myānyan*; ag. pl. *म्यान्यौ myānyau*; Instr. sg. *म्यानि सतिन् myāni s̄tin*, or *म्यानि सन्दि सतिन् myān' sandi s̄tin*. So also the others (ii. iii. 11 and ff.)

Moreover, whenever, in this declension, the letter *a* or *ā* is followed by *i-mātrā*, or *u-mātrā*, the *a* or *ā* become *ɛ* or *ɔ* respectively. (ii. i. 70); thus,—

Base *पट् pat*, a woollen cloth; nom. sg. *पटु pat**; ag. sg. *पटि pat'*; nom. pl. *पटि pat'*; but, acc. sg. *पटिस् patis* (not *पटिस् patis*, as in the case of *बोल् wōl**); Instr. sg. *पटि सतिन् paṭi s̄tin* (fully pronounced *i*); acc. pl. *पट्यन् paṭyan*; ag. pl. *पट्यौ paṭyau*. So also *हट्टु haṭṭ**, the neck; *तन्तु tan**, the body; *सन्दु sand**, suffix of genitive (acc. sg. *सन्दिस् sandis*; ag. sg. *सन्दि sand'*; instr. sg. *सन्दि सतिन् sandi s̄tin*; nom. pl. *सन्दि sand'*; acc. pl. *सन्द्यन् sandyan*; ag. pl. *सन्द्यौ sandyau*): similarly *पत्युक patyuk** of a woollen cloth; acc. sg. *पत्यकिस् paṭēkis*; ag. sg. *पत्यकि paṭyāk'*; instr. sg. *पत्यकि सतिन् paṭēki s̄tin*; nom. pl. *पत्यकि paṭyāk'*; acc. pl. *पत्यक्यन् paṭēkyan*; ag. pl. *पत्यक्यौ paṭēkyau*.

Nouns in *u-mātrā*, of three or more syllables, if they have *u* in the penultimate, omit the *u* before *i-mātrā*, and change it to *a* in all other cases except the nominative singular (73, 75); thus:—

*गाटुलु gāṭul**, clever; acc. sg. *गाटलिस् gāṭalis*; ag. sg. *गाटलि gāṭli* (pronounced *gāṭēli*); instr. sg. *गाटलि सतिन् gāṭali s̄tin*; gen. sg. *गाटलि संदु gāṭli' sand**; nom. pl. *गाटलि gāṭli*; acc. pl. *गाटल्यन् gāṭalyan*; ag. pl. *गाटल्यौ gāṭalyau*.

This does not occur in the case of dissyllables; e.g., from *कुल् kul**, a tree; acc. sg. *कुलिस् kulis*, and not *कलिस् kalis*.

The following words in *u-mātrā*, with *u* in the penultimate, change

the penultimate *u* to *a* in all cases except the nominative, and are then declined like nouns of the first declension ending in consonants (74.)

कटुलु *kōṭṭhul**, a porter.

बुलुलु *ṭṣōṭul**, a sodomite.

चकुलु *ṭṣakul**, circular.

गुगुलु *gōgul**, globular.

वातुलु *wōṭul**, a low-caste man.

बतुकु *batuk**, a drake.

गगुरु *gagur**, a rat.

मंगुरु *mōngur**, a kid.

ककुरु *kōkur**, a cock (iv. 1).

कोतुरु *kōtur**, a pigeon (iv. 1).

So also words in *ṛ* signifying professions, &c. (iv. 6, 99 and ff.),

e.g., सनुरु *sōnur**, a goldsmith, मनुुरु *manur**, a shell worker.

See secondary suffixes No. 39.

Thus,—

Nom. sg. कटुलु *kōṭṭhul**; acc. sg. कटुलु *kōṭṭhalas*; gen. sg. कटुलु *kōṭṭhal° sand**; ag. sg. कटुलु *kōṭṭhalan*; instr. sg. कटुलु *ṣṭin* *kōṭṭhal° ṣṭin*; nom. pl. कटुलु *kōṭṭhal*; acc. pl. कटुलु *kōṭṭhalan*; ag. pl. कटुलु *kōṭṭhalau*.

If a word ending in *u-mātrā* has *yu* or *i* in the penultimate of the nom. sg., it has *i* in the penultimate in all the other cases (ii. i. 76). [These words are spelt indifferently with *yu* or *i* in the nominative, but are always pronounced as if *yu* was written. Thus महानु *mahanyu**, or महानि *mahaniv**, a man, both pronounced *mahanyu*; युतु *syuṭh**, or ङितु *siṭh**, old, but both pronounced *syuṭh*. On the other hand, in other cases, except the nominative, we have only *i*, pronounced as *i*]: thus; युतु *syuṭh**, old; acc. sg. ङितु *siṭhis*; ag. sg. ङितु *siṭhⁱ*; nom. pl. ङितु *siṭhⁱ*; acc. pl. ङितु *siṭhyan*; ag. pl. ङितु *siṭhyau*.

Similarly, when the penultimate is *yū*, it becomes *i* before *i-mātrā* or *is*, and *ē* in other cases, except the nom. sg. (77, 78); thus,—

Nom. sg. **वृत्तं** *ṭṭyūn**, a wall; acc. sg. **वृत्तिम्** *ṭṭinis*; gen. sg. **वृत्तुक्** *ṭṭenyuk**; ag. sg. **वृत्ति** *ṭṭinⁱ*; instr. sg. **वृत्ति स्तित्** *ṭṭeni sṭitin* (not *i-mātrā*); nom. pl. **वृत्ति** *ṭṭinⁱ*; acc. pl. **वृत्तन्** *ṭṭenyan*; ag. pl. **वृत्तो** *ṭṭenyaū*.

[The word **न्यूल** *nyūl**, blue, however, has *i* throughout. Thus, gen. sg. **नीलुक्** *nilyuk**; instr. sg. **नीलि स्तित्** *nīli sṭitin*; acc. pl. **नीलान्** *nilyan*; ag. pl. **नीलो** *nilyau*.

So also in **य्युत्** *yyūt**, how much; **त्युत्** *tyūt**, so much; **युत्** *yūt**, this much; change the *yū* to *i* throughout (ii. iii. 27). Thus, **य्यिति** *yitⁱ*, how many (nom. pl.); **य्यिति** *itⁱ*; **य्यिति** *itⁱ*, pr. *yitⁱ*.]

The *ū* in **कृत** *kūt**, how many? (ii. iii. 25, 26) becomes *ṛ*, in all cases except the nominative singular. In the obl. cases of the plural, it may optionally become *ai*. Thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	कृत <i>kūt*</i> .	कृति <i>kṛtⁱ</i> .
Acc.	कृतिम् <i>kṛtis</i> .	कृतान् <i>kṛtyan</i> or कृत्तान् <i>kaityan</i> .
Ag.	कृति <i>kṛtⁱ</i> .	कृतो <i>kṛtyau</i> or कृत्तो <i>kaityau</i> .

Its fem. is **कृत्** *kṛt**.

The word **कृत्** *kṛh*, or **कृत्** *kṛh*, a certain person, is declined as a feminine ending in a consonant (ii. iii. 29).

THIRD DECLENSION.

Feminine nouns ending in *इ i-mātrā*, *ऊ ū-mātrā*, or *अ ऋ*.पूथि *pūthī*, a book.(a). Nouns ending in *इ i-mātrā*.

Nom.	पूथि <i>pūthī</i> (ii. i. 9).	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (11, 33).
Acc.	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (21, 33, 38, 40).	पोथ्यन् <i>pōthyan</i> (12, 38).
	पूथि <i>pūthī</i> (39).	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (39).
Gen.	पोथ्य हन्द् <i>pōthē hand*</i> (42).	पोथ्यन् हन्द् <i>pōthyan hand*</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	पोथ्य यद् <i>pōthē pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).	पोथ्यन् यद् <i>pōthyan pyāṭh</i> (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	पोथ्य कित् <i>pōthē kyut*</i> (54, 55).	पोथ्यन् कित् <i>pōthyan kyut*</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	पोथ्य स्तित् <i>pōthē s̄tin</i> (60).	पोथ्यन् स्तित् <i>pōthyan s̄tin</i> (60).
Agent.	पोथि <i>pōthi</i> (6, 56).	पोथ्यौ <i>pōthyan</i> (56; i. 4).
Instr.	पोथि स्तित् <i>pōthi s̄tin</i> (33, 59).	पोथ्यौ स्तित् <i>pōthyan s̄tin</i> (59).
	पोथ्य हन्दि स्तित् <i>pōthē handi s̄tin</i> (61).	पोथ्यन् हन्दि स्तित् <i>pōthyan handi s̄tin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	पोथि अन्द् <i>pōthi andr*</i> (57).	पोथ्यौ अन्द् <i>pōthyan andr*</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	पोथि पुष् <i>pōthi putshy</i> (63).	पोथ्यौ पुष् <i>pōthyan putshy</i> (33, 63).
	पोथ्य हन्दि पुष् <i>pōthē handi putshy</i> (63).	पोथ्यन् हन्दि पुष् <i>pōthyan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	पोथि निष् <i>pōthi niṣ*</i> (65).	पोथ्यौ निष् <i>pōthyan niṣ*</i> (65).

Similarly are declined, नूरि *nūrī*, a hoof; खीति *khīti*, a field; चौरि *chūrī*, a lottery ticket.

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō* in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus पूथि *pūthī* a book; nom. pl. पोथ्य *pōthē* (33).

So also a penultimate *i* becomes a *ɛ* in the same circumstance
Thus कौति *khut'*, a field; nom. pl. केल्य *khēt̄*. The word कौरि *cir'*, a
lottery-ticket or slip, does not, however, change its long *i*, and its nom.
pl. is कौर्य *cir̄* (33).

(b). Nouns ending in ण् *ū-mātrā*.

कूरु *kūr**, a girl.

Nom.	कूरु <i>kūr*</i> (ii. i. 9).	कौर्य <i>kōr̄</i> (11, 30, 33).
Acc.	कौर्य <i>kōr̄</i> (21, 33, 38, 40).	कौर्यन् <i>kōryan</i> (12, 30, 33, 38).
	कूरु <i>kūr*</i> (39).	कौर्य <i>kōr̄</i> (39).
Gen.	कौर्य <i>कूरु कौर्य हण्ड</i> <i>kōr̄ ḥaṇḍ*</i> (42).	कौर्यन् <i>कूरु कौर्यन् हण्ड</i> <i>kōryan ḥaṇḍ*</i> .
Loc. 1.	कौर्य <i>पथ कौर्य पथ, &c.</i> (52, 53).	कौर्यन् <i>पथ कौर्यन् पथ, &c.</i> (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	कौर्य <i>कितु कौर्य कितु</i> <i>kōr̄ kyut*</i> (54, 55).	कौर्यन् <i>कितु कौर्यन् कितु</i> <i>kōryan kyut*</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	कौर्य <i>सूतिन् कौर्य सूतिन्</i> <i>kōr̄ sūtin</i> (60).	कौर्यन् <i>सूतिन् कौर्यन् सूतिन्</i> <i>kōryan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	कौरि <i>kōri</i> (6, 56).	कौर्यौ <i>kōryau</i> (56, 30; i. 4).
Instr.	कौरि <i>सूतिन् कौरि सूतिन्</i> <i>kōri sūtin</i> (6, 30, 59).	कौर्यौ <i>सूतिन् कौर्यौ सूतिन्</i> <i>kōryau sūtin</i> (33, 59).
	कौर्य <i>हण्डि कौर्य हण्डि</i> <i>kōr̄ ḥandi sūtin</i> (61).	कौर्यन् <i>हण्डि कौर्यन् हण्डि</i> <i>kōryan ḥandi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	कौरि <i>अण्ड कौरि अण्ड</i> <i>kōri aṇḍ*</i> (57).	कौर्यौ <i>अण्ड कौर्यौ अण्ड</i> <i>kōryau aṇḍ*</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	कौरि <i>पुश कौरि पुश</i> <i>kōri puṣhy</i> (63).	कौर्यौ <i>पुश कौर्यौ पुश</i> <i>kōryau puṣhy</i> (63).
	कौर्य <i>हण्डि पुश कौर्य हण्डि</i> <i>kōr̄ ḥandi puṣhy</i> (63).	कौर्यन् <i>हण्डि पुश कौर्यन् हण्डि</i> <i>kōryan ḥandi puṣhy</i> (63).
Abl.	कौरि <i>निष् कौरि निष्</i> <i>kōri nip*</i> (65).	कौर्यौ <i>निष् कौर्यौ निष्</i> <i>kōryau nip*</i> (65).

Similarly are declined पट् $paṭ^s$, a tablet; वट् $haṭ^s$, wood; काट् $kāṭh^s$, a stalk, especially the non-edible part of asparagus, sugarcane, &c.; बट् $baṭ^s$, a great woman; तन्त् $tañ^s$ (or तन्त् $tañ$) a slender woman; लण्ड् $lanḍ^s$, a branch.

The final $ū$ - becomes i (or y) throughout, except in the nom. sg. (30).

All nouns of this declension ending in ट् t^s , ठ् $ṭh^s$, or ढ् $ḍ^s$, change the consonant to the corresponding palatal, in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus—

Nom. sing.	Nom. pl.
पट् $paṭ^s$.	पच्च $pacḥ$.
काट् $kāṭh^s$.	काच्च $kācḥ$.
बट् $baṭ^s$.	बच्च $baḥ$.

This change only occurs when the word ends in $ū$ - $mātrā$ (22). It does not occur when it ends in a consonant (26).

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel $ū$, that $ū$ becomes $ō$ in all cases except the nom. singular, thus कूर् $kūr^s$, a girl, nom. pl. कोयें $kōrē$ (33).

The following are exceptions and do not change the $ū$ (35). तूर् $tūr^s$ cold; दूर् $dūr^s$, a lane; मूर् $mūr^s$, a twig. Thus from तूर् $tūr^s$; nom. pl. तूयें $tūrē$.

So also a penultimate $ī$ becomes $ē$ in the same circumstances. Thus, चीर् $chīr^s$, a brick, nom. pl. चेयें $chērē$. The following words (33) however, do not change,—

गीर् $gīr^s$, red-chalk.	Nom. pl. गीयें $gīrē$.
गीर् $gīḍ^s$, child's excrement.	गीच्च $gīḍḥ$.
डीर् $ḍīr^s$, pride.	डीच्च $ḍīcḥ$ (22).
पीर् $pīr^s$, cold-boiled-rice-pudding.	पीयें $pīrē$.
पीर् $pīr^s$, a table.	पीयें $pīrē$.

Whenever in this declension *ū-mātrā* is preceded by a *a* or *ā*, the *a* or *ā* become modified to *ṛ* or *ṝ* respectively (70). Thus,

Base पट् *paṭ*, a tablet; nom. sg. पट् *paṭṣ*, but acc. sg. पच *pacyṣ*; ag. sg. पचि *paci* (*i* fully pronounced,—not *i-mātrā*); nom. pl. पच *pacṣ*; acc. pl. पचन् *pacyan*; ag. pl. पचौ *pacyau*.

So,—Base माञ् *māj*, a mother; nom. sg. माञ् *mājṣ*; but acc. sg. माच *māṣ*.

Again; Base काट् *kāṭh*, wood; nom. sg. काट् *kāṭhṣ*; acc. sg. काच *kāchṣ*.

(c). Nouns ending in अ ण.

Similarly are declined all feminine nouns in अ ण, thus म्याञ् *myāṇ*, mine (fem.).

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	म्याञ् <i>myāṇ</i> .	म्याञ् <i>myāṇṣ</i> .
Acc.	म्याञ् <i>myāṇṣ</i> .	म्याञ् <i>myāṇan</i> .
Ag.	म्याञ् <i>myāṇi</i> .	म्याञ् <i>myāṇau</i> .

The vowel is only modified in the nom. sing. So also च्याञ् *cyāṇ* thine (fem.); स्याञ् *sāṇ*, our (fem.) (ii. iii. ll and ff).

As the semivowel य *ya* cannot, as a rule, immediately follow च् *ṣ*, च् *ṣh*, or अ *z*, when a noun ends in च् *ṣṣ*, च् *ṣhṣ*, or अ *zṣ*, the य *ya* is elided in declension. Thus मच्च *maṣṣ*, mad, (feminine): nom. pl. मच्च *maṣṣ*, not मच *maṣṣ*. कच्च *kwāṣṣh*, a small bag: pl. कच्च *kōṣṣ*. अच्च *wōrṣṣ*, a woman who has married twice, pl. अच्च *wōrṣṣ*. (iv. 51). The य *ya* is, however, retained in the singular. Thus the acc. sg. is मच *maṣṣ*, कच *kōṣṣh*, and अच *wōrṣṣ*.

FOURTH DECLENSION.

Nouns ending in च a, or a consonant.

(a). Nouns ending in च a

बय्य बॆँँ, a sister.

Nom.	बय्य बॆँँ (ii. i. 1).	बय्य बॆँँ (1).
Acc.	बय्य बॆँँ (38, 40, 39).	बय्यन् बॆँँ (38). बय्य बॆँँ (39).
Gen.	बय्य बॆँँ हॆँँ हॆँँ (42).	बय्यन् बॆँँ हॆँँ (42).
Loc. 1.	बय्य यॆँँ बॆँँ प्यॆँँ (52, 53).	बय्यन् यॆँँ बॆँँ प्यॆँँ, &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	बय्य क्यॆँँ बॆँँ क्यॆँँ (54, 55).	बय्यन् क्यॆँँ बॆँँ क्यॆँँ (54, 55).
Concom.	बय्य स्यॆँँ बॆँँ स्यॆँँ (60).	बय्यन् स्यॆँँ बॆँँ स्यॆँँ (60).
Agent.	बय्य बॆँँ (56; i. 4).	बय्यौ बॆँँ (56, i. 4).
Instr.	बय्य स्यॆँँ बॆँँ स्यॆँँ (59). बय्य हॆँँ स्यॆँँ बॆँँ हॆँँ स्यॆँँ (61).	बय्यौ स्यॆँँ बॆँँ स्यॆँँ (59). बय्यन् हॆँँ स्यॆँँ बॆँँ हॆँँ स्यॆँँ (61).
Loc. 2.	बय्य अॆँँ बॆँँ अॆँँ (57).	बय्यौ अॆँँ बॆँँ अॆँँ (57).
Dat. 2.	बय्य पुॆँँ बॆँँ पुॆँँ (63). बय्य हॆँँ पुॆँँ बॆँँ हॆँँ पुॆँँ (63).	बय्यौ पुॆँँ बॆँँ पुॆँँ (63). बय्यन् हॆँँ पुॆँँ बॆँँ हॆँँ पुॆँँ (63).
Abl.	बय्य निॆँँ बॆँँ निॆँँ (65).	बय्यौ निॆँँ बॆँँ निॆँँ (65).

(b). Nouns ending in a consonant.

माळ् *māl*, a garland.

Nom.	माळ् <i>māl</i> (ii. i. 10).	माळ् <i>māl</i> ^a (11).
Acc.	माळि <i>māli</i> (37, 38, 40).	माळन् <i>mālan</i> (12, 38).
	माळ् <i>māl</i> (39).	माळ् <i>māl</i> ^a (39).
Gen.	माळि हण्ड् <i>māli haṇḍ</i> ^a (42).	माळन् हण्ड् <i>mālan haṇḍ</i> ^a (42).
Loc. 1.	माळि प्यठ् <i>māli pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).	माळन् प्यठ् <i>mālan pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	माळि कित् <i>māli kyut</i> ^a (54, 55).	माळन् कित् <i>mālan kyut</i> ^a .
Concom.	माळि सृतिन् <i>māli sṛtin</i> (60).	माळन् सृतिन् <i>mālan sṛtin</i> (60).
Agent.	माळि <i>māli</i> (56).	माळौ <i>mālau</i> (56).
Instr.	माळि सृतिन् <i>māli sṛtin</i> (59).	माळौ सृतिन् <i>mālau sṛtin</i> (59).
	माळि हण्डि सृतिन् <i>māli haṇḍi sṛtin</i> (61).	माळन् हण्डि सृतिन् <i>mālan haṇḍi sṛtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	माळि अण्ड् <i>māli andr</i> ^a (57).	माळौ अण्ड् <i>mālau andr</i> ^a (57).
Dat. 2.	माळि पुष् <i>māli puṣṭhy</i> (63).	माळौ पुष् <i>mālau puṣṭhy</i> (63).
	माळि हण्डि पुष् <i>māli haṇḍi puṣṭhy</i> (63).	माळन् हण्डि पुष् <i>mālan haṇḍi puṣṭhy</i> (63).
Abl.	माळि निष् <i>māli niṣ</i> ^a (65).	माळौ निष् <i>mālau niṣ</i> ^a (65).

Similarly are declined क्राक् *krak*, a loud noise; नारिज् *nārij*, a conduit; जङ्ग *zagg*, a thigh.

Note that when a noun ends in क् *k*, च् *c*, ष् *ṣ*, ड् *ḍ*, त् *t* or प् *p*, these letters are aspirated in the nom. sing. (66, 67) ; thus—

	Nom. sg.	but Nom. pl.
क्रक् <i>krak</i> , a loud noise.	क्रक् <i>krākḥ</i> .	क्रक् <i>krak^a</i> .
रच् <i>rats</i> , abrus precativus.	रच् <i>rātṣh</i> .	रच् <i>rats^a</i> .
रश्च् <i>rṣṣ</i> , a sub-caste.	रश्च् <i>rṣṣh</i> .	रश्च् <i>rṣṣ^a</i> .
नड् <i>naḍ</i> , trembling.	नड् <i>nāṭh</i> .	नड् <i>naṭ^a</i> .
वत् <i>vat</i> , a road.	वत् <i>vāṭh</i> .	वत् <i>vat^a</i> .
वाप् <i>tsāp</i> , food.	वाप् <i>tsāph</i> .	वाप् <i>tsāp^a</i> .

The aspiration, being at the end of a word, is barely audible, but it affects the preceding vowel. It only occurs in the nominative singular.

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t* or ष् *ṣ* forms part (either the first or second member) of a compound consonant (even when a short *a* is inserted to aid pronunciation) (68) : thus;—

	Nom. sg.
बत्च् <i>bat^ac</i> , a duck.	बत्च् <i>bat^ac</i> (elsewhere spelled बत्च् <i>bat^ac^a</i> , see p. 32).
बक्च् <i>bōk^aṣ</i> , a female puppy. ¹	बक्च् <i>bōk^aṣ</i> .
मक्च् <i>mak^aṣ</i> , an axe.	मक्च् <i>mak^aṣ</i> .
नश्च् <i>nast</i> , nose.	नश्च् <i>nast</i> .

Other compounds are, however, aspirated. Thus,—

	Nom. sg.	Nom. pl.
रेम्प् <i>rēmp</i> , a little.	रेम्प् <i>rēmph</i> .	रेम्प् <i>rēmp^a</i> .
वाम्प् <i>tsāmp</i> , consolation.	वाम्प् <i>tsāmph</i> .	वाम्प् <i>tsāmp^a</i> .

The word जाम् *zām*, a husband's sister, is irregular (71). In all cases, except the nominative singular, it becomes जोम् *zōm*, and drops every vowel in the terminations. Thus; acc. sg. जोम् *zōm*; ag. sg.

¹ So Içvara-kaula. Mr. H. Knowles informs me that this word means the young of any animal.

झोम् *zōm*; nom. pl. झोम् *zōm*; acc. pl. झोम् *zōm^{an}*; ag. pl. झोम् *zōm^v*; instr. sg. झोम् सतिम् *zōm satin*; gen. sg. झोम् हन्दु *zōm hand^a*, &c.

The word मूँ *mūṣ* (ii. iii. 28), a buffalo-cow, changes *u* to *ai* in all cases except the nom. sg., thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	मूँ <i>mūṣ</i> .	मूँष <i>maīṣ^a</i> .
Acc.	मूँषि <i>maīṣi</i> .	मूँषन् <i>maīṣan</i> .
Ag.	मूँषि <i>maīṣi</i> .	मूँषौ <i>maīṣau</i> .

The word कूँ *kūṅ* or काँ *kāṅ*, any one, some one, though of both genders, is always declined as a feminine, in the sg. number. It changes *u* and *ā* to *ai* and *h* to *s* in all cases except the nom. sg. (ii. iii. 29). It becomes केन् *kēnt* in the plural (ii. iii. 30) and is then declined as a masculine.

Thus,—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	कूँ <i>kūṅ</i> , काँ <i>kāṅ</i> .	केन् <i>kēnt</i> .
Acc.	केँषि <i>kaiṣi</i> .	केन्षन् <i>kēntan</i> .
Ag.	केँषि <i>kaiṣi</i> .	केन्षौ <i>kēntau</i> .

(c). Irregular Feminine Nouns, ending in Consonants.

रात् *rāt*, night.

Nom.	रात् <i>rāth</i> (ii. i. 10, 66).	रात् <i>rāts^a</i> (16, 23).
Acc.	रात् <i>rāts^a</i> (16, 23, 38,	रात् <i>rāts^{an}</i> (14, 16, 23, 38).
	40).	
	रात् <i>rāth</i> (39).	रात् <i>rāts^a</i> (39).
Gen.	रात् <i>रात्^a rāts^a hand^a</i> (42).	रात् <i>रात्^{an} rāts^{an} hand^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	रात् <i>मन् <i>rāts^a manz,</i></i> &c. (52, 53).	रात् <i>मन् <i>rāts^{an} manz,</i></i> &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	रात् <i>कित् <i>rāts^a kyut^a</i></i> (54, 55).	रात् <i>कित् <i>rāts^{an} kyut^a</i></i> (54, 55)
Concom.	रात् <i>कतिन् <i>rāts^a sṭin</i></i> (60).	रात् <i>कतिन् <i>rāts^{an} sṭin.</i></i>
Agent.	रात् <i>rāts^a</i> (7, 17).	रात् <i>rāts^{av}</i> (20, 56).
Instr.	रात् <i>कतिन् <i>rāts^a sṭin</i></i> (59).	रात् <i>कतिन् <i>rāts^{av} sṭin</i></i> (59).
	रात् <i>हन्दि <i>rāts^a handi</i></i> <i>sṭin</i> (61).	रात् <i>हन्दि <i>rāts^{an} handi</i></i> <i>sṭin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	रात् <i>अन् <i>rāts^a andr^a</i></i> (57).	रात् <i>अन् <i>rāts^{av} andr^a.</i></i>
Dat. 2.	रात् <i>पुष् <i>rāts^a puṣhy</i></i> (63).	रात् <i>पुष् <i>rāts^{av} puṣhy</i></i> (63).
	रात् <i>हन्दि <i>rāts^a handi</i></i> <i>puṣhy</i> (63).	रात् <i>हन्दि <i>rāts^{an} handi</i></i> <i>puṣhy</i> (63).
Abl.	रात् <i>निष् <i>rāts^a niṣ^a</i></i> (65).	रात् <i>निष् <i>rāts^{av} niṣ^a</i></i> (65).

This group of irregular nouns consists of most feminine nouns in *त् t*, *त् th*, *द् d*, *न् n*, *त् h*, and certain nouns in *ल् l*. In all these cases the final consonant is changed as follows:—

त् <i>t</i>	becomes	त् <i>ṭ</i>
त् <i>th</i>		त् <i>ṭh</i>
द् <i>d</i>		द् <i>ḍ</i>
न् <i>n</i>		न् <i>ṇ</i>
त् <i>h</i>		त् <i>ḥ</i>
ल् <i>l</i>		ल् <i>ḷ</i>

<i>e.g.</i> , रात् <i>rāt</i> , night ;	Nom. pl.	रात् <i>rāṭṭ</i> ^s (23, 14, 16).
कात् <i>kōth</i> , a hank ;		कात् <i>kwāṭṭh</i> ^s (23, 14, 16).
घण् <i>grand</i> , a counting ;		घण् <i>granz</i> ^s (23, 14, 16).
ईरन् <i>yīran</i> , an anvil ;		ईरन् <i>īraṇ</i> ^s (23, 14, 16).
कात् <i>kāh</i> , eleventh lunar day ;		कात् <i>kāḥ</i> ^s (19, 14, 16).
वाल् <i>wāl</i> , a hole ;		वाल् <i>wāḷ</i> ^s (27, 14, 16).

Other examples are सत् *sat*, hope ; हान् *hān*, loss ; चासन् *ṭāman*, cheese.

The words in *ल् l* which follow this declension are वाल् *wāl*, a hole (as that of a serpent) ; साल् *sāl*, a wife's sister ; जाल् *zāl*, a net ; काल् *kal*, thought, consideration ; and हाल् *hāl*, a house, a hall (27, 28). The word हाल् *hāl* when it is at the end of a masculine compound is, however, declined regularly ; thus वाट्हालस्य अन्दर *ṭāḥālas andar* (not वाट्हालान् अन्दर *ṭāḥāj^s andar*.) in the school-house, because वाट्हाल् *ṭāḥāl* is masculine (28). The words कुण्डल् *kuṇḍal*, a kind of cup (especially the cup of a portable stove), and कर्तल *kartal* a sword, may optionally be regular. Thus कुण्डलं सृतिन् *kuṇḍaj^s sṛtin* or कुण्डलि सृतिन् *kuṇḍali sṛtin*, by the cup, (29).

EXCEPTIONS. The following nouns are however declined regularly (24, 25) :—

- वत् *wat*, a road.
 लत् *lat*, a kick.
 दत् *dat*, a clod.
 थत् *thāt*, an impediment.
 त्त् *tāt*, the anus.
 पिन् *pit*, a sprain.
 त्तत् *tāt*, tumbling head over heels.
 गत् *gāt*, a rise in a river, a swift flood.
 पित् *pit*, a trifle.
 वेत् *vēt*, a beak.
 कत् *kāt*, a story.
 व्यत् *vyāt*, the river Jhelum.
 क्त् *khāt*, the elbow.
 तन् *tan*, the body.
 नात् *nāt*, the navel.
 सन् *sāt*, a co-wife.
 हन् *han*, a little.
 बन् *ban*, a heap, pile.

Thus वति *vati* *vāti* *vātin*, not वत् *vāt* *vātin* *vātin*.

It must be remembered that the *ū-mātrā* modifies a preceding *a* to *ē*, and *ā* to *ā* (71). When final it is not pronounced. When it precedes a consonant it is pronounced like a short German *ū*. Thus रात् *rāt* *rāt* is pronounced something like, German, *rōtū*.

It must also be remembered that words ending in *t* form the nominative singular in *th* (66). Thus the nom. sg. of रात् *rāt*, night, is रात् *rāth*, and of वत् *wat*, a road, is वत् *wāth*.

The words यद् *yād*, belly; गात् *gāt*, a cow; थत् *thāt*, the back; कत्

kōṣh, a fragrant root, *Aucklandia Costus*; *वाद् wad*, discount; are similarly declined, except that they do not change their final consonant. Thus *बद्धु खतिन् yad^s s̥tin*, by the belly (7). Nom. pl. *बद्धु यद्द^s* (17).

The words *खार् khār*, an ass's load, a certain measure; *खार् mār*, the name of a river; *खार् sār*, a cross-beam, for strengthening; *खार् rār*, stock-in-trade; follow the same rule. *E.g.*, nom. pl. *खार् khār^s* (18). [*Sātra* 18, apparently only refers to the plural. But the singular follows the same rule, *e.g.*, *खार् खतिन् khār^s s̥tin*, by the measure].

The word *खार् gār*, abovementioned, changes its *ā* to *ō* in all cases except the nom. sg. (72); thus, acc. sg. *खोव् gōv^s*; ag. sg. *खोव् gōv^s*; nom. pl. *खोव् gōv^s*; acc. pl. *खोव् gōv^sn*; ag. pl. *खोव् gōv^so*.

E. Composition and Concordance.

Içvara-kaula, in his *Kāçmīra-çabdāmṛta*, treats of the two subjects forming the title of this section, in the *Samāsa-prakriyā*, the third portion of his grammar. He treats an adjective in concord with a noun as an example of a *karmadhāraya*, or adjectival compound. Really, as will be seen, it is not a compound at all, but an instance of syntactical agreement. Just as *bonus homo*, in Latin means a good man, and *boni hominis*, of a good man, so *बद्द^s लर^s*, in Kāçmīrī means a large house, and *baji lari pyaṭh^s*, means from a great house.

In the case of all compounds and concordances the postposition denoting the case is omitted after every member of the compound, except the last, but each member is inflected as if to receive the postposition (iii. 2). Thus, *बत्तु खतिन् chat^s gur^s* means, a white horse. The instrumental plural of *बत्तु chat^s* is *बत्तो खतिन् chatyau s̥tin*, and of *खतिन् gur^s* is *खोवो खतिन् guryau s̥tin*, but the instrumental plural of *बत्तु खतिन् chat^s gur^s*, is *बत्तो खोवो खतिन् chatyau guryau s̥tin*, not *बत्तो खतिन् खोवो खतिन् chatyau s̥tin guryau s̥tin*, by white horses. When there is no postposition these remarks, of course, do not apply. Thus the accusative singular is *बत्तिस् खतिस् chatis guris*, and the nom. pl. is *बत्तिस् खतिस् chat^s gur^s*.

Karmadhāraya or adjectival compounds are expressed in Kāçmiri by an adjective agreeing with its substantive in gender, number and case. The above rule about postpositions must be applied. Thus ब॑द् ब॑द् चार् *baḍḍ dyār* (masc.), great wealth; ब॑चन् चार्न् चुब् ज्ञेनात् *baçyan dyāran chuh zēnān*, he is earning great wealth (acc. pl.); म॑चि च॑चि स॑तिन् *mōci tṣōci s̄tin*, by a thick (म॑द् *mōḍḍ*) cake (च॑द् *çwaḍḍ*, fem.); चि॑चि कोरि पु॑च् *trichi kōri puṭṣhy*, for a clever (चु॑च् *tryukh*, fem. चि॑च् *trich*) girl (कू॑च् *kūr*); ब॑जि च॑रि य॑ठ *baji lari pyaṭh* from the big (ब॑द् *baḍḍ*) house (च॑ल् *lar*); ब॑च्य ब॑ञ्जु ब॑च् *bajṣ granzḥ ḥand*, of the big counting (ब॑च् *grand*); ब॑डिच् गुरिच् य॑ठ *baḍis guris pyāṭh*, on the great horse (गु॑च् *gur*). And so on.

In **Copulative** (*dvandva*) compounds each member of the compound is declined separately, the above rule as to post-positions being observed. Thus, base ता॑प् *tāp*, light (masc.); न॑ठ *gaṭḥ*, darkness (fem.). The nom. sg. of ता॑प् *tāp* is ता॑प् *tāph* and the instr. sg. is ता॑प स॑तिन् *tāpḥ s̄tin*. So from न॑ठ *gaṭḥ*, the nom. sg. is न॑ठ *gaṭḥ*, and the instr. sg. न॑ठि स॑तिन् *gaṭi s̄tin*. The compound noun, 'light and darkness' is nom. sg. ता॑प् न॑ठ *tāph-gaṭḥ*; instr. sg. ता॑प-न॑ठि स॑तिन् *tāpḥ-gaṭi s̄tin*, and so on. Again वा॑र् *wār* (fem.) is a garden; कु॑ल् *kul* (masc.) is a tree; फ॑ल् *phal* (masc.) is fruit; and ज॑ल् *zal* (masc.) is water. Making these into a copulative compound we have in the dative sg. वा॑रि-कु॑लि-फ॑ल्-ज॑ल् पु॑च् *wāri-kuli-phalḥ-zalḥ puṭṣhy*, for the garden, the tree, the fruit, and the water. Sometimes each member is put in the plural, the whole collective idea being plural though each member of the compound is properly in the singular. Thus मा॑ञ्जु *mājḥ*, a mother, nom. pl. मा॑च्य *mājḥ*; कू॑च् *kūr*, a daughter, nom. pl. को॑यं *kōrḥ*. Hence मा॑च्य-को॑यं *mājḥ-kōrḥ*, mother and daughter. So मा॑लि पु॑च् *mālḥ-puṭṣhy*, father and son (मो॑ल् *mōl*, a father; पु॑च् *puṭṣhy*, a son); च॑म्-च॑च *haçḥ-nōṣḥ*, mother-in-law (च॑च् *haç*) daughter-in-law (च॑च् *nōṣ*); ज्ञो॑च्-का॑कण *zōm-kākāṇḥ*, husband's sister (ज्ञा॑म् *zām*) and brother's wife (का॑कण् *kākāṇ*); प॑च-कु॑च *paçḥ-kūçḥ*, board (प॑द् *paḍḍ*) and wood (कू॑च् *kūḍḍ*).

In **Tatpuruṣa** or positional compounds, the first member usually takes the form which the word adopts in the agent, the न् of the agent of the 1st declension, being dropped. We may also say that the first member of the compound is put in the genitive, the post-position being dropped, and *y* being changed to *i* (iii. 5).

Thus, काकि-बन्ध् *prāki-khaç*, the cut of a knife (बाब् *prākḥ*, fem.).

ढोपि-फल्ह् *tōpi-phal^s*, the border of a cap (ढूपि *tūpⁱ*, fem.).

सर्प-बय् छतिन् *sar^ap^a-bay^a s^utin*, by the fear (बय् *bay^a*, masc.) of a snake (सर्प् *sar^aph*, masc.).

राज-न्यचिपि पुब् *rāj^a-nēcivi put^hhy*, for the son (न्यचुत् *nēc^yuv^s*) of the king (राज् *rāj^a*).

बड-कोये हन्द् *baḥ^a-kōrē haṇd^s*, of the daughter (कूर् *kūr^s*) of the brāhmaṇa (बड *baḥ^a*).

सन्-डव् बाब् *sōn^a-ḍab^a an*, bring the box (डव् *ḍab^a*, masc.) of gold (सन् *sōn*, masc.), i.e., the gold box.

अधि-कत्तु बव् *mētⁱ-phot^s thav*, put down a basket (कत्तु *phot^s* masc.) (full) of earth (अब् *myat^s*).

Irregular formations.

1. When the word षोष् *ṣōṣ^s*, water, forms the second member of one of these compounds, it becomes षोष् *ṣōṣ^s* (iii. 6). Thus,—

गङ्ग-षोष् *gaṅg^a-ṣōṣ^s*, the water of the Ganges.

जल-षोष् *vyath^a-ṣōṣ^s*, the water of the Jhelum.

शीत-षोष् *ṣin^a-ṣōṣ^s*, snow-water.

वृष-षोष् *wuḡ^a-ṣōṣ^s*, flood-water.

मार्-षोष् *mār^a-ṣōṣ^s*, the water of the Mār [see p. 67].

क्रीरि-षोष् *krīrⁱ-ṣōṣ^s*, well (क्रीर् *krīūr^s*, masc.) water.

रूद-षोष् *rūd^a-ṣōṣ^s*, rain-water.

बाज-षोष् *nāḡ^a-ṣōṣ^s*, spring-water.

2. The words **पोबू** *pōñ**, water, **दाक** *dāñ** (masc.) rice, **बोकू** *wōñ**, a merchant, and others, become **प** *pā*, **द** *dā*, and **व** *wā* respectively, when (iii. 7, 8) they are first members of one of these compounds.

Thus,—

प-बबू *pā-trākh*, a measure ($4\frac{1}{2}$ sērs) of water.

प-बडू *pā-nat**, a water-bucket.

द-बार *dā-khār*, a measure (16 *trākhs*) of rice.

द-डू *dā-phot**, a basket (full) of rice.

व-बबू *wā-dyāt**, the merchant's straw.

व-बूकू *wā-kūr**, the merchant's daughter.

3. The **प** *p* of the word **पथर** *pathar*, a leaf, becomes **व** *w* in masculine compounds (iii. 9). Thus,—

बोबि-वथर *bōñi-wathar*, plane-tree-leaves.

पोव-वथर *pōs-wathar*, a flower-petal.

खल-वथर *khall-wathar*, a leaf of the lotus-grass.

खक-वथर *hāk-wathar*, spinach-leaves.

When, however, the compound is feminine, the word **पथर** *pathar*, becomes **पतर** *patar*. Thus

मुजि-पतर *muji-patar* (fem.), a radish-leaf.

गगजि-पतर *gōgji-patar* (fem.), a turnip-leaf.

4. The word **बूट** *tawat**, a cake (fem.), is restricted in composition to cakes made of grain (iii. 12). Thus

बबू-बूट *tōmā-tawat**, rice-cake.

कक-बूट *kanā-tawat**, wheat-cake.

बुबि-बूट *wuṣki-tawat**, barley-cake.

If not made of grain, the word **म्वण** *mvaṇ**, must be substituted.

Thus

ठूल्-म्बु *ṭhūl°-mwaṇḍ°*, egg-cake.

म्बु-रि-म्बु *nḍ°r°-mwaṇḍ°*, lotus-stalk-cake.

बाम्बु-म्बु *ṭṣāmāñ°-mwaṇḍ°* (also written, बाम्बु *ṭṣāmāñ°*), cheese-cake.

बद्रक्-म्बु *adrak-mwaṇḍ°*, ginger-cake [apparently irregular].

The masculine form म्बु *monḍ°*, can, however, be used for grain cakes, thus

म्बु-म्बु *tōm°lo-monḍ°*, rice-cake, (बम्बु *tōmul*, rice).

ब-म्बु *ab°-monḍ°*, a cake of parched meal.

Bahu-vrihi or relative compounds are similarly formed. When formed of an adjective and a substantive, the adjective is usually put last (iii. 13). Examples are

बड-बड *yad°-baḍ°* (not बड-बड *yad°-baḍ°*, as we might expect), big-bellied, Skr. *brhad-udara*, quasi *udara-brhat*.

दरि-बड *dāri-zyūṭh°*, long (बड *zy°ṭh°*) bearded (दरि *dār°*, fem., a beard).

कन-बड *kan°-ṭṣoṭ°* having the ear (कन *kan*, masc.) out (बड *ṭṣoṭ°*).

हनु-बुधु *hūn°-buth°*, dog (हनु *hūn°*, a dog) faced (बुधु *buth°*, a face).

When one member of the compound is a numeral, it is put first, thus

दु-बबु *du-wahar°*, occurring every two years.

बन-बोबु *sat°-bōṭṣ°*, having a family of seven.

पौ-बपु *pṭṣ°-potur*, having five sons.

Alliterative compounds (which are always feminine) are also classed as *bahu-vrihis* by Içvara-kaula (iii. 14); thus

ठड-ठड *ṭhōl°-ṭhōl*, mutual pushing with horns.

डप-डप *ṭap°-ṭāph*, mutual kicking.

ठूक-ठूक *ṭhūk°-ṭhūkh*, mutual pushing with horns.

बप-बप *cap°-cāph*, tooth against tooth.

When an adjective is used as an adverb, its form is not changed (v. 5). It stands in the masculine singular.

Thus,—

गोबुं गोबुं चुब् पकान् *gob* gob* chuh pakān*, he is going slowly.

खुतर (or खुतर खुतर) खवान् चुब् *ṣatur (or ṣatur ṣatur) khyawān chuh*, he is eating quickly.

लतुं करान् चुब् *lot* karān chuh*, he is doing slowly.

F. Numerals.

The following are the Kāçmiri numerals from one to ten millions, as written down for me by my Paṇḍit. They differ in several respects from those given by Wade.

CARDINALS.

- 1 अक् *ākḥ*.
- 2 झक् *zōḥ*.
- 3 त्रिक् *trih* or त्रिक् *trēḥ*.
- 4 चोर् *ṣōr*.
- 5 पान्तुं *pāntē* or पान्तुं *pāntē*.
- 6 षक् *ṣah*.
- 7 सत्तुं *sāth*.
- 8 ऐठ् *aith*.
- 9 नव् *nav*.
- 10 दक् *dah*.
- 11 काक् *kāh*.
- 12 बाक् *bāh*.
- 13 त्रुवाक् *truwāh*.
- 14 त्रुदाक् *ṣōdāh*.
- 15 पन्दाक् *pandāh*.

ORDINALS.

- अक्युम् *akyum** or गदनुक् *gōdānuk**.
- दयुम् *dōyum**.
- त्रयुम् *trēyum**.
- चुर्युम् *ṣūryum**.
- पुन्त्युम् *pūntsyum**.
- षयुम् *ṣayum**.
- सत्युम् *satyum**.
- ऐथ्युम् *aithyum**.
- नव्युम् *navyum**.
- दह्युम् *dahyum**.
- काह्युम् *kāhyum**.
- बाह्युम् *bāhyum**.
- त्रुवाह्युम् *truwāhyum**.
- त्रुदाह्युम् *ṣōdāhyum**.
- पन्दाह्युम् *pandāhyum**.

16 सुराद् <i>surāh.</i>	सुराद्युम् <i>surāhyum^०.</i>
17 सदाद् <i>sadāh.</i>	सदाद्युम् <i>sadāhyum^०.</i>
18 अरादाद् <i>aradāh.</i>	अरादाद्युम् <i>aradāhyum^०.</i>
19 कुनवुद् <i>kunawuh.</i>	कुनवुद्युम् <i>kunawuhyum^०.</i>
20 वुद् <i>wuh.</i>	वुद्युम् <i>wuhyum^०.</i>
21 अकवुद् <i>akawuh.</i>	अकवुद्युम् <i>akawuhyum^०.</i>
22 स्रतोवुद् <i>s^०tōwuh.</i>	स्रतोवुद्युम् <i>s^०tōwuhyum^०.</i>
23 अत्रुद् <i>trōwuh.</i>	अत्रुद्युम् <i>trōwuhyum^०.</i>
24 त्रुद् <i>tōwuh.</i>	त्रुद्युम् <i>tōwuhyum^०.</i>
25 पून्तुद् <i>pūntū^०h.</i>	पून्तुद्युम् <i>pūntū^०hyum^०.</i>
26 षवुद् <i>ṣawuh.</i>	षवुद्युम् <i>ṣawuhyum^०.</i>
27 सतोवुद् <i>satōwuh.</i>	सतोवुद्युम् <i>satōwuhyum^०.</i>
28 ऐठोवुद् <i>aiṭhōwuh.</i>	ऐठोवुद्युम् <i>aiṭhōwuhyum^०.</i>
29 कुनत्रद् <i>kunatr^०h.</i>	कुनत्रद्युम् <i>kunatr^०hyum^०.</i>
30 त्रद् <i>tr^०h.</i>	त्रद्युम् <i>tr^०hyum^०.</i>
31 अकत्रद् <i>akatr^०h.</i>	अकत्रद्युम् <i>akatr^०hyum^०.</i>
32 द्यत्रद् <i>dōyatr^०h.</i>	द्यत्रद्युम् <i>dōyatr^०hyum^०.</i>
33 त्र्यत्रद् <i>tōyatr^०h.</i>	त्र्यत्रद्युम् <i>tōyatr^०hyum^०.</i>
34 त्र्यत्रद् <i>tōyatr^०h.</i>	त्र्यत्रद्युम् <i>tōyatr^०hyum^०.</i>
35 पान्त्रद् <i>pānt^०atr^०h</i> or पान्त्रद् <i>pānt^०atr^०h.</i>	पान्त्रद्युम् <i>pānt^०atr^०hyum^०.</i>
36 षत्रद् <i>ṣayatr^०h.</i>	षत्रद्युम् <i>ṣayatr^०hyum^०.</i>
37 सत्रद् <i>satatr^०h.</i>	सत्रद्युम् <i>satatr^०hyum^०.</i>
38 अरत्रद् <i>aratr^०h.</i>	अरत्रद्युम् <i>aratr^०hyum^०.</i>
39 कुनताजिद् <i>kunatājih.</i>	कुनताजिद्युम् <i>kunatājihyum^०.</i>
40 त्रतजिद् <i>t^०atajih.</i>	त्रतजिद्युम् <i>t^०atajihyum^०.</i>

41 अकताजिच् <i>akatañjih.</i>	अकताजिच्सुम् <i>akatañjihyum¹.</i>
42 द्यताजिच् <i>dhyatāñjih.</i>	द्यताजिच्सुम् <i>dhyatāñjihyum².</i>
43 त्व्यताजिच् <i>teyatāñjih.</i>	त्व्यताजिच्सुम् <i>teyatāñjihyum².</i>
44 ष्यताजिच् <i>ṣhyatāñjih.</i>	ष्यताजिच्सुम् <i>ṣhyatāñjihyum².</i>
45 पान्त्वाजिच् <i>pāntṣatāñjih.</i>	पान्त्वाजिच्सुम् <i>pāntṣatāñjihyum².</i>
46 वयताजिच् <i>ṣayatāñjih.</i>	वयताजिच्सुम् <i>ṣayatāñjihyum².</i>
47 सतताजिच् <i>satatāñjih.</i>	सतताजिच्सुम् <i>satatāñjihyum².</i>
48 अरताजिच् <i>aratāñjih.</i>	अरताजिच्सुम् <i>aratāñjihyum².</i>
49 कुनवङ्गाच् <i>kunawanzāh.</i>	कुनवङ्गाच्सुम् <i>kunawanzāhyum².</i>
50 पन्त्वाच् <i>pantṣāh.</i>	पन्त्वाच्सुम् <i>pantṣāhyum².</i>
51 अकवङ्गाच् <i>akawanzāh.</i>	अकवङ्गाच्सुम् <i>akawanzāhyum².</i>
52 द्ववङ्गाच् <i>dōwanzāh.</i>	द्ववङ्गाच्सुम् <i>dōwanzāhyum².</i>
53 त्रवङ्गाच् <i>tr²wanzāh.</i>	त्रवङ्गाच्सुम् <i>tr²wanzāhyum².</i>
54 ष्ववङ्गाच् <i>ṣōwanzāh.</i>	ष्ववङ्गाच्सुम् <i>ṣōwanzāhyum².</i>
55 पान्त्स्ववङ्गाच् <i>pāntṣawanzāh.</i>	पान्त्स्ववङ्गाच्सुम् <i>pāntṣawanzāhyum².</i>
56 षवङ्गाच् <i>ṣawanzāh.</i>	षवङ्गाच्सुम् <i>ṣawanzāhyum².</i>
57 सतवङ्गाच् <i>satawanzāh.</i>	सतवङ्गाच्सुम् <i>satawanzāhyum².</i>
58 अरवङ्गाच् <i>arawanzāh.</i>	अरवङ्गाच्सुम् <i>arawanzāhyum².</i>
59 कुनचैच् <i>kunahaiñh.</i>	कुनचैच्सुम् <i>kunahaiñhyum².</i>
60 चैच् <i>çaiñh</i> or <i>चैच् <i>çēñh.</i></i>	चैच्सुम् <i>çaiñhyum².</i>
61 अकचैच् <i>akahaiñh.³</i>	अकचैच्सुम् <i>akahaiñhyum².</i>
62 दचैच् <i>dōhaiñh.</i>	दचैच्सुम् <i>dōhaiñhyum².</i>
63 त्रचैच् <i>tr²haiñh.</i>	त्रचैच्सुम् <i>tr²haiñhyum².</i>
64 षचैच् <i>ṣōhaiñh.</i>	षचैच्सुम् <i>ṣōhaiñhyum².</i>
65 पान्त्स्वचैच् <i>pāntṣahaiñh.</i>	पान्त्स्वचैच्सुम् <i>pāntṣahaiñhyum².</i>

¹ Sometimes pronounced *akatañjyum²*, and so throughout the forties; except forty-nine.

² Also pronounced *akahaiñh*, *akahaiñhyum²*, and so throughout the sixties, except sixty-nine.

66 व्हेइ <i>ṣ^ohaiṣh.</i>	व्हेइसुम् <i>ṣ^ohaiṣhyum^o.</i>
67 सतवैइ <i>satahaiṣh.</i>	सतवैइसुम् <i>satahaiṣhyum^o.</i>
68 अरवैइ <i>arahaiṣh.</i>	अरवैइसुम् <i>arahaiṣhyum^o.</i>
69 कुनसतव् <i>kunasatāth.</i>	कुनसतत्युम् <i>kunasatatyum^o.</i>
70 सतव् <i>satāth.</i>	सतत्युम् <i>satatyum^o.</i>
71 अकसतव् <i>akasatāth.</i>	अकसतत्युम् <i>akasatatyum^o.</i>
72 दुसतव् <i>dusatāth.¹</i>	दुसतत्युम् <i>dusatatyum^o.</i>
73 व्सतव् <i>tr^osaiṣh.</i>	व्सतत्युम् <i>tr^osatatyum^o.</i>
74 त्सतव् <i>tsḥsatāth.</i>	त्सतत्युम् <i>tsḥsatatyum^o.</i>
75 पान्त्वसतव् <i>pāntṣasatāth.</i>	पान्त्वसतत्युम् <i>pāntṣasatatyum^o.</i>
76 व्सतव् <i>ṣ^osaiṣh.</i>	व्सतत्युम् <i>ṣ^osatatyum^o.</i>
77 सतसतव् <i>satasatāth.</i>	सतसतत्युम् <i>satasatatyum^o.</i>
78 अरसतव् <i>arasatāth.</i>	अरसतत्युम् <i>arasatatyum^o.</i>
79 कुनश्रीव् <i>kunaṣīth.</i>	कुनश्रीत्युम् <i>kunaṣītyum^o.</i>
80 श्रीव् <i>ṣīth.</i>	श्रीत्युम् <i>ṣītyum^o.</i>
81 अकश्रीव् <i>akaṣīth.</i>	अकश्रीत्युम् <i>akaṣītyum^o.</i>
82 द्वयश्रीव् <i>dḥyaṣīth.</i>	द्वयश्रीत्युम् <i>dḥyaṣītyum^o.</i>
83 त्रयश्रीव् <i>trḥyaṣīth.</i>	त्रयश्रीत्युम् <i>trḥyaṣītyum^o.</i>
84 च्चयश्रीव् <i>tsḥyaṣīth.</i>	च्चयश्रीत्युम् <i>tsḥyaṣītyum^o.</i>
85 पान्त्वश्रीव् <i>pāntṣaṣīth.</i>	पान्त्वश्रीत्युम् <i>pāntṣaṣītyum^o.</i>
86 वयश्रीव् <i>ṣayaṣīth.</i>	वयश्रीत्युम् <i>ṣayaṣītyum^o.</i>
87 सतश्रीव् <i>sataṣīth.</i>	सतश्रीत्युम् <i>sataṣītyum^o.</i>
88 अरश्रीव् <i>araṣīth.</i>	अरश्रीत्युम् <i>araṣītyum^o.</i>
89 कुननमव् <i>kunanamāth.</i>	कुननमत्युम् <i>kunanamatyum^o.</i>
90 नमव् <i>namāth.</i>	नमत्युम् <i>namatyum^o.</i>
91 अकनमव् <i>akanamāth.</i>	अकनमत्युम् <i>akanamatyum^o.</i>

¹ Not द्वसतव् *dḥsatāth.*, as we might expect.

92 दुनमञ्च <i>dunamāth</i> . ¹	दुनमत्सुञ्च <i>dunamatyum</i> °.
93 त्रुनमञ्च <i>tr^onamāth</i> .	त्रुनमत्सुञ्च <i>tr^onamatyum</i> °.
94 त्रुणमञ्च <i>tr^oṇamāth</i> .	त्रुणमत्सुञ्च <i>tr^oṇamatyum</i> °.
95 पान्त्रुणमञ्च <i>pāntṛṇamāth</i> .	पान्त्रुणमत्सुञ्च <i>pāntṛṇamatyum</i> °.
96 त्रुणमञ्च <i>ṣ^onamāth</i> .	त्रुणमत्सुञ्च <i>ṣ^onamatyum</i> °.
97 सतनमञ्च <i>satanamāth</i> .	सतनमत्सुञ्च <i>satanamatyum</i> °.
98 अरनमञ्च <i>aranamāth</i> .	अरनमत्सुञ्च <i>aranamatyum</i> °.
99 नमानमञ्च <i>namānamāth</i> .	नमानमत्सुञ्च <i>namānamatyum</i> °.
100 हञ्च <i>hāth</i> .	हत्सुञ्च <i>hatyum</i> °.
101 अक्कहञ्च त अक्क <i>ākḥ hāth t^o ākḥ</i> , and so on.	अक्कहत्सुञ्च त अक्कसुञ्च <i>ākḥ hāth t^o ākyum</i> ° and so on.
110 अक्कहञ्च त दह <i>ākḥ hāth t^o dah</i> , and so on.	अक्कहत्सुञ्च त दहसुञ्च <i>ākḥ hāth t^o dahyum</i> ° and so on.
200 दुहञ्च <i>ṣ^oh hāth</i> .	दुहत्सुञ्च <i>duhatyum</i> °.
300 त्रिहञ्च <i>trihāth</i> .	त्रिहत्सुञ्च <i>tr^ohatyum</i> °.
400 त्रोरञ्च <i>tr^or hāth</i> .	त्रोरहत्सुञ्च <i>tr^orhatyum</i> °.
500 पान्त्रुहञ्च <i>pāntṛh hāth</i> .	पान्त्रुहत्सुञ्च <i>pāntṛhahatyum</i> °.
600 शहञ्च <i>śahāth</i> .	शहत्सुञ्च <i>śahatyum</i> °.
700 सत्तहञ्च <i>sāth hāth</i> .	सत्तहत्सुञ्च <i>satahatyum</i> °.
800 ऐत्तहञ्च <i>aiṭh hāth</i> .	ऐत्तहत्सुञ्च <i>aiṭhahatyum</i> °.
900 नवत्तहञ्च <i>nav ṣāth</i> .	नवत्तहत्सुञ्च <i>navāṣatyum</i> °.
1000 साञ्च <i>sā</i> .	साञ्चसुञ्च <i>sāṣyum</i> °.
10000 अञ्च <i>ayōth</i> .	अञ्चसुञ्च <i>ayōthyum</i> °.
100000 लञ्च <i>lāch</i> .	लञ्चसुञ्च <i>lāch^ohyum</i> °.
1,000,000 प्रञ्च <i>prayōth</i> .	प्रञ्चसुञ्च <i>prayōthyum</i> °.
10,000,000 क्करोञ्च <i>kōrōr</i> .	क्करोञ्चसुञ्च <i>kōrōryum</i> °.

अक्क *ākḥ* is one: अक्काञ्च *ākḥāch*, or अक्काञ्च अक्का *ākḥāch khaṇḍā* means 'some one,' or 'about one,' (ii, iii. 38, 45).

¹ Not दूनमञ्च *dōnamāth*, as we might expect.

अक् *ākḥ* is thus declined.

Nom.	अक् <i>ākḥ</i> .
Acc.	अकिक् <i>akis</i> .
Gen.	अक्युक् <i>akyuk^s</i> , or अकि संक् <i>ak^t sand^s</i> .
Ag.	अकि <i>ak^t</i> .

अकाक् *akhāḥ* is only used in the nominative (ii. iii. 38).

अकुक् *aku-y*, fem. अक्युक् *ak^s-y*, is 'only one.' So also कुक् *kun^s*, fem.

कुक् *kun^s*, means 'only one' (iv. 191).

इक् *s^h*, two, becomes इ *dw* in all cases except the nom. pl., and is thus declined (ii. iii. 32, 33).

	Sg. (a pair).	Pl. (two).
Nom.	(जोर <i>jōr^s</i>).	इक् <i>s^h</i> .
Acc.	(जोरक् <i>jōras</i>).	इक् <i>dwan</i> .
Ag.	(जोरक् <i>jōran</i>).	इयो <i>dwayau</i> .
Instr.	इयि इतिक् <i>dwayi sptin</i> (जोर इतिक् <i>jōr^s sptin</i>).	इयो इतिक् <i>dwayau sptin</i> .

जोराक् *jōrāḥ*, 'any pair,' 'some pair,' or 'about two,' is declined in the plural. Thus जोरायो इतिक् *jōrāhau sptin* (ii. iii. 38). जोराक् अथा *jōrāḥ khaṇḍa*, means 'about two, but a little less' (ii. iii. 45). इक् *s^h-y*, means 'only two.'

There are two words signifying 'a pair,' (iv. 192). These are इक् *har^s* (pl. इरि *har^t*) and जोर *jōr^s* or जूरि *jūr^t*.

इक् *har^s* is generally used of things without life; thus,—

अथइक् *dājēhar^s*, a pair of ear pendants.

दूरइक् *dūr^shar^s*, a pair of ear rings.

अकिइक् *wāḷ^thar^s*, a pair of rings (बोक् *wōḷ^s*).

पुक् *pul^shar^s*, a pair of grass sandals.

कावचद् *khrāv^hḥar^s*, a pair of wooden sandals.

द्वयद् *dkhhar^s*, one pair; त्रयद् *s^hḥar^t*, two pairs;

चत्वारि *trēhhar^t*, three pairs.

In the villages we find the word हूरि *hūr^t*. Thus द्दहूरि *dādahūr^t* a pair of bullocks. Here the word is used of a thing with life.

जोर *jōr^s* or जूरि *jūr^t* is used generally of things with life, but not always. Thus,—

मक्तजूरि *mōktajūr^t*, a pair of pearls.

द्दहजूरि *dādhajūr^t*, a pair of bullocks.

कोतरजूरि *kōtarjūr^t*, a pair of pigeons (कोतुर *kōtur*, a pigeon).

गुरिजूरि *gur^tjūr^t*, a pair of horses (गुर *gur^s*, a horse).

अखजोर *akhjōr^s*, one pair; अखजोर *s^hjōr^s*, two pairs; चत्वार *trēhjōr^s*, three pairs.

Note that जोर *jōr^s* and जूरि *jūr^t* are not interchangeable.

त्रि *trih*, three, is thus declined (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. त्रि *trih*.

Acc. त्रय *tryan (trēn)*.

Ag. त्रयो *trēyau*

The word तार *tār^s* is indefinite, and means 'about three.' त्रि *tri-y*, is 'only three' (ii. iii. 39).

'A group of three,' 'a trio,' is त्रि *tril^s*, (masc.), or (iv. 192) त्रि *trio^s* (fem.).

So also षट् *ṣaḥ*, six (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. षट् *ṣaḥ*.

Acc. षण् *ṣan*.

Ag. षण्यौ *ṣayau*.

'About six' is षट् *ṣakhāḥ*. 'Only six' is षट् *ṣa-y* (ii. iii. 42).

'A group of six' (iv. 192) षट् *ṣak^s*. It is also षट् *ṣakhāḥ*, and

षडाद् षडा *ṣakhāh khaṇḍā* means 'a group of about six' (ii. iii. 42). The latter usually means a group of a little less than six.

चौर् *ṭṣōr*, four, is thus declined (ii. iii. 35).

Nom. चौर् *ṭṣōr*.

Acc. चौरम् *ṭṣōran* or चन् *ṭṣōn*.

Ag. चोरी *ṭṣōrau*.

चत्वारि *ṭṣōmar^s*, (ii. iii. 40), means 'about four,' and चौरम् *ṭṣōra-y* is 'only four' (ii. iii. 40).

चार्त् *ṭṣākḥ* means 'a group of four,' 'a four' (iv. 192). चत्वारि *ṭṣākḥāh* means 'a group of about four, and चत्वारि षडा *ṭṣākḥāh khaṇḍā* means 'a group of a little less than four' (ii. iii. 45).

This numeral in composition becomes च् *ṭṣō*. Thus (*vide post*) चत्वारि *ṭṣōçaway*, even the four; चत्वारि *ṭṣōdāh*, fourteen: चत्वारि *ṭṣōwuh*, twenty-four, and so on.

The word for 'five' is पञ्चम् *pāntṣ* or पञ्च *pāntṣ*

Nom. पञ्चम् *pāntṣ*.

Acc. पञ्चम् *pāntṣan*.

Ag. पञ्चौ *pāntṣau*.

'About five' is पञ्च *pāntṣ^s*, and 'only five' is पञ्चम् *pāntṣa-y* (ii. iii. 41). पञ्चम् *pāntṣ^s* means 'a group of five' (iv. 192). पञ्चम् षडा *pāntṣāh khaṇḍā* means 'about five but a little less.'

For 'six,' see under 'three.'

The word for 'seven' is सप्त *sāth*. It is thus declined—

Acc. सप्तम् *satan*.

Ag. सप्तौ *satau*.

'About seven' is सप्त *sāth^s*. 'Only seven' is सप्तम् *sata-y* (ii. iii. 43).

सप्तम् *sāt^s* is a group of seven (iv. 192). सप्तम् षडा *sāthāh khaṇḍā* is 'about seven, but a little less.'

The declension and formation of the remaining numerals is regular.

'About' is signified by adding अमर *amar*^s, and 'only' by adding. अय् *ay* (ii. iii. 44).

Thus ऐठ् *aīṭh*, (acc. pl. ऐठन् *aīṭhan*); 'about eight,' ऐठमर *aīṭhamar*^s; 'only eight,' ऐठय् *aīṭha-y*. ऐठि *aīṭh*ⁱ, is a group of eight (iv. 192).

अठि *ūṭh*ⁱ (pl.) is groups of eight (e.g. four eights=thirty-two, चौर अठि दयय् *tsōr ūṭh dōyatr^sh*).

नव् *nav*, nine; नवमर *navamar*^s, about nine; नवय् *navay*, only nine.

ननु *ṇam*^s is a group of nine (iv. 192). ननुवाय् *ṇamwāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about nine, but a little less.

दह् *dah*, ten; दहमर *dahamar*^s, about ten; दहय् *dahay*, only ten.

दह् *dah*^s is a group of ten (iv. 192), and दहवाय् *dahwāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about ten, but a little less.

हथ् *hāth* is a hundred; हथवाय् *hāthāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about a hundred, but a little less.

The word for 'fifty' is पन्नाय् *pañṇāh*, the प *pa* of which becomes व *wa* in composition (iii. 10). Thus, वव-वन्नाय् *aka-wanzāh*, fifty-one; द्व-वन्नाय् *dō-wanzāh*, fifty-two; कुन-वन्नाय् *kun^s-wanzāh*, forty-nine.

The word for 'sixty' is षेठ् *ṣēṭh* (iv, 176) or षैठ् *ṣaiṭh*, the ष् *ṣ* of both of which becomes ह् *h* in composition (iii. 11). Thus कुन-षेठ् *kun^s-haiṭh*, fifty-nine; द्व-षेठ् *dō-haiṭh*, sixty-two.

हथ् *hāth*; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition up to and including eight hundred (iv. 115); thus

अक्वय् *ākhhāth*, one hundred, अक्वय् *z^shhāth* two hundred, त्रिहथ् *trihāth* (dropping ह् *h*), three hundred.

हथ् *ṣāth*; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition after eight hundred (iv. 116); thus

नवहथ् *navṣāth*, nine hundred; काहथ् *kāhṣāth*, eleven hundred; बाहथ् *bāhṣāth*, twelve hundred.

The following terms are peculiar to counting (iv. 174-177).

(a) ^ॐदुक् *ḍūk* means two pice.

(b) हक् *hāth* means a pice, when more than two are referred to in counting. Thus, त्रिहक् *trihāth*, three pice; चोर्हक् *tsōrhāth*, four pice; पँचहक् *pāñc-hāth*, five pice. As in the case of numerals, हक् *hāth*, becomes षक् *ṣāth* from nine on. Thus;—नवषक् *navṣāth*. Ten pice are also called साक् *sāṣ*, lit. a thousand.

(c) जन् ^ॐ*zan*, this is the word used in counting persons. Thus जन्नि पंचाद्मर *zan^ḥ pañcādmara*, about fifty men. षेठ् जन्नि *ṣēth zan^ḥ*, sixty men.

(d) लूक् *lūkh*. This word must be used in counting persons by hundreds or thousands. Thus हक् लूक् *hāth lūk^ḥ*, a hundred people; ज्जहक् लूक् *z^ḥhhāth lūk^ḥ*, two hundred persons; त्रिहक् लूक् *trihāth lūk^ḥ* three hundred people. We also sometimes, however, but rarely, have हक् जन्नि *hāth zani*, a hundred people, साक् जन्नि *sāṣ zani*, a thousand people, in both of which the *i* is fully pronounced.

When the emphatic च् *y* is added to numerals, we get the following forms—

द्वयवच् *dḍṣawa-y*, or द्दयवच् *dḍnawa-y* even both.

त्रयवच् *trēṣawa-y* or त्रयवच् *tryanawa-y*, even all three.

चत्वारवच् *tsḍṣawa-y* or चत्वारवच् *tsḍnawa-y*, even all four.

पँचवच् *pāñcawa-y*, even all five.

षडवच् *ṣaṣawa-y* or षडवच् *ṣanawa-y*, even all six.

सप्तवच् *satawa-y*, even the seven.

अष्टवच् *aṣṭhawa-y*, even the eight.

नववच् *navawa-y* even the nine.

And so on.

The acc. is नववनी *navawani*. The agent is नववचि *navawayi*, and so for all, (iv. 186-188).

We may also say द्विज् द्वयवच् *dwij^ḥ dḍṣawa-y*; त्रिज् त्रयवच् *trij^ḥ traw^ḥ nawawa-y*, and so in all, repeating the first element, (iv. 189).

In multiplication, the numerals take special forms, as follows :—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. एकि क्वा नाम् <i>ək^h kyā nām.</i> | 16. पुरादि <i>ṣurāh^h.</i> |
| 2. द्वगनि <i>dōgani^h.</i> | 17. सदादि <i>sadāh^h.</i> |
| 3. त्रान् <i>trān^o.</i> | 18. अरदादि <i>aradāh^h.</i> |
| 4. चाक् <i>tsāk^h.</i> | 19. कुनवुदि <i>kunawuh^h.</i> |
| 5. पञ्चि <i>panz^h.</i> | 20. वुदि <i>wuh^h.</i> |
| 6. षक् <i>ṣak^o.</i> | 21. अकवुदि <i>akawuh^h.</i> |
| 7. सति <i>sat^h.</i> | 30. त्ति <i>tr^h.</i> |
| 8. अठि <i>ūth^h.</i> | 31. अकत्ति <i>akatr^h.</i> |
| 9. नमि <i>nam^h.</i> | 40. अतजिदि <i>tsatajih^h.</i> |
| 10. दादि <i>dāh^h.</i> | 50. पन्दादि <i>pantsāh^h.</i> |
| 11. कादि <i>kāh^h.</i> | 60. शीठि <i>ṣīth^h.</i> |
| 12. बादि <i>bāh^h.</i> | 70. सतति <i>sat^h.</i> |
| 13. त्रुवादि <i>truwāh^h.</i> | 80. शीति <i>ṣīth^h.</i> |
| 14. दादि <i>tsādāh^h.</i> | 90. नमति <i>namat^h.</i> |
| 15. पन्दादि <i>pandāh^h.</i> | 100. हति <i>hat^h.</i> |

They are used as follows :—

एक् एकि क्वा नाम् एक् *ək^h ək^h kyā nām ək^h*, one one (is) one.

द्वग् एकि क्वा नाम् द्वग् *z^oh ək^h kyā nām z^oh*, two ones (are) two.

त्रिद् द्वगनि षद् *trih dōgani^h ṣah*, three twos (are) six.

सय् षक् दयताजिद् *sāth ṣak^o dōyatājih*, seven sixes (are) forty-two.

These special forms may be called multiplicative numerals. Multiplicatives above ten can only be used with numerals above ten. Thus काक् बादि एक् षय् त दयत्त् *kāh bāh^h ək^h hāth t^o dōyat^h*, eleven twelves (are) a hundred and thirty-two. We cannot say चोर् कादि अरताजिद् *tsōr kāh^h aratājih*, four twelves are forty-eight, because four is not greater than ten. We can only say बाक् चाक् अरताजिद् *bāh tsāk^h aratājih*, twelve fours (are) forty-eight.

G. Pronouns.

These change their bases in Declension. The following paradigms will give sufficient information.

बद् bōh, I.

Nom.	बद् bōh (ii. iii. 8).	बदि bōh ¹ (15).
Acc.	ब्य mē (8).	बय्य asē (15).
Ag.	ब्य mē (8, 9).	बय्य asē (15).
Gen.	ब्योन् myōn* (11).	ब्योन् sōn* (19).

Genitive Forms.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Masc.	ब्योन् myōn*.	ब्योनि myōn ¹ .
Fem.	ब्योन् myōñ.	ब्योन् myōñē.

Similarly for the Plural.

बद् tē^h, thou.

Nom.	बद् tē ^h (ii. iii. 8).	बदि twōh ¹ (15).
Acc.	ब्य tēē (8).	बय्य tōhē (15).
Ag.	ब्य tēe (8, 9).	बय्य tōhē (15).
Gen.	ब्योन् cyōn* (11).	ब्योन् tuhōn* (16).

Genitive Forms.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Masc.	ब्योन् cyōn*.	ब्योनि cyōn ¹ .
Fem.	ब्योन् cyōñ.	ब्योन् cyōñē.

Similarly for the Plural.

तिच् *tih*, that (out of sight), he, she, it.

Nom.	Masc.	सुच् <i>suh</i> (ii. iii. 2); तिच् <i>tim</i> (16).
	fem.	सहच् <i>sôh</i> , or स <i>sa</i> (3); neut. तिच् <i>tih</i> (1).
Acc.	(Masc. fem.)	तमिच् <i>tamis</i> तिमन् <i>timan</i> (16). (5); तच् <i>tas</i> (20); neut. तच् <i>tâth</i> (7).
Ag.	(M. n.)	तमि <i>tam</i> ¹ (5); f. तिमौ <i>timau</i> (16). तमि <i>tami</i> .
Gen.	(M. f.)	तमि सन्दु <i>tam</i> ¹ तिचन्दु <i>tihand</i> ^o ; तिमन् सन्दु <i>sand</i> ^o ; तचन्दु <i>tasand</i> ^o ; तिमन् हन्दु <i>timan hand</i> ^o (16, 20). तच् <i>tas</i> (20); (n.) तम्युकु <i>tamyuk</i> ^o .

This pronoun only refers to things not within sight. For things within sight उच् *huh* is used.

The neuter form agrees with all things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine. Thus तच् पोथ्य परमच् कित्तु प्रह् *tâth pôthê paranas kyut^o pragg*, a couch for reading that book. So in the case of the other pronouns. The plural is the same for all three genders. So elsewhere.

यिच् *yih*, who.

Nom.	Masc.	युच् <i>yus</i> (ii. iii. 2); यिच् <i>yim</i> (16).
	fem.	यस्य <i>yôs</i> ^o (4); neut. यिच् <i>yih</i> (1).
Acc.	(Masc. fem.)	यमिच् <i>yômis</i> यिमन् <i>yiman</i> (16). (5); यच् <i>yas</i> (20), neut. यच् <i>yâth</i> (7).
Ag.	(M. n.)	यमि <i>yam</i> ¹ (5); (f.) यिमौ <i>yimau</i> (16). यमि <i>yami</i> (5).

- Gen. (M. f.) यमि चन्दु *yamⁱ çand^u* विचन्दु *viçand^u*; यिमन् चन्दु *yimān çand^u*; यसन्दु *yaçand^u* यिमन् चन्दु *yiman çand^u* (16, 20).
(20); यस् *yas* (20); (n.)
चम्युकु *yemyuk^u*.

क्याद् *kyāh*, who, what ?

- Nom. Masc. कुस् *kus* (ii. iii. 2); कम् *kam* (16).
fem. कस् *kōs* (4);
neut. क्याद् *kyāh* (1).
- Acc. (Masc. fem.) कमिस् (5); कमान् *kaman* (16).
कस् *kas* (20); (neut.)
कथ् *kāth* (7).
- Ag. (M. n.) कम्नि *kamⁱ* (5); कमाउ *kamau* (16).
(f.) कामि *kami* (5).
- Gen. (M. f.) कम्नि चन्दु *kamⁱ çand^u* कचन्दु *kacand^u*; कमान् चन्दु *kaman çand^u*;
çand^u; कसन्दु *kaçand^u*; *kaman çand^u* (16, 20).
कस् *kas* (20); n. कम्युकु *kamyuk^u*.

इय् *yih*, this.

- Nom. Masc. इय् *yih* (ii. iii. 2); इम *yim* (16).
fem. इय् *yih* (3); neut.
इय् *yih* (1).
- Acc. (Masc. fem.) इमिस् *yimis* इमन् *yiman* (16).
(5); न्मिस् *nōmis* (5);
neut. इय् *yih* (7); न्थ् *nōth* (7).

- Ag. (M. n.) इमि *yim*¹ (5); इमौ *yimau* (16).
 ऋमि *nwam*¹ (5); (f.)
 इमि *yimi* (5); ऋमि
nomi (5).
- Gen. (M. f.) इमि संद्दु *yim*¹ इसंद्दु *yihand*²; इमन् संद्दु
*sand*²; इसंद्दु *yisand*² *yiman hand*² (16, 20).
 (20); ऋमि संद्दु *nwam*¹
*sand*²; (n.) इम्युक् *yim-*
*yuk*²; ऋम्युक् *nomyuk*².

उद् हुह, that (within sight).

- Nom. Masc. उद् हुह (ii. iii. 2); उद् हुम (16).
 fem. ऊद् हॊह (3);
 neut. उद् हुह (1).
- Acc. (Masc. fem.) उमिस् *humis* उमन् *human* (16).
 (5); अमिस् *amis* (6);
 neut. उद् हुह (7).
- Ag. (M. n.) उमि *hum*¹ (5); उमौ *humau* (16).
 अमि *am*¹ (6); (f.)
 उमि *humi* (5); अमि
ami (5).
- Gen. (M. f.) उमि संद्दु *hum*¹ उसंद्दु *huhand*²; उमन् संद्दु
*sand*²; अमि संद्दु *am*¹ *human hand*² (16, 20).
*sand*²; उसंद्दु *husand*²;
 असंद्दु *asand*² (20);
 (n.) उम्युक् *humyuk*²;
 अम्युक् *amyuk*².

This pronoun only refers to things within sight. For things out of sight, तिद् *tih* is used.

The Reflexive Pronoun.

The word पाज् *pān*^a, self, is declined only in the singular (ii. iii. 36).

Its genitive is irregular (37). Thus,—

Nom.	पाज् <i>pān</i> ^a , self or selves.
Acc.	पाजन् <i>pānas</i> , self or selves.
Gen.	पानुन् <i>panun</i> ^a (fem. पान् <i>panāñ</i>).
Ag.	पाज् <i>pān</i> ^a , by self or selves (NOT पाजन् <i>pānan</i>).

[Example म् पाज् कर्त्तुम् *mā pān^a karu-m* by me, myself, it was done].

The word पाज् *pān*, meaning the human body is declined regularly in both numbers, like a noun of the first declension. Its genitive is hence पानुन् *pānuk*^a (ii. iii. 36, 37).

Pronominal adjectives (ii. iii. 25–27).

यत् <i>yūt</i> ^a , this much.	Fem. यत् <i>yūt^a</i> .
तुत् <i>tyūt</i> ^a , that much.	तुत् <i>tyūt^a</i> .
य्यत् <i>yyūt</i> ^a , how much.	य्यत् <i>yyūt^a</i> .
कुत् <i>kūt</i> ^a , how much.	कुत् <i>kūt^a</i> .

The declension of these is given under the head of nouns, see p. 55.

Indefinite Pronouns.

काँक् *kāñh* or कुँक् *kūñh* or काँक् *kāñhāñh* any one, some one, (m. and f.) (ii. iii. 29, 30, 31).

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	कुँक् <i>kūñh</i> काँक् <i>kāñh</i> or काँक् <i>kāñhāñh</i> .	केन्क् <i>kēñk</i> .
Acc.	कैँसि <i>kāisi</i> .	केन्क् <i>kēñkan</i> .
Ag.	कैँसि <i>kāisi</i> .	केन्को <i>kēñkau</i> .

In the singular it is always declined like a feminine noun, even in the masculine.

काँक् *kāñhāñh*, means 'any thing' (ii. iii. 31).

It is not declined.

H. Emphatic and Indefinite Particles.

(ii. iii. 21 ; iv. 126).

The particle *y* is added to all words to give emphasis. It may be added either to the main word or to the declensional or conjugational suffix. When added to a word ending in a consonant it becomes *y*. Thus,—

तसंदुय् <i>tasanduy</i> , even his,	from	तसंदु <i>tasand*</i> , his.
तमि संदुय् <i>tamⁱ sanduy</i> , even his,		तमि संदु <i>tamⁱ sand*</i> , his.
ग्वरसुय् ग्वर <i>gōras^y andar</i> , even in the preceptor.		ग्वरस् ग्वर <i>gōras andar</i> , in the preceptor.
ग्वरनय् ग्वर <i>gōran^y andar</i> , even in the preceptors.		ग्वरन् ग्वर <i>gōran andar</i> in the preceptors.
ग्वरनय् हन्दि पुञ् <i>gōran^y handi putshy</i> , even to the preceptors.		ग्वरन् हन्दि पुञ् <i>gōran handi putshy</i> to the preceptors.
or		
ग्वरन् हन्दि पुञ् <i>gōran handiy putshy</i>		
or		
ग्वरन् हन्दि पुञ्चि <i>gōran handi putshiy.*</i>		
गातुलुय् <i>gātuluy</i> , certainly clever,	from	गातुलु <i>gātul*</i> , clever.
करानुय् चुक् <i>karān^y chuh</i> , he is certainly doing.		करान् चुक् <i>karān chuh</i> , he is doing.
करोनुय् <i>karyōn^y</i> , he certainly did.		करोन् <i>karyōn</i> , he did.
करिय् <i>kariy</i> , he will certainly do.		करि <i>kari</i> , he will do.
तिथय् <i>tithay</i> , even in that manner.		तिथ <i>tith*</i> in that manner.

The word सो *sōr**, all, always takes this suffix (ii. iii. 22).

Thus,—

Nom. sg. सोसय् *sōruy* ; Nom. pl. सारिय् *sāriy* ; instead of सो *sōr**
सारि *sārⁱ*, respectively.

* पुञ् *putshy* is really another way of writing पुञ्चि *putshⁱ*.

When *y* is suffixed to the letter *औ* *au*, the two together become *अव्यु* *av^y*, (ii. iii. 23).

Thus,—

गुर्याव्यु *guryav^y sṭin*, by the horses certainly, from गुर्याँ *guryāu sṭin*, by the horses.

नमव्यु *namav^y sṭin*, even by the nails, from नमो *namau sṭin*.

Indefiniteness is shown by adding *आह्* *āh* to a noun in the nom. sing. The termination cannot be added to other cases (ii. iii. 38).

कथाह् *kathāh*, any story, from कथ् *kāth*, a story; अथाह् *akhāh*, some one, any one, from अथ् *ākh*, one; जोराह् *jōrāh*, some pair or other, from जोर *jōrā*, a pair. The last may, however, be declined, thus जोराहो *jōrāho sṭin* by any pair.

When *खण्डा* *khaṇḍā* is added to these words, it indicates a slight diminution. Thus क्रुह् *kruh*, a *kōs*; क्रुहाह् *kruhāh*, about a *kōs*; क्रुहाह् *kruhāh khaṇḍā*, about a *kōs*, but a little less; so दहाह् *dohāh khaṇḍā*, about a day, but something less; राथाह् *raṭhāh khaṇḍā*, about a season but something less; रुपयाह् *rupayāh khaṇḍā*, about a rupee, but something less. The syllable *आह्* *āh* may be omitted, and then *अह्* *khaṇḍ* not *खण्डा* *khaṇḍā* is used. Thus, क्रुह् *kruh khaṇḍ*, about a *kōs*, but a little less.

The suffix *जू* *z^u* added to a word signifies a group, or number. Thus, from कथ् *kāth*, rams, कथजू *kāṭaz^u*, a number of rams; from गुरि *guri*, horses, गुरिजू *guriz^u*, a number of horses, a troop of horses; from रुपय *rupay*, rupees, रुपयजू *rupayōz^u*, a number of rupees; कण *kañ* stones, कणजू *kañōz^u*, a heap of stones (ii. iii. 46).

The word *पहान्* *pahān* qualifies the word which it follows (iv. 193). Thus,—

बड़ पहान् *baḍ^u pahān*, somewhat big.

बड़ पहान् *vyāṭh^u pahān*, somewhat stout.

उपुष् पदान् *wuṣuṣ pahān*, somewhat hot.

दूर पदान् *dūr pahān*, somewhat distant.

न्यूर पदान् *nyūr pahān*, somewhat near.

नीड पदान् *brōṭh pahān*, somewhat in front.

पश् पदान् *pāth pahān*, somewhat behind.

बीरि पदान् *tāi^r pahān*, after some time (चेर *tāēr*, delay).

काश्मिर् पदान् *kāçur^r pahān*, somewhat Kashmiri.

बंगालुक पदान् *baygāluk^r pahān*, somewhat Bengali.

उरुयुंद पदान् *wuhuryund^r pahān*, somewhat in that direction.

यहुर्युंद पदान् *yahuryund^r pahān*, somewhat in this direction.

The following conjunctions are given by Īçvara-kaula.

त *t^o*, and (iv. 178). *E.g.*, तुश् त च्श् *suh t^o t^oh*, he and thou.

ति *tⁱ*, also (iv. 179). It is also used instead of त *t^o* with plurals.

Thus,—तुश् ति च्श् ति *suh ti t^oh ti*, he also, you also. महनिवि ति गुपन् ति च्चाय् *mahanivⁱ ti gupan ti āy*, both the men and the cattle came. We cannot say महनिवि त गुपन् त च्चाय् *mahanivⁱ t^o gupan t^o āy*.

बिय *biy^r*, means, 'again.' It also means 'other,' (iv. 180). Thus, बिय करिज़ि *biy^r kar^rzi*, you should do it again. बिय बति *biya wati* by another road.

ज़न् *zan*, like (iv. 181). *E.g.*, तोत ज़न् चुश् परान् *tōt^o zan chuṣ parān*, he reads like a parrot. माळिस् ज़न् चुश् रवान् *mālis zan chuṣ rachān*, he protects him as if he (the object) was his father.

ह्युश् *hyuh^r* (also written चिह् *hih^r*), fem. हिष् *hiṣ^r*, means 'like,' (iv. 182, 183). *E.g.*, माळिस् ह्युश् *mālis hyuh^r*, like his father, (*e.g.*, this child is like his father). मोल् ह्युश् चुश् *mōl^r hyuh^r chu-s* (*s* is the dative pronominal suffix of the 3rd person), he is like a father to him. सन् ह्युश् चुश् नीपान् *śon hyuh^r chuṣ nīpān*, it is shining like gold. We also have phrases like बुद् ह्युश् अनियन् *bud^r hyuh^r an^rzyan*, bring whoever (amongst them) is old, ——— not, bring him like an old man.

I. On the Rhyming Repetition of words (*anuprāsa*).

Words of any kind are repeated to show indefiniteness or reciprocity. In such a case the letter व *w* or व *p* is usually substituted in the second word, for the first letter of the original word (viii. i. 30). Thus,

करान् वरान् कुव् *karān warān kuh*, he is doing it or nearly doing it.

यार्यार्य अनिन् *dyār vyār anin*, let him bring the wealth, &c.

वत वत खयिन् *but^o wat^o khyayin*, let him eat rice, &c.

अन्वारं वन्वारं *anwār wanwār* or अन्वारं पन्वारं *anwār panwār*, turn and turn about.

If the main word begins with प *p* or व *v* or व *w*, the second begins with व *v* or व *w* or व *p* respectively (viii. i. 31). Thus,—

पद् पद् *par war*, read (imperative), &c.

पैस पैस दितिन् *paś^o waś^o ditin*, let him give pice and the like.

बौजन् पौजन् अन् *wājan pājan an*, bring brinjals and other like vegetables.

वाज् वाज् चिद् *wāz^o pāz^o chih*, they are cooks, &c.

The word वुत्तु (विष्णु) *vyuṭṭ^o*, a collection, makes वुत्तु, पीत्तु, *vyuṭṭ^o pīṭṭ^o*, an omnium gatherum.

There are irregular formations, such as (viii. i. 32).

न्युक् (निकु) सुक् *nyuk^o suk^o*, a collection. न्युक् *nyuk^o* means literally 'a little.'

म्यंङ् म्यंङ् *myanṅ^o tyanṅ^o*, mouthfuls, &c.

कल् कल् *kaḷ^o kaḷ^o*, crooked, &c.; but

वल् वल् *vaḷ^o vaḷ^o*, girdles and the like.

हान्ज् गान्ज् *hānz^o gānz^o*, boatmen, &c.

फाल् फाल् *phaḷ^o phyaḷ^o*, ornaments, &c.

वोन्त वेन्त *ōnt^o wōnt^o*, shallow and the like.

These compounds are feminine when they denote reciprocity. For examples, see p. 71.

J. Forms of address.

Instead of a formal vocative case, Kāçmiri uses a number of Interjections, each causing or not causing the changes in the base of the noun with which they are used. The following is an abstract table showing the Interjections described by Içvara-kaula, in the *Sambuddhi-pāda* (ii. 2) of his grammar. As a rule, before interjectional suffixes, व् *w-mātrā* and ञ् *ñ-mātrā* are changed to इ *i* (or य् *y*).

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
2	ॐ <i>hē</i> .	Respectful. By man to man.	नारान् <i>nārān</i> (N. P.)	ॐ नारान् <i>hē nārān</i> .
3	ॐ <i>hē</i> — जुव् <i>juv</i> (or a caste-word instead of <i>juv</i>).	Ditto.	नव कौञ् <i>gaṇe-kaul</i> (N. P.)	ॐ नारान् जुव् <i>hē nārān juv</i> . ॐ नव कौञ् <i>hē gaṇe-kaul</i> .
4	ॐ <i>sā</i> may be added after any of the above. वतसचि <i>hataśāḥ</i> may be substituted for ॐ <i>hē</i> .	Ditto.		ॐ नारान् चि <i>hē nārān śā</i> . ॐ नारान् जुव् चि <i>hātaśāḥ nārān juv</i> . वतसचि रास कौञ् <i>hataśāḥ rāse-kaul</i> . वतसचि नारान् जुव् चि <i>hataśāḥ nārān juv śā</i> .

<p>Or वसचि <i>hasāhē</i>. With these, if neither जुव <i>juv</i> nor any caste- word is used, then सो <i>sō</i> must be added. चे <i>hē</i>—वा <i>bā</i> used without जुव <i>juv</i> or caste-word.</p>	<p>In addressing a priest, a person of the mid- dle class, or a ser- vant.</p>	<p>नाराव् <i>nārāv</i>.</p>	<p>वसचि राव कोव् सो <i>hasasāhē rāmō</i>. <i>kaul sō</i>. वसचि नाराव् जुव् <i>hasāhē nārān juv</i>. वसचि नव सो. <i>hasasāhē gapō sō</i>. चे नाराव् वा <i>hā nārān bā</i>.</p>
<p>वसचि <i>hasāhē</i> or वसचि <i>katābāhē</i>. —वा <i>ā</i> added either to the bare name or to the caste-word.</p>	<p>If the above are old. In addressing male juniors or inferiors.</p>	<p>सहज <i>sahas</i> (N. P.) जून <i>zans</i> (N. P.)</p>	<p>वसचि सवज् वा <i>hasasāhē sahas bā</i>. वसचि जून वा <i>katābāhē zans bā</i>. नारावा <i>nārāvā</i>. नाराव् जुवा <i>nārān juvā</i>.</p>
<p>Or preceded by वता <i>hatā</i>.</p>	<p>Ditto.</p>	<p>मान <i>māns</i> (N. P.) मान कोव् <i>māns-kaul</i>. मुजू <i>gul</i> (N. P.)</p>	<p>वता माना <i>hatā mānā</i>. वता मान कोवा <i>hatā māns-kaulā</i>. वता मुजा <i>hatā gulyā</i> (note the change of <i>o</i> to <i>y</i>). वा नारावो <i>hā nārānō</i>.</p>
<p>वा <i>hā</i>—को <i>ō</i>.</p>	<p>In addressing a per- son at a distance, or in sorrow.</p>	<p>काव् <i>kāv</i>, a father.</p>	<p>वा काको <i>hā kākō</i>.</p>

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
10	<p>वतो <i>hatō</i> may be substituted for वृ <i>hā</i>.</p>	<p>In addressing a person at a distance, or in sorrow.</p>	<p>वत् <i>pṛṣṭ</i> (N. P.)</p>	<p>वतो वयो <i>hatō paryō</i> (note vowel change).</p>
11	<p>—स <i>māy</i> added to the bare name.</p>	<p>When a man addresses an elder woman.</p>	<p>पावत् <i>pārvat</i> (N. P.)</p>	<p>पावत् मातु <i>pārvat māj</i>.</p>
12	<p>वि <i>bi</i>.</p>	<p>When she is moderate in age, or of an age equal to that of the speaker.</p>		<p>पावत् वि <i>pārvat bi</i>.</p>
13	<p>वतमातु <i>hata māj</i> or वतवि <i>hatabi</i> may precede.</p>	<p>As in the two last.</p>	<p>वतमातु <i>hata māj</i> or वतवि <i>hatabi</i> may precede.</p>	<p>वतमातु पावत् मातु <i>hata māj pārvat māj</i>.</p> <p>वतवि <i>hatabi</i> <i>pārvat bi</i>.</p> <p>वतवि <i>hatabi</i> <i>sarasvat</i> <i>bi</i>.</p> <p>वतवि <i>hatabi</i> <i>pārvat māj</i>.</p>

14 } 15 }	<p>बाय् <i>hāy</i>—य् <i>y</i>. वतय् <i>hatay</i>—य् <i>y</i>. वतय् <i>hatāy</i>—य् <i>y</i>.</p>	In addressing female juniors or inferiors.	<p>बहय् <i>wapūhars</i>, child. विसय् <i>himat</i> (N. P.)</p>	<p>बाय् ववृरिक् <i>hāy wats̄harīy</i> (note change of vowel). वतय् ववृरिक् <i>hatay wats̄harīy</i>. वतय् ववृरिक् <i>hatāy wats̄harīy</i>. वतया विसय् वा <i>hatabā himat bā</i>.</p>
16 } 18 } 25 }	<p>वतया <i>hatabā</i>—वा <i>bā</i>. वतया <i>hatabā</i>—वो <i>au</i>. वतो <i>hatau</i>—वो <i>au</i>.</p>	<p>When a woman addresses a man or woman respectfully. More especially in addressing a priest. Ditto, in addressing familiars or juniors (male or female).</p>	•	<p>वतया वाको <i>hatabā kākau</i>. वतो वाको <i>hatau kākau</i>. वतो विसय् कोको <i>hatau himat kōkau</i>. वतया वाक् <i>hatabā kāk°</i>. वतो मय् <i>hatau gap°</i>.</p>
17 } 18 } 25 }	<p>वतया <i>hatabā</i>—अ <i>a</i>. वतो <i>hatau</i>—अ <i>a</i>.</p>	Ditto.	<p>बाय् <i>kāk</i>, a father. मय् <i>gap°</i>, (N. P.)</p>	<p>वतया वाको <i>hatabā kāk°</i>. वतो मय् <i>hatau gap°</i>.</p>
19 } 25 }	<p>वतया <i>hatabā</i>—अ <i>a</i>. वतो <i>hatau</i>—अ <i>a</i>.</p>	Used by women in addressing men or women by their proper names only,	<p>मय् <i>gap°</i>, (N. P.) मय् <i>gap°</i>, (N. P.)</p>	<p>वतया मय् <i>hatabā mahādēv°</i> <i>bāy°</i>. वतया मय् <i>hatau mahādēv°</i> <i>bāyau</i>.</p>
20 } 25 }	<p>वतया <i>hatabā</i>—अ <i>a</i> वाय् <i>a</i> <i>bāy°</i>. वतया <i>hatabā</i>—अ <i>a</i> वायो <i>a bayau</i>. वतो <i>hatau</i>—अ</p>			

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
21 } 25 }	<p>बाचो <i>a bāyau.</i></p> <p>बतोव् <i>hatōv—वो au.</i></p>	<p>we cannot say बतबा बाक बाच <i>hatabā</i> <i>hāk° bāy°</i>, O father. Used by women in addressing a man or woman at a dis- tance.</p>	<p>मनसा एव् <i>manasā rōm</i> (N. P.)</p>	<p>बतो मचारेव् बाचो <i>hatau mahādēv°</i> <i>bāyau.</i></p> <p>बतोव् मनसा एव् <i>hatōv manasā rāmanu</i></p>
22		<p>Also by Musalmān women in address- ing their husbands.</p>	<p>कादिर् <i>kādir.</i></p>	<p>बतोव् कादिरो <i>hatōv kādirau.</i></p>
23		<p>Not by Brāhmaṇi women, who only use the following.</p>		
24	<p>बत <i>hat°.</i></p>	<p>Used by a Brāhmaṇi women when ad- dressing her hus- band, when she is</p>		<p>बत <i>hat°.</i></p>

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
29	न नो.	Similarly used as a negative.		<p>बावसो बत वसो हुय रनाम् <i>dhanaṣṣ bats</i> <i>hasṣ chuh ranān</i>, yes, Sir, he is cooking rice.</p> <p>ववा क्ताम् ववा हुय नबो <i>karān nabō</i> <i>chuh</i>, no, Sir, he is not doing.</p> <p>बावसो नाताम् वसो हुय वूचि वताम् <i>dhanaṣṣ nārān hasṣ chuh pūthi parān</i> yes, Sir, Nārāyaṇa is reading the book.</p> <p>बावसा तास ववा हुय स्वप्न क्ताम् <i>dhanaṣṣ tāsa habā chū-s nēnder</i> <i>karān</i>, yes, Sir, Rāma is having his sleep.</p>

Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla of Prāgyōtiṣa in Āsām.—By

DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E.

(With Plates VIII–XIII).

[Read January, 1898.]

These two grants were also sent to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., one in May 1896, the other in April 1897.¹ The former was found in Suālkucī. About the find-place of the latter, nothing is known. It is now in the possession of a cultivator of Nāhorhābi village, Mauza Bargāṣ, District Darrang, Subdivision Tējpur, who says that it was discovered by his grandfather. As it is convenient to give it a name, and as Tējpur is already appropriated by another Āsām grant, published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, it may be called the Bargāon copper-plate.

The Suālkucī grant unfortunately is in a very bad condition as will be described hereafter. Without the Bargāon grant, with which most of its contents are identical, it would have been impossible to make any thing satisfactory of it. The Bargāon grant is in an almost perfect condition, and hence I will describe it first.

I. THE BARGĀON GRANT.

This grant and its seal are just like the Gauhaṭi grant of Indrapāla. This will be seen from the photograph (Plates VIII–X), so that I need not repeat their description. The plates, of which there are three, measure $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The seal measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The two outside plates are only inscribed on their inner sides. The interior plate has 20 lines on each side; the other two inscribed sides have 17 and 15 lines respectively.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. It differs from other grants, in giving a portion of the genealogy of the donor in prose. The earlier part of the genealogy, referring to Ratnapāla's ancestry, is in poetry, *viz.*, from the beginning down to line 28. From here the

¹ See my papers on the previous Gauhaṭi and Nowgong Grants, in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 113, 285.

description of Ratnapāla's residence and person is in prose, down to line 52. The remainder is as usual: namely the description of the land, its perquisites and boundaries is in prose, *viz.*, from line 52 down line 58, and lines 58 to 64; but the genealogy of the donee is in verse, from lines 65 to 72.

The composition is very laboured; and the fact that about one-half of the royal genealogy is in prose suggests that the writer's literary powers were not equal to the task of versifying the whole.

The mechanical execution of the grant is very slovenly and inaccurate; it is, in this respect, even worse than that of the Gauhaṭī grant. Syllables are frequently omitted; thus l. 1, *duṣṭā* for *nirduṣṭā*(?); l. 13, *kṣi* for *kṣiti*; l. 15, *khim* for *kṣitim*; l. 52, *Ratnapā* for *Ratnapāla*, etc. Similarly letters are omitted: *e. g.*, l. 11, *anaya* for *anayaḍ*; l. 22, *anurāgā* for *anurāgāḥ*. Occasionally superfluous syllables are inserted; *e. g.*, l. 2, *anēkinśbhavan* for *anēki-bhavan*; l. 8, *kuṇḍalēna* for *kuṇḍalē*. Similarly a superfluous *l* is added in l. 14, *jayaḷ-labḍha* for *jaya-labḍha*, l. 45, *udbhāsanal-lāḡā*, etc. Anusvāra and visarga are very frequently omitted; see the footnotes 4, 15, 18, etc. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged; *e. g.*, l. 3, *tāt* for *tat*; l. 6, *ḥriyam* for *ḥriyam*, etc. For other miscellaneous blunders, see footnotes 6, 12, 43, 49, 57, 67, etc. A curiosity is the euphonic insertion of *r* in l. 11, *nu-r-ihā*; and there is another instance in the Suālkuci grant, in l. 21, *mārttaṇḍa-r-iva*.

The usual provincialisms abound; for confusion of sibilants, see footnotes 16, 31, 34, 69, 85, 89, 91, etc.; for the ligature of guttural *ṅ* with sibilants, see footnotes 34, 36, 42, etc.; for the ligature of dental *n* with gutturals and sibilants see footnotes 16, 18, 28, 29, etc.; for the ligature of *m* with *v*, see footnotes 13, 44, 65, 67, etc.

The last mentioned ligature is really explained by the fact that no separate sign for *b* is used in all these Āsām grants. And this fact, again, is explained by the circumstance that in Baṅgālī and Āsāmī no distinction is made, in pronunciation, between non-conjunct *v* and *b*; both are pronounced alike as *b*. There are other indications of a more sporadic occurrence of what may be called "phonetic spelling." They are curious, as showing how far back such fashions of pronunciation may be traced. In modern Baṅgālī and Āsāmī *kṣ* is pronounced *kh*. Hence we find in l. 15 *khim* (false for *khitim*) spelled for *kṣitim*, and in l. 17, *vikhya* for *vikṣya*. Similarly non-conjunct initial *y* is now pronounced *j*, and conjunct *y* is omitted. An instance of the former practice occurs in l. 21, *jā* for *yā*, l. 35, *jaḥṣmaṇā* for *yakṣmaṇā*, also in the Gauhaṭī grant II a¹ *jaḥṣā* for *yajṣā*. An instance of the latter practice occurs in the Nowgong grant in III a⁶ *Ḥāmāyikā*, the correct

spelling of which name *Āyāyikā* occurs in the Bargāon grant l. 61. Possibly the curious spelling in l. 18 *yuyyatā* for *yuyyatā* may be due to a similar cause; so also the form *ya* in l. 50, for *ca*; though these would rather be survivals of an old prakritic fashion which has not survived to the present day.

Palaographically it may be noted that the avagraha occurs only four times, in ll. 26, 58, 59, 63, though there were sixteen other occasions for its use.

An *r* preceding a consonant is always formed above the line, even with *y*; e.g., l. 21, *āpcaryam*.

The guttural nasal *ṅ* is, as in the Nowgong grant, throughout made without a ringlet; see ll. 3, 4, 14, 15, 17, 27, 33, 35, 41, 43, 60. The initial short *i* is also made exactly as in the Nowgong grant by means of two ringlets placed above a hook; e.g., in l. 35, *Tāika*; ll. 8 and 45, *iva*; l. 24, *iti*. Also *kh* and *r* are made after the older fashion. All this shows that the Bargāon grant cannot be very far apart, in age, from the Nowgong grant.

The anusvāra, in the Bargāon grant as well as in the Nowgong grant, is formed by a ringlet, placed (in the usual way) above the line. In the Gauhaṭī grant it is occasionally placed on the line.³ In modern Bangālī the latter position is universal. This shows that the Gauhaṭī grant must be appreciably later than the Bargāon and Nowgong grants.

The virāma occurs twice to indicate a final consonant in l. 23, *samyak*, with the full form of *k*, and in l. 23, *mandam* with a slightly truncated form of *m*. In both cases it is attached to the foot of the letter. In the case of final *t*, *n* and *m* specially modified forms are used; thus the final form of *t* occurs in l. 5, *jagat*, l. 7, *akārṣit*, and l. 63, *ghāt*. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 54, *jānapādān* and l. 55, *prabhṛtīn* and *sarvān*. The final form of *m* occurs in l. 2, *tāṇḍavīm*, l. 16, *rājyam*, l. 32, *maṇḍalam*, l. 33, *alaṅkāram*, l. 39, *sārthānām*, l. 48, *gumbhīryam* and *vīryam*, l. 65 *ātmanam* and *ālyām*, ll. 69 and 72, *ālyām*.

As these final forms, as well as the forms of the guttural nasal, anusvāra and *r*, are peculiarly serviceable as test-letters in determining the chronology of the Bangālī-Āsāmi script, I have, in the accompanying lithographed table of facsimiles (Plate XI), prepared a small conspectus of them. The reigns I have selected are the following:

- (a) Pāla kings of Bengal (Bihār): DHARMAPĀLA, c. 840-875 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII, Plate III. NĀRĀYAṆA PĀLA, c. 925-950 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLVII, Plates XXIV, XXV;

³ The ringlet is so small that the blank core is sometimes almost invisible in the photograph, producing the appearance of a mere dot.

also facsimile of Badal inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 160.

- (b) Āsām kings: BALAVARMAṆ, c. 975 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, Plates XXXV and XXXVI. Ratnapāla, c. 1010, facsimile of his grant in this volume, Plates VIII-X, XII and XIII. INDRAPĀLĀ, c. 1050, facsimile of his grant, in this *Journal*, LXVI, Plates III and IV. VAIDYĀDĒVA, c. 1142, facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Plates I-III, p. 351.
- (c) Sēna kings of Bengal (Bihār); VIJAYA SĒNA, c. 1080 A.D., facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 308. LAKṢMAṆA SĒNA, c. 1126, facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, Plates I and II.

The table sufficiently explains itself; but I may point out that the special final forms of *t* and *n* have arisen from the practice of attaching the virāma to the top of the full or truncated forms, instead of appending it, in the usual fashion, to their foot; and that the special final form of *m* owes its origin to the contraction of the original square *m* into a small circle, to which the virāma was appended as a tail. Later on, this tail was separated, and thus the forms of *m* and the anusvāra become identical (No. 8 in columns 5 and 15), because in the meantime the anusvāra had assumed a tendency of standing below instead of above the head-line (No. 5, col. 5). At one time the forms of the truncated *n* and special final *m* approached so nearly as to lead to a confusion of them (compare No. 1, col. 12 with col. 15). Thus final *n* is used for final *m* twice in the Nowgong grant, see I *b*³ *amalan* for *amalam*, II *a*⁷ *yauvanan* for *yauvanam*. An earlier instance occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, line 57, *vasundharan* for *vasundharam*³; other instances are in the Lakṣmaṇa Sēna grant, Plate I, obverse, line 21, *layan* for *layam*; Plate II, reverse, line 21, *mantavyan* for *mantavyam*, line 22 *pālanīyan* for *pālanīyam*.

On palaeographical grounds, therefore, I am disposed to place the two Ratnapāla grants in the earlier half of the 11th century A.D. (c. 1010-1050). The Nowgong grant I would place a little earlier, about 990 A.D., and the Indrapāla grant, a little later, about 1060 A.D. The Bargāon grant is not dated in any era; neither is the Suālkucī grant; but the former professes to have been issued in the 25th, and the latter in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

Putting together the information given by the Bargāon grant with that afforded by the Tējpur, Nowgong, and Gauhaṭī grants, it now

³ See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 250.

becomes possible to arrange a fairly connected dynastic history of Āsām. All the grants agree in beginning with Hari (Viṣṇu), his son Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, his younger brother Vajradatta. They further agree⁴ in stating that Vajradatta was succeeded by several members of his dynasty, after which Naraka's dynasty was displaced by Çāla Stambha, described in the Bargāon grant as a *Mlēccha*⁵ or 'foreign' conqueror. According to that grant, Çāla Stambha was succeeded by twenty other foreign kings, of whom Vighraha Stambha was the first, and Tyāga Simha the last; and the grant adds that after Tyāga Simha the ancient dynasty of Naraka was restored in the person of Brahma Pāla. Unfortunately the Tājpur grant is unsatisfactorily recorded in volume IX of this *Journal*, both with respect to the original text and its English translation. But this much seems to be clearly stated in it that a series of rulers, commencing with Çāla Stambha, ended with Çri-Hariṣa, after which a king called Pralambha of Naraka's race succeeded to the throne. On the first view this would seem to show that Tyāga Simha and Çri-Hariṣa were the same persons, and so also Brahma Pāla and Pralambha. The latter identification, of course, is impossible, because Brahma Pāla and Pralambha gave rise to two distinct dynasties, as the Bargāon and Nowgong grants show. But it is still possible that these two dynasties might have ruled contemporaneously, in different parts of the country, on Çāla Stambha's dynasty becoming extinct with Tyāga Simha *alias* Çri-Hariṣa. This supposition would seem to derive some confirmation from the fact that the Bargāon and Gauhaṭi grants are given from the town of *Durjuyā*, *alias* Prāgjyōtiṣa, while the Nowgong grant is given from the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppēvara. Against this, however, is to be set the fact that Bala Varman (of the Nowgong grant) of the Harjara or Pralambha dynasty is also described on his seal as belonging to the dynasty of the kings of Prāgjyōtiṣa, so that Prāgjyōtiṣa would seem to have been the capital of his country, though he usually or occasionally resided in his "ancestral camp" Hārūppēvara. But the circumstance which most strongly makes against the identification of Tyāga Simha with Çri-Hariṣa, is the palæography of the Nowgong grant. The author of that grant, Bala Varman, is the fourth in descent from Harjara, and the fifth in descent from Pralambha, *i.e.*, about 100 years after the commencement of his dynasty, while Ratna Pāla, the author of the Bargāon grant, is first in descent from Brahmāpāla, *i.e.*, perhaps 20

⁴ Except the Gauhaṭi grant, which, however, allows an "undefined period."

⁵ The term *Mlēccha* indicates a Non-Hindū, though the name Çāla Stambha has a distinctly Hindu (Sanskrit) ring; so have the other names of his dynasty. They may be *birudas* or laudatory names.

years after the beginning of his dynasty. It follows, therefore, that Bala Varman comes about 80 years after Ratna Pāla, and that palæographically the Nowgong grant should be later than the Bargāon grant. Their palæographic characters, however, indicate just the reverse. The identification of Tyāga Siṃha with Ṣri-Hariṣa, therefore, seems to me very doubtful; nor does it appear that there is any necessity for it. A more probable solution appears to me to be, that Ṣāla Stambha's dynasty ended with Ṣri-Hariṣa, and that it was succeeded by another foreign dynasty, which commenced with Pralambha and ended with Tyāga Siṃha, after whom the restoration of Naraka's dynasty, in the person of Brahma Pāla, took place. The Bargāon grant does not say that the 20 kings who followed Ṣāla Stambha were all of the same dynasty; on the other hand, twenty-one (including Ṣāla Stambha) is a sufficiently large number to accommodate two long dynasties. Moreover the Nowgong grant clearly indicates that a break or change of dynasty took place with Harjara (son of Pralambha).

Of Ṣāla Stambha's dynasty three other members are named: according to the Bargāon grant, Vighraha Stambha was the immediate successor (son?) of Ṣāla Stambha; and according to the Nowgong grant, there were two other members, named Pālaka and Vijaya, besides some more not named. It would seem that *Stambha* was the distinguishing name of this dynasty. The named members of it would be (1) Ṣāla Stambha, (2) Vighraha-Stambha, (3) Pālaka-Stambha, (4) Vijaya-Stambha, who were perhaps the first four of the dynasty; there were several others; the total number may have been ten, occupying a period from about 150 to 200 years.

Of Pralambha's dynasty, five other members, in direct filial succession, are named. According to the Tējpur grant, it would seem that Pralambha's son, by his wife Jivadā, was Harjara, whose son was Vanamāla. The Nowgong grant adds Jayamāla, Virabāhu and Bala Varman, being the son, grandson and great-grandson respectively of Vanamāla. These are the first six members of the dynasty. Their total number may well have been eleven, occupying again a period of about 150 to 200 years. And these eleven, together with the ten of the Ṣāla Stambha dynasty, would make up the series of twenty-one foreign kings, required by the Bargāon grant, antecedent to the restoration of the Pāla kings of Naraka's dynasty. There are two difficulties about this dynasty. The Tējpur grant seems to say distinctly that Pralambha belonged to Naraka's dynasty,⁶ and that

⁶ In verse 19 of the translation, Vanamāla, the son of Harjara, is also said to be "like the moon in the clear sky of the Naraka line." The original text has *ḥṛiti-tanaya-nṛpati-vamāga* or 'the royal race of the son of the Earth.' Naraka is the "son of the Earth."

he was the father of Harjara. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant ignores Pralambha altogether, and commences the dynasty with Harjara. Nor is there any thing in the latter grant to connect him with Naraka's dynasty; on the contrary the non-Hindū sound of the name Harjara points to a foreigner. I am unable to suggest any satisfactory solution; but the weight of the evidence seems to me to be for both dynasties (Çāla Stambha's and Harjara's or Pralambha's) being those of foreign invaders, though they may have occasionally preferred a claim to belong to the ancient indigenous line of kings.

The Pāla dynasty distinctly put forward that claim in both the Bargāon and Gauhaṭi grants; though it may still remain a question whether the claim was well founded. I may here notice a correction. In the Gauhaṭi grant, Plate I, reverse, line 13, the puzzling name *Kaumra* should be *Bhauma* or 'Earth-born,' a name of Naraka. I may also notice, that the Bargāon grant distinctly states that Durjayā, which the Nowgong grant describes as a *nagarī* or 'townlet' and as the *vasatī* or 'residence' of the king, received that name from Ratnapāla, who either founded it or made it into a fortified place, and fixed it as the residence of his dynasty. The fact that the Pāla kings resided in the fort of Durjayā, and the Harjara dynasty in the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppṣvara, while yet both dynasties called themselves "Lords of Prāḡjyōtiṣa," may perhaps justify the conclusion that in their time Prāḡjyōtiṣa, which was originally the name of a town, had become the name of a country.

Of Ratnapāla it is related that he came into hostile contact with the kings of Gurjara, Gauḍa, Kērala, and the Dekkan, and with the Bāhikas and Tāikas. Assuming that Ratnapāla's age has been rightly fixed at about 1010 to 1050 A.D., the king of Gurjara of that period would be the Western Cālukyan king Jayasimha III or Sōmṣvara I. By the Kērala king the Cōla Rājarāja is perhaps intended. The Gauḍa king may have been Mahipāla or Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. To whom the term "king of Dakṣiṇāṭya" or the Dekkan may refer, I do not know. The Bāhikas and Tāikas are generally taken to be Trans-Indus people, those of Balkh and the Tajiks. But, as will be seen from the next paragraph, the panegyrist probably only wished to parade his familiarity with Sanskrit literature, and further attempts at identification would be waste of labour.

There is again a curiosity to be noted in the Ratnapāla grants, similar to that in the Nowgong grant (see *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 288), the discovery of which is due to Dr. Th. Bloch, the Society's Honorary Philological Secretary. This is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations, from Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita*. The following passages,

or clauses, may be compared, the references being to Tukaram Javaji's Bombay edition of 1892 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press).

- (1). Bargāon Plate, line 34, *Gurjjar-ādhirāja-prajvārēṇa*, etc. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 132, *Hūna-hariṇa-kēsari Sindhu-rāja-jvarō Gurjara-prajāgarō Gāndhār-ādhipa - gandha - dvipa - kūta - pākalō Lāta-pātavu-pātaccurō Mālava-lakṣmī-latā-paraçuḥ*.
- (2). Bargāon Plate, line 43, *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparaddhini*. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 104, *Vāsav-āvāsa iva (adhivāsaḥ)*.
- (3). Bargāon Plate, line 48, *Arjjunō yaçasi Bhīmasēnō yudhi* (or Suālkuci Plate, l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*), &c. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 110, *Arjunō yaçasi Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*, etc.

Finally, I may add three corrections in the Gauhaṭi grant. The blundered phrase *bhūmya-pakṣa-sta* in II b⁶ should be *bhūmy-apakṣta*, as in the Bargāon grant l. 53; it means the 'inferior or non-arable land.' Also *vyāvahārika* in II b⁷ means 'officer': the whole passage in which it occurs should be translated as in the Bargāon grant. Again the phrase *mahiṣi-jātika* should be read, as in the Suālkuci grant, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika* 'buffalos, goats and sheep.'

TEXT.¹

First Plate : Reverse.

- 1 Svasti | ³ Duṣṭṣ³ vapu-vimv(b)akair=n=nakha=gatai⁴ svai⁵=n=nṛtya-sampad-vidhēṣ sō sa-çvēva⁶-gatim çubhām prakatayan=dṛçyō 'ni-
- 2 çan=tāṇḍavim | ēvam yaḥ paramātma-vat=pṛthu-guṇ-ōddēhō⁷ 'py=anēki-nē⁸-bhavan=prākāmyan=dadhad=ēva bhāti bhuvan-ē-
- 3 ças=tāt⁹=çriyē Çañkaraḥ || [1 ||] Mūrttā kim vahat=iha¹⁰ çita-kara-rukim¹¹ sphāṭiki-vidrutih kim¹²=v=ādy-augha-vibhēdan-ai-
- 4 ka-niratā çakti⁴ çubhā Çañkari | yasy=āpāṇ-gatim=ity=avētya jnatā yāyēta dhanyā drutam pāyāt=sa prāṇiha-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Çārdūla-vikriḍita*.

³ One akṣara is here omitted; perhaps read *nirduṣṭair*.

⁴ Read *gataiḥ*; l. 4, *çaktiḥ*; l. 5, *ākṛtēḥ*; l. 10, *çriḥ* and *guṇaḥ*; l. 12, *yaçaḥ*; l. 13, *ātmajaḥ* and *ripuḥ*; l. 14, *kirttiḥ*.

⁵ Read *svair*.

⁶ Read *çvēta*. See note to translation.

⁷ *Uddēha* is not noted in any dictionary.

⁸ Read *anēki-bhavan*; *nē* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *tat-çriyē* or rather *tac-çriyē*.

¹⁰ Read *iha*, m. c. (i.e., *vahati iha*).

¹¹ Read *kara-ruk=kim*.

¹² Read *kim vā*.

- 5 *tya sarvva-kaluṣam lauhitya-sindhur=jagat* || [2 ||] ¹⁴ *Dharām Harār=*
uddharataḥ kir-ākṛtḥ ⁴ *payōdhi-magnā Nārakō* ¹⁶ *'sur-ānsa-*
 6 *ka* ¹⁶ | *sa sūnur-āçit* ¹⁷ = *sura-yōṣid-angini* ¹⁸ *çriyam* ¹⁹ = *pratindūyitam* ²⁰
 = *ṣva yēna hi* || [3 ||] *Yaç* ²¹ = *c-āval-ṣti jarat=iti bhīyā-yut-ṣ-*
 7 *ti mūdh-ṣti v(b)andhu-rabit-ṣti vipad-gat-ṣti* | *hitv-Āditis* × ²² *vaji-*
tya surān=ahārṣit tat-ku-
 8 *ṇḍalēna* ²³ *sura-yaçō-mahaçī iv=āgryṣ* | [4 ||] *Kāntā-mukhair=*
v=v(b)ahu-vidhāv ²⁴ = *iva vira-vṛṇḍais=tṣjasvibhi*
 9 *ravi-gaṇān=iva sandadhānē* | *Prāgyōtisē* ²⁵ *'vasad=asau pravareṣ*
purāṇām dōr-dappa ²⁶ = *saṁcaraṇa-*
 10 *cārutar-ārjjita-çri* ⁴ || [5 ||] *Yuddhē purātana it=iddha-guṇa* ⁴ *pit=*
ṣti yāvad=vicintya kṛpayā sa
 11 *cacāra mandam* | *tāvad=Dharis=tam=anaya* ²⁷ = *divam=ātītānsōs* ²⁸
 = *tṣjānsy* ²⁹ = *ahō nu r* ³⁰ = *iha nō gaṇan=ā-*
 12 *sti v(b)andhan* | [16 ||] *Dhīras=tatas=tata-yaça* ⁴ = *paṭa-guṇṭhi-āçō* ³¹
yaç-c-āpir aktam=akarōd=bhuvanām guṇ-aughaiḥ | *bhavyaḥ sa*
bhūri-vibha-
 13 *vō Bhagadatta-nāmā tasy=ātmaja* ⁴ *kṣi* ³² = *dhurām v(b)ibharān=cakā-*
ra || [7 ||] *vajr=iva nirjjita-ripu* ⁴ = *prthu-vajra-kāntiḥ sv-ōrjj-ārj-*
javā-
 14 *rjjita-jagaj-jaya* ³³ = *lav(b)dha-kirtti* ⁴ | *rājyan=tad=āpa rucam=astam-*
itṣ khar-āṅsan ³⁴ = *bhrātuh çikh=iva valavān=n=iha Vajra-dattaḥ*

¹⁴ Metre: *Vam̐ca-sthāvila.*

¹⁵ Read *magnām narakō.* Perhaps the intended reading was *magnān-narakō.*

¹⁶ Read *ām̐cakah.*

¹⁷ Read *āsit.*

¹⁸ Read *agginim.*

¹⁹ Read *çriyam.*

²⁰ Perhaps read *pratindūyitam*, (i.e., *prati indūyitam*).

²¹ Metre of verses 4-8: *Vasanta-tīlakā*; but the second half of verse 4 is out of order, its first pada having only 13, while its second pada has 15 instants.

²² This akṣara is illegible; there is also here one short instant wanting; perhaps read *Āditim samavajitya*, or *Āditiçān=avajityā.*

²³ There is here one short instant in excess; read *kuṇḍalē*, omitting *na.*

²⁴ Read *vidhān.*

²⁵ Read *Prāgyōtiṣē.*

²⁶ Read *darppa.*

²⁷ Read *anayad.*

²⁸ Read *ātītānsōs.*

²⁹ Read *tṣjānsy.*

³⁰ Here *r* is inserted in order to avoid the hiatus *nu iha.*

³¹ Read *ām̐sō*

³² Here one short akṣara is omitted. Read *kṛiti.*

³³ Read *jaya*, and below, l. 30, *luṣṭana*, and l. 45, *ōdbhāsana*; omitting *l.*

³⁴ Read *kharām̐cau.*

- 15 || [8 ||] ³⁵ Ēvaṃ vaṅṣa ³⁶-kramṣṇa khim ³⁷=atha nikhilām bhūñjatā ³⁸
 nārakāṇām rājūā ³⁹ mlēcch-ādhināthō vidhi-calana-vaṅād=śva ja-
 16 grāha rājyam | **Qālastambha** ³⁹ kramṣ 'sy=āpi hi narapatayō
Vigrahastambha-mukhyā vikhyātā ³⁹ samv(b)abhūvur=dvi-guṇi
⁴⁰-daṣatā
 17 saṁkhyayā saṁvibhinnā ³⁹ || [9 ||] ⁴¹Nirvvaṅṣam ⁴² nṛpam=ēkaviṁ-
 satitamam ⁴³ çri-Tyāga-simh-āsīdhan ⁴³=tṣām=vikhya ⁴⁴ divaṅ-
 gataṁ punar=a-

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 18 hō bhaumō hi nō yuyatē ⁴⁵ [1] svām=iti ⁴⁶ praviciñtya tat-prakṛtayō
 bhū-bhāra-rakṣā-kṣamam sāgandhyāt=paricakrirē narapa-
 19 ti ³⁹ çri-**V(b)rahmapāla**m hi yam | [1 10 ||] Ēkō 'sau jitavān=ṛpun ⁴⁷=
 samiti bhō ki ³⁹ nāma citra ³⁹ nidam ⁴⁸ atr=ōdāharaṇam Harō Hu-
 20 ri=ahō Bhiṣm-ādāyō 'nē ⁴⁹ pi hi | itham ⁵⁰ samparimçya yasya hi
 bhaṭā sthāna-sthitasya dviṣām dikṣv=aṣṭāsv=api vidra-
 21 vṣṇa mahat=āçcaryan ⁵¹=sadā mōnirē || [11 ||] ⁵² Vibhava-phala-
 vilās-āsvāda-jāt-ābhilāṣa ⁵³ sa yuvatim=upayēmē j⁵⁴=ā-
 22 nurāgā ⁵⁵ janēṣu | avani-kula-samutha ⁵⁶-kṣmāpa-samprātya ⁵⁷-lakṣ-
 myāḥ sthitam=iva kula-dēvi-nāmadhēyam=v(b)abhāra || [12 ||]

³⁵ Metre of verse 9 : *Sragdharā*.

³⁶ Read *vaṅṣa*.

³⁷ One short akṣara is wanting. Read *kipitim*.

³⁸ Read *bhuñjatām* and *rājūām*.

³⁹ Read *Qālastambhaḥ*, and *vikhyātāḥ*; l. 17, *saṁvibhinnāḥ*; l. 19, *narapatim*, *kim* and *citraṁ*.

⁴⁰ One akṣara is wanting. Read *dviguṇita*.

⁴¹ Metre of verses 10 and 11 : *Qārdūla-vikṛḍita*.

⁴² Read *nirvvaṅṣam* and *ēkarimçatitamam*.

⁴³ Read *ābhīdhan*.

⁴⁴ Read *tṣām vikhya*.

⁴⁵ Read *yuyatē* or *yuyatē*.

⁴⁶ Read *svām=iti*.

⁴⁷ Read *ripum* or *ripām*.

⁴⁸ Read *nidam* or *nvidam* (i.e., *nu idam*).

⁴⁹ Read 'nyē (for *anyē*).

⁵⁰ Read *itham*.

⁵¹ Read *āçcaryam*.

⁵² Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁵³ Read *ābhilāṣaḥ*; l. 27, *ānubhāvāḥ*.

⁵⁴ Read *yā*.

⁵⁵ Read *nurāgāj* (i.e., *yā anurāgāj = janēṣu*).

⁵⁶ Read *samuttho*.

- 23 ⁵⁸ Ratn-ōpamā narapati ⁵⁹ sva-guṇair=m=mah-ārhan=yaḥ pālayēd=
iti janair=avagamya samyak | nitaḥ prasiddhim=iha tē-
24 na sa-kirttanōna ṣri-Ratnapāla iti sūnur=ajāyat=āsyām ⁶⁰ || [13 ||]
Durvvāra-vairi-kari-kumbha-bhidā-bhav-āsra-srōtō-va-
25 h-āhati-calat-kari-muktikābhiḥ [1] yad-yuddha-bhūr=v=vipaṇi-vad=
dhata-pādma-rāgi ṣōbhōta ⁶¹
26 vira-vaṇijā ⁶² nikarai ⁶³ prakirṇā || [14 ||] Simhāsane 'thā ⁶⁴ Narak-
ānvaya-j-āv(b)ja-bhānu ⁶⁴ samvēṣya ⁶⁵
27 tām ⁶⁶ divam=agād=a-kalaṅka-gaṇḍaḥ | kāl-ōcitam vicaritam hi mah-
ānubhāvā ⁶⁵ samvidri-
28 tē ⁶⁷ hi guṇa-dōṣa-vidō bhavasya || [15] ⁶⁸ Niṣit-āsi-marici-mañjarī-
jaṭila-bhuja-v(b)ala-vi-
29 jita-narapati-sat ⁶⁹ ṣpāyani-kṛta-sa-mada-gaja-ghaṭā-kāṣa-syāndi ⁷⁰-
dān-āmv(b)u-ṣikar-āsā-
30 ra-samupaṣamita-santāpam sakal-āri-kāṣaka-luṭṭana ⁶⁸-lampaṣa-su-
bhaṣa-v(b)āhu-viṣap-āṭavi-
31 samkṣam=api mahājana-nivāsa-yōgyam ⁶⁰ | sa-mada-sundari-smita-
sudhā-dhavalita-saudha-ṣi-
32 khara-sahasr-ānta-hṛta ⁷¹-tarāni-maṇḍalam | Malay-ācala-sthali ⁷²-
ruha-kānanam=iv=ānōka-bhōgi ⁷³-ṣata-sēvitam ⁶⁰ | nabhō-
33 vat=sēv-āvāpta-v(b)udha-guru-kāvya-ālaṅkāram | kailāsa-giri-ṣikha-
ram=iva paramōṣvar-ādhisthānam ⁶⁰ | Vittōṣa-nivēṣita-
34 ū=ca | yac=ca Ṣaka-kriḍā-ṣani ⁷⁴-dṛḍha-pañjarēṇa Gurjjar-ādhirāja-
prajārēṇa ⁷⁵ dur-d-danta ⁷⁶-Gauḍendra-kari-kūṣa-pākalēna

⁵⁷ Read *samprāpya*.

⁵⁸ Metre of verses 13-15: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

⁵⁹ Read *ratnōpamō narapatiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶⁰ Read final *m* for *m̄*. Also read *ādhiṣṭhānam*.

⁶¹ Read *ṣōbhēta*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶² Read *vaṇijām nikaraiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶³ Read *'tha*.

⁶⁴ Read *bhānum*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

⁶⁵ Read *samvēṣya*.

⁶⁶ Read *tām*.

⁶⁷ Read *samvidratē*.

⁶⁸ From here prose.

⁶⁹ Read *ṣat*.

⁷⁰ Read *syāndi*.

⁷¹ Probably read *antar-hita*.

⁷² Read *sthalī*.

⁷³ Read *bhōgi*.

⁷⁴ Read *ṣakuni*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁷⁵ Read *prajūrēṇa*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

⁷⁶ Read *dānta*.

- 35 Kēral-ēç-ācalā-çilājatunā V(b)āhika-Tāik-āttaṅka⁷⁷-kāriṇā dākṣiṇā-
 tyā-kṣōṇi-pati-rājanmaṇā⁷⁸ kṣa-
 36 pit-ārāti-pakṣatayā kṣitīpa-vakṣah-kavāta-paṭṣu=ēva prakārēṇ=
 āvrta-ṣrāntham⁷⁹=unmada-kala-hansa⁸⁰-kāmini-ku-
 37 la⁸¹-kupita-pēçala-marun-mand-āndōlit-ōrmmi-çikarair=upaçamit-
 āpāvṛta-saudha-çikbar-ādhirūḍha-sundari-sura-

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 38 t-ōtsuv-āyāsēna kailāsa-kari-dukula⁸²-kadalikā-paṭṣ⁸³ nēka-nākēça-
 kāmīni-vibhrama-maṇi-darppaṇē-
 39 na Lauhity-āmbhōdhinā virājamānam⁸⁰ | mānanīyam=anēka-mana-
 ka⁸⁴-pati-sārthhānām yathārth-ābhidhānam
 40 Prāgyōtiṣ-ēça⁸⁵-durjay-ākhyā-puram=adhivvāsa | yatra ca jaḍatā
 hāra-yaṣṭiṣu n=ōndriyēṣu cañcalatā hari-
 41 ṣu na mānasēṣu bhānguratā bhruvi bhramēṣu na pratipannēṣu
 s-ōpasarggatā dhātuṣu na prajāsu vāmatā kāmī-
 42 niṣu skhalitam madhu-mada-mudita-kāmīni-gatiṣu nisṣṛhatā dōṣa-
 kāriṣu niratyaya-madhu-pān-āçaktir⁸⁶=m=ma-
 43 dhu-kāra-kara⁸⁷-kulēṣu atyantam priy⁸⁸-ānuvarttanam rathāṅga-
 nāmasu piṣit⁸⁹-āçitā çvāpadēṣu tatra Vāsav-āvā-
 44 sa-sparddhini⁹⁰ vidhur=iva vivarddhita-çila-vēlā-jaladhī-maṇḍalah
 satru⁹¹-saras-ādarçita-padm-āpahāraç=ca mārta-
 45 ṇḍa iva bhū-bhṛo-chirō-nivēçita-pādaḥ kamal-ākar-ōdbhāsanā⁸⁸-
 lāsaç⁹²=ca paramōçva-

77 Read *bāhika-tāyik-ātaṅka* or *bāhlika-tāyik-ātaṅka*.

78 Read *yakṣmaṇā*.

79 Read *prāntam*.

80 Read *hansa*.

81 In the original *kula* is only just traceable, but in the Suāṅkuci grant it is distinct.

82 Read *dukūla*.

83 Probably read *paṭṣēn = anēka*.

84 Perhaps read *mānaka*.

85 Read *Prāgyōtiṣ-ēça*.

86 Read *āsaktir*. In the original the first *ā* of *pānāçakti* is cancelled; but the real intention may have been to cancel the second *ā*; for *pāna-sakti* would give the same meaning.

87 Cancel *kara*.

88 Read *priy*.

89 Read *piçit*.

90 Read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*.

91 Read *çatru*.

92 Read *lāsaç*.

- 46 rō'pi Kāmarūp-ānandi⁹⁸ Bhaum-ānvayō 'py=ullāsita-dānav-āriḥ
 puruṣ-ōttamō 'py=a-da-
 47 nārddanō⁹⁴ virō 'pi mattēha⁹⁶-gāmi yasā⁹⁶ ca Manmath-ōnmātibhi-
 rūpaṁ tiraskṛt-āmbhōdhi-
 48 gāmbhīryam jagad-vijay-āçansi⁹⁶-viryam Skaud-āskandi-viryam
 yaçc=Ārjjuṇō yaçaṣi⁹⁷ Bhī-
 49 masēnō yudhi Kṛtāntaḥ krudhi Dāvānalō vipakṣa-virudhi Çaçā-
 dharō vidyā-nabhasi Ma-
 50 lay-ānilaḥ su-janu-sumanasi Sūryō 'ri-tamasi Uday-ācalō mitr-ōd-
 gama-sampadi ya⁹⁸ |
 51 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-V(b)rahmapāla-varmma-dēva-pād-ānudhyā-
 ta-paramōçvara-parama-bhaṭṭārako
 52 mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ çri-Ratnapā⁹⁹-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali | + |
 Uttara-kulē trayōdaça-grāma-viṣay-āntahpāti-Vā-
 53 madēva-pātak-āpakṛṣṭa-bhūmi-samēta-lābu-kuṭi-kṣētrā¹⁰⁰ dhānya-
 dvi-sahaar-ōtpattika-bhūmau | yathāyatham samupasthi-
 54 ta-v(b)rāhmaṇ-ādi-viṣaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapadān
 rāja-rājñi-rāpak-ādihikṛtān=anyān=api rā-
 55 janaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtīn yathā-kāla-bhāvino'pi
 sarvvān mānanā=pūrvvakam¹⁰¹ samādiçati viditam=a-
 56 [stu] bhavatām bhūmir-iyam¹⁰²=vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōpracār-
 āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sim-ōddēça-paryautā
 57 hasti-v(b)andha-naukā-v(b)andha-caur-ōddharaṇa-daṇḍa-pāç-ōpari-
 kara-nānā-nivitt¹⁰³-ōtkhṣṭana-hasty-açv-ōṣṭra-gō-mahiṣ-āj-āti-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 58 ka¹⁰⁴-pracāra-prabhṛtīnām¹⁰²=vinivārita-sarvva-piḍā çāsanī-kṛtya |
 Pārāsarō 'bhūd=bhuvi Dēvadattaḥ Kā-
 59 ṇvō 'grajō Vājasanīyak-āgryaḥ | āsādyā yam¹⁰²=vēda-vidām par-
 ārdhyan trayyā kṛt-ārthāyitam=ēva samya-

⁹⁸ Read *ānandī*.

⁹⁴ So also the *Suālkuci* grant; but read *ajanārddanō*.

⁹⁶ Read *mattēbha*.

⁹⁶ Read *yasya*.

⁹⁷ Read *āçansi* and *yaçaṣi*.

⁹⁸ Read *ca*. *Ya* may be a Prakrit form, if it is not simply a clerical error.

⁹⁹ Read *Ratnapāla*.

¹⁰⁰ The reading is false; perhaps read *kṣētrāyām*, agreeing with *bhūmau*.

¹⁰¹ Read *pūrvvakam*.

¹⁰² Read *iyam*; l. 58, *prabhṛtīnām*, and l. 59, *yam*.

¹⁰³ Read *nivitt*.

¹⁰⁴ Read *āvika*, as in the *Suālkuci* grant.

- 60 k ■ [1 ■] Agny-āhitas=tasya v(b)abhūva sūnuḥ Sadgagḡadattō¹⁰⁶
 guṇa-çila-çāli [1] yaṁ vikṣya ṣaṭ-karṃma-rataṃ dvijēṣaṃ¹⁰⁶
- 61 Bhṛgv-ādiṣu pratyayitō jan-aughaḥ ■ [2] Çyāmāyikā tasya v(b)a-
 bhūva patnī pati-vratā çila-guṇ-ōpannā¹⁰⁷ | ugrēndu-
- 62 lekḥ=ēva virājatē yā viçuddha-rūpā tamasō nihantriṃ¹⁰⁸ ■ [3 ■]
 Āsyāṃ¹⁰⁹=abhūc=chāstra-vidāṃ dhuriṇas=trastraḥ¹¹⁰ su-
- 63 tō 'ghāt khalu Viradattaḥ | yaṁ prāpya dharmm-āçrayam=ugra-
 v(b)uddhiṃ kālāḥ kalir=nyak-kṛta-vad=v(b)abhūva ■ [4 ■] Saṃ-
 krāntau
- 64 Vipṇupadyāṅ¹¹¹=ca pañca-vimç-āv(b)da-rājyakṣ | tasmai dattā mayā
 pitrōr=yaçāḥ-puṇyā-
- 65 ya c=ātmanam¹¹² ■ [5 ■] Simā pūrvvōṇa vṛhad-ālyāṃ çālmali-
 vṛkṣaḥ | pūrvva-dakṣiṇōna rū-
- 66 çi-gaṇa-pāṭhi-nau-simni khara-taṭa-stha-çālmali-vṛkṣaḥ ■ dakṣiṇōna
 tan-nau-simni
- 67 v(b)adari-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paçcimōna ta¹¹³-nau-simni kāçimv(b)ala-
 vṛkṣaḥ | paçcimōna
- 68 khara-taṭa-sth-āçvatha-vṛkṣaḥ | paçcima-ga | uttara-ga-vakrōṇa
 āli¹¹⁴ | kāçimv(b)a-
- 69 lā¹¹⁵-vṛkṣaç=cā | paçcim-ōttarōṇa kṣētr-ālyāṃ hijjala-vṛkṣaḥ | pūrv-
 va-ga | uttara-ga-va-
- 70 krōṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | çālmali-vṛkṣau | punaḥ pūrvva-ga-dakṣiṇa-ga-
 vakrōṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | kāçimv(b)ala-vṛkṣau | ki-
- 71 ũ-cit-pūrvva-ga | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrōṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | çālmali-vṛkṣau |
 uttarōṇa vṛhad-ālyāṃ kāçimv(b)ala-vṛ-
- 72 kṣaḥ | uttara-pūrvvōṇa vṛhad-ālyāṃ vētasa-vṛkṣaç=c=ēti ■

The Seal.

- 1 Svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipati-
- 2 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-Ratna-
- 3 pāla-varmma-dēvaḥ ||

¹⁰⁶ Read *Sadgagḡadattō*.

¹⁰⁶ Read *dvijēṣu*, the anusvāra is nearly obliterated. Perhaps it might also be intended for *dvijēçāṃ*.

¹⁰⁷ Read *ōpannā*.

¹⁰⁸ Read *nihantri*.

¹⁰⁹ Omit the anusvāra.

¹¹⁰ Read *trastaḥ*. The second *r*, however, appears to be slightly obliterated.

¹¹¹ Read *Vipṇupadyāṅ*.

¹¹² Read *ātmanah*.

¹¹³ Read *tan*.

¹¹⁴ Read either *āliḥ* or *āli*. There is in the original plate a trace of the long *i* in line 11.

¹¹⁵ Read *kāçimbala*.

TRANSLATION.

(FIRST PLATE: line 1) Hail!

(Verse 1.) "He may be seen incessantly exhibiting his beautiful white figure,¹ in the Tāṇḍava (dance) according to the strict rules of that dance, (guided) by the stainless reflection of his body formed on his own nails: even thus does Çaṅkara (or Çiva), who, though like the Supreme Being he is endowed with the quality of omnipresence (lit., expansion), assumes numberless forms at his absolute will, shine forth as the Lord of the World for the sake of the welfare of that (world).

(2.) "What? Is it that here flows the light of the white rays (of the moon) in congelation, or a solution of crystals; or is it that the beautiful Çaṅkari (or female counterpart of Çiva) and his Çakti (or energy) is intently engaged in marking quick-time music in its primeval form?"² It may be with such musings as these about the nature of its water that the happy population (of the country) quickly resorts to that river Lanhitya (or Brahma-putra), which by removing all sins protects the world.

(Verse 3.) Of Hari (i.e., Viṣṇu) who, in the form of a boar, raised the earth when she had sunk beneath the ocean, Naraka of the Asura (or demon) race was the son, who acted the very part of the moon to the personal charms of the ladies of the Suras (or gods);³

(4.) Who, declaring Aditi to be a woman, weak, decrepit, timid, stupid, deserted by her kinsmen, and overtaken by misfortune, conquered the Suras, and snatched away her ear-rings which were precious as being typical of the glory of the Suras.

(5.) In Prāggyōtiṣa, the best of towns, provided with brilliant troops of warriors like systems of suns, and lovely-faced women of many kinds, he took up his residence, after he had acquired prosperity, equal in pleasantness to the pride of his arms.

(6.) "I am grown too old (to engage) in war, and my father will gain a brilliant reputation," bethinking himself thus, out of kindly consideration, he lived carelessly: so Hari removed him to heaven.

¹ The reading *sōsaçuēva* appears to be corrupt, and I can make nothing satisfactory of it. The Suāḷkuoi grant here fails to help. I have taken *sō* as prakritic for *sa*; compare *ante*, line 50, *ya*, footnote 97.

² Or, as Dr. Bloch suggests, it may be translated: "intently engaged in dividing the original current," of the heavenly Ganges in Çiva's matted hair according to the well-known mythological story.

³ The moon beholds the charms of the Apsarases; so did Naraka, of whom it is related that he "seized the daughters of the Gandharvas and of gods and men, as well as the Apsarases themselves." See Dowson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, *sub voce* Naraka. Suggestion of Dr. Bloch.

Alas! for one who is keenly desirous of glory there is truly in this world no counting of kinship.⁴

(7.) Then his wise son, **Bhagadatta** by name, whose shoulder was girt with the mantle of far-reaching glory, and who by the multitude of his good qualities won the affections of the (whole) world, carried upon himself the burden (of the government) of the country with propriety and much prosperity.

(8.) Then the mighty **Vajradatta**, having like **Vajrin** (*i.e.*, Indra), conquered his enemies, being in beauty like a large diamond, and enjoying the reputation of having achieved the conquest of the world through his own honesty and energy, obtained that kingdom of his brother, just as fire (attains) brilliancy on the setting of the sun.⁵

(9.) After thus, for several generations, kings of Naraka's dynasty had ruled the whole country, a great chief of the Mlecchas, owing to a turn of (adverse) fate, took possession of the kingdom. (This was) **Çālastambha**. In succession to him also there were chiefs, altogether twice ten (*i.e.*, twenty) in number, who are well-known as **Vigraha-stambha** and the rest.

(10.) Seeing that the twenty-first of them, the illustrious chief **Tyāga Simha**⁶ by name, had departed to heaven without (leaving) any of his race (to succeed him),

(Second Plate: obverse:) his subjects, thinking it well that a **Bhauṃa** (*i.e.*, one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose **Brahmapāla**, from among his kindred, to be their king on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country.⁷

⁴ Naraka is said to have been slain by **Kṛṣṇa**, who is an incarnation of **Viṣṇu** or **Hari**. The latter was Naraka's father: hence the father slew his son. The poet represents this as a sort of voluntary sacrifice on the part of Naraka, who feeling himself too old for his accustomed warlike exploits, purposely, *i.e.*, out of consideration for his father, lived in a careless fashion in order to afford his father an opportunity of slaying him, so that his father (**Viṣṇu**) might have the reputation of having slain the much-feared demon Naraka. The poet, however, cannot refrain from adding a word of disapproval of **Viṣṇu**'s conduct in setting aside the claims of kinship for the sake of earning a reputation. This explanation was substantially suggested to me by Dr. Bloch.

⁵ There is here a play on the word *vajra*, which means both 'the thunderbolt and 'a diamond.' Indra is called *vajrin*, or 'the wielder of *vajra* or 'the thunder bolt;' and **Vajradatta** or 'the gift of *Vajra*' is said to be as beautiful as a *vajra* or 'diamond.'

⁶ The meaning apparently is that the whole series consisted of 21 members *viz.*, **Çālastambha**, 19 others, and **Tyāga Simha**. It is not clear whether the name of the last king is *Çri-tyāga* or *Tyāga*.

⁷ Verses 10 and 11 are two relative sentences (with *yam* and *yasya*) dependent on the demonstrative *sa* in verse 12.

(11.) "Single-handed he overcame his enemy in battle: why indeed should this appear strange to his detractors, (seeing that) on this point Hara and Hari are examples, and Bhiṣma and indeed many others besides." Thus arguing, his warriors have always thought very highly of (the conduct of) their home-staying (king), seeing that his enemies fled away in all eight directions.⁸

(12.) His desire being stimulated by the taste of the joys due to his prosperity, he married a young woman who by reason of her devotion to her people bore the name of Kuladēvi, which is, as it were, the standing name for Lakṣmī (or 'good fortune') attainable by (all) rulers sprung from any (noble) family of the world.⁹

(13.) By him, who had such a reputation, was begotten on her a son called Ratnapāla, who gained renown because his people justly concluded that a jewel-like king would, by his good qualities, foster the most worthy among them.¹⁰

(14.) By reason of the elephants' pearls, carried forth by the impetus of the unrestrainable stream of blood running from the split foreheads of the elephants of his enemies,¹¹ his (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla's) battle-field looked beautiful like a market-place strewn with the stores of merchants, and ruby-coloured through (the blood of) the slain.¹²

(15.) Then having placed him (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla) on the throne to be to the dynasty of Naraka what the sun is to the lotuses, he (*i.e.*, Brahmapāla), the spotless champion, went to heaven; for noble-minded men who know the good and the evil of the world know to do that which is suitable to the occasion.¹³

(Second Plate: obverse: line 28: Prose.) In his capital, the heat (of the weather) was relieved by the copious showers of ruttish water flowing from the temples of his troops of lusty (ware-)elephants which had been presented to him by hundreds of kings conquered by the power of his arms entwined in clusters of flashes of his sharp sword. Though

⁸ Brahmapāla appears to have been of a mild and peaceable disposition; and this is the way that the poets expresses that fact. His son Ratnapāla formed the strongest contrast to him, being a very strong and warlike ruler, with a very long reign.

⁹ There is here a play on the word *kula* or '(good) family'. *Kula-dēvi* means a (goddess or) queen of good family or of all good families.

¹⁰ There is here a play on the word *ratna* or 'jewel.' A *ratna-upama* or 'jewel like' prince may be expected to become a *ratna-pāla* or 'jewel-protecting' king.

¹¹ This refers to the well-known Indian fable of certain pearls which are found in the frontal protuberances of certain elephants.

¹² Both grants read *pāḍmarūgi*. The correct form, however, would seem to be *pāḍmarūgā*.

¹³ The emendation *saṁvidratē* was suggested by Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri.

(that capital) was crowded with a dense forest, as it were, of arms of his brave soldiers who were hankering after the plunder of the camps of all his enemies, yet was it fit to be inhabited by wealthy people (merchants.) (In it) the disk of the sun was hid¹⁴ (from view) by the thousands of plastered turrets which are rendered still whiter by the nectar-like¹⁵ smiles of the love-drunk fair damsels (standing on them). It was frequented by many hundreds of well-to-do people¹⁶, just as a forest planted on the heights of the Malaya mountains (is frequented) by snakes. It is adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets who have made it their place of resort, just as the sky is adorned by Mercury, Jupiter and Venus.¹⁷ It resembles the summit of mount Kailāsa in being the residence of the Paramēṣvara (i.e., supreme ruler, or Śiva, the supreme God), and in being inhabited by a Vittēṣa (i.e., a master of wealth, or Kuvēra the God of wealth).¹⁸ Like the cloth which protects the king's broad chest, its boundaries were encompassed by a rampart, furnished with a fence strong like that used for the game-birds of the Çakas, fit to cause chagrin to the king of Gurjara, to give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the chief of Gauḍa, to act like bitumen in the earth to the lord of Kēraḷa, to strike awe into the Bāhikas and Tāikas, to cause discomfiture (lit., pulmonary consumption) to the master of the Deccan country; and generally to serve for the purpose of discomfiting the (king's) enemies. It is rendered beautiful by the river Lauhitya which gives relief to the fair damsels, that after the exertion of sexual enjoyment ascend to the retirement of their stuccoed turrets, by the spray of its current gently wafted up by the breeze charmingly resonant with the prattle of the flocks of love-drunk females of the Kala-hansa ducks;

(Second Plate: reverse:) and which (river) also resembles the cloth of the finely wrought flags carried by the elephants of Kailāsa, and

¹⁴ I have adopted the reading *antarhita* in my translation (see text, note 71). The original reads *anta-hṛta*, which would mean 'obstructed by the ends' (or points) of the thousands of pinnacles.

¹⁵ There is here a verbal conceit in the original which is untranslatable. *Saudha* means 'plastered,' and *sudhā* means both 'nectar' and 'whitewash.'

¹⁶ There is here a complicated verbal conceit, which cannot be exactly translated. *Bhōgin* means both a 'well-to-do, pleasure-loving man' and 'a snake.' The Malaya mountains, with its fragrant breezes, will suit the former, while the forest will suit the latter.

¹⁷ Here is again a verbal conceit: *budha* means both 'a learned man' and 'Mercury;' *guru* both 'a religious preceptor' and 'Jupiter,' and *kāvya* both 'a poet' and 'Venus.' The capital was to the men, what the sky is to the planets.

¹⁸ There is here an obvious play on the words *paramēṣvara* and *vittēṣa* which are epithets of the king as well as of a god.

the jewelled mirrors used in their coquetries by the numerous females (i.e., the Apsarases) of the lord of heaven (i.e., Indra). It is an object of respect to merchants who are the owners of numerous (kinds of) wares. Such is the town in which the lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa took up his residence and which he called by the appropriate name of the 'Impregnable one' (*durjaya*). Here dulness might be observed in necklaces, but not in the senses (of the inhabitants); fickleness in apes, but not in their minds; changefulness in the motions of the eyebrows, but not in promises; accidents (happening) to things,¹⁹ but not to the subjects. Here capriciousness might be seen (only) in women; reeling (only) in the gait of women excited with the (tender) intoxication of spring-tide²⁰; covetousness (only) in evil-doers; safe addiction to the sipping of honey (only) in swarms of bees; exceeding devotion to love (only) in Brahmāny ducks (*Anas Oasarca*); and eating of flesh (only) in wild beasts.²¹ In that town, which emulated the residence of Vāsava (i.e., Indra)²², the king, who resembles the moon in that he makes his virtues to wax, as the moon makes the tides of the encircling ocean to wax, and in that he causes his enemies to experience the deprivation of their wealth, as the moon causes the ponds to experience the deprivation of their lotuses²³; and who resembles the sun in that he makes his feet to rest on the heads of his enemies, as the sun makes his rays to rest on the summits of the mountains,²⁴ and in that he delights in making his copper-mines lucrative, as the sun makes the lotus-ponds brilliant²⁵: who, being a Paramācvara (or paramount sovereign), takes pleasure in (the country of) Kāmarūpa; who, though being of the Bhauma (i.e., of Naraka's) race, delights in being the enemy of the Dānavas (or demons); who, being a *Puruṣōttama* or 'perfect man,' does not act as a *Janārdana*²⁶

¹⁹ There is a double meaning in *s-ōpasargatā dhāturu* which may be also translated 'the prefixing of prepositions (*upasarga*) to verbal roots (*dhātu*).'

²⁰ *Madhu-mada* might also mean 'intoxication with wine.'

²¹ I have inserted "only," because probably oppositions are intended here just as in the preceding passage. Thus "capriciousness in women but not in men;" "reeling in love-drunk women but not in wine-drunk men;" "covetousness in evil-doers but not in other citizens;" "eating of flesh in wild beasts but not in men;" etc.

²² I propose to read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparādhini*. The Suālkuci grant reads *Vāsav-āsparddhini*.

²³ *Padma* is the lotus which closes at night, but it also signifies the wealth of Kuvēra, and hence 'wealth' generally.

²⁴ *Pāda* means both 'a foot' and 'a ray;' and *bhū-bhūt* means both 'a king' and 'a mountain.'

²⁵ *Kamal-ākara* means both 'a lotus-pond' and 'a copper-mine.'

²⁶ There is here an untranslatable play on the words *puruṣōttama* and *janārdana*. Both are epithets of Viṣṇu, who is called *puruṣōttama* or 'the best of men,' but also

(or troubler of his subjects); who, though being a valiant man, walks (leisurely) like an elephant: whose figure is such as to outdo Manmatha (or the god of love); whose profundity such as to put into the shade the ocean; whose intelligence²⁷ such as to be a guarantee of the conquest of the world; whose valour such as to surpass Skanda (or the god of war): who is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhīmasēna in war, a Kṛtānta (or god of death) in wrath, a forest-conflagration in destroying his plant-like adversaries:²⁸ who is the moon in the sky of learning, the (sweet) breeze of the Malaya mountains in the midst of the jasmine-like²⁹ men of good birth, the sun in eclipsing his enemies, the mountain of the East³⁰ in the successful advancement of his friends: this king, the *Paramēṣvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Brahmapāla** Varma-dēva, may he prosper.

(Second Plate: reverse; line 52.) With reference to the land producing two thousand (measures of) rice, and the fields with the clusters of gourds, together with the inferior land of the hamlet of Vāmadēva, (the whole) situated on the northern bank (of the Brahmaputra), within the district of the "Thirteen Villages," the king sends his greetings and commands to all and several who reside (there): to the

janārdana or 'the troubler of men,' because he excites or agitates them. The king, on the contrary, is declared to be a *puruṣōttama*, but not a *janārdana*. There is, in fact, a verbal conceit involved, in every one of the phrases descriptive of the king. Thus *paramēṣvara* is an epithet of Śiva who is an ascetic and takes no pleasure in *kāma-rūpa* (or attractive things); the king, on the contrary, though he is a *paramēṣvara*, or rather because he is *paramēṣvara* or 'supreme ruler,' takes pleasure in *kāma-rūpa* (his country). Again Naraka was himself a Dānava, but the king, though of Naraka's race, delights in being an enemy of the Dānavas. But the word *dānavāri* may also be divided into *dāna* or 'gift,' and *vāri* or 'water,' i.e., the water, the out-pouring of which is symbolical of the grant of a gift. In that case the passage means that the king, though of Naraka's (i.e., of Dānava) race, yet delights in giving presents to Brāhmins.

²⁷ I propose to read *dhīryam*, because *vīryam* recurs immediately in the following sentence. *V* and *dh* are apt to be confounded in writing.

²⁸ There is an untranslatable conceit in the word *virudhī*, which may also be spelt *virudhi*. Spelt *virudh*, the word means 'a plant;,' spelt *virudh*, it means 'stopping.' With the latter spelling, the passage would mean that the king is like a forest-fire in stopping his enemies.

²⁹ *Sumanas* may be any flower, but especially the sweet-scented *Jasminum grandiflorum*. The Malaya mountains were famous for their breezes laden with the sweet scent of their fauna. The king, in the midst of his flower-like aristocracy, wafts, as it were, their sweet scent over the country.

³⁰ There is a verbal conceit in *mitrōdgama* which may also mean 'the rising of the sun;,' that is, what the eastern mountains are to the rising sun, that the king is to the advancement of his friends.

(common) people of the Brāhman and other castes, headed by the district revenue officers and their clerks, as well as to the other (higher-class) people, such as the Rājanakas, Rājaputras, Rājavallabhas, etc., and above them the Rānakas, Rājñis, and Rājas; and, in fact, to all who may reside there in future at any time.

Be it known to you, that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all worries on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenant's taxes, the imposts for various causes, and the pasturing of animals, such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, buffalos, goats and sheep, as set forth in this charter:—³¹

(Third Plate: line 58: verse 1.) There was a Brāhman in the land, Dśvadatta, of the Pārāsara Gōtra and the Kāṇva çākḥā; a leader among the Vājasanśyakas, whom on having found to be the foremost vedic scholar, the Vēdas, in their threefold division³², felt themselves satisfied.

(2.) He had a son, Sadgaṅgādatta, richly endowed with (every) virtue, who ever kept the holy fire burning (in his house), and at the sight of whose devotion to the six holy duties³³ a multitude of people were established in their faith in the whole body of Brāhmanas from Bhṛgu downwards.

(3.) He had a wife, Çyāmāyikā, devoted to her husband and endowed with (every) virtue, who shines like the streak (crescent or quarter) of the moon, pure in form and dispelling the darkness.

(4.) From her was born a son, Viradatta, a leader among the learned in the Çāstras, and fearful of (committing) any offence, on the experience of whose deep-seated piety and formidable intellect the Kali age felt, as it were, humbled.

(5.) To him, on the Viṣṇupadī Saṅkrānti,³⁴ in the twenty-fifth year of my reign, (this land) is given by me for the sake of the good and the glory of my father and of myself.

³¹ The sentence which breaks off here, is resumed below in verse 5.

³² Referring either to the three Vēdas, or to the three vedic sciences of hymn, sacrifice and song. The reading *ākṛt-ārthāyitam*, however, is not quite intelligible to me.

³³ The six duties are: studying and teaching the Vēdas, offering sacrifices and conducting them for others, giving and receiving gifts.

³⁴ There are four of these; viz., the instants of the sun's entrance into the four Hindū signs *vṛṣa* (taurus), *siṃha* (leo), *vṛṣcika* (scorpion) and *kumbha* (aquarius) which are also the beginnings for the four months *Jyēṣṭha*, *Bhādrapada*, *Mārgaṣīṣa* and *Phālguna*. The first of these is probably intended here.

(Its) boundaries (are as follows): On the east, the Çālmali-tree⁸⁵ on the big dike; on the south-east, the Çālmali-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river Brahmaputra) by the anchorage of the boats for the Pāṭhi-fish of the Rūṣi-class;⁸⁶ on the south the Badari-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the south-west the Kāçimbala-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the west the Āqvatha-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river); at the bend to the north-west, the dike of the fields, as well as a Kāçimbala-tree; on the north-west the Hijjala-tree on the dike of the fields; at the bend to the east and north, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; further at the bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Kāçimbala-trees; at the slight bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; on the north, the Kāçimbala-tree on the big dike; and on the north-east, a Vētasa-tree on the big dike.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prāggyōtiṣa, the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, the illustrious Ratnapāla Varma Dēva.

II. THE SUĀLKUCĪ GRANT.

This grant and its seal exactly resemble the Gauhaṭi and Bargāon grants, as may be seen from the photographs (Plates XII and XIII). The plates measure $12\frac{1}{8}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and are protected by a slightly raised rim on all four sides. The seal measures $4\frac{1}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The grant is in a rather bad state of preservation. Originally there were three plates. The first plate is missing, and consequently the inscription on the outer (or obverse side) of the second plate has greatly suffered from corrosion. In addition, there has been applied much injudicious cleaning, before the plates were placed in my hands, in consequence of which the inscription throughout the grant has been rendered very difficult of decipherment. In fact, it would have been impossible to fully decipher it, but for the help afforded by the Bargāon grant, with the greater part of which happily the Suālkucī grant is

⁸⁵ The trees here mentioned are: Çālmali, *Bombax malabaricum*; Badari, *Zizyphus Jujuba* or Jujube tree; Kāçimbala, an inferior kind of Çimbala, which I cannot identify; Āqvatha, *Ficus religiosa*; Hijjala, *Barringtonia acutangula*; Vētasa, *Calamus Rotang*.

⁸⁶ The pāṭhi is a kind of sheat-fish (*Silurus Pelorus*), also called pāṭhina, and in Bangālī *rōyāl*. The term rūṣi I cannot identify; it might be connected with Sanskrit *rōṣiṣa*.

identical. The only difference appears to be in the statements referring to the land and the person to whom the land was granted.

The two sides of the first (originally second) plate have 19 lines each. The second (originally third) plate has 7 lines. The inscription on the obverse of the former plate probably commenced with the word *phala* on l. 21 of the obverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The reverse of that plate commences with the word [*pri-*] *yānuvarttanam*, the syllable *pri* being at the end of the obverse side; and this word stands on line 43 of the reverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The formal part of the Suālkucī grant ends in its 37th line (the last but one on the reverse side of the existing first plate) with the phrase *çāsani-kṛtya*, which stands in the 58th line (the first of the 3rd plate of the Bargāon grant). From here the remainder of the Suālkucī grant is occupied with the portion peculiar to it, describing the grantee and the granted land.

The mechanical execution of the Suālkucī grant is, if anything, still more slovenly and inaccurate than that of the Bargāon grant. A glance over the extracts, given below, will show numerous blunders. There are, however, a few variants, which appear to be genuine differences of composition; e.g., l. 14, *kalahaṃsa-gāmini* (for *kalahaṃsa-gāmini*) 'females walking like kalahaṃsa geese,' l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*; or which actually offer more suitable readings, as in l. 11, *kṛḍā-çakuni* (for *kṛiḍā-çakuni*), and in l. 33, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika*.

Palaeographically the Suālkucī grant does not differ in any way from the Bargāon grant. The guttural nasal *ṅ* is throughout made without a ringlet. Only once, in l. 12, *taṃka*, it is represented by the anusvāra; but this case is not above suspicion, because the reading here is defective; see the extract below. The anusvāra is formed by a ringlet and placed above the line. The special final form for *n* occurs in l. 10, *jānapālān*, and l. 11, *prabhṛtīn* and *survān*. The special final form of *t* occurs in l. 21, *bhṛt*, and in l. 34 *'bhūt*. The special final form of *m* occurs, twice, in ll. 23 and 24 *viryam*; as a rule, however, the anusvāra is used; thus in l. 9, *maṅḍalam*, l. 10, *alayhāram*, l. 16, *sārthānām*, and l. 23, *gambhīrya[m]*, where the Bargāon grant has the special form. The initial short *i*, made by two ringlets placed above a hook, occurs in ll. 3 and 34, *iī*, l. 40, *iṣṭa*; but in l. 21, the hiatus with *iva*, which the Bargāon grant shows, is avoided in the Suālkucī grant by the insertion of a euphonic *r*. The avagraha occurs in l. 25, *çūryō'ri*, where it is omitted in the Bargāon grant. It appears also to be intended, in l. 40, by the mark of interpunctuation.

Regarding the probable date of the Suālkucī grant, see the remarks on the Bargāon grant. It is not dated in any era, but professes to have been issued in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

In the following transcript I shall only quote such portions of the Suālkuci grant as differ in any respect from the corresponding portions of the Bargāon grant, or as show the same irregularities. The portion peculiar to the Suālkuci grant is transcribed in full.

TEXT.¹*Second Plate: Obverse.*

- 1, phala etc., ending with samprāptā-lakṣmyāḥ sthitam=i- (see Bargāon grant, ll. 21 and 22).
- 2, va apparently ratuōpamō narapati etc. (cf. l. 23).
- 4, padma-rāgi ṣobhētā vira-vaṇijām nikaraiḥ etc. (cf. ll. 25, 26).
- 5, bhānuṁ samvēṣya tā (sic) etc. (cf. l. 127).
- 6, sat-ōpāyani sa-mada etc., omitting kṛta (cf. l. 29).
- 7, syāndi-dāmvu (sic) samupasamitu (sic) luṭṭanal-lampāṭa etc. (cf. ll. 29, 30).
- 8, ... nivāsa-yōgyam | sundari-chudhā (sic) sikhar-ādhiruḍha-sahasra-ānta etc. (cf. ll. 31, 32).
- 9, sthali-ruham | kānanēm=iv=ānēka-bhōgi-sata nabhō-vammōvāpta (sic) (cf. l. 32, 33).
- 11, kṛdā-ṣakuni-dṛḍha² prajvarēṣa etc. (cf. l. 34).
- 12, Kōralē | sa-calā-ṣilājatuh nā (sic) Vāhika-tamka etc., omitting Tāika (cf. l. 35).
- 13, rājajakṣmaṇā | vakṣaḥ | kapāṭa etc. (l. 35, 36).
- 14, kalahansa-gāminī | kulaḥ kuṣita-prōcala (sic) ṣrmmi | ṣikar-āsāram=upaṣamitā etc. (cf. ll. 36, 37).
- 15, ādhiruḍha | paṭē nākiṣa (sic) (cf. ll. 37, 38).
- 76, anēkamanakṣa-pati etc. (cf. l. 39).
- 17, adhyuvāsyā (sic) | yaṣṭiṣu |³ n-ōndrayēṣu etc. (cf. l. 40).

Second Plate: Reverse.

- 20, y-ānuvarttanam | ... piṣitā svāpadēṣu | ... Vāsav-āsparddhini | etc., omitting ṣitā (cf. ll. 43, 44).
- 21, ṇḍalam | ṣatru-sarasām darppita mārttaṇḍa r=iva bhū-bhṛt-chirō-nivēṣita-pādam | ōdbhāsana-lā- (cf. ll. 44, 45).

¹ From the original plates.

² The akṣara ḍha stands below the line.

³ This mark of interpunctation is placed almost regularly after each clause.

- 22, laçaç⁴=ca kāmārūpā | nandi dānavāri | paruṣōttamō
(sic) py=adanārddanō | etc. (cf. ll. 46, 47).
- 23, pi mattēha-gāmi ya | sā rūpā | gambhīrya | ... āsansi-
vairyam | etc. (cf. ll. 47, 48).
- 24, ndi-vairyam | yaçaṣi | Bhiṣmō dhanuṣi | etc. (cf. ll. 48, 49).
- 25, Čūryō'ri-tamasi ¹⁸ etc. (cf. l. 50).
- 26, sampadi ya | pādānudhyātāḥ paramēçvaraḥ parama-satāra-
(sic) (cf. ll. 50, 51).
- 27, çrimān=Ratnapāla-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali Ṇ Ṇ Kala-
28, ṅgā-viṣay-āntaḥ-pāti-dhānya-tri-sahasr-ōtpattika-ha-kṛṣṭā⁵.
bhūmau yathāyatham samupasthita-v(b)rā-
29, hmaṇ-ādi etc. (cf. l. 54).
- 33, nānā-nimitt mahiṣ-āj-āvika-pracāra-prabhṛtinām etc.
(cf. ll. 57 58).
- 34, çāsanī-kṛtya Ṇ ⁶ Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrō Vājasanōyi Çṛkāvva⁷
çākhō'bhūt | bhātṭō V(b)ala-dēva iti khyāta-
35, ḥ çruta-vinaya-sampaunaḥ Ṇ [1 Ṇ] Āsit-pratihata-narakō v(b)a-
hu-vibudha-vandyamāna-carāṇa-yugmaḥ | × × × × × ma ×
× × ×.⁸
- 36, s=tat-putrō Vāsudēv-ākhyāḥ Ṇ [2 Ṇ] Lakṣmīr-iva jana-sēvyā
bhāry-āsīd=asya vallabhā sādhi | c=Chēppāyik=ēti viditā sad-
dharmmā va-
37, rṇa-bhūṣaṇā⁹ ramyā Ṇ [3 Ṇ] ¹⁰Tāsyām=ajāyata sutō bhūvi Kāma-
dēvaḥ çaktyā¹¹ manō-ramatayā jita-kāma-dēhaḥ | kāntiḥ
38, samasta bhuvanaṁ hi çaçāṅka-çubhrā yasy=āniçam=bhramati
bhūri vibhūṣita-dyauiḥ Ṇ [4 Ṇ] ¹²Pitrōḥ svam=puṇyam=uddiçya
¹³ × × × × ×

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 39, — — | mayā dattā dvijāy=āsyai rājyō ṣaḍviṇçad-āv(b)dikō
Ṇ [5 Ṇ] Asyās=simā pūrvvēṇa Candō-nauki(nā)¹⁴

⁴ The first akṣara ça is superfluous.

⁵ Perhaps read *hala-kṛṣṭa*.

⁶ Metre of verses 1-3: *Āryā*.

⁷ Read *Çrikāvva*.

⁸ Ten akṣaras are here illegible.

⁹ The reading is uncertain.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

¹¹ Reading uncertain.

¹² Metre: *Çlōka*.

¹³ Here 8 akṣaras, or a quarter-verse, are illegible.

¹⁴ The bracketed portions are uncertain.

- 40, (n=s)aha-simni iṣṭak(ēndrasy)=ōpari ṣa(va)ra-mūla¹⁶ | khōḍ-
 āmv(b)ra-vṛkṣau | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna (dakṣi¹⁶)-pāṭi-nauki-sa-
 41, ha-simni Vētasa-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇēna Sadhava-nauki-saha-simni
 Hijala-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paṣcimēna (Bhaya)ka)-
 42, ma-vṛkṣaḥ | paṣcimēna Candē-nauki-saha-simni adhunā-rōpita-
 Ḥālmali-vṛkṣaḥ | paṣcim-ōttarēna Kalangā-
 43, daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Sadhava-Kalangā-
 daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭa-stha-Cōraka-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrē-
 44, ṇa kula-sōnt-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Sadhava-kula-
 sōnt-ōttara-pāṭa-stha-Varuṇa-vṛkṣaḥ | uttara-ga-vakrēna Hija-
 45, la-vṛkṣaḥ | uttarēna Diyamv(b)ārāñjal-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | uttara-
 pūrvvṇ=āli-mastaka-Vētasaṣ=c=ṣṭi ||

The Seal.

- (1) Ōm svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipaty-anva-
 (2) yō mahārāj-ādhirāja-ṣri-Ratna-
 (3) pāla-varmma-dēvaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Second Plate : Reverse.

(Line 34; verse 1.) There was a learned Brāhman, called Bala-
 dēva, full of holy lore and good conduct, who belonged to Bhāradvāja's
 gōtra and the Ḥrikāṇṭha ṣākhā of the Vājasaneyins.

(2) He had a son, Vāsudēva by name,.....¹⁷, who (by his
 sanctity) had exempted himself from hell, and whose feet were revered
 by many learned men.

(3) He had a loving and chaste wife who, like Lakṣmi (the goddess
 of good fortune), was honoured by the people. She was known by the
 name of Chēppāyikā,¹⁸ a woman charming, true in faith, and an orna-
 ment to her caste.

(4) From her was born a son Kāmadēva who on earth by his power
 and his charm excels Kāma, the god of love; for his beauty, brilliant
 like the moon, and illuminating the heavens, incessantly wanders
 through the whole world.

¹⁵ Probably read *mūlē 'khōḍ-āmbra*.

¹⁶ Perhaps read *dakṣiṇa*.

¹⁷ Here the original text is illegible. There are 11 akṣaras—all short, as the
 metre shows,—of which only one (the seventh) *ma* is legible.

¹⁸ This appears to be a vernacular name, the Sanskrit equivalent of which I
 do not know.

(5) With a view to my parents' as well as my own welfare,.....
, (this land) is given by me to this Brāhman, in the twenty-sixth year of my reign.

Its boundaries are (as follows): On the East, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candś men, and at the foot of the Saravā above the brickfield there are a walnut and a mango tree. On the North-east, at the anchorage of the boats of the men (located) on the southern terrace, there is a Vśtasa-tree.¹⁹ On the South, at the anchorage of the boats of the Sadhava men, there stands a Hijjala-tree. On the South-west, there stands a Bhayakama(?) tree. On the West, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candś men, there stands the Āalmali-tree which has been recently planted. On the North-west, there is the southern terrace of the boatmen of Kalangā. At the bend on the East, there is the Cōraka tree, standing on the southern terrace of the boatmen of the Sadhava (portion of) Kalangā. At the bend on the South, there is the northern terrace of the Sōnta²⁰ of the (river's) bank. At the bend on the East, there is the Varuṇa-tree, standing on the northern terrace of the Sōnta of the Sadhava (portion of the) river's bank. At the bend on the North, there is a Hijjala tree. On the North, there is the northern terrace of the Diyambārāñjala, and on the North-east, a Vśtasa-tree on the highest point of the dike.

The Seal.

Om! Hail! the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, of the illustrious race of the lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the illustrious **Ratnapāla Varma Dśva**.

¹⁹ Regarding the identity of the trees in this list, see *ante*, page 120, footnote 35. Of the Bhayakama tree I can make nothing, but the akṣaras *bhayaka* are uncertain. I am unable to identify the Cōraka tree. It is commonly identified with *Trigonella corniculata* or *Andropogon acicularis*; these, however, are mere plants.

²⁰ I do not know what *sōnta* means. It corresponds to *duṇḍi* in the preceding clause.

A Note on the Identity of the great Tsang-po of Tibet with the Dihong.—By
SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., Rai Bahādur.

[Read February, 1897.]

Sir Clements Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society in his learned introduction to "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet," regarding the course of the Tsang-po wrote as follows:—"Beyond the point where the Lhasa route crosses the river, in longitude $90^{\circ} 40'$ E., the course of the Brahmaputra within the mountains is entirely unknown for a distance of about 400 miles, when, under the name of Dihong, the mighty stream emerges into the valley of Assam and becomes the Brahmaputra of the plains. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the Tsang-po of great Tibet and the Brahmaputra of the plains are one and the same river."

This question has occupied the attention of geographers for upwards of a century. In his instructions, dated 1774, Warren Hastings specially enjoined Mr. Bogle to inform himself respecting the course of the Brahmaputra. D'Anville, and afterwards Klaproth, believed that the Tibet river was the upper course of the Irrawaddy. In 1825 Captains Bulton and Wilcox were sent to explore its course. Bulton followed up the course of the Dihong, until he was stopped by wild tribes, while Wilcox crossed the water-parting towards Burma, and reached the banks of the Irrawaddy. From the point reached by Bulton on the Dihong, to the place where Manning crossed the Tsang-po, there is an interval of about 400 miles, and a difference of level of 11,000 feet. This interval was entirely unknown till 1882 when I explored up to Sangri Khamar, a place situated to the east of the town of Chethang on the Tsang-po where it crosses 92° Lg., and Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, about 50 miles further east up to the confines of the province of Kongbu; and Kunthup has done, though not scientifically, further 200 miles, so that out of 400 now only about 50 miles remain to be explored.

In July 1880, a Lama of Gya-rong was despatched by the late

Captain Harman from Darjeeling to Tibet with orders to explore the country below Gyala Sing-dong and trace the great Tsang-po to the plains of India, or failing this, to throw marked logs into the stream at the lowest point reached. It was intended that due notice should be given by the Lama to Captain Harman of the period during which the logs were daily to be cast into the river, so that he might set watches at the place where the Dihong debouches into Assam, and thus prove the identity or otherwise of the great river of Tibet with the Brahmaputra. Kunthup, a native of Sikkim, who had previously accompanied the explorer Nima Sring to Gyala Sing-dong and who has since traversed Bhutān with Rinzing, was sent with the Gya-rong Lama as assistant. The proposed arrangements for casting logs into the Tsang-po fell through owing to the delinquency of the Lama, who having sold Kunthup as a slave in the Pema-koi country decamped to his home in Gya-rong within the Chinese frontier.

Kunthup having escaped from the hands of his master, reached Onlek a short stage from Mir Padam, or Miri Padam, a village situated on a plain on the Tsang-po, a resort of traders from Assam, and the abode of the Miri and Padam tribes, who are known to inhabit the country near the place where the Dihong breaks through the hills into Assam. He was informed at Onlek that Miri Padam was about three days' journey or 35 miles from the nearest plains of India. Kunthup also saw the haze of India from Onlek in an easterly direction when looking down the river. According to native report and also legend, the Tsang-po enters a deep rocky gorge at the foot of a rocky mountain which has the appearance of a lion's face and is therefore called Sing-dong, from *sing* a lion and *dong* a face. Kunthup describes the falls of the Tsang-po below the Pema-koi monastery as a cascade of some 150 feet in height, and mentions the prismatic colours of the spray hanging over the dark basin or lake below the cliff. This rock is called *Shin-jā-shējal*, *i. e.*, the place of interview with the Lord of the Dead. *Shin* the dead, *jā* lord, and *shē-jal* an interview.

Since then Mr. Needham, a political officer, resident near Sudya in Assam, has explored a part of the mountainous country, inhabited by Mishmi and other wild tribes, up to the borders of Za-yul, but has not succeeded in following up the course of the Dihong. The inscription before us and the letter of Mr. Barnes, quoted below, go to prove that the Dihong is the great Tsang-po, as it was conjectured by the late General Walker. The wooden block on which the inscription is, came down from the Tsang-po. It must have belonged to some one of the Nij-ma monasteries of Tibet or to the monastery of Pema-koi, the last of the Buddhist institutions of Tibet, situated to the further East of

Tibet. My friend and tutor Lama Sherab resided twelve years at the Pema-koi monastery and knows the country well. The charm contained in the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit written in Tibetan and repeated twenty-five times. It belongs to the Niṅ-ma-pa or the older red-cap School of Tibet. The following is a transcript :—

- (1). ཨོཾ་ བརྩོ་སྤྱི་ ས་མཉམ་ས་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ བརྩོ་སྤྱི་ རྩེ་ རོ་ བཏི་ལྷོ་
 རྩེ་ལྷོ་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རོ་ལྷོ་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ བཏི་ལྷོ་།
- (2). མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ཨ་ལྷ་ར་ལྷོ་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ས་བོ་སེད་རྩི་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ཙཱ་ ས་བོ་
 ལྷ་ལྷ་ཙཱ་ མེ་ ཙཱི་ལྷོ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་།
- (3). ལྷོ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷོ་། ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ ས་བོ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ བརྩོ་སྤྱི་ མེ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་
 བརྩོ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ས་མཉམ་ ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་།།

- (1.) Ōm, vajrasatva! samayam=anupālaya, vajrasatva! tvē nō patiṣṭha; driḍhō mē bhavaṣu, toṣyō mē bhavaṣu, pōṣyō.
- (2.) mē bhava, anuraktō mē bhava, sarvasiddhi mē prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca mē cittaṁ ṅrēyaḥ kuru.
- (3.) Hūm-ha-ha-ha-ha-hōh! Bhagavan Sarva-Tathāgata! vajram mē muñca, vajri bhava mahāsamaya satva-āḥ!

Translation :

- (1.) Ōm, vajrasattva! keep thy duties ; O vajrasattva, ground us upon thee ; be strong to me, be delighted with me.
- (2.) Be kind unto me, be cheerful unto me ; grant me every success, and in all my actions make pure my heart!

Line 3 seems rather untranslatable.

The letter of Mr. H. C. Barnes, Assistant Commissioner of Dibrugarh, dated the 22nd October, 1896, is as follows :—

“ I enclose a print taken from a piece of wood found in the Brahma-putra a few miles above Dibrugarh a short time ago. When brought in, it appeared that the block was meant for printing from, as, though the surface of the letters was clean, the whole of the carved out portion of the wood, i.e., the space between the letters, was covered with what

looked like ink. Moreover, though no one could say what the writing was by mere inspection of the block; some Khamptis on seeing a print taken from it, declared that it was a Lama, i.e., Tibetan, writing. You will observe that the lines are similar, so that a translation of one will give the meaning of the whole. I should be obliged if you would send me a translation and also inform me what the block was used for. If my conjecture that it was used for printing from is wrong and the Khamptis have misled me, I can send you a rubbing of the block.

“The block is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick and it has no marks on the sides or back to show that it has ever been fastened to anything else. It is supposed to have been brought down the Dihong by the last flood, which was probably caused by the breaking through of a dam formed across the Dihong by a former landslip. The flood rose to a great height in one night in fine weather and no other river came down in flood except the Dihong. The piece of wood was found by an Assamese who was looking for firewood.”

Numismatic Notes and Novelties, No. III.¹ Ancient and Mediaeval India.—

By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S.

(With Plate XIV.)

[Read April, 1898.]

INDO-BACTRIAN.

I.

TELEPHUS.

Copper or bronze, rectangular, measuring .95 by .85 inch (= about 25 × 21 m.m.), and about .15 thick. Weight 131 gr. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Zeus (or king) seated l., on throne with back; his r. hand advanced; in his l. sceptre.

Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (left) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (top) [Τ]ΗΛΕΦΟΥ (right).

Rev. Figure (? female) to r., seated in crouching attitude, with r. arm extended; l. arm not visible.

Kharoṣṭhi legend, *Maharajasa* (on right) *Kaliṅakrama* (? on top) *sa Tēliphasa* (damaged, on left).

This very remarkable piece has recently been obtained by Mr. J. P. Rawlins at Haripur in the Hazāra District of the Panjab.

The figure of Zeus resembles that on the *reverse* of the ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ coins of Hermaeus (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 65, Pl. XV, 7). The reverse device is unique, and I am unable to explain it.

The reading of the king's name in Greek is certain. The Kharoṣṭhi equivalent could not be deciphered without the help of the Greek.

The coinage of Telephus is of extreme rarity, and has heretofore been known in silver only. The Elliot hemidrachm in the Bodleian cabinet was considered unique until Von Sallet identified two duplicates of it among the unnamed coins of the Guthrie collection at Berlin (Von Sallet, p. 131).

Professor Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 171) describes the Bodleian specimen as follows:—

¹ No. I. appeared in this *Journal* for 1897, Vol. LXVI, Part I, p. 1 ff.; No. II, appeared on p. 298 ff., of the same.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ. Giant (Skythes ?), his body ending in three serpents; holds in each hand, hammer (?)

Rev. Kharoṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa pālanakramasa* (or perhaps, *pālanakṣamasa*) *Teliphasa*. Helios radiate, facing, clad in tunic and chlamys, holds long sceptre; beside him male figure wrapped in mantle, wearing wreath, or horned; in field, mon. Weight 87. Diam. .7.

The long epithet which is the Prākṛit equivalent of *εὐεργέτου* appears to be the same on the new coin as on the previously known hemidrachms. The reading is unfortunately doubtful.

Lassen read *parakaramasa*, which, as Von Sallet remarks, is certainly erroneous.

Cunningham suggested *kalānakramasa*. Von Sallet reads *kalana-* (or *kalaka-*) *kramasa*.

I agree that the first character is *ka*, and that the second consonant is *l*. But the new coin shows a short vertical stroke across the horizontal line of the *l*, which converts the character into *li*, or *lē*.

The third character, a hook turned to the right, is certainly either the cerebral *ṛ*, or the dental *ṛ*. The first element of the word therefore reads *kalina*, or *kalēna*.

Lengthening the vowels it may be read as *kālina*, (or *kālēna*), and the whole compound taken as *kālinakramasa*. Mr. Bendall's *pālanakṣamasa* does not seem to be admissible. But, though *kālina-kramasa* seems to be a good reading of the letters, I do not understand how that form can be used as a translation of *εὐεργέτου*, 'benefactor.'¹

INDO-BACTRIAN.

II.

PEUKELAUS.

Copper or bronze, square. Diameter .95 × .85. Weight 142 gr. From Bannū District, west of the Indus. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Male figure, to front, looking l., wearing hat and short coat.

Legend, [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚ[Ε-ΛΑΟΥ]

Rev. City, turreted, standing, with r. hand outstretched over mon., and palm over l. shoulder.

Kharoṣṭhī legend, [*Maha*]rajasa *dhramikasa tradatasa Peukalaūsa*.

This interesting coin is unfortunately in poor condition, and a photograph of it cannot be distinct.

The coins of Peukelaus were published for the first time recently by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who briefly noticed two specimens, (apparently obtained at Peshāwar?), of which one belonged to Sir Alexander

[¹ I have not the slightest doubt that the reading of this word is *kalānakramasa*, or in Sanskrit *kalyāṇakramasaḥ*, which corresponds exactly to the Greek *εὐεργέτου*.—Ed.]

Cunningham, and the other to Mr. L. White King.¹ The coin now published is, therefore, the third known specimen.

Cunningham called the figure on the obverse Apollo, and that on the reverse Demeter. I cannot say whether or not the figures were the same as those on Mr. Rawlins' coin. I cannot find the obverse figure on any other Bactrian coin.

The reverse figure is that of a turreted personified city, as on the square bronze coins of Hippostratus, with Triton obv. (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 60, Pl. XIV, 6). The mon. on the coin of Mr. Rawlins' is the same as that on the coin of Hippostratus with horseman reverse (*ibid.* Pl. XIV, 6).

It is clear, therefore, that Peukelaus was approximately contemporary with Hippostratus.

The legends ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and *dhramikasa tradatasa* indicate that the period of Hippostratus and Peukelaus is not far removed from that of Menander. The same inference is suggested by the use in the Greek legend of the minute dot form of *omikron*.

The early part of the Greek legend is illegible, but the word ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ can be read, and most of the letters of the Kharoṣṭhi legend can be made out on the original coin. The king's name is certain, ΠΕΥΚ, in Greek, and *Peük* in Kharoṣṭhi, being distinct.

The name Peukelaus necessarily recalls to the mind that of the city Peukelaïtis or Peukelaotis, mentioned by several Greek writers. Arrian tells us that in the dominions of the Assakenoi (probably the Açvakas) there was a great city called Massaka, the capital, and that, there was another city of great size, called Peukelaïtis, not far from the west bank of the Indus.²

This city seems to be the same which is described by Hiuen Tsiang under the name of Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti, or Puṣkalāvati, which was situated across a great river about 9 miles (50 *li*) north-east of Kaniṣka's famous monastery at or near Peshāwar. The "great river" must be the Kābul. The distance stated by the Chinese pilgrim indicates that the site is to be looked for at the Nicetta or Nisattha of the maps rather than at Hashtnagar, where it is placed by Cunningham.³

If Peukelaïtis and Puṣkalāvati are identical, which is not exactly proved, it seems quite possible that the Greek name may be derived from the name of the king Peukelaus, and not, as has hitherto been assumed, from a Prakrit form of Puṣkalāvati.

¹ *Num. Chronicle* for 1896, p. 269.

² McCrindle "Megasthenes and Arrian," p. 180. Arrian was born about A.D. 90, and lived to an advanced age. The date of king Menander is approximately B.C. 100.

³ "Reports" II, 90; XIX, 96-110: Vivien de St. Martin in Julien's *Hiouen Tshang*, III, 308.

NORTHERN SATRAPS.

III

SATRAP TARAKI.

Copper, circular; diam. '6. Wt. 19 gr. obverse slightly convex, and reverse concave. Thin. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Bust to r., bare-headed, or wearing closefitting cap. Traces of Brāhmī letters in front of face. Dotted circle.

Rev. Legend in two lines, occupying field, in border:—

[महात्पा]वप, [*Mahātpa*]vapa.

तरकि *Taraki.*

This remarkable coin comes from the Bannā District. The characters are those of the northern alphabet of about the beginning of the Christian era, and closely resemble those on the known coins of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā.

KUSANA.

IV

KADPHISES I.

A. Copper, Diameter '8. Wt. 63 gr. Rather thin coin, without rim. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Bust to r., apparently bareheaded, Greek legend on r. margin, ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔ[ΦΙΣΟΥ].

Rev. Soldier marching to r., wearing crested broad-brimmed hat, and armed with a long spear and convex shield.

Kharoṣṭhī legend—*ka kausa kuṣa*—.

V B. Copper, Diameter '7. Wt. 73 gr. Thick coin, with raised rim on reverse. [TALBOT.]

Obv. Bust to r., with a more Parthian appearance than that of A. Greek legend not distinctly legible, though apparently the same as on A.

Rev. Device as on A, in better preservation. Kharoṣṭhī legend in perfectly preserved letters, *Kausa kuṣanasa*.

The two coins above described have been sent to me by their owners from the Hazāra District. Mr. Talbot's coin first arrived, and was not fully intelligible until Mr. Rawlins' specimen was received.

The Greek legend *Kozoulo Kad* proves that the coin must be assigned to Kozoulo or Kozoula (Kh. *Kujula*) Kadphises, and not to Kadaphes, on whose coins the tribal name is written with the initial aspirate (Gr. *χοπανου* and Kh. *Khuṣanasa*), and the name or title of the king is written *Kuyula* in Kharoṣṭhī and *Kozoula* in Greek, instead of the corresponding *kujula* and *kozoulo* or *kouzoula* on the coins of Kadphises I. But, as will be shown later, it is possible that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes may be identical.

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on these coins is new. The reading *kāusa* is perfectly certain; the first character is *ka*, the second is initial *u*, and the third is *sa*. The A specimen preserves a character in front of

kaüsa, which seems to be *la*, the last syllable of *kujula*. I interpret *kaüsa* as an abbreviated genitive corresponding to *Kadphisou* in the Greek.

The reverse device is as novel as the legend.

When about to send this paper to the press I found that two coins of this type, (though not quite identical) had already been described by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, p.p. 46, 64, Pl. xiv. (iv), 5, 6.)

He describes the king's head as "helmeted" and reads the Greek legend as ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑ.....ΚΟΡΣΑΝ: and the Kharoṣṭhi legend as *kuyula kasasa kuṣana Yavüasa*. The second word on the coins now published is certainly *kaüsa*, not *kasasa*. It is impossible to mistake the character for *u*, which is a hook with loop at foot.

The following statement compares the newly discovered coins with the related types previously known, which are:—

I. HERMÆUS.

Obv. Bust of the King r., diademed:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. Throned Zeus.

Kharoṣṭhi legend, *Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*.

B. M. Catal. p. 65; Von Sallet, p. 117). The correct reading of the Greek legend *stērossu* as an adjective in the genitive, the equivalent of *mahatasa*, is due to Mr. Rapson, in *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, p. 320.

II. HERMÆUS AND KADPHISES I.

Obv. As above, with same legend *stērossu*.

Rev. Herakles, standing, facing, diademed, holds in r. hand, club; in l., lion's skin. Kharoṣṭhi legend, *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana yavugasa dhramaphidasa*.

(*B. M. Catal.*, p. 120; Von Sallet, p. 118.)

III. KADPHISES I.

Obv. Bust r., as in I and II.

Greek legend ΚΟΡΟΝΑ (or similar word, probably intended as an equivalent for *Kuṣana*—the letters vary) ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ (or ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ) ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ.

Rev. Device and Kharoṣṭhi legend as in II. (*B. M. Catal.* p. 122; Von Sallet, p. 179).

IV. KADAPHES.

Obv. Head of the king r. diad. (closely resembling that of Augustus in the later years of his life). Greek legend ΧΟΡΑΝΣΥ ΖΑΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ.

Rev. *Khuṣanasa yauasa kuyula kaphsasa sacadhramaphidasa* in Kharoṣṭhi. King seated on chair. (*B. M. Catal.* p. 123; Von Sallet, p. 180).

The above legends clearly show that the king Kozoula Kadphisēs (No. III) was a *Kuṣana* chieftain, who reigned at first as colleague

of Hermæus, with the titles *dhramasthidasa*, equivalent to *δικαίον*, and *yavugasa* (reading not quite certain), of unknown meaning.

I take *kasasa* in Nos. II and III as a genitive proper name, the equivalent of the Greek ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ, that is to say, Kadphises in the genitive case. The nominative case of the name in the Prākrit should therefore apparently be Kasa, = Kadphises.

The meaning of *kozoulo* (*kozoula*) in Greek, equivalent to *kujula* (No. II and III) and *kuyula* (No. IV), is not yet ascertained. But it seems impossible to doubt that the Greek *kozoulo*, *kozoula*, or *kozola*, (No. IV), and the Prākrit *kujula* (Nos. II and III), and *kuyula* (No. IV) are all different forms of the same word. If Kadphises I. (No. III) is distinct from Kadaphes (No. IV) that word must be an epithet or title rather than a proper name. But I have a strong suspicion that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes were one and the same person, and that the epithet *yavugasa* of No. II is only a fuller form of the *yauasa* (= ΖΑΟΥ) of No. IV.

The king's name (in the genitive) is in the Prākrit :—

Kujula Kasasa — Nos. II and III.

Kuyula Kaphsasa — No. IV.

— la Kaūsa — new coins A and B.

I propose to treat all these forms, which should be in the nominative respectively Kasa, Kaphsa, and Kaū (?) as variants of a simple name, written in Greek as Kadphises or Kadaphes. Cunningham also identified Kadaphes with Kadphises. "Kozola-Kadaphes I take," he observes, "to be only a variant spelling of the same king's name, on the issue of a different mint. The head seems to be imitated from the coins of Augustus, his contemporary." (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, p. 46.)

KUṢAṆA.

VI.

KADAPHES.

Buddha Type.

Thin copper or bronze coin; diam. '62; wt. 24 gr. Obtained on the Pūfic (Punch) border of the Hazāra District. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. King, or god, standing, wearing diadem and fillet, holding spear upright in l. hand; r. arm extended. Peculiar mon. in l. field behind figure. Greek legend, of which only XO is legible, probably part of XOPANΣY.

Rev. Seated figure of Buddha, cross-legged; r. hand raised, holding?; l. hand on hip. A triangle (P delta) under elbow of r. arm. Kharoṣṭhi legend all round margin; the only characters plainly legible being *kadaṣa* below the figure. The *ka* is certain; the *da* may possibly be *na*; and the *ṣa*, having a loop at foot, may be read as *ṣa*.

This interesting coin is closely related to, though materially

different from, the B coin of the Buddha type, of Kadaphes recently described by me.¹

That coin had the obverse device of Çiva and the bull. The coin now published has a figure standing to r., and no bull. The fragmentary Greek legend Χο induces me to ascribe the coin to Kadaphes, who transliterated *khūsanasa* by ΧΟΠΑΝΣΥ. I have already intimated that Kadaphes and Kadphises I, may prove to be the same person. I regret that I am unable to offer any interpretation of the imperfect Kharoṣṭhi legend.

KUṢANA.

VII.

HUVIṢKA.

Brass, or very pale bronze. Diameter .65. Weight 53 grs. Collected in Hazāra District. [RAWLINS].

Obv. King, seated on throne, looking r.

Three-pronged mon. to l. The plethoric figure of the king recalls the coins of Kadphises II. (*B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXV, 6, 7).

Greek legend on l., Ο(?)ΟΟ; on r., ΟΚ(?)ΑΗ(?)

The coin has been worn as an ornament, and a hole above the king's head has damaged one or two letters. There are certainly two οs to l., and traces of a third. On the r., the first legible character is certainly ο, and the third is Α. The second and fourth are doubtful.

Rev. Two figures, standing, facing each other, the head of that to r. having been punched out. Both are clad alike in coats reaching to the knee. The figure to r. wears a sword.

Greek legend, beginning from r. top, is ΑΓ.ο ΟΑΝΑΔΑο, which should probably be read [ΒΙΖ]ΑΓ.ο ΟΑΝΑΔΑο. The second name is certain. The Δ is the fifth form, and the Ν the third form in Cunningham's table of the Indo-Scythic Greek Alphabet (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, Pl. X). The letters ΑΓ.ο are also certain on the original coin.

This is a very peculiar piece. The effigy of ΒΙΖΑΓ.ο (Viçakha, a son and impersonation of Skanda) has hitherto been known only on coins of Huviṣka, associated with Skanda Kumāra (ΣΚΑΝΔο ΚΟΜΑΡο); and with Mahāsēna (ΜΑΑΣΗΝο). (*B. M. Catal.*, p. LXVI, 149, 150; Pl. XXXVIII, 22-24).

The name ΟΑΝΑΔΑο is new. The closely related form ΟΑΝΙΝ-ΔΑ (or ΟΑΝΙΝΔο) is found on some rare coins of Huviṣka associated with a figure of the Goddess Nike.

ΟΑΝΑΔΑο may possibly be only a variant of ΟΑΝΙΝΔο, but is more probably a male deity, the star Vanāfit. The effigy on the new

¹ "Num. Notes and Novelties, No. II" in No. 4 of Part I of this *Journal* for 1897.

coin seems to be male, rather than female, and there is no *iota* in the name. I suggest this identification with reference to Dr. Stein's remarks on $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$, which are as follows:—

“With Verethraghna we may connect most appropriately the winged Goddess, who appears in the distinct type of a Nike holding wreath and trophy-stand on some rare gold coins of Oeserki (see No. VIII; Cat. p. 147). Her name, which, with a slight variation, is written both $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ and $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\circ$, induces me, in conjunction with the very characteristic type, to identify her with the female genius, whose name *vanaiñti uparatđ* ‘victorious superiority’ is invariably coupled in all formulas and invocations of the Avesta with that of *Verethraghna* (comp., e.g., Yaçna I. 6, Vlspered I, 6, Yasht XIV, 0).

We prefer this explanation all the more to the hitherto accepted theory, which identified $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ with the star *Vanañt* (a male deity!), as it disposes effectually with [sic] the two difficulties involved by the latter; both the female representation of $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ and the Iota of the name are now easily accounted for, the former by the feminine gender of *vanaiñti* (*uparatđ*), and the latter by the well-known phonetic influence of epenthetic *i*.”¹

Inasmuch as the deity $\text{BIZ}\Gamma\circ$ is found only on coins of *Huviška*, and the king's effigy is more like that of *Huviška* than that of *Kaniška*, I am of opinion that this coin with the effigies of $\text{BIZ}\Gamma\circ$ and $\circ\text{AN}\Delta\Delta\circ$ should be ascribed to *Huviška*.

UNKNOWN DYNASTY (? of Odumbara.)

VIII.

BHĀNUMITRA.

Moderately thick die-struck silver (? base) coin. Diam. .75. Wt. 72 gr. [TALBOT.]

Obv. Male figure standing to l., wearing hat and tunic; l. hand on hip, r. arm extended across spear. Remains of legend outside spear. Behind figure, a snake on end.

Rev. A small elephant, with rider, in upper l. field, proceeding to l.

Legend in early Brāhmī characters 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀺𑀢𑀺 , *Çri-Bhānumitrasa*. The word *Çri* is faint, to the l. of the rider's head, but clearly visible on the original coin. The upper part of the *m* is separated from the lower.

The reading of the reverse legend appears to be certain. The characters seem not to be earlier than B. C. 100 or later than A. D. 100.

This coin belongs to a group which has been described by Cunningham in association with the ancient coins of Odumbara or Kāngra.

The coins described by him are those of:—

Rāja Mahādēva	...	C. Anc. I. p. 68,	Pl. IV, 5.
Rāja Rudra Varma	...	<i>ibid.</i> „	Pl. IV, 6.
Rāja Aja Mitra	...	„	p. 69, Pl. IV, 7.

¹ “Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins,” Stein (*Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August, 1887).

Rāja Mahi Mitra	...	<i>ibid.</i>	p. 69,	Pl. IV, 8, 9.
Rāja ? Dhara	...	"	"	Pl. IV, 10.
Rāja Bhānu Mitra	...	"	p. 70,	Pl. IV, 12.
Ditto do.	...	"	"	Pl. IV, 13.

But none of Cunningham's coins agrees exactly with Mr. Talbot's. The male figure device (which Cunningham calls reverse) of his figure 10 is identical with that of the piece now published, but the elephant side of Cunningham's coin had the legend in Kharoṣṭhi, not in Brāhmi characters.

Cunningham's fig. 12 depicts a coin which must, I think, be attributed to the same king as Mr. Talbot's coin. It is thus described:—

"Plate IV, Fig. 12. *Æ.* 055, weight 32 grains. Author.

Obv.—Elephant to l. Arian legend, *Rajna Bhānu Mīṭasa.*

Rev.—Bodhi tree and two Symbols, snake below. Indian legend, [*Rajna*] *Bhānu Mīṭasa.*"

The combination of the snake and elephant connects it with Mr. Talbot's coin.

But I am doubtful as to the attribution of Cunningham's figure 13, which is thus described:—

"Plate IV., Fig. 13. *Æ.* 04. Weight 16 grains. Author.

Obv.—Symbols as on reverse of figure 12. Indian legend *Bhānu Mīṭasa.*

Rev.—Rayed disc of Sun (*Bhānu*) above a Buddhist railing."

So far as I can see, the symbols on fig. 13 are not exactly the same as those on the reverse of figure 12.

In fact, the coin depicted in Plate IV, 13, is a duplicate of the small coin of Bhānumitra depicted in Plate VII, 9, among the Pañcāla or Ahichatra coins. The Mitra coins do not invariably exhibit the characteristic incuse square.

When describing a small Bull and Bodhi-tree coin of [A] gi Mitra with incuse, Cunningham (Pl. VII, 16, page 83) observes that "this coin may, perhaps, belong to the Panjāb."

Mr. L. White King possesses two minute coins of Bhadra Ghōṣa. One, of which I have a duplicate, is like Cunningham's Pl. VII, 11, with incuse distinct. The other has no distinct incuse.

The small coin of Bhānumitra figured in *J. A. S. B.* Pt. I for 1880 (Vol. XLIX), Pl. III, 8, shows the incuse square distinctly, and agrees in this respect with the ordinary Ahichatra coins. That piece was found at Ahichatra. Otherwise it agrees with Cunningham's Pl. IV, 13, and VII, 9, neither of which has any distinct incuse square.

Cunningham's treatment of the various Mitra coins of Ayōdhya, Ahichatra, and the Panjab leaves much to be desired.

The Ahichatra coins were very fully described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlisle in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIX, for 1880, Pt. I. pp. 27, 87, 138, Plates III, VII, VIII, IX, XVI, XVII.

The relations between the various groups of Mitra coins are extremely obscure.

The Lahore Museum (*Catal.*, Part III, p. 126) possesses three specimens of Bhānumitra's coinage. No. 1, apparently a copper coin, weight 15 grains, and diam. .53. The type seems to be the same as that of Mr. Talbot's coin. No. 2, weight 35, diam. .50, resembles Cunningham's Pl. IV, 12. No. 3, weight 42, diam. .6, seems to be a slight variety of No. 2.

The Indian Museum seems to possess no coins of Bhānumitra.

IX.

TĪRAMĀṆA.

Copper. Diam. .65. Wt. 55 gr. Bought from Mr. Rodgers, who obtained the coin at Hōshyārpur in the lower hills of the Jālandhar District, Panjab. [V. A. SMITH.]

Obv. King standing to front, r. arm bent, and probably holding arrow or sword; body bent at waist; l. hand grasping by middle bow with string turned outwards. Obscure, illegible characters under king's arm.

Rev. Sun in upper field, Below, 𑀓𑀲 , *Tīra*, in large bold characters.

Dotted circle.

This coin is a variety of the hitherto unique coin belonging to Mr. Theobald, which was published by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. IX. (VII), fig. 17, and again by me in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 198, with woodcut. The coin first published had the string of the bow turned inwards.

X.

WHITE HUN.

Copper or bronze, rather thick; diam. .65; weight 49 gr. [RAWLINS].

Obv.—Bust to r. Faint legend in small apparently Brāhmi characters in front of face, 𑀧𑀲 —*Pala*—?

Rev.—Device obscure; it seems to me intended for a cock standing to l., with tail raised. Dotted circle.

This coin clearly belongs to the White Hun group, but I cannot further assign it.

XI.

UNKOWN.

Base metal. Diam. .55. Wt. 43 gr. From Rāwalpindī. [V. A. SMITH].

Obv.—Concave, with a peculiar wheel-like device.

Rev. Convex blank.

I cannot guess what this piece is, and am not certain that it is a coin.

It seems to belong to the class noticed by Thomas in the following words :—

“In this instance, the square die is driven home upon one surface so as to give the coin a concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank. The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil. These coins are, as far as I know, unpublished; I have never met with any in the entire course of my own somewhat comprehensive search after local antiquities, nor am I aware from what section of the country the examples I quote were obtained; they now form part of the late Lord Auckland's collection in the British Museum. They are composed of silver considerably alloyed, and weigh from thirty-five up to forty-one grains.” (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I, 213).

The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service (Retired)*.

[Read March, 1898.]

The following article is in continuation of that appearing on pp. 136–212 of the *Journal* for 1896, Vol. LXV Part I.

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CHAPTER IV.

Farrukhsiyar.

1. THE MARCH FROM AGRĀH TO DIHLĪ.

In the confusion and the darkness the Jāts plundered impartially the baggage of both armies. No fitting resting-place for the prince could be found, nothing but a dirty screen, all black from the smoke of cooking, and a small wooden platform. On this latter Farrukhsiyar seated himself and received the homage of his officers. It was not till three days afterwards that Sa'd-ullāh Khān (son of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān), who had been Jahāndār Shāh's Lord Steward, produced the late sovereign's duplicate set of tents, which owing to their erection within a

walled garden, had escaped the plunderers. These were put up for Farrukhsiyar on the site of Jahāndār Shāh's encampment.¹

Having spent the night of the battle. (14th Zū-l-Hijjah, 11th January, 1713), in the small tent erected on the field, the next morning, after a formal enthronement, Farrukhsiyar offered up his thanksgiving at the shrine of Shāh Mushtāq, and then marched one and a half kōs to his camp. The Tūrānī leaders, Cin Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, with many others who had served in the army of Jahāndār Shāh, tendered their submission. Shari'at-ullāh Khān ('Ubaid-ullāh) was also presented by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Written orders were issued to Asad Khān and Muḥammad Yār Khān at Dihli, and to many other sūbadārs, enjoining them to seize the fugitive Jahāndār Shāh wherever he might be found. At the end of the day His Majesty paid a visit to Ḥusain 'Ali Khān who was confined to his tents by his wounds. After the battle was over, he had been found about midnight lying naked and insensible under a heap of the slain. When informed of the victory, new life was breathed into him. The following day, the 15th (12th January), the emperor attended at the large mosque attached to Akbar's tomb at Bihishtābād Sikandra, and there heard the *Khutbah* read in his own name. More nobles and leaders now presented themselves. On this date 'Abd-ullāh Khān brought in as a prisoner A'azzu-d-dīn, who had been found hiding in the underground chambers of the mansion at Āgrah known as Dārā Shukōh's.² Public rumour asserted that Jahāndār Shāh and Zū-l-fiqār Khān had gone to Dihli; the latter had been seen at Mathurā on the way to that place.³

On the 17th (14th January), a move was made to the neighbourhood of Bāgh Nūr Manzil, also known as Bāgh Dahrah.⁴ The stream of officers lately serving under Jahāndār Shāh continued to flow into the camp. As there was still great uncertainty about the future movements of Jahāndār Shāh, and a renewal of the struggle by Zū-l-fiqār Khān was feared, it was thought advisable to take steps to secure possession of the capital as quickly as possible. 'Abd-ullāh Khān

¹ Wārid, 148b.

² Yahyā Khān, 121 a, says that A'azzu-d-dīn and his wife were captured in a grove near Āgrah, and that Farrukhsiyar ordered them to be kept prisoners. Kām Bāj's story, 52 a, is that they were found in a milk-seller's house.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 126, Ijād, 100 b, Wārid, 148 a, Khāfi Khān, II, 724, 727.

⁴ Of this grove the only thing now left is a large well, which from its size is known as the well of the 52 water-bags (*Bāwān lāo li kuā*)—*Tārīkh-i-Āgrah*, Ḥusaini press, Fathgah, p. 28. The site is three miles south of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called *Khawāspurah* (private letter from Mirzā Wiqār 'Alī Bēg, dated 20th February, 1893). The epithet Nūr Manzil was given with reference to the Emperor Jahāngir's name, Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, *Maāqiru-l-umarā*, III, 79.

was therefore invested with the usual dress of honour and despatched on this day (14th January, 1713), upon that service. With him went Cin Qilic Khān, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, Ḥāmid Khān, Jān Niḡār Khān, Khwājā Qulī Khān, Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq, Turktāz Khān, and others. His orders were to attach all the property of the men belonging to the other side. An imperial rescript was also sent to Asad Khān by the hand of Ikh̄lās Khān. It was then Farrukhsiyar's intention to follow as speedily as possible with the rest of his troops.¹

On the 18th (15th January, 1713), another visit was paid to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. The 19th was passed at the Tāj, where the tombs of Shāhjahān and his queen, Mumtāz-i-Maḡal, were visited. The Government of Akbarābād was confirmed to Sayyid Amir Khān, Thaṭhawī, or Sindhī, (grandson of Qāsīm Khān, Namakīn).² The jizyah, or poll-tax, was abolished after it had been levied for thirty-four years. On the 20th submissive letters were received from Asad Khān at Dihli, reporting the imprisonment of Jahāndār Shāh and the restraint placed on Zū-l-fiqār Khān. As Farrukhsiyar could not trust Asad Khān, it was decided to await full reports from 'Abd-ullāh Khān before any further action was taken. On the 22nd the emperor attended the public prayers at the Great Mosque near the *Ḥauk*, or market-place, in the city of Āgrah, gold and silver coins being scattered on the way. The next day 'Abd-ullāh Khān sent the good news from Dihli that Jahāndār Shāh had been made a prisoner and Zū-l-fiqār Khān dissuaded from continuing his resistance. As there was no longer the same pressing necessity for haste, re-assuring letters were sent to Asad Khān, and a leisurely advance to Dihli was ordered by the usual stages.³

On the 25th (22nd January, 1713), a start was made for Dihli, the first camp being near Sikandrah. The other marches were, 27th, Sarāe Godrayah, 1st Muḡarram, Irādatnagar, 3rd, a place near Sarāe 'Aẓim-ābād, between Mathurā (Islāmābād) and Bindrāban, 5th, Siyāi, 6th Shērgarh, 8th, Shāhpur, 9th, Sultānpur, 11th, near Fatḡpur, 12th, near Qabūlpur, 13th, Isma'īlpur, 15th (10th February, 1713), a grove in Khizrābād, five miles south of Dihli city.⁴

¹ Mirzā Muḡammad, 150, 151, Kāmwar Khān, 127, Ijād, 104 b, Khāfi Khān, II, 727.

² For this man, see Blochmann, *Ain*, 470, and *Ma'āqir-i-umūrā*, III, 74. The rock-salt plates and bottles from which he got his nickname are described in Anand Rām's *Mirātu-l-iḡlālāh*. For Amir Khān himself, see *M-ul-U*, I, 303.

³ For abolition of *Jizyah*, see B. M. No. 1690, fol. 163.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 127, 128, Ijād, 105 a. Khāfi Khān, II, 728 and *Ma'āqir*, I, 318, say the army arrived on the 14th Muḡarram at Bārahpulāh, which is 1½ miles nearer the city (Carr Stephen, plate 1). Sarāe Godrayah, Irādatnagar and Shērgarh, I have not traced. Mathurā and Bindrāban are well known. Siyāi (Seyee) and

2. 'ABD-ULLĀH KHĀN AT DIHLI.

We now return to Dihli. The first news of Jahāndār Shāh's defeat at Āgrah was received at Dihli after midday on the 15th Zū-l-Ḥijjah (12th January, 1713). We have already described the subsequent arrival there of Zū-l-fiqār Khān and Jahāndār Shāh, and the measures adopted by Asad Khān. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, who started from Āgrah on the 17th arrived at Bārapula near Dihli on the 25th Zū-l-Ḥijjah. The principal men of the city came out to pay their respects,¹ and on the same day Zū-l-fiqār Khān, to whom Ikh'lās Khān had been sent, rode out to the camp. His interview with the new wazir lasted over an hour. The Sayyids never doubted for a moment that Asad Khān and his son, as soon as they presented themselves, would be admitted to favour and high office. Thus they thought it wisest for their own future benefit, to put the two men under an obligation by acting as their introducers. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān promised his predecessor that, if he would entrust himself to his and his brother's care, they would arrange that he and his father should not only be presented to the new emperor, but that not a hair of their heads should be injured.² Visitors returning from the Nawāb's camp met at the Turkmān gate of the city³ the retinue of Mahābat Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, who had just been released from prison along with Jahāndār Shāh's other prisoners. Aminu-d-din Khān, who was one of them, found his way to Mathurā and was presented there to Farrukhsiyar on the 3rd Muḥarram (29th January).⁴

On the 26th Zū-l-Ḥijjah, 'Abd-ullāh Khān entered the city and occupied the mansion known as Ja'far Khan's.⁵ He busied himself in restoring order in the capital and the rest of the country. Khwāja Ḥusain (Khān Daurān), Ḥifz-ullāh Khān (son of Murtaẓā Khān), Murid Khān and other partisans of the late emperor were seized and

Shāhpur are on Sheet No. 50, Sulṭānpur, Fatḥpur (F. Biloc, Qabūlpur, and Isma'īlpur on Sheet No. 49 of the Indian Atlas.

¹ Among others Mirzā Muḥammad, the historian, with his brother and a cousin, was presented to the Nawāb by Luṭf-ullāh Khān Ṣādiq. Bārahpulāh is 3½ miles south of the Dihli gate of the modern city (Carr Stephen, Plate 1 and p. 209).

² Yahyā Khān, 121b, calls the overtures made by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān to Asad Khān his "deceit" (*farēb*).

³ This gate is on the south side of the city, having the Dihli gate between it and the river. See Constable's "Hand Atlas," Plate 47, and Carr Stephen, 244.

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 153, 157, Kāmwar Khān, 129, Yār Muḥammad, 26, Khāfi Khān, II, 732, *M. ul-u.*, I, 317.

⁵ It had belonged to Kokaltāsh Khān and was sometimes called 'Alī Mardān Khān's. A'zam Shāh had owned it in 'Ālamgir's reign—(B.M. 1690, fol. 162a). It was afterwards granted to 'Abd-ullāh Khān.

their property confiscated. The same course was adopted with the estate of the late Kokaltāsh Khān ('Ali Murād). Sabhā Cand, Zū-l-fiqār Khān's chief man of business, who had been promoted by him to the office of *diwān* of the Khālīshah, or Imperial Revenue Office, with the title of Rājah, was summoned by 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Finding that this man was sent for, Zū-l-fiqār Khān began to fear for himself, and he told Sabhā Cand not to obey the order. 'Abd-ullāh Khān sent re-assuring messages and advised the ex-wazir not to interfere. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was not satisfied, until in a few days *farmāns* arrived, addressed to himself and his father, promising them the new emperor's favour. Some of these letters went so far as to promise his restoration to the office of wazir. As there was no other way out of the difficulty, Sabhā Cand was now sent in charge of Dāwar Dād Khān to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Sabhā Cand was put into prison and his house confiscated.¹

3. DEATH OF ZŪ-L-FIQĀR KHĀN.

Although one month had barely elapsed since Farrukhsiyar had won an empire almost entirely by the exertions of the two Sayyid brothers, a party adverse to them had already been formed in the imperial camp. At its head was 'Ubaid-ullāh, Shari'at-ullāh Khān,² a Tūrāni, who when *qāzi* of Dhākah (Dacca) had acquired great influence over Farrukhsiyar. Allied with him were other personal friends and dependents of the new emperor, the principal man being Khawāja 'Aṣim (Ashraf Khān),³ a native of Āgrah. Shari'at-ullāh Khān, although possessing little capacity for high office, was a bold ambitious man, whose chief object was to clear his own road to power by destroying as many as possible of the old nobility, and sowing in Farrukhsiyar's heart the seeds of suspicion against the Sayyids, whom he hoped soon to supplant.⁴

When it was known in Farrukhsiyar's entourage that Zū-l-fiqār Khān had visited 'Abd-ullāh Khān and that some kind of friendly proposals had been interchanged, it was resolved to interfere at once.⁵ The

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad, 158.

² Afterwards Mir Jumlah. To give him a status in the court he had been, made *dārōgha* of the pages (Khawāṣṣ), on the 20th Zū-l-Hijjah (17th January, 1713) and the title of 'Ibād-ullāh Khān was conferred on the 26th of that month.

³ Afterwards Ṣamṣamu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, who was made *dārōgha* of the Audience Hall on the 1st Muḥarram (27th January, 1713).

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 158, 159.

⁵ Yahyā Khān, 121b, makes out that Farrukhsiyar asked the Sayyids for advice as to the conduct to be pursued towards Jahāndār Shāh, Asad Khān, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Ḥusain Ali Khān and Lācin Bēg held that on no J. i. 19

man selected as their envoy was one Muḥammad Ja'far, who had long been steward to Farrukhsiyar and had lately been raised to the title of Taqarrub Khān. As he was a native of Irān, it was thought that he would be more trusted than any one else by Asad Khān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who were also from that country. Taqarrub Khān swore the most solemn oaths on the *qur'ān* that no harm should happen to Asad Khān or his son. He hinted to them that it was dangerous to accept an introduction through the Sayyid brothers, as in secret Farrukhsiyar was already displeased with them, and was not likely to turn a gracious ear to any representation from them. Persuaded by these arguments, Asad Khān proposed that he and Zū-l-fiqār Khān should set out together. His son preferred that, in the first instance, Asad Khān should go alone, that they might see what sort of fate was in store for them. Asad Khān would not listen to any such proposal. He was convinced that, as their services could not be dispensed with, no harm could come to them. Finally on the 15th Muḥarram the two nobles accompanied Taqarrub Khān to the camp at Khizrābād and passed the night in their own tents, it being arranged that they should be received in the morning. Their too ready acquiescence bears out the truth of the proverb, "When Death arrives, the physician becomes a simpleton."¹

We are told by Wārid, I know not with what amount of truth, that after Zū-l-fiqār Khān's death the hand which Taqarrub Khān had employed in taking the false oath on the *qur'ān* began at once to wither. He could not move it, and it grew continually worse. He lived on asses' milk, he tried every remedy, nothing was of the least use. Thus the hand remained a witness to his false oath until three years afterwards his end came.²

On the 16th Muḥarram the presentation of Asad Khān and his son took place. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as he entered the imperial enclosure, felt a presentiment of his impending doom. He said to his father that he would withdraw and greet the Emperor the next day, when on his march into the city. Asad Khān lost his temper and gave a sharp answer. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was silenced, and they entered the enclosure

account could they be allowed to live. Thereupon Farrukhsiyar decided that Asad Khān was innocent; but they were at liberty to kill the other two.

¹ Yahyā Khān, 121b, *cin qazā āyad, tabīb ablah shawad*. Mīrā Muḥammad, 159, Kāmwar Khān, 129, Wārid, 113, Khāfi Khān, II, 732, 733.

² T. Kh. died on the 9th Rabī' II, 1128, 1st April, 1716, *Tārīkh-i-Mādī*. Mīrā Mhd., 261, says he died of *dīqq* (hectic fever, consumption, atrophy), of which he had been seriously ill for one year. He left sons, one of whom, Tāhīr Khān, was on the 7th Jumādī II, 1128 H. created Taqarrub Khān, see Kāmwar Khān, 163, 164.

together.¹ Asad Khān went into the Justice Hall and sat down. His presence was announced to the Emperor. Farrukhsiyar came from the Chaplet tent (*tasbīḥ-khāna*) and Asad Khān rose, made his bow, and pronounced his salutation. The emperor advanced quickly, embraced him, took his two hands, and seated him close to himself. Many flattering remarks were pronounced and robes and jewels were brought, with which he was then and there invested. Asad Khān now said, "I have brought a culprit with me, may I hope for the pardon of his offences?" The Emperor replied, "Brother, let him be brought in." Zū-l-fiqār Khān came in, unarmed, his two hands tied together, and stood before the sovereign. Farrukhsiyar, making a gesture of repugnance at seeing his hands tied, ordered them in an agitated voice to be untied. The Khān was then told to approach. He came and fell at the emperor's feet, but he was raised up and embraced and kindly spoken to. A robe of honour and jewels were brought for him. Farrukhsiyar then, addressing Asad Khān, said that he was just on the point of starting for a visit to the shrine of Nizāmu-d-din Auliā, ² he (Asad Khān) had better go home and "Brother," that is, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, would remain. Before their arrival, the orders for the visit to the shrine had been given, and the imperial retinue and the men of the *Haft cauki* (personal guard) had all assembled.³

Asad Khān returned to his tents and Zū-l-fiqār Khān remained in the emperor's camp. Farrukhsiyar rose and went out, saying to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, "I am going now; I must get something to eat and see "to my equipage; I will send some food for you, you can eat it here." He then went inside, leaving Zū-l-fiqār Khān seated with Khwāja 'Āṣim.⁴ In a few moments trays from the imperial table were brought. Fearing that the food might be poisoned, Zū-l-fiqār Khān hesitated to eat. Khwāja 'Āṣim, penetrating his thoughts, said: "If his lordship permit, this slave, too, will take a share." Thus reassured Zū-l-fiqār

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad's account of Zū-l-fiqār Khān's death was obtained from a friend, whose truthfulness he fully believed in. This gentleman had gone that morning, in Indian fashion, with a *dālī* or basket of fruit and vegetables from his own garden, to be laid at the new emperor's feet. By this means he had been admitted into the Privy Chamber and Justice Hall. Before he could come out, the approach of Asad Khān and his son was announced. When he tried to make his exit, he found that of those inside no one was allowed to leave the place. He was thus a witness of all that happened (M. Mhd., 161, 162).

² Kāmwar Khān, 130, says "the Qaṭbu-l-aqtāb," i. e., the shrine of Khwāja Qaṭbu-d-din, Bakhtiyārī.

³ M. Mhd., 160-2, Ijād 119 b, Wārid, 114.

⁴ He had just been made Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Ijād, 119 a. His titles were afterwards added to, and he became Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, Manṣūr Jang.

Khān began to eat. The Khwāja then remarked that to eat food in the tent used as Hall of Justice was not fitting, had they not better move to the screens outside and eat there? It so happened that two canvas screens had been put up in the space before the Hall of Justice, an entrance having been left at one end only. The two nobles came out. As soon as Zū-l-fiqār Khān had entered within the screens, and while Khwāja 'Āsim was still outside them, the tent-pitchers with the greatest expedition brought the screens together and closed the entrance. In an instant about two hundred men, each armed with sword and shield, sprang from their place of concealment and drew up round the screen, shoulder to shoulder, leaving no space whatever between them. When the capture was reported to Farrukhsiyar who was seated in the Chaplet tent (*tasbīh-khāna*), 'Ibād-ullāh Khān, *dārōgha* of the Pages,¹ was sent out. Entering between the screens, he said loudly, "His Majesty asks what reason there was for you to imprison Muhammad Kām Bakhsh and inflict injury on his followers. Does it accord with the rules of loyalty and of submission to a gracious master to act thus to his sons?" Zū-l-fiqār Khān answered:—

"The imprisonment of Kām Bakhsh was by his father's order; I was 'Ālamgir's servant and Kām Bakhsh, his son. If he had told me to make my father a prisoner, I should have obeyed."

After each answer 'Ibād-ullāh Khān returned to Farrukhsiyar and came back with a new demand. The questions and answers continued on this wise as follows:

"You were generalissimo and chief adviser of Muhammad A'zam Shāh. Was it fitting for a general to flee, as you did, and leave his prince all alone?"

"As long as he was alive, I remained with him; when he was slain, what right had I to continue a contest in the field."

"What was your quarrel with the martyred Prince, (i.e. 'Azim-ūsh-shān, Farrukhsiyar's father)?"

"He did not look on me with favour, thus I was not in a position to join his side. All the officers of the State took one side or another. I, too, took a side; nor did I thereby commit any crime."

"Why did you kill Mukhlis Khān and Rustam Dil Khān?"

"I had nothing to do with that matter. These things were done on the advice and by the instigation of Kokaltāsh Khān."

"All the other princes survive: what was Muhammad Karim's offence that you should seize him, bring him to your house, and slay

¹ Afterwards Mir Jumlah, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muzaffar Jang.

“him? Are you not aware that he was our brother, and that his blood cannot go unavenged?”¹

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, by this time, knew that his death was resolved on, and that any further display of meekness would avail him nothing. He changed his tone and returning taunt for taunt, cursed Farrukhsiyar and said, “If you want to kill me, kill me in any way you like, what is the use of all this talk.” Upon this Lācīn Beg and several Qalmāq slaves² fell upon him, threw him to the ground, twisted the strap from a shield round his throat and strangled him. The others stamped upon his chest till the breath left him. But to make quite sure a dagger was plunged into his body several times. Ropes were tied to his feet and he was dragged to the outside of the railing in front of the public Audience Hall. There the body was left exposed. Officials were deputed to confiscate the houses and property of both father and son. Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s retinue, which was drawn up outside the artillery park at the entrance of the camp, dispersed on hearing what had happened, and the men sought safety wherever they could find it. All this took place at the time of afternoon prayer.³

The official statement of the case against Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as found in *Ijād*, whose narrative was corrected weekly by Farrukhsiyar himself, follows the lines of the conversation reproduced above. The misleading letters and messages sent to him through Taqarrub Khān are exultingly referred to as an exhibition of consummate policy and statesmanship.⁴

4. DEATH OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

On the same day that saw the end of Zū-l-fiqār Khān (16th Muḥarram, 1125 H., 11th Feb., 1713), Saif-ullāh Khān⁵ was sent to the citadel with a letter in Farrukhsiyar’s own hand-writing addressed to Muḥammad Yār Khān. The *nāzim*, although sorrowful at Jahāndār Shāh’s fate, complied with the order and admitted the messengers. When the group of men entered the prison room, Lāl Kumwār shrieked,

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad, 163-166.

² The name is sometimes given as Ilācī Bēg and Dilācīn Bēg. *Ijād*, 119 b, and Kāmwar Khān, 180, say “Nūr Bēg and other Qalmāqs of the brotherhood of Ilācīn Beg.” Khāfi Khān, II, 734, has Lācīn Bēg (Bahādur Dil Khān) “or as some say, one of the celās.” Mḥd. Qāsim, Lābōri, 172, describes the man as a servant of Khawāja Quṭb-u-d-dīn, son of Maulānā Sharf Ḥusain, Kajkiyah (?). He received the title of Bahādur Dil Khān at the request of Mir Jumlah.

³ M. Mḥd. 166, Khāfi Khān, II, 734.

⁴ *Ijād*, 116 a, Khizānah-i-‘āmirah, 28.

⁵ B.M. No. 1690, fol. 162 a says Taqarrub Khān (*alīas* Nuṣrat Khān), Yaḥyā Bēg, was the messenger.

clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahāndār Shāh, they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off. Word was sent to the *nāgim* that life was extinct, that an executioner was needed to cut off the head. Muḥammad Yār Khān, who was standing down below, bathed in cold perspiration, answered "What is left for an executioner to do? Cut off his head, and carry it to His Majesty." They cut it off. The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyāna*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwān*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the emperor's tents, alongside the body of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. Lāl Kumwār was sent to the settlement of Suhāgpura, where the widows and families of deceased emperors lived in retirement.¹

5. PROCESSION INTO DIHLI.

Next morning, the 17th Muḥarram (12th February, 1713), Farrukh-siyar left Khizrābād and marching in state into Dihli took possession of the palace and its citadel. The artillery of all sorts went in front. Behind the guns came the new emperor mounted on an elephant, and at his back sat 'Ibād-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah) waving a peacock fan over his master's head. Largesse was scattered among the crowd as he went by. The head of Jahāndār Shāh was carried on the point of a long bambu held by an executioner seated on an elephant; his body was laid across the back of another elephant. The corpse of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, with head and feet bare, was tied by the feet to the tail of a third elephant. These followed about one hundred yards behind the elephant on which the emperor rode. The procession was met by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān (now Quṭbu-l-mulk) near the city wall, at the inside of the Dihli gate. The crowd in the streets was immense, a greater had rarely been seen. Some of the spectators were unable to restrain their grief, their eyes filled with tears, lumps formed in their throats, and they muttered to each other, under their breath,

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 130, Ijād, 122 a, Khāfi Khān, II, 784, Khushhāl Cand, 395 a, Rustam 'Alī, 225 b. Suhāgpura (Hamlet of Happy Wives) or the *Bēwa-Khāna* (Widow-house) was one of the establishments (*Kārkhānajāt*) attached to the Court "where in the practice of resignation they pass their lives, receiving rations "and a monthly allowance," *Dastūru-l-'amal*, B. M. No. 6598, fol. 55 a. The name, Suhāgpura, may have been due to delicacy for the feelings of the ladies, or it was perhaps given in derision.

“Glory be to God! Yesterday lords over thousands, to-day fallen into this calamity.”¹

The bodies of the unfortunate Jahāndār Shāh and of his wazir were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Dihli gate of the palace. Asad Khān's family, taking with them nothing but the clothes they had on, were removed in palkis from their house to one known as the *peshkhāna* of Khān Jahān where they were kept under surveillance; and Taqarrub Khān, the new *Khānsāmān* or Lord Steward, brought in two elephants loaded with the jewels and jewelled vessels from Asad Khān's house, and also sixty-two of his horses. The fallen viceroy himself had been forced to appear in the triumphal procession into Dihli, seated in a palki and accompanied by a few men on foot, all that was left of his former grandeur. At the Akbarābādī mosque he was halted, and there he sat in his palki unheeded for four or five hours, until Farrukhsiyar ordered his removal with his women to the office rooms of the *Diwān* above referred to. Some temporary screens were put up, and there he and his family sought shelter. Food was sent to them at night by Husain 'Ali Khān.²

It was not till the 19th (14th February, 1713), that Arslān Khān received orders to bury the bodies of the murdered Jahāndār Shāh and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. The prince was laid in the vault of the emperor Humāyūn's tomb, at the side of other members of the family. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's remains were interred close to the shrine of Shaiikh 'Aṭā-ullāh, which is situated at the gateway of the same tomb. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was a little over fifty-nine (lunar) years of age at the time of his death; he left no sons. No memorial was erected over him for several years. At length some of his eunuchs, who had been transferred to Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khān, mentioned this fact to their new master. The Sayyid ordered a tomb to be built, and on a tablet were inscribed the following lines, composed by Asad Khān :—

هاتف شام غریبان با دو چشم خون نشان
گفت ابراهیم اسماعیل را قربان نمود

¹ Mirzā Mhd., 168, Ijād, 123, Khushhāl Cand, 395-b. The Dihli gate is on the south side of the city, it is the one nearest the Jumna. Mirzā Muḥammad and his brother witnessed the entry into Dihli from the roof of the Akbarābādī mosque, which is in the Faiḡ Bāzār, the street running north and south from the Dihli gate of the city to the Dihli gate of the fort. (*Āḡāru-ḡ-panādīd*, 70, Carr Stephen, 246, 248). Khushhāl Cand, also, was one of the onlookers and “into the skirt of this “humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven māshas.”

² Kāmwar Khān, 131, Ijād, 124-b, Khāfi Khān, II, 734, B. M. No. 1690, fol. 162-b.

i.e., “A hidden voice, lamenting with blood suffused eyes, said, ‘Ibrāhīm made of Ismā‘il a sacrifice.’” (1125-H.).¹

In connection with these lines, Wārid tells a story in praise of Asad Khān’s strength of mind and vigour of intellect, even at the extreme age that he had then reached, which, if true, would seem rather to prove his want of common feeling. At the moment that his son’s death was announced to him, he hung his head for a little while, and then said to the bystanders, “My thoughts repeatedly recur to ‘the words ‘Ibrāhīm made of ‘Ismā‘il a sacrifice.’” As the numerical value of the letters in these words accords with the year of Zū-l-fiqār’s death, the coincidence, if the words came spontaneously into his mind, was very wonderful. If not, this excogitating of a numerical puzzle was a curious use of the first moments following the news of an eldest son’s violent death. As there was no member of the family left to support its name and fame, and Asad Khān now disappears from our history, it will be sufficient to note that he survived until the 25th Jumādi II 1128 H. (15th June, 1716), when he passed away at the great age of eighty-eight lunar years.²

Zū-l-fiqār Khān had obtained great renown as a soldier in the Dakhin, and there can be no question that he was a man of great experience in matters of state. But during the period that we are treating, commencing with the battle between A‘zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh in 1707, his generalship was prudently displayed more in furthering his own interests than in winning battles for the master that he might be serving at the moment. Dānishmand Khān (‘Alī) has a passage, taunting him with his conduct in the battle of Jājou, and accusing him of acting on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour. An anecdotist³ states that Zū-l-fiqār Khān offered the poet and historian a large sum if he would erase this passage from his work, but to ‘Alī’s credit be it said, the words still stand in the copies which have come down to us.⁴

¹ The father’s original name was Ibrāhīm and the son’s ‘Ismā‘il, Ijād, 127-b Wārid, 147-a, *Khushhāl* Cand, 395-a.

² Wārid, 146-b, *Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī*, year 1128-H., Kāmwar Khān, 165. *Ma‘āqiru-l-umarā*, II, 319, says 94 years; also Khāfi Khān, II, 771, where the year is 1129-H. Kām Rāj makes the age 98 years. An allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year had been given to him by Farrukhsiyar, B. M. Or. 1690, fol., 164a.

³ Anand Rām, *Mukhlis*, “Camanistān,” p. 22.

⁴ *Bahādur-shāh Nāma*, B. M. Or. 24, fol. 37b. “The first to show his back was ‘Muhammad Ismā‘il, entitled Zū-l-fiqār Khān. To A‘zam Shāh’s face he made ‘great protestations, but instead of sacrificing his life, he made off at the earliest ‘moment. Receiving from an arrow a skin wound near the mouth, he cast away ‘his honour through excessive love of life. If he is abhorrent (*mal‘ūn*) to the

The greatest blot on the life of Asad Khān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān is, however, the base ingratitude displayed towards Jahāndār Shāh. Even native historians do not defend this act of treachery. Jahāndār Shāh had many claims upon them for favours conferred; and he had placed his life in their hands. If Asad Khān had thought fit to excuse himself from joining any further in the prince's fortunes, he should have left it open for the fugitive to seek some other refuge. But he should not have seized him or delivered him over to his mortal enemy to be killed with indignity. Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khān was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long-suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome presence. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to the lowly, and of ostentation and hauteur to your equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked, or as it is put, "he threw without intermission double-six" ^{nb} "from the dice-box of desire."¹

6. NEW OFFICIALS AND NEW APPOINTMENTS.

On the way from Āgrah to Dihli, and after arrival at Dihli, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān (now made Nawāb Quṭbu-l-mulk, Yamīnu-d-daulah, Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Zafar Jang, Sipāh-sālār, Yār-i-wafādār) became chief minister. The *diwān-i-Khālīqah*, or Exchequer Office, was given to Muḥammad Bāqir, Muta'mid Khān, who had been for a time Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh's lord steward, and then *diwān*, or comptroller of the household, to Prince Jahān Shāh; the *diwān-i-tan* went to Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Šādiq, who in Bahādur Shāh's reign was agent at Court of Prince Jahān Shāh, and in Jahāndār Shāh's was comptroller (*diwān*) to that sovereign's eldest son, A'azzu-d-din. Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, was appointed first *Bakhshī* with the titles of 'Umdatu-l-mulk, Amīru-l-umarā, Bahādur, Fīrūz Jang, Sipāh-sardār.² As the reward for the Tūrāni betrayal of Jahāndār Shāh, the place of second *bakhshī* was conferred on Muḥammad Amin Khān, Āmīn, Bahādur, who now became I'timādu-d-daulah, Nuṣrat Jang. The third *bakhshī*

"people, his excuse is notorious (*ma'lūm*). He had risen to fame and place in the Dakhin; from his youth up, his training in valour had been in running after the traces of the Marathas, a tribe of cats, whose occupation is robbing and running away. He had never seen a battle between kings; had never met in battle field with tigers from the forest of valour. In brief, to stand firm in such violent contests you must be a hero."

¹ *Ma'āzīru-l-umarā*, II, 317, 318.

² Shiw Dās, fol. 2, has Manṣūr Jang, which seems a mistake.

was Afrāsyāb Khān, Bahādur, a *Wālāshāhi*, or personal follower of Farrukhsiyar, with whom he had been in Bengal and had there taught him wrestling.¹ The pay-mastership of the *Aḥadis*² was given to Qamaru-d-din Khān, Bahādur, son of the above-named Muḥammad-Amin Khān. Islām Khān (grandson of the late Islām Khān), formerly *Mir Ātash* to Bahādur Shāh, who had retired from court, was restored to his rank of 5,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed to be first *Mir Tozak*, or quarter-master-general.³ For the period of one month from the victory at Āgrah, Sa'd-ullāh Khān⁴ (son of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kashmiri) was continued in the office of *Khānsāmān*, or Lord High Steward; but at the camp in Khizrābād, this office was transferred to Taqarrub Khān (Muḥammad Ja'far, Shirāzi), who already held the place of Private secretary.⁵

Some smaller court offices were conferred on Farrukhsiyar's personal favourites. Although these offices were of the second rank, their holders exercised, as we shall soon see, as much if not more power than the nobles who were nominally their superiors. For instance, against the opinion of Mir Jumlah, who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, the chief minister himself found it impossible to act. The office of Confiscations and Escheats (*buyūtāti*) was given to Saif-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, a *Wālā-shāhi*; Khwāja 'Āsim, now created Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Manṣūr Jang, was superintendent of the Audience Hall and *Bakhshī* of the personal

¹ Afrāsyāb Khān, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, was Suhrāb, known as Mirzā Ajmēri son of Garshāsp. He died at Dihli on the night of the 25th Ramaṣān, 1130 H., 21st August, 1718, *Tārīkh-i-Maḥāli*. His elder brother was the Rashid Khān sent in 1124 H., 1712, to oust Ja'far Khān, *nāzim* of Bengal, Gladwin, "Transactions," 96. Mirzā Ajmēri was of such strength that once he lifted a small gun and its carriage out of the mud on the road from Akbarnagar to Rāj Maḥal, *Akhbār-i-Muḥabbat*, 277.

² *Aḥadī* (one, single) means a gentleman trooper serving under no chief or noble, but directly under the Emperor.

³ This Islām Khān (d. 1144 H., 1731-2), was one Mir Aḥmad, first Barkhurdār Khān, then Islām Khān, son of Ṣafī Khān (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), the second son of 'Abdu-s-salām, first Ikhtisā' Khān, then Islām Khān, Mashhadī, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *M. ul-u.*, I, 162, II, 740.

⁴ His former titles were Hidāyat-ullāh Khān, and then for a time, after the death of Mun'im Khān, Bahādur Shāh's Wasir, he was Wasirat Khān. We shall speak of this man again presently.

⁵ Mirzā Muḥammad, 169, Kāmwar Khān, 121, 143, Khāfi Khān, II, 728, Wārid, 149b, Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 53b. Khāfi Khān says the third *bakhshī* was Ghāsiu-d-din Khān (Aḥmad Bēg). Yahyā Khān, 122a, on the contrary, says that this man was made Mir Ātash. This latter statement is confirmed by Mhd. Qasim, Lāhori, 170, the date being 12th Sha'bān, 1125 H., (2nd September, 1713), vice Zū-l-fiqār Khān (Ghulām 'Ali Khān).

troops, or *Wālā-shāhi*; 'Ibād-ullāh (Sharī'at-ullāh Khān) created Muta'midu-l-mulk, Mir Jumlah, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur; Muzaffar Jang, held the office of superintendent of the *Khawāṣṣ*, or attendants, and of the *ghusl-khāna*, or privy council room. Ghulām 'Alī Khān, a *wālā-shāhi*, received the title of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Bahādur, and the command of the artillery; being soon supplanted, however, (12th Sha'bān 1125 H., 2nd September, 1713), by Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān (Ahmad Bēg). This latter had already obtained charge of the retinue (*jalau*), *vice* Islām Khān, who had held it in addition to his principal office of *Mir Tozak*. The command of the *cauki-khāṣṣ*, or bodyguard, was made over to Faiz-ullāh Khān, a *wālā-shāhi*. Aminu-d-dīn Khān, Sambhālī, became head of the '*Arz Mukarrar*, or office for the examination and confirmation of appointments. The department of Branding and Mustering (*dāgh-o-tashīhah*) was given to Sayyid Shujā'at-ullāh Khān, Bārhaḥ, sister's son of Quṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazīr. At first Fidā Khān¹ was retained, as in Bahādur Shāh's and Jahāndār Shāh's time, as *qūr-bēgi*, or head of the armoury; but the place was shortly afterwards transferred to Amir Khān (Muḥammad Ishāq)² son of the late Amir Khān; then in a few months he gave way in favour of Khwāja Muzaffar, Pānīpatī, now created Zafar Khān, Bahādur, who was known by the nickname of *Turrah-i-bāz*.³ The *Ṣadārat-i-kull*, or superintendence of charitable and religious grants, was given to Sayyid Afzal, who had taught Farrukhsiyar to read the *qurān*, with the title of Sayyid Afzal Khān, Bahādur, *Ṣadr Jahān*.⁴

The provincial governments were next provided for. Kābul was left in the hands of Nāṣir Khān, Bahādur, Nāṣir Jang. Kashmīr was taken from 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, whose *manṣab* even was cancelled, and

¹ Formerly Tahavvur Khān, then Fidā Khān, son of Salābat Khān, Khwāja Mir, Khwāfi, (d. early in 1104 H., 1698-4), *M.-ul-u.*, II, 742, 745.

² Afterwards 'Umdatul-mulk, A. K., assassinated 1169 H., 1746-7.

³ *Turrah*, waving ringlets, or the hanging end of a turban; *Turrah-i-bāz*, 'a falcon's crest.' Zafar Khān and all his men wore their turbans in the same way, with an end sticking out, and from this peculiarity the nickname arose. Khushhāl Cand, 403b, explains that the *Turrah* were of gold and silk brocade (*bādalah*), and were used extensively as ornaments to Zafar Khān's equipage. In lot No. 696 in B. Quaritch's catalogue, No. 161, of July 1896, there was a portrait of Rōshanu-d-daulah (i.e., Zafar Khān) which I inspected. It showed a rather stout and not very tall man, with a broad and slightly heavy face, white beard and moustache, the latter slightly black still at the corners of the mouth. To the band or ribbon round the centre of the turban was attached an ornament (*arpec*) and from it hung a long feather, falling backwards and ending in two small points. Perhaps this feather represents the *Turrah-i-bāz*?

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 169.

he was replaced by Sādāt Khān,¹ the new Emperor's father-in-law, to whom permission to govern by deputy was accorded. Zabardast Khān entitled 'Ali Mardān Khān (III), son of Ibrāhīm Khān, 'Ali Mardān Khān (II), son of Amīru-l-umarā, 'Ali Mardān Khān (I)² died at Lāhōr before he could be removed; he was replaced by 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Bahādūr, (subsequently made Dilēr Jang, after his victories over the Sikhs). Multān was conferred on Quṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazīr, but Shēr Afgan Khān, Bahādūr, (brother of Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq), who had been in charge on behalf of Kokaltāsh Khān ('Ali Murād) remained on as the deputy of the new governor). For the preceding fifteen or sixteen years Dihli had been held by Muḥammad Yār Khān, and he was left undisturbed. Ajmēr was made over to Sayyid Muḥaffar Khān, Bārhaḥ (recently created Sayyid Khān Jahān, Bahādūr), maternal uncle of Quṭbu-l-mulk. Shahāmat Khān (son-in-law of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kashmīrī) who had been governor of Gujārāt in Bahādūr Shāh's reign, received the new title of Mubārīz Khān and was confirmed in his old appointment. Rājah Chabelah Rām,³ a personal adherent of Farrukhsiyar's family and a brave soldier, whose welfare was dear to the heart of the Emperor, was sent at first to Āgrah, his birthplace, but on the pretext that he was unable to cope with Curāman, Jāt, he was soon replaced by Ṣamṣamu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, also a native of Āgrah. Audh was given to Sarbuland Khān, the Emperor's uncle by marriage, and Allāhābād to Khān Jahān (son of the late Khān Jahān, Bahādūr, Kokaltāsh, 'Ālamgīrī). The latter had been recently removed from the Government of Bengal. His titles were now increased to A'azzu-d-daulah, Khān 'Ālam, Bahādūr. Shahāmat Khān (Mubārīz Khān) had lately held Mālwah in addition to Gujārāt. Mālwah was now taken from him and given over to Rājah Jai Singh of Āmber. To conciliate the Rājah, he was told that he need not come to Court, but might march straight from his own country to his new government. 'Azīmābād Paṭnah (Bihar) was confirmed, as before' to Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, Amīru-l-umarā; his sister's son, Ghairat Khān, who had been left behind in charge, continuing to act as his deputy. Bengal was conferred on the infant prince, the Emperor's son, Farkhunda Bakht, entitled Jahāngīr Shāh, with the former *dāwān*, Murshid Quli Khān,

¹ Mir Muḥammad Takki, Ḥusainī, Māsandarānī, Iṣfahānī, son of Sādāt Khān, wounded on the day of Farrukhsiyar's deposition, in Rabī' 1181 H., February 1719, and died a few days afterwards aged over eighty years—*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*.

² Mhd. Khalil, entitled first Zabardast Khān, then 'Ali Mardān Khān, Zik, died a little before the 9th Jumādī I, 1125 H., 2nd June, 1713, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* and Kāmwar Khān. For this family, see *M.-ul-u.*, I, 295-300, II, 795, and III, 155.

³ Chabelī Rām in Mirzā Muḥammad; sometimes Chabelā Rām in other works.

as his deputy. The latter's titles were increased to Ja'far Khān, Naṣīrī.¹ In a few months' time, when the infant died of small pox, the *ṣūbah* was granted to Mir Jumlah, with the same deputy. To Orissa, Murshid Quli Khān (Ja'far Khān) was appointed *ṣūbahdār* in his own name.²

For the six provinces making up the Dakhin special arrangements were made. The supreme control of the whole country was confided to Cin Qilic Khān (son of the late Ghāzi-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang), who on this occasion was created Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Faṭḥ Jang. He was empowered to select the lands to be held in *jāgir* for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, and to suggest the rank (*manṣab*) to be granted to the chief landholders. His headquarters were fixed at Anrangābād. In Burhānpur his deputy was to be Shukr-ullāh Khān, to make room for whom Dāūd Khān, Panni, was removed as deputy-governor to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt; in the two Karnātak, Sa'adat-ullāh Khān; in Barār, Iwaṣ Khān, who was married to the late Ghāzi-d-din Khān's sister, and was, therefore, Nizāmu-l-mulk's uncle by marriage. Bidar, Bijāpur, and Ḥaidarābād were to remain as before under Amin Khān (son of Khān Zamān, Bahādur, Faṭḥ Jang, deceased), Manṣūr Khān and Yūsuf Khān respectively. Ḥaidar Quli Khān, Isfarāini, a protégé of Mir Jumlah, was sent as *diwān* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the Nāzim, of the report writers, and of the deciding of suits.³

The Sayyid brothers are generally accused of grasping all power and office for themselves and friends to the exclusion of everybody else. It is curious to note, after going through the chief appointments, that this accusation should have so little foundation. Besides the two offices which were the price of their services, they received the government of two *ṣūbahs* for themselves and one for an uncle. They seem to have

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad gives بصیری plainly enough, but generally it is written نصیری naṣīrī or nūṣairī. Baṣīrī means "the prudent," "the circumspect," naṣīrī, "the ally," "the helper," and nūṣairī "faithful to 'Alī as was Nūṣair," or "one ready to sacrifice his life out of devotion." Anyone of these meanings would be equally appropriate.

² Mirzā Muḥammad, 174.

³ Mirzā Muḥammad, 177, Khāfī Khān, II, 740. Biographies of some of the above men will be found as follows. Dāūd Khān, Pannī, d. 1127 H., 1715-16, (Ma'āshiru-l-umarā, II, 63). Sa'adat-ullāh Khān, a Nawāyat (see Wilks, I, 242), died 1145 H., 1732-3, (M-ul-u, II, 513). Iwaṣ Khān, d. 1143 H., 1730-1, (M-ul-u, II, 832). Amin Khān, d. 1137 H., 1724-5, (M-ul-u, I, 352), fourth son of Shaiḫ Nigām, Khān Zamān, d. 1108 H., 1696-7, (*id.* I, 794), captor of Shambhā Jī, Mahrattah. Manṣūr Khān was a Rōz Bahānī.

obtained very little else, while the Emperor's friends and the Tūrānī chiefs obtained the lion's share. A crowd of new men were thus brought on the stage, and it is necessary for the sake of clearness that we should say something about the most prominent of them, their origin and antecedents.

7. I'TIMĀDU-DAULAH MUḤAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN, BAHĀDUR, NUṢRAT JANG.

Muḥammad Amin Khān was a native of Samarqand in the kingdom of Bukhārā. His grandfather, 'Ālam Shaikh, a learned man and a descendant of the Shaikh Shahābu-d-din, Quraishī, Tarmanī, Ṣadiqī, of Sahrward, had two sons, Khwāja 'Ābid and Mir Bahāu-d-din. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang; the second son, Mir Bahāu-d-din, Muḥammad Amin's father, entered the employ of the ruler of Bukhārā, and was by him executed on suspicion of complicity with his rebellious son. This event happened about the year 1098 H. (1686–7), when Mir Muḥammad Amin must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favourably received by 'Ālamgīr, then in the Dakhin, by whom he was sent to serve with his cousin, Firūz Jang. In the forty-second year, 1109–10 H., 1697–8, when 'Ālamgīr was anxious to find in the Tūrānis a counterpoise to Asad Khān, the Wazīr, and his son, Zū-l-ṣiqār Khān, Muḥammad Amin Khān was brought to Court and made *ṣadr*, or head of the charitable and religious endowments. In 1115–16 H., 1704–5, and again in 1116–17 H., his rank was raised in reward for military services, and in the very last year of 'Ālamgīr's reign (1118 H.), after defeating the Mahrattahs, he received the special addition of *Cin Bahādur* to his other titles. Although the Tūrānis had not shown any great zeal for his rival, A'zam Shāh, still Bahādur Shāh did not receive them into the same favour as before. Muḥammad Amin Khān was sent to Murādābād as *faujdar*; but towards the end of the reign, he was brought back to headquarters, and took a leading part in the campaign against the Sikhs. When Jahāndār Shāh decided to march against Farrukhsiyar, Muḥammad Amin Khān was recalled from Sah-rind. He was present in Jahāndār Shāh's ranks at Āgrah, but as we have related, took no serious part in the fighting. This betrayal was now rewarded by his appointment to be second Bakhshī of the empire. At this time he was about fifty-two years of age, and since the death of Firūz Jang in 1122 H., 1710–11, he had become the acknowledged leader of the Tūrānī soldiery, his cousin, Cin Qilic Khān (Nizāmu-l-mulk), son of Firūz Jang, being about ten years his junior.¹

¹ *Ma'āziru-l-umarā*, I, 346.

8. ŠAMŠĀMU-D-DAULAH, KHĀN DAURĀN, BAHĀDUR, MANŠŪR JANG.

Khawāja 'Āsim's ancestors, emigrating from a village in Badakhshān, took up their residence in Āgrah. Some followed the profession of soldiering, others gained reputation as men of learning and holiness, living secluded from the world. They were of the Naqshbandi sect. His father's name was Khawāja Qāsim: and as his birth took place about 1083 H., 1672-3, he was now about forty-two (lunar) years of age. He began life as a trooper of Prince 'Azimu-sh-shān's regiment, and when that prince, at the time of 'Ālamgir's death, left Bengal for Āgrah, Khawāja 'Āsim remained with Farrukhsiyar in the former province. One author asserts that he had been a play-fellow of Farrukhsiyar's, but as he was at least eleven years older, this can hardly be correct. His intimacy with the prince was founded, however, on his joining him in wrestling, archery, riding, polo playing and other war-like exercises, of which Farrukhsiyar was passionately fond. He soon obtained such great influence with the young prince that the other courtiers complained to 'Azimu-sh-shān. The Khawāja was accordingly sent for to head-quarters at Lāhōr. Soon after this, Bahādur Shāh died and Khawāja 'Āsim (now become Ashraf Khān) upon the death of his master, 'Azimu-sh-shān, fled to Āgrah. Here Khawāja Ja'far, his elder brother, tried to make him renounce the world and thus save his soul. For a time he stopped at home and occupied himself with Shirāzi pigeon-fancying and archery. When Farrukhsiyar became next heir to the throne, Khawāja 'Āsim "felt like a falcon newly moulted." He began to collect some men, but his doings were reported to the governor. Being warned by a disciple of a resolve to seize him, he fled at midnight in the disguise of a faqir. On reaching Paṭnah, he was introduced by the two Sayyids to the prince, his former intimacy with whom he is said to have concealed. From this point the part he took has already appeared in our history.¹

Khān Daurān was the perfect type of the Indian courtier, and from this time until his death in 1151 H. 1738, he retained his position at Court, whoever was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catch word *Mērā ṣāhib!* (my good sir). To conceal his limited acquaintance with Persian, he used to begin by speaking in elegant Urdū, so that he might charm his hearers at the outset and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. He used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous by his own act. But he could quote occasional-

¹ *M-ul-umarā*, I. 817, *Aḥwāl-u-l-Khawāqin*, 49b, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* (year 1161 H.)

ly with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs. An elder brother had been formerly in the service of 'Azimu-gh-shān and was killed in the campaign in Bengal against Raḥim Khān, Afghān. Much of Khān Daurān's prestige may have been derived from his commanding presence. A contemporary tells us that when he walked up the audience hall with a group of followers, his head would be seen towering far above the others. From all accounts he and his brother, Muzaḥfar Khān, were boasters of a most extravagant order, while their courage was more than doubtful. At any rate, they rarely put it to the test. Khān Daurān might, indeed, have qualified as a member of the Peace Society, for whenever the subject was broached, he would ask, "What is to be gained by going to war?" He was one of those men, never absent from Eastern courts, who do absolutely nothing, either in war or in peace, as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue, and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career, he was the favourer of the Hindustānī party in the State, the person through whom Jāt or Rājput chiefs put forward any claim they might wish to advance. Especially was this the case with Rājah Jai Singh, for whom as we shall see, Khān Daurān obtained many favours.¹

9. GHĀZIU-D-DĪN KHĀN, GHĀLIB JANG, (AḤMAD BĒG).

When Farrukhsiyar first reached 'Azimābād Patnah, Shari'at-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah) and Khwāja 'Aṣim (Khān Daurān) not being present, Aḥmad Bēg became for a time his most active assistant and principal confidant. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahāndār Shāh,² but having quarrelled with that prince on account of the preference shown for 'Alī Murād, Kokaltāsh Khān, he sought a refuge in Bengal. When Farrukhsiyar's more particular favourites returned, they supplanted Aḥmad Bēg in the prince's good graces, and from that time he seems to have fallen a good deal into the back ground. Aḥmad Bēg, a man of Tūrānī race,³ was born about 1076 H. 1665-6. From the scantiness of his beard, he bore the nickname of *Kosah*, or Goatbeard.⁴ His further part in history is confined to two occasions, the day of

¹ *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā*, I, 819, Yaḥyā Khān, 119b., *Ashōb*, 73.

² Yaḥyā Khān, 119a, says he was the *nawāsah* (daughter's son) of Qā'im Bēg, Shāhjahānī.

³ The *Aḥwālu-l-Khawāqin*, 61a, gives him the epithet of *Ashṭarlab* (?).

⁴ The epithet is borne out by a portrait that I saw lately at Mr. Quaritch's (one of the drawings mentioned on the cover of his catalogue No. 155, December 1896). Ghālib Jang is shown seated, and is dressed in a pale mauve coat of thin muslin. His beard consists of four or five short, straight hairs.

Farrukhsiyar's deposition, when he fought in the streets on his master's behalf, and again at the time when he took the side of Quṭbu-l-mulk, after the murder of Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. When Muḥammad Shāh pardoned him, it was proposed to take away his title of Ghālib Jang, as it had been granted to a brother of Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq. Ghāziud-din Khān made loud objection, and claimed that, as both he and the new "Conqueror in War" were present, they should fight it out in single combat, the victor becoming in both senses "*Ghālib-i-jang*." The emperor smiled and left him in undisturbed possession. He died on the 12th Ṣafar, 1139 H., (8th October, 1726), at the age of sixty-three (lunar) years.¹

10. MĪR JUMLAH.

The name of this man, a native of Samarqand in Tūrān, was 'Ubaid-ullāh,² son of Mir Muḥammad Wafā, and he was born about the year 1081 H., 1670-1. Early in life he abandoned his native country and repaired to Hindūstān, where he arrived in the reign of 'Ālamgir. He obtained in time the post of *Qāzi* at Jahāngirnagar Dhākah in *ṣubāh* Bengal, and finally the same office at 'Azīmābād Paṭnah in *ṣubāh* Bihar. He seems to have wormed himself into the confidence of Prince 'Azīmu-gh-ghān, then Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and to have obtained complete control over the mind of his second son, Farrukhsiyar. He was with Prince 'Azīmu-gh-ghān at Lāhōr, and as we have already stated, was making his way eastwards to Farrukhsiyar when he met and joined that prince at Āgrah. He had secured himself a very favourable reception by his successful negotiations with the Tūrānī leaders in Jahāndār Shāh's army. From this time his name will recur frequently in our narrative. His titles were first Shari'at-ullāh Khān, then 'Ibād-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, and finally Muta'midul-mulk, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, Mir Jumlah, Tarkhānī, Sultānī. He is described by one writer as a man who, in spite of his great learning, was blind to the essential meaning of things.³

11. NIZĀMU-L-MULK.

Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very first rank upon Farrukhsiyar's accession, was Nizāmul-mulk, now a man of nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age, who

¹ *Ma'āqiru-l-umarā* II, 879, *Tārīkh-i-Mh̄di*, year 1139 H.

² The *Ma'āqiru-l-umarā* has "Abd-ullāh" and "Ibād-ullāh." The commonest form is عبيدالله which may be either 'Abid-ullāh or 'Ubaid-ullāh.

³ *Ma'āqiru-l-umarā*, III, 711, *T-i-Mh̄di*, year 1144 H., *Aḥwālu-l-khawāqin*, 61a.

was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor, even in 'Ālamgīr's reign. Hitherto, however, he had been overshadowed by his father, Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang, who had died only two years before this time, and by his cousin, a much older man, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, Bahādur. But on Niẓāmu-l-mulk's appointment in 1125 H. (1713) to the six *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin, he rose to a position of pre-eminence, which he never for one moment lost till his death in 1161 H. (1748), thirty-five years afterwards.

As stated a few pages back, when speaking of Muḥammad Amin Khān, the family of Niẓāmu-l-mulk came from Samarqand. His great grand-father was 'Ālam Shaikh, son of Allāhdād, son of 'Abdu-rahmān, Shaikh 'Azizān.¹ They are said to have come originally from Sahrward. Khwāja 'Ābid, son of 'Ālam Shaikh, moved to Bukhārā, where he was first of all *Qāzi*, then Shaikhul-islām. A year or two before 'Ālamgīr ascended the throne (1066-7 H., 1655-6), he passed through India on his way to Mecca. He returned at the time when 'Ālamgīr was about to start from the Dakhin to seize his father's throne. 'Ālamgīr accepted his services and gave him a high command. He filled various offices, such as that of *Ṣadārat-i-kull*, or superintendent of endowments, governor of Ajmēr, then of Multān. In the twenty-fourth year (1091-2 H., 1680-1) he fell into disgrace, but was soon pardoned and again given the *Ṣadārat-i-kull*. A year afterwards he was sent to the Dakhin, and then in the twenty-ninth year (1096-7 H., 1684-5), he became governor of Zafarābād Bidar. He continued to serve with distinction in the Dakhin, until on the 24th Rabi' I. 1098 H. (30th January, 1687), at the siege of Gulkandah, he was shot in the arm and died of the wound. In the twenty-third year (1690-1) he had received the title of Qilic Khān. He had five sons, the two youngest of whom died comparatively early in life without rising very high. The second and third sons, Mu'izzu-d-daulah, Hāmid Khān, and Naṣīru-d-daulah, 'Abdu-r-rahīm Khān, were men of some fame and distinction.

¹ The table (furnished by the present Niẓām) in J. D. B. Gribble's "History of the Deccan," I, 380, gives the same steps in the genealogy thus:—

Niẓāmu-l-mulk, Aṣaf Jāh,

—|
Firūz Jang

—|
Mir 'Ābid (Qilic Khān),

—|
Khwāja Mir Ismā'il

—|
Khwāja 'Azizān (Alana)

—|
Mhd 'Ālam Shaikh, Ṣadiqī 'Ulvi,

and so on, back to Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr, in the 33rd generation.

But the greatest of all was the eldest son, Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang, and to him we now turn.

Mir Shāhābu-d-din was born at Samarqand about the year 1060 H. (1649-50); and followed his father to India in the twelfth year of 'Ālamgīr (1079-80 H., 1668-9), when he was in his nineteenth or twentieth year. He received the rank of 300 *Zāt*, 70 horse. His special favour with 'Ālamgīr began ten years later when, at the peril of his life, he brought speedy information from a general who had been sent in pursuit of the Rānā into the hills of Udaipur, and of whose safety no tidings could be obtained. For this service he obtained the title of Khān and from that time rose rapidly, especially after he had proved his loyalty by rejecting all advances from the emperor's rebel son, Prince Akbar. He accompanied the emperor into the Dakhin and took part in all the campaigns there for the succeeding five and twenty years. He conquered Ibrāhimgarh-Ekar (also called Firūzgarh); was conspicuous in the taking of Haidarābād; Adonī (Imtiyāzgarh) also fell before him. He was sent against Čambhājī, son of Čivājī, in 1099-1100 H. (1687-8), and served against Deogarh (Islāmgarh), which he captured. In the forty-eighth year, 1115-16 H., 1703-4, he pursued the Mahrattas into Mālwah. At the time of 'Ālamgīr's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was at Elicpur, in charge of the sūbah of Barār. As we have already recounted (under Bahādur Shāh's reign), he took no part in the war of succession between A'zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh. The Tūrānis were not in favour with the victor, Bahādur Shāh, and thus Firūz Jang was moved out of the Dakhin, where he was dangerous, to the government of Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt. There he died on the 17th Shawwāl 1122 H. (8th December, 1710) at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. He held the rank of 7,000 *zāt*. Following the usual Mughal system, his estate was confiscated on his death. It consisted of 1½ lakhs of rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold *muhrs*, 25,000 *Hūn* (gold) and *nīm-pāoli* (gold), 17,000 gold *Pāoli*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8,000 whole silver *Pāoli*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants.

Ghāziu-d-din Khān is described as the most exceptionally gifted among the Tūrānī nobles, good-natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator. His first wife was the daughter of Sa'd-ullāh Khān,¹ Wazir of Shāhjahān; after her death he married in succession two of her nieces, daughters of her brother, Hifz-ullāh Khān (Miyān Khān), but by these two wives he had no children. For the last twenty years of his life he was totally blind, his sight having been

¹ S. K. died 1066 H., 1665-6, see *M-ul-u*, II, 441 and *T-i-Mādi*, year 1066 H.

destroyed by an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. In spite of this privation, his active career continued as before; such a case having been until then unknown in India, of a blind man continuing to command an army in the field or govern a province.

Mir Qamaru-d-din, son of Ghāziu-d-din Khān by the daughter of Shāhjahān's Wazīr, Sa'd-ullāh Khān, was born on the 14th Rabi' II. 1082 H., (11th August, 1671).¹ In 1095 H. (1682-3) when in his thirteenth year, he received as his first appointment in the service of the state, the rank of 400 *zāt*, 100 horse. In the following year the title of Khān was added to his name. In 1101 or 1102 H., (1690-1), he received the title of Cin Qilic Khān, and at 'Ālamgīr's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was governor of Bijāpur. His father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the sons of 'Ālamgīr: and when Bahādur Shāh had succeeded in defeating his rival, he removed the Tūrānis from the Dakhin, possibly on the advice of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who looked on them as his personal enemies. Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang, was sent to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, went to Murādābād as *faujdar* and Cin Qilic Khān was appointed Šūbahdār of Audh and *faujdar* of Gōrakhpur (15th Ramaḥān, 1119 H., 9th December, 1707). At the same time the title of the last named was changed to that of Khān Daurān, Bahādur, and he was raised to 6000 *zāt*, 6000 horse. A few weeks afterwards (5th Zū-l-Qa'dah, 27th January, 1708), he resigned all his titles and appointments; but at the desire of Mun'im Khān, the Wazīr, he withdrew his resignation and was promoted to 7,000 *zāt*, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Cin Qilic Khān (Khān Daurān as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, 18th Zū-l-Hijjah 1122 H., 6th February, 1711; this time it was accepted, and 4,000 rupees a year were granted for his support. Quite at the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign, he returned to the active list with the titles of Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Bahādur, Firūz Jang. On Bahādur Shāh's death, he attempted to espouse the cause of 'Azīmu-*sh-shān*,

¹ In many works there is a curious mistake as to Niḥāmu-l-mulk's age. He is said to have died in 1161 H., (1748), at the age of one hundred and four years. Orme, "Military Transactions," Madras reprint, I, 122, is the first to make this statement. Orme was in Madras at the time of the Niḥām's death (1748), and ought to have known the truth; but then he had no knowledge of Persian and no access to written authorities. Grant Duff, "History of the Mahrattas," Bombay reprint, 265, repeats the statement, probably copying from Orme. Grant Duff was acquainted with both the *Ma'āziru-l-umarā*, and the *Khisānah-i-āmirah*, a reference to either of which would have shown him that Niḥāmu-l-mulk's birth year was 1082 H.; and therefore, in 1161 H., when he died, he could have been no more than 79 lunar or 77 solar years of age. This is the age given by Elphinstone, "History," 64 l.

who long before had promised him high office, and he had made one march from Dihli at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 men, when he heard of the prince's death. Thereupon he discharged his men and retired into private life. 'Abdu-ṣamad Khān was the brother-in-law of his cousin, Muḥammad Amin Khān, and this man's services to Zū-l-ṣiqār Khān had been so great, that on his account Cin Qilic Khān's hostile attitude was overlooked. Towards the end of Jahāndār Shah's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Āgrah. There he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukhsiyar's interest, as already related, through Shari'at-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah), and as a reward for his neutrality he was now made governor of the whole Dakhin, with the new titles first of Khān Khānān, and then of Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Faṭḥ Jang.¹

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An unrecorded Governor of Fort William in Bengal.—By C. R.

WILSON, M. A.

[Read April, 1898.]

It is well known that the commonly received lists of the early Governors of Bengal are very imperfect. Quite recently, in 1888, Mr. F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of the India Office Records, drew up a statement and memorandum tracing the Bengal Chiefs, Agents, and Governors, from the earliest dates. Yet even he has failed to notice the Governor of whose history this paper is intended to be a brief record. He was, it is true, Governor for little more than a single day, but his life more than covers the interval between Charnock and Clive, and the man himself is an interesting personality in the factory period.

Edward Stephenson¹ was born in Cumberland in the year 1691, his baptism being recorded in the parish register of Crosthwaite under the date of the 8th October of that year. His father was Edward Stephenson of Keswick. Through his mother Rebecca, he was connected with the Winders of Lorton and of the City of London. The pedigree of the Winders of Lorton has been investigated with great care by Mr. F. A. Winder of Southsea, Portsmouth,² to whom I am indebted for much of the information which follows. Here it will be sufficient to say that John Winder of Lorton, who died in May, 1696, left behind a numerous family among whom were his eldest son and heir John Winder, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn; Samuel Winder, a merchant at Mark Lane, London; Jonathan Winder, his third son, who entered the New East India Company's service, and was from 1705 to 1707 one of the two Chairmen of the United Council in Bengal; and Rebecca who married, as has been said, Edward Stephenson of Keswick, by whom she had two sons, Edward and John, and a daughter, Debora.

¹ He signs "Edwd. Stephenson," and so the India Office Records always spell the name. The parish register has "Steavenson."

² See his paper on the subject in Vol. XIV. of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.

On the 3rd November, 1708, the Court of Directors of the East India Company read a petition from Edward Stephenson, then seventeen years old "praying to be entertained a writer in the Bay or elsewhere," and ordered the Committee of Accounts to examine the petitioner's qualifications.¹ On the 24th November Edward Stephenson was elected a writer in the Company's service.² On the 17th December following, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Jonathan Winder were accepted as securities for Edward Stephenson in £500.³ Edward Stephenson arrived in Bengal on the 2nd February, 1710.⁴ In the seventy-fifth paragraph of a letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors dated the 10th December, 1712, he was specially commended.⁵ On this account he was advanced one year in service and accordingly became a Factor on the 2nd February, 1714.⁶ In a list of the Company's servants drawn up in November, 1711, he appears as Sub-Accountant.

On the 5th January, 1714, he was elected third in the embassy to Delhi.⁷ On the 26th February he was given two hundred and fifty rupees to provide himself with clothes and necessaries.⁸ In April the boats which carried the present for Farrukhsiyar were sent up the river to Patna, and Stephenson must have left Calcutta at the same time or soon after.⁹ When the Surman Diary opens in August, 1714, we find him with John Surman in Patna preparing to start for the Mogul Court. On the 6th April, 1715, the embassy actually began its journey. On the 7th July it made its entry into Delhi.¹⁰ The next two years were spent in long, tedious, but successful negotiations. After many disappointments Farrukhsiyar and his vizier, Sayyid 'Abdu-llāh Khān, were prevailed upon to issue a number of imperial rescripts and orders increasing and securing the commercial privileges of the English in every part of India. In his

¹ See Court Book XLIII., p. 231.

² See Court Book XLIII., p. 275.

³ See Court Book XLIII., p. 344.

⁴ See the lists of the Company's servants which come at the end of the volumes of Consultations in the India Office Records.

⁵ This letter is lost, but an abstract of it will be found in the Correspondence Papers, Vol. I., 1713 to 1715.

⁶ See Bengal General, dated 13th January, 1713 (i.e., 1714), para. 88.

⁷ See Bengal Public Consultations of that date. On further discussion, Khojah Sarhad being appointed second, John Pratt became third, and Stephenson, Secretary. Finally Pratt withdrew and on the 4th March Stephenson was again appointed third.

⁸ See Bengal Public Consultations of that date.

⁹ *Ib.*

¹⁰ See the Surman Diary under the dates given.

old age Stephenson was consulted by Orme about the history of this embassy in which he played no small part and of which he was in 1765 the sole survivor. On the 18th July, 1717, the embassy left Delhi and returned to Calcutta on the 22nd November.¹

From the embassy Stephenson went to Balasor to be Chief of the local factory; but in July, August, 1718, he was transferred to the Council at Patna of which he became Chief on the 25th June, 1719.² In September, 1720, he was confirmed in this appointment, and given a gratuity of £300 for his services in connection with the embassy.³

After eight years of uneventful service, first as Chief at Patna, and afterwards as Chief at Cassimbazar, he was suddenly called upon to fill the highest post of all. "On Friday, the 23rd August, 1718," says the Consultations Book, "the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., late President, having, after a sickness of about twelve days, departed this life at one o'clock this morning, and the Worshipful Edward Stephenson, Esq., being next in succession, who is now Chief at Cassimbazar, it is unanimously agreed that we despatch a pair of *qâsids* to advise him that thereby the government of this place devolves on him." The Consultations Book continues the story on Tuesday the 17th September. "This morning at nine o'clock the Hon. Edward Stephenson, Esq., arrived here from Cassimbazar and took his place at this board as President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal to which he succeeds by the death of our late President, the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., and accordingly the commission and keys of the fort were now delivered him." His rule was short. On the evening of Wednesday the 18th John Deane who had already held supreme authority, from 1723 to 1726, returned from England and resumed his former position. "At eight o'clock in the night arrived here John Deane, Esq., who produced the Honorable Company's commission for appointing him President and Governor of all their affairs in Bengal; which commission was read in the Consultation Room, Fort William, in the presence of all the Company's servants, &c., and accordingly the keys of the fort were delivered to him by Edward Stephenson, Esq."⁴

✓ 1 See the Surman Diary and the Bengal Public Consultations of the dates given.

✓ 2 See Bengal Public Consultations as before.

3 *Ib.*

4 No notice of these changes is to be found in any of our authorities. Even Mr. Danvers in his carefully compiled list of Bengal Governors has omitted Edward Stephenson and the second governorship of John Deane. According to him Henry Frankland assumed office on the 30th January, 1726, and returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732. Whereas, as I have said, Henry Frankland died on the 23rd August, 1728, and was succeeded by Edward Stephenson, who after actually holding office for a day and a half was superseded by John Deane on the night of the 18th

Stephenson accordingly returned to Cassimbazar where he remained another year. At the end of 1729 he resigned the chiefship of that place, and came down to Calcutta, whence he sailed for England on the *Eyles* at the beginning of 1730.¹

It was probably after his return home that "Governor" Stephenson married the lady whose death on the 24th February, 1744, is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.² In 1764 Orme, who was collecting materials for the second volume of his history wrote as follows to Stephenson³ :—

"CONCERNING THE EMBASSY TO FURRUCKSEER.

TO MR. STEVENSON.

SIR,

It is not impossible that you may have seen my work of the military transactions in India, and if your opinion of it has induced you to wish for the continuance of it, my present requests to you will carry their excuse with them ; otherwise this intrusion will scarce admit of an apology.

In order to explain the late revolutions in Bengal, it appears to me absolutely necessary to explain the embassy to Furruckshir on which you went with Mr. Surman. These papers are in the India house where I am suffered to peruse them, but from whence I am not permitted to take them. As I am very infirm it is very seldom that I can go there, and when there, my attention is distracted by the variety of clerks and business, which surround me. If you have these papers in your possession, I shall be very much obliged to you for the loan of them for a few days. I will take great care of them, and return them punctually at the limited time. Should you be induced to comply with this request I beg the favour you will omit no scrap however insignificant in appearance, for it has often happened that a few words lead to very material knowledge.

I have always looked upon the Phirmaunds, which you obtained from Furruckshir, as the Magna Charter of the Company until of late years. It is true that the great Phirmaund, as published by Mr. Frazer, seems to imply a general permission of trading to all places in all articles. But I much doubt whether the Mogul ever intended that we should extend our sales beyond what was importation from foreign parts, or our purchases beyond what was intended for exportation. At least I am sure that all the while I was in Bengal, no Englishman dared to trade in salt, beetle or tobacco, and if they carried any others of the productions of the country from one port to another of the province of Bengal, they were permitted only because the profits were known to be very small and not worth the attention of the

September. It was John Deane who, having thus become a second time Governor returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732.

¹ See Bengal Public Consultations.

² *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1744, p. 106.

³ ORME COLLECTIONS XV. Letter from Mr. Orme to Mr. Stevenson, pp. 4131-4133.

natives to make a quarrel about. I should be glad, therefore, to know from you, Sir, who are the only man alive that can tell me, whether these restrictions were not intended, although they may not be expressed in the Phirmaund.

It was a report whilst I was in Bengal that you had obtained from the Mogul an addition of 84 villages to the ground which contained all the Company's territory ten years ago; that is from Perrings to Surman's garden: but that the Nabob Jaffier Khan set his face against this accession of territory, and would not suffer the company to take possession of it. It was likewise a common talk, that Mr. Surman offended Jaffier Khan on his return from Delhi, by asserting that the title of his Munsub being higher than the Nabob's, the Nabob ought in some ceremonies, which were to pass between them, to give him the precedence. I was young when in Bengal and never thinking of the work I am now engaged in, took these stories as they were told at table talk, and having forgot one half of the particulars, have little confidence in, nor indeed a clear idea of the rest. But by the Phirmaund published by Mr. Frazer it appears that the Mogul only granted 40 vingas, that is about 30 acres of ground to any settlements which the Company might make in Bengal or Orissa. So that the 84 villages must have been, if granted at all, in a separate Phirmaund.

Again, Sir, I should be glad to know what particular and extraordinary oppressions from the Government the Company suffered, to induce them to be at the expense of your embassy.

It was in consequence of great oppressions that in the year 1685, the old Company sent out an armanent and ordered Job Chanock to fight. The papers of old date which came from abroad, are in such extreme confusion at the India House, that there is no possibility of divining where Job Chanock's letter to the Company, informing them of his expedition, lies; so that I despair of ever seeing it. Perhaps, Sir, you by being in India, not many years after that event, may be able to give some account of it. Where he marched from and to; whom he fought; and the success; which by a letter, wrote by the Directors after the expedition, seems to have been no wise satisfactory to them.

I am far from expecting that you should be at the trouble of giving me in writing all the details concerning the informations I want; but an hour's conversation with you will, I hope, be deemed no unreasonable request, although I am a perfect stranger to you. If, therefore, you will permit me to wait on you the first time you come to town, I shall be much obliged for notice the day before, when I can have the pleasure of seeing you at your house in Queen Square. All I can say, Sir, is, that as you are the only person living who can give me these informations, my obligation will be equal to the difficulty of obtaining them elsewhere, very great indeed.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

R. ORME."

Harley Street, Cavendish Square,
August 4th, 1764.

From this it would appear that Edward Stephenson at this time resided chiefly in the country, perhaps at Borfield Lodge, Essex, and only occasionally came to town where he had a house in Queen's Square. Orme has preserved the following "memorandums of a conversation!:"

"Memorandums of a conversation with Edward Stephenson, Esq., who went on the Embassy to Furruckseer; taken on the same day I visited him January 17th, 1765.

He says that all the Lands in a province in Indostan excepting such as are governed by Rajahs, consist either of Colsa lands or Jagueers.

Jagueers are lands given to the Nabobs, Phousdars, or other Officers of the State, by the Crown, to be held only during their administration or continuance in favour, of which lands the temporary Lord receives the revenues or advantages, on condition that he keeps up the number of horse at which his Munsub or title of nobility is rated, and likewise the number of foot which are always in one settled proportion attached to the number of horse, this Mr. Stephenson believes to be double. So that a Munsub of 4,000 horse is to maintain besides those 4,000 horse, 8,000 foot, and he receives the rents of his Jagueer without deductions or taxes due to the Crown.

The Colsa lands are such as being neither governed by Rajahs, nor portioned into Jagueers remain to the Moorish Government to be administered by their own officers. All the Colsa lands are under the administration of the Duan, who farms them out to Renters for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. years, and the rents forthcoming from them are brought by the Duan into his account with the Emperor.

The territories governed by Rajahs are for the most part the same, which the ancestors of these Rajahs ruled at the time of conquest. It sometimes likewise has happened that Rajahs, who for the convenience of the Government, have been removed out of their hereditary lands, have been placed in other vacant territories.

These Rajahs govern according to the ancient institutions of their forefathers over the Indians their subjects; but over Mahomedans established in their territory they have not except by particular permission any authority of life or corporal punishment, for a Mahomedan always calls upon the Koran and the Cadi who is the interpreter of the Koran for this [his] Judge.

The Rajahs pay the stipulated tribute to the Duan.

The Duan therefore must be an officer of very great power, equal almost to the Nabob, His functions are:

1st. Supreme authority over the Colsah lands in all cases where the land is concerned.

¹ ORME COLLECTIONS O. V. 12, pp. 107-109.

2nd. Receiver general of all the Customs established in the Mogul's name. In the Jagueer lands the Nabob or Jaggueer Lord collects the customs, but cannot impose them in detriment to the interests of the Crown, against the will of the Duan. In the Rajahs' lands the Rajahs have likewise the same rights as the Nabobs in the Jaggueer lands; but with the same limitations.

3rd. He is Agent for the Crown or rather Executor to the estates of all the feudatories who die.

The dependance which the Duan has on the Nabob consists in being obliged to apply to him for forces, for keeping in order the Rajahs or the Colsah inhabitants who do not regularly and punctually pay their debts to the Crown."

Whether Orme ever saw Stephenson again, whether they ever talked upon any other points, I cannot say, but perhaps Stephenson was too infirm to enter into lengthy discussions. Three years later, on the 7th September, 1768, "Governor" Stephenson died at his house in Queen's Square;¹ and was buried in the family vault at Keswick in Cumberland.² He left no will and the administration of his property was granted on the 23rd September "to John Stephenson, Esq., the natural and lawful brother and next of kin of the said deceased."³ John Stephenson died in 1771, aged 72, at Mount Pleasant.⁴ He left a very lengthy will, of which the most important provisions are the following⁵:—

I, John Stephenson, late of East St., Red Lion Square, London, but now of Tottenham High Cross, Esquire, make my will. Body to be burried in my family vault at Keswick, Cumberland, where my late brother Edward Stephenson is interred. I give and bequeath, unto Rev. Mr. Christian of Keswick, clerk, £50; to Henry Littledale gent, £500; to William Battie, doctor of Physic, £20; my steward Joseph Clarke of Bodybury, Kent, Hannah Wilson of Keswick, my Steward William Graham of Sikeside, Cumberland, Hannah Basford, John Fletcher, (servant of my son Edward Stephenson) each £20 for mourning. To Anthony Askew, of Queen's Square, London, doctor of physic, and my cousin Rowland Stephenson, of Lombard St., London, Banker, my two Executors, £500 each. To James Farrer, of Bread St. Hill, gent, and Thomas Lewis of Theobald's Row, London, carpenter, my Trustees, £500, each.

William Battie and Anthony Askew to have care of my son. To James Farrer and Thomas Lewis, heirs and assigns, all my freehold and copyhold;

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine for 1768, Vol. 38, pp. 447, 404.

² See the Will of John Stephenson given below.

³ P. C. C., A. A. 1768.

⁴ Gentleman's Magazine for 1771, p. 239.

⁵ Proved 1771. P. C. C. Trevor, No. 230.

manors, messuages, lands, etc., for uses herein after expressed:—*viz*: £1000 yearly for use and support of Edward Stephenson, my son, during life and heirs if my son die without issue ... then to Anthony Askew,

For these details I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Winder, who also tells me that Edward Stephenson built "Governor House," Keswick, and that a descendant of the family is still living in Paris at a place called "Governor's House." The following inscription is cut in stone on the chancel floor of Crosthwaite Parish Church.

" EDWARD STEPHENSON, ESQUIRE,
" late Governor
" of Bengal.
" Ob^t. Sep. 7, 1768.
" *Æ*tat. 77."



The discovery of a work by Āryadēva in Sanskrit.—By MAHĀMAHĀRĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College.

[Read January, 1898.]

When in Nepal I paid a visit to His Excellency Dēva Shamshēr Jang Rāpā Bahādur, Commander-in-Chief of the Nepal Army. At the interview were present a Hindu Paṇḍit and a Buddhist Bṣḍā. There was a collection of Manuscripts and I was asked by His Excellency if I knew anything of these Manuscripts. There were some volumes of the *Çata-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, a MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* written in the reign of Rāmapāla who is said to have been a king of Eastern Bengal and who reigned about the year 1000 A.D.; a MS. of a work on the influence of the heavenly bodies on human diseases. But there was a bundle of palm-leaves which I could not identify at first sight. It had no beginning and apparently no end. I solicited the permission of His Excellency to give me an opportunity of examining the MS., once more. It was therefore deposited with the Head Master of the Durbar School, Bābū Phanibhūṣaṇa Adhikāri. I called on him a few days later, examined the MS. very carefully and took a copy of it in Bengali. It was written in old Nēvāri and was in many places altogether obliterated. The first leaf was missing. There were eight leaves from 2 to 9 but the obverse side of the 7th was altogether illegible. There were altogether 125 verses from 6 to 131. Of the 6th verse only the last two caranās remain. Of the 3rd caranā the first letter was missing. That letter I had no difficulty in guessing. It was *Ma* because the second leaf begins with the letters *hāyāne*. After the 131st verse the following statement occurs.

इतिरियं आर्थदेवपादानामिति । स्वपरार्थहेतुना सात्र (?) इतिनेति
मुमं मये लिखितम् । यथात्मनः प्रियाः प्राक्षाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनां तथा ।

The name of the work is not given but it is stated in the colophon that it was the work of Āryadēva a name familiar to every reader of Buddhist Literature, and especially of the Siyuki. He was a disciple

of Nāgārjuna and one of those great men who helped the spread of the Mahāyāna doctrines of Buddhism. Beal says, "he had a great contempt for external forms of worship. 'A Spirit' he said, is 'Spiritual.' We are not surprised to find therefore, that his teaching was of a mystical character." I find, the same thing exemplified before me. Thus he speaks of the bathing in the Ganges in my Manuscript:—

इत्थं अशुचिसम्भूतः पिच्छो ह्यशुचिपरितः ।
 कथं सन् तादृशः कायो गङ्गास्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ ६० ॥
 न ह्यशुचिघटस्तोयैः क्षालितोऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
 तददशुचिसम्प्लावः पिच्छोऽपि न विशुध्यति ॥ ६१ ॥
 प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
 तस्मात् धर्मैधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्फलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 धर्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् केवर्त्तानां क्षतार्थता ।
 गच्छदिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनान्त्वा का कथा ॥ ६३ ॥
 पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
 यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥

Thus this lump (of flesh, meaning the human body) is produced by and is full of impure substances. How can it be purified by bathing in the Ganges? An impure waterpot though washed again and again by water, cannot be pure; so the lump full of impurities can never be pure. A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore the bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fishermen are very meritorious, not to speak of the fishes and others who are immersed in water, day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin even is not dissipated because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of love, hatred, &c.

Thus in the course of five short verses, Āryadēva denounces the uselessness not only of bathing in the Ganges but of all bathings and pilgrimages. They are not only incapable of conferring merit but are also incapable of dissipating sin.

The ninth verse of the MS. corresponds to the first verse of the Dhammapada in Pali but the Pali verse has six caranās while my verse has four only. The last letter of the second caranā is *manōjavāḥ* in my MS. while in Pali it is *manōmayā*.

The work appears to be a complete one as at the end Āryadēva says :

चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय मन्मथोपार्जितं शुभम् ।
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय तेनास्तु सुखिनो जनाः ।

Let people be happy by making their hearts pure by the merit which I have acquired by making my heart pure.

Then comes the colophon ; after the colophon we have the name of the scribe and then a portion of the well-known formula यथात्मनः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनां तथा । The writer apparently had no space in the leaf to complete the couplet and at first sight I could not make out that the work came to an end there.

(म)हायाने सुविस्मृतमुक्तमेतत् सुविक्षरम् ॥ ६ ॥
 धर्मैर्दुर्जनैरात्म्याचित्तमात्रं जगौ मुनिः ।
 ततोऽपि सर्वमुत्पन्नं गमकं सुनिराकुलम् ॥ ७ ॥
 भावयद्ब्रह्मभावेण(प्रज्ञावेण) ऋहीतान् प्रति चोदितम् ।
 आगमेऽपि हि सुव्यक्तं विस्तरं कदम्बात्मना ॥ ८ ॥
 मनःपूर्वकमा धर्मा मनः श्रेष्ठं मनोजवाः ।
 मनसा च प्रदुष्टेन भावते वा करोति वा ॥ ९ ॥
 खपिता भिक्षुणादिष्टः शीघ्रं गच्छति प्रेरितम् ।
 आरुध्य च मृते तस्मिन्नागन्तव्येण ऋक्षते ॥ १० ॥
 खग्लानेनाहतादिष्टः खगलं परिपौडितम् ।
 उपस्थायकभिक्षुः स मृते तस्मिन् दोषभाक् ॥ ११ ॥
 अन्यसङ्गीनि चाल्यन्तु मारयन् दोषमश्रुते ।
 इत्युक्तं विनये व्यक्तं न दोषो ऽदुष्टचेतसाम् ॥ १२ ॥
 न स्तूपखलये दोषस्तत्संस्कारधिया मतम् ।
 केवलं पुण्यराशिः स्यादुखानन्तर्यकारिणाम् ॥ १३ ॥
 उपानयुगलं दत्त्वा मुनेर्मुक्तिं शुभाश्रयात् ।
 अपनीय तथा चान्यं रात्र्यं फलमवाप्नुतः ॥ १४ ॥
 तस्मादात्म्यमूला हि पापकर्मव्यवस्थितिः ।
 इत्युक्तमागमे यस्मात् नापत्तिः शुभचेतसाम् ॥ १५ ॥
 स्वाधिदेवतयोगात्मा जगदर्यङ्गतोद्यमः ।
 मुञ्जानो विषयान् योगान्मुच्यते न चक्षिष्यति ॥ १६ ॥
 यथैव विषतत्वज्ञो विषमाजोक्त्वा भक्षयन् ।
 केवलं मुच्यते नासौ रोगमुक्तश्च जायते ॥ १७ ॥
 मायामरौचि-गन्धर्व्वनगर-स्वप्नसन्निभम् ।
 जगत्सर्व्वं समाजोक्त्वा किं कथं केन मुच्यते ॥ १८ ॥

* 19th verse is not in the MS.

वाक्का मञ्जलि रूपेषु वैराग्यं वाप्ति मध्यमाः ।
 स्वभावज्ञा विमुच्यन्ते रूपस्योत्तमबुद्धयः ॥ १० ॥
 विविक्त्य समर्थं स्वर्ग्यं देवतायुग्माविधिम् ।
 मुद्रमात्पौक्य निःशङ्कं भोक्तव्यं मन्त्रचोदितम् ॥ ११ ॥
 शौच्यं बोध्यं तथा दीप्यं अङ्गुरचययोगतः ।
 अनामाकुष्ठवज्राणां प्रीत्येष वधागतान् ॥ १२ ॥
 यत् सत्वमिति वाक्काणां तन्मिथ्या खलु योगिनाम् ।
 कायेनैव तु सव्याप्तं न बद्धो न च मुच्यते ॥ १३ ॥
 संसारं चैव निर्वाणं मन्थन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।
 न संसारं न निर्वाणं मन्थन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ १४ ॥
 विकल्पो हि महादाहः संसारोदधिपाटकः ।
 अविकल्पा महात्मानो मुच्यन्ते भवबन्धनात् ॥ १५ ॥
 शङ्काविवेक वाङ्मनो विषेक्षैव पृथक्कणाः ।
 तामेवोत्खास्य निर्मूलं विचरेत् कश्चात्मकः ॥ १६ ॥
 यथैकः स्फटिकः स्वच्छः पररामेक रव्यते ।
 तथैव चित्तरत्नसु कल्पनारागरङ्गितम् ॥ १७ ॥
 प्रकृते कल्पनारागैर्विविक्तं चित्तरत्नकम् ।
 आदिशुद्धमशुत्पन्नं निजरूपमवाविष्म ॥ १८ ॥
 तत्तद्यत्नेन कर्तव्यं यद्यद्वावविगर्हितम् ।
 साधिदैवतयोर्नेन चित्तनिर्भीजकारिणा ॥ १९ ॥
 रागाभिविधसंयुक्ता योगिनां मुद्रचेतसा ।
 कामिताः खलु कामिन्धः कामानोच्यफलावहाः ॥ २० ॥
 यथा खगरुढं ध्यात्वा गार्हडिको विषं पिवन् ।
 करोति हि विषं सार्थं न विषेष्वाभिभूयते ॥ २१ ॥
 द्वादशयोगनव्यासं चक्रं वै शिरसि जमन् ।
 बोधिचित्तमनुत्पाद्य आपनोतमिति श्रुतिः ॥ २२ ॥
 बोधिचित्तं समुत्पाद्य सन्नोद्यौ जलचेतसा ।
 तन्नास्ति यत्र कर्तव्यं जमदुद्धरखाश्रया ॥ २३ ॥
 आदिशुद्धमशुत्पन्नं निःस्वभावमवाविष्म ।
 जगत् भावेव संपश्यन् बद्धो न च मुच्यते ॥ २४ ॥

विचिन्ध विधिवद्योगी देवतामुद्यविस्तरम् ।
 रागयेत् रागचित्तेन रण्यते न च मुच्यते ॥ ३५ ॥
 किं कुर्मैः कलया चभ्या विचिन्ना भावश्चक्षुः ।
 विषाणा(त्रा)तो यथा कश्चिद्विषेद्यैव तु निर्विद्यः ॥ ३६ ॥
 कर्त्ताप्यसं जलेनैव कष्टक्रेनैव कष्टकम् ।
 राजेद्यैव तथा राममुद्धरन्ति मनोविद्यः ॥ ३७ ॥
 यथैव रजको वस्त्रं मलेनैव तु विन्मैकम् ।
 कुर्याद्विद्यसाथात्मानं मलेनैव तु निन्मैकम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 यथा भवति संमुद्धो रजोनिहृष्टदर्पकः ।
 सेवितस्तु तथा विद्यैर्दोषादोषविनाशनः ॥ ३९ ॥
 लोहपिण्डो जले क्षिप्तो मज्जन्नेव तु ज्ञेयकम् ।
 पात्रोद्धतं तदेवान्यं तारयेत् तरति क्षयम् ॥ ४० ॥
 तद्वत् पात्रोद्धतं चित्तं प्रज्ञोपायविधानतः ।
 मुञ्जानो मुच्यते कामं मोचयत्यपरानपि ॥ ४१ ॥
 दुर्विद्यैः सेवितः कामः कामो भवति बन्धनम् ।
 स एव सेवितो विद्यैः कामो मोक्षप्रसाधकः ॥ ४२ ॥
 प्रसिद्धं सहस्राक्षोक्तं चारं विषविनाशनम् ।
 तदेव यत्किञ्चिः पौतं सुतरां विषवर्द्धनम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 जले क्षीरं यथाविद्यं हंसः पिवति पश्चितः ।
 सविमान् विषयांस्तद्वृत्तमुत्तमं पश्चितः ॥ ४४ ॥
 यथैव विधिवद्भूतं विषमप्यस्यतावते ।
 दुर्भूतं हृतपूरादि वाकावान्तु विषायते ॥ ४५ ॥
 इदमेव हि बन्धितं शोधितं हेतुभिः शुभैः ।
 निर्विकल्पं गिराकल्पं भाति प्रकृतिविर्मलम् ॥ ४६ ॥
 यथा वह्निः क्षुद्रोऽप्येष तेजस्तथादिसंस्कृतः ।
 दौषो विर्मलनिष्कल्पः स्थिरस्तिमिरवाशनः ॥ ४७ ॥
 वटव्रीचं यथा सूक्ष्मं सहकारसमन्वितं ।
 शाखा-मूल-प्रकोपेतं महादृष्टविधायकं ॥ ४८ ॥
 हरिद्राचूर्णसंभोगादूर्ध्वान्तरमिति सूतं ।
 प्रज्ञोपायसमागोमाद्भूमिधातुं तथा विदुः ॥ ४९ ॥

छतश्च मधुसंयुक्तं समासं विभतां त्रजेत् ।
 तदेव विधिवद्भुक्तमुत्कृष्टन्तु रसायनं ॥ ५० ॥
 रसस्पृष्टं यथा तावत् निर्दोषकाष्ठनं त्रजेत् ।
 ज्ञानवृद्धास्तथा ज्ञेयाः ज्ञेयाः कल्याणकारकाः ॥ ५१ ॥
 हीनयानामिच्छाणां मन्त्रशुद्धा पदेपदे ।
 संग्रामजयतुन्तेन (सु तेषां) दूर एव व्यवस्थितः ॥ ५२ ॥
 महायानामिच्छास्तु कश्चाद्यधर्मवर्धितः ।
 कृपायधनुर्वाक्यो जगदुद्धरबाधयः ॥ ५३ ॥
 महासन्धो महोपायः स्थिरबुद्धिरतन्द्रितः ।
 जित्वा दुस्तरसंग्रामं तारयन्मथपराजयि ॥ ५४ ॥
 पश्यवोऽपि हि क्षिप्रान्ते स्वार्थमात्रपरायणाः ।
 जगदर्धविधातारो धन्यास्ते विरजा जनाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 श्रौतवातादिदुःखानि सहन्ते स्वार्थकम्पटाः ।
 जगदर्धप्रवृत्तास्ते न सहन्ते कथं नु ते ॥ ५६ ॥
 नारकाय्यपि दुःखानि सोढव्यानि कृपाशुभिः ।
 श्रौतवातादिदुःखानि कस्तान्यपि विचारयेत् ॥ ५७ ॥
 नानिष्टकल्पनां कुर्यान्नोपवासं न च क्रियाम् ।
 ज्ञानशौचं न चैवात्र ग्रामधर्मं विवर्जयेत् ॥ ५८ ॥
 नखदन्तास्त्रिमज्जानः पितुः शुक्रविकारजाः ।
 मांसशोखितकेशादि मातृशोखितसम्भवम् ॥ ५९ ॥
 इत्यमशुचिसम्भूतः पिच्छो ह्यशुचिपूरितः ।
 कथं सन् तावृशः कायो गङ्गाखानेन शुध्यति ॥ ६० ॥
 न ह्यशुचिघटस्तोषैः क्षालितोऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
 तद्वदशुचिसम्पर्कः पिच्छोऽपि न विशुध्यति ॥ ६१ ॥
 प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव न्या शुद्धिमर्हति ।
 तस्माद्धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानान्तु निष्पन्नम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 धर्मा यदि भवेत् ज्ञानात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
 नक्तन्दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनास्तु का कथा ॥ ६३ ॥
 पापक्षयोऽपि ज्ञानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
 यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु वृष्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥

रागो हेमश्च मोहश्च ईर्ष्या दृष्ट्या च सर्व्वदा ।
 पापानां मूलमाख्यातं नैषां खानेन शोधनम् ॥ ६५ ॥
 आत्मात्मोपयहादेते सम्भवन्तीह जन्मिनाम् ।
 अविद्याहेतुकाः सोऽपि अविद्या भ्रान्तिरिष्यते ॥ ६६ ॥
 रौप्यबुद्धिर्यथा मुक्तौ मुक्तिवृष्टे निवर्त्तते ।
 नैरात्म्यदर्शनात् सापि निर्मूलमवसोदति ॥ ६७ ॥
 सर्पबुद्धिर्बन्धा रज्जौ रज्जुवृष्टे निवर्त्तते ।
 सर्पबुद्धिः पुनस्तत्र नैव स्याद्विह जन्मनि ॥ ६८ ॥
 सत्त्वबुद्धिस्तथाऽत्रापि वप्यज्ञानान्निवर्त्तते ।
 न भूयः सम्भवेत्तत्र दग्धवोज इवाङ्गरः ॥ ६९ ॥
 नैरात्म्यमुचिसंख्यः पिब्यः प्रकृतिनिर्म्मलः ।
 तस्य सन्तापने धर्मैः कथं बालैर्विकल्पितः ॥ ७० ॥
 चन्द्रोदयस्यैवापि अपक्षतिथिकल्पना ।
 सूर्योदयस्येनापि दिवारान्त्रियवस्थितिः ॥ ७१ ॥
 पूर्व्वोदियवहाराख्यः शुब्दत्रयविकल्पना ।
 वारनक्षत्रराश्यादि सर्व्वलोकिका विकल्पितम् ॥ ७२ ॥
 श्रोतोऽव्यवर्षबापेक्षं तथैवमृतुकल्पना ।
 स्वकर्मफलमोगोऽयं शुभामुभयहादितः ॥ ७३ ॥
 अविद्याकर्द्दमाक्षिप्तं चित्तचिन्तामखिः पुमान् ।
 प्रवृत्तः क्षाणितुं विद्वान् कोऽविद्यां दृष्टयेत्पुनः ॥ ७४ ॥
 न वारतिथिनक्षत्रदेशकालाद्यपेक्षणात् ।
 विहरन्निर्विकल्पस्य निर्निमित्तमप्रवृत्तः ॥ ७५ ॥
 यद्यदिन्द्रियमार्गतं चायात्तत्तत् स्वभावतः ।
 सुसमाहितयोगेन सर्व्वबुद्धमयं वहेत् ॥ ७६ ॥
 चक्षुर्विरोधनो बुद्धः अवयो वप्यमून्यकः ।
 ब्राह्मण परमाद्यैस्स पद्मनर्त्तेश्वरो मुखम् ॥ ७७ ॥
 कायः श्रीहृत्को राजा वप्यसत्त्वश्च मानसम् ।
 एवं सम्यक् यदा योगो विधरेत् कदवात्मकः ॥ ७८ ॥
 सिद्धान्तो निर्विकल्पोऽसौ स्थिरकल्पस्य धौधनः ।
 यथेष्टचेष्टावाहारी सर्व्वभुक् सर्व्वज्ञतथा ॥ ७९ ॥

सर्वकामक्रियाकारो यथा बहिरपेक्षितम् ।
 उत्थितो वा निबन्धो वा चक्रमो वा स्वयन्तथा । ८० ।
 अमख्यप्रविष्टो वा सर्वावरणवानपि ।
 स्वाधिरैवतबोमात्मा मन्त्रपुण्योऽपि सिद्ध्यति । ८१ ।
 अनेन सर्वसौरित्वं सर्वबुद्धत्वमेव च ।
 जन्मगौरैव तत्त्वज्ञः संप्राप्नोति च संश्रवः । ८२ ।
 यथा प्राकृतको जोको बोधिसौकेन बाध्यते ।
 बाध्यन्ते धीविशेषेण बोधिनोऽप्युत्तरोत्तरैः । ८३ ।
 महाप्रज्ञा महोपाया महाज्ञापाधिभोक्तः ।
 महायानसमुद्दिष्टं महासत्त्वस्य गोचरम् । ८४ ।
 यत्त्वस्यनामसंस्थापै न प्राप्तं बद्धभिर्मतेः ।
 जन्मन्यत्रैव बुद्धत्वं प्राप्यते न च संश्रवः । ८५ ।
 महायानस्य माहात्म्यात् पुण्यज्ञानस्य सम्भवः ।
 सर्वज्ञत्वपरं रम्यं सद्यो जन्मनि लभ्यते । ८६ ।
 आगमश्रुतिधिक्ता तु महायाने तु ऋक्षते ।
 आश्रयानुश्रवामेदाद्यानभेदः प्रकाशते । ८७ ।
 अन्यत्र बोधिभोक्तोऽवमन्यथा बोधिचारिका ।
 अन्यत्र चित्तविशुद्धिश्च यत्त्वमन्त्रदिहोच्यते । ८८ ।
 समीपं निर्मलादर्शं चिरं निर्मलचक्षुषः ।
 यथा भाति सुविस्पष्टं सत्त्वप्रकृतिनिर्मलम् । ८९ ।
 विधूतकल्पनाजालं विस्पष्टमुद्बोधितसा ।
 योगिनाश्च तथा ज्ञानं प्रज्ञानिर्मलदर्पणैः । ९० ।
 सूर्यकान्तसमाश्लिष्टसूर्यकान्तमथौ यथा ।
 सहसा प्रज्वलन्मग्निः समर्थः स्वार्थसाधने । ९१ ।
 अपास्तकल्पनाजालं सूर्यकान्तनिर्मलमगः ।
 प्रज्ञासूर्योऽमुसंश्लिष्टं तद्वज्ज्वलति योगिवाम् । ९२ ।
 काष्ठद्वयनिघर्षेण यथा ज्वलति पावकः ।
 आदिमध्यान्तसंशुद्धः स वै बन्धुप्रसाधकः । ९३ ।
 प्रज्ञोपायसमायोगाद्योगाद् ज्ञानं तथा विदुः ।
 यथैवैकप्रदोपोऽयं वर्षान्तरसमाश्रितः । ९४ ।

यथा ख्यानं यथा खार्थं करोत्युचैः प्रकाशयन्म् ।
 नानाधिसुखिसत्त्वानां यथास्तत्त्वमनुकृतेत् ॥ ८५ ॥
 विदेवं श्रौतव्यं ह्यथं सर्व्वंसाधिविनाशनम् ।
 प्रश्नाक्षीरमहोपायनिररुमद्यनोत्थितम् ॥ ८६ ॥
 स्वरुखानन्तमूर्तिस्तु प्रश्नोपायविभाजनैः ।
 विधिज्ञो हि यथा कश्चित् क्षीरादभृतमुद्धरेत् ॥ ८७ ॥
 विशुद्धधर्मैधानुः स शुभाशुभविनाशनः ।
 यथा कतासमुद्धृतं पक्षपुष्यसमन्वितम् ॥ ८८ ॥
 यथैकक्षयसंबोधिः संभारद्वयसंबुता ।
 धर्मव्याकर्षणविरिकम् ॥ ८९ ॥
 मद्यमांसरतो योगी कुर्व्वनप्युपकल्पते ।
 मादर्शः समीक्षते ॥ ९० ॥
 महायाने यतोऽद्यापि मन्त्रबामर्ष्यदर्शनात् ।
 माहदुहितस्तन्वन्व ॥ ९१ ॥
 कदादाह तथाम्नाः ।
 यच्च बुद्धत्तमकं शुक्रं श्रोत्रितथापि तावृष्टम् ॥ ९२ ॥
 तन्मयः खणु पिच्छोऽयं को विद्यः कश्च बन्धनः ।
 सर्व्वं शरीरं खणु भिद्यवः ॥ ९३ ॥
 खनित्यं दुःखगृह्यश्च न जातिर्न च जातिवान् ।
 कैवर्त्तीगर्भसम्भूतः कश्चिच्च ॥ ९४ ॥
 चित्तं यथा सुखं ध्यायन् समुद्भोऽयमनागतः ।
 सर्व्वकामोपभोगोऽस्तु रमथ सुकृतोऽभवात् ॥ ९५ ॥
 मा मैला नास्ति वः पापं समथो दुरविक्रमः ।
 मन्त्रसंस्कृतकाष्ठादि देवत्वमधिगच्छति ॥ ९६ ॥
 किं पुनः खानवान् कायः कार्य्यमोहविचेष्टितम् ।
 प्राकृतत्वमहङ्कारं परिलख्य समाहितः ॥ ९७ ॥
 प्रश्नोपायविधानेन क्रियाभिमाङ्गभाषरेत् ।
 यज्ञजातं यथा यज्ञं यज्ञदोषैर्न लिप्यते ॥ ९८ ॥
 विकल्पवासनादोषैस्तथा योगी न लिप्यते ।
 अनादिवासनापञ्चैर्विजितं चित्तरत्नकम् ॥ ९९ ॥
 प्रश्नोपायनक्षेत्रैव ।
 खाधिदेवतभोगस्य खिरचित्तस्य धीमतः ॥ १०० ॥

मुक्तः कुवृष्टिमेघैश्च भासते पित्तमाखरः ।
 सहसा कल्पना घटे ॥ ११८ ॥
 प्रकृत्वा निर्मलः स्वच्छो ज्ञानदीपः प्रकाशते ।
 सुप्रसिद्धानि भूतानि क्षित्वाभिजलवायवः ॥ ११९ ॥
 क्रियन्ते ह्यन्यथा विद्मैर्मन्त्रसामर्थ्ययोगतः ।
 सर्ववादपरित्यज्य समाचरेत् ॥ १२० ॥
 यस्य मन्त्रस्य सामर्थ्यं सृष्ट्यादेवोऽपि सिध्यति ।
 खौरजं न परित्याज्यं बोधिसिद्धं तथा गुह्यम् ॥ १२१ ॥
 न ज्ञात्वा प्राणिनः केऽपि समयानप्यधिकृयेत् ।
 महारजं सकर्पूरं रत्नचन्दनबोधितम् ॥ १२२ ॥
 अजिवन्त्यादिकश्चैव पश्चैतानप्यधिकृयेत् ।
 अन्यैश्च समयैर्द्रव्यैश्चित्तस्योत्कर्षकारकैः ॥ १२३ ॥
 मासतद्योमशान्तर्यं प्रीत्येक्षितवक्षिणम् ।
 मक्षिकापदमाशेच विवेकाप्यभिभूयते ॥ १२४ ॥
 अक्षुमात्रां हृत्वां कणां दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ।
 आन्तराक्षिकभावस्तु व्यर्थो वै पतनं यथा ॥ १२५ ॥
 गुरोराज्ञाच्च सुद्राच्च ह्यायामपि न कङ्कयेत् ।
 गुणास्तस्य परं ग्राह्यं दोषा नैव कदाचन ॥ १२६ ॥
 अयुद्धं(?) वाचरं विद्याः स्वपरायतनमेव वा ।
 आचार्यः परमो देवः पूजनीयः प्रयत्नतः ।
 स्वयं वक्षधरो राजा साक्षाद्भूषेण संस्थितः ॥ १२७ ॥
 यथोदकमणिः सम्यक् कलुषोदकशोभकः ।
 सद्गर्भात्कस्तथा प्रीत्याश्चित्तरत्नविशोधकः ॥ १२८ ॥
 शर्धावान् पूष्यते ह्यापि प्रज्ञाचक्षुविवर्जितः ।
 उत्पादयेदतः प्रज्ञामात्रमाधिगमात्मिकाम् ॥ १२९ ॥
 आदो वज्रमुतः प्राची प्रकृत्वा कश्चात्मकः ।
 जगद्दुःखविनाशाय सुखोपायं स विन्दति ॥ १३० ॥
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय यन्मथोपाज्जितं शुभं ।
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय तेनास्तु सुखिणो जनाः ॥
 ह्यतिरियमार्थदेवपादानामिति ॥
 स्वपरायणहेतुना स्वात्त हरितज्ञेति शुभं मये लिखितम् ।
 यथात्मानः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनाम्तथा ।

Note on a Dialect of Gujarāṭī discovered in the District of Midnapur.—By

GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read July, 1898.]

Several interesting facts have come to light during the progress of the Linguistic Survey. Amongst them may be mentioned the discovery of a number of people who speak a dialect of Gujarāṭī in the Dāntan thānā of the Bengal District of Midnapur.

Amongst the languages returned to me as spoken in that District was Siyālgiri. The Siyālgirs are a criminal, nomadic tribe, numbering about 120 souls, who have a language of their own. They are not mentioned by Dalton or by Mr. Risley in their Ethnographical works. This language was unintelligible to the other inhabitants of the District, and was believed "to resemble Santāli." This was an easy supposition to make, as there are some 118,000 Santālis in the District, whose language is equally unintelligible to the multitude.

In order to obtain materials for the second part of the Survey, specimens of every language spoken in each District are being collected. The specimens are all to consist of translations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and in order to assist the preparation of these, books of translations of the parable which had been already made into the principal languages of India have been distributed to the translators. Included in these last was a Gujarāṭī version. In sending the Siyālgiri version to me, the Collector of Midnapur drew attention to the remarkable points of resemblance between it and the Gujarāṭī version to which I have just alluded. An examination of the Siyālgiri specimen fully justified the Collector's remarks. The very first sentence is almost pure Gujarāṭī. The resemblance was so unexpected that I thought it advisable to make further enquiries, so as to make sure that the specimen is a genuine one. There can now be no doubt on that point. The translation had originally been obtained through the kind offices of Babu Krishna Kisor Acharji, the Secretary of the Midnapur District Board, and that gentleman has been good enough to send me the following note on the subject.

J. I. 24

“A Sub-Inspector of Schools under the District Board was deputed to Dāntan with copies of the English and Bengali versions of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and he got the parable translated into the Siyālgirī dialect with the help of two men belonging to that tribe and of the Sub-Inspector of Police, Dāntan.

These two Siyālgirīs were both by their age and intelligence, best able to translate the parable, and as they could speak both Bengali and Hindī the parable was fully and correctly explained to them before they translated it, and so it is certain that they perfectly understood what they had to translate.

I then went through the translation very carefully, and by comparing it with the specimens of other dialects given in the printed book became convinced that it was altogether a separate dialect resembling Gujarātī.

Neither the Sub-Inspector of Schools nor the Sub-Inspector of Police knows Gujarātī, and I do not think the two Siyālgirīs who translated the parable of the Prodigal Son into the language spoken by them have ever heard of Gujarāt or know anything of Gujarātī.

In these circumstances there is I should think no room for doubt that the specimen sent correctly represents the dialect spoken by the Siyālgirīs.

I have since obtained some additional particulars relating to the Siyālgirīs which I beg to give below with a view to facilitate their identification with any other tribe in India.

Unfortunately there is nothing like tradition prevalent among them as to whence they came and when they came to Dāntan. This is apparently due to their having been a wandering tribe for many generations before they came and settled in this district. People like the Siyālgirīs generally have a short memory, and they do not appear to have any songs or ballads in their language throwing any light on their previous history.

They do not even know whether there are any other sections of their tribe living in any other part of India.

In this district the Siyālgirīs are found in the following villages :—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Nimpur. | 4. Dhukurda. |
| 2. Gōmunda. | 5. Saipur. |
| 3. Lālmōhanpatna. | |

And also in Suga and Simla in District Balasore.

From the information that I have been able to collect regarding this tribe it would seem that they first appeared in this district about 150 years ago.

During this period both their manners and customs have become thoroughly Hinduised.

They are now divided into four classes :—

- | | |
|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Jānā. | 3. Dās. |
| 2. Pātrā or Pātar. | 4. Har. |

All these are Hindu patronyms.

How they became so subdivided—either by intermarriage with their Hindu neighbours, or by their desire to raise themselves up to the level of

the latter by assuming their patronyms—is not known. But the contempt with which they are treated by the Hindūs, owing to their thieving propensity, precludes the possibility of intermarriage between these two classes of people. Indeed the name of Siyālgirī has become a bye-word—a term of reproach—and whenever a Hindū takes to thieving as his profession he is said to have turned a Siyālgirī.

The Siyālgirīs have Brāhmaṇs for their priests, and so they have lost all traces of their original religion—if they had any when they first came into the district. These Brāhmaṇs do not appear to have come with them, for most of those who officiate as priests at the religious ceremonies performed by the Siyālgirīs belong to the class of low-caste indigenous Brāhmaṇs, and in society they occupy the same position as the Brāhmaṇs of Muchīs, Chamārs, and other similar castes.

They worship the same gods and goddesses as their Hindū neighbours. But their widows remarry and they bury their dead.

They do not appear to have any peculiar custom as to inheritance. As most of them are generally very poor and leave very little property when they die, the Siyālgirīs abide by the decision arrived at by their priests in the event of any dispute arising as to inheritance in any particular case.

I do not think these details will be of any material help in tracing the origin of this tribe whose appearance in Midnapur, occurring at a time beyond the memory of the present generation, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Their features also do not give any clue as to their origin. If they had any peculiarity it has disappeared altogether, and the Siyālgirīs can now be hardly distinguished from ordinary Bengali peasants.

It is therefore through their dialect alone that their origin can now be traced, and it is for these reasons that I give here the Siyālgirī equivalents for “salt” and “curry”—the two most common necessaries of life—which they call मिठ (miṭh = sweet) and खाल (Khālan for Hindi *Sālan*) respectively.

The other peculiarities of their dialect will appear from the specimen already submitted.

An examination of the specimen shows that the language is a variety of the language of the Bhils. The Bhils speak a corrupt form of Gujarāṭī, and Siyālgirī agrees with Bhilī when it differs from the standard form of that language. Thus, the Gujarāṭī for “I” is *kū*, but the Bhilī is *mō*, and the Siyālgirī is *ntu*. There are some words which, so far as I am aware, are not in Bhilī, and which I have been unable to identify as belonging to any known language, Muṇḍā, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, or Aryan, of India. Such are *badithēi* meaning “against,” *āgā* meaning “father,” and *khām-wyān* “to hear.”

I may mention that an excellent grammar and vocabulary of the Bhil language has been prepared by the Rev. C. S. Thompson.* The

* Ahmadabad, United Printing Press, 1895.

habitat of the Bhils is to the south of Mēwār, where the Central Provinces, Rajputānā, and Gujarāt meet. As already stated, their language is a dialect of Gujarāti, but, according to Mr. Thompson, there is, in the vocabulary, a substratum, of about six per cent. of words, which, while not corrupted from Gujarāti or Arabic and Persian, have no connexion with the Dravidian Languages of Southern India, or with Gōṇḍī, Santāli, or Kōl. The Siyālgiri seems to have preserved some of these words, which have been lost to Bhili. It would be interesting, if possible, to trace the wanderings of this tribe from their original home.

The following is the Siyālgiri version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son :—

एक्	मरदना	बय	दिक्रा	वेह ।	तिन्ह	बिचे	मान्ह
<i>Ēk</i>	<i>maradnā</i>	<i>baya</i>	<i>dikrā</i>	<i>thēi.</i>	<i>Tinha</i>	<i>bicē</i>	<i>nānha</i>
A	man-to	two	sons	were.	Their-of	among	(by) younger
दिक्रा	आपनु	बाबाने	कहे ।	बाब !	मार	शिंच	
<i>dikrā</i>	<i>āpnu</i>	<i>bābānē</i>	<i>kahe,</i>	<i>‘bāb !</i>	<i>māra</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	
son	his-own	father-to	it-was-said,	‘O-father!	my	share	
मार	दे ।	इन्ह	बभहन्	शिंच	आलह	आलह	करि
<i>māra</i>	<i>dē.</i>	<i>Inha</i>	<i>babhain</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	<i>ālahā</i>	<i>ālahā</i>	<i>kari</i>
me-to	give.	By him	thereupon	share	separate	separate	having-done
दिह ।	थोडा	दन्	रहिन्		मान्ह	दिक्रा	
<i>didha.</i>	<i>Thōṛā</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>rahin</i>		<i>nānha</i>	<i>dikrā</i>	
was-given.	Few	days	remaining	(with his father)	younger	son	
आपनु	ख	शिंच	खेदन्	इग्लस्त	पारह	गिया ।	आलह तिंचे
<i>āpnu</i>	<i>khāb</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	<i>lēin</i>	<i>ēglasta</i>	<i>pārha</i>	<i>giya.</i>	<i>Āur tīthē</i>
his-own	all	share	taking	distant	country-to	went.	And there
घनु	खरखप	करिन्	आपनु	ख		उडार	
<i>ghanu</i>	<i>kharach-patra</i>	<i>karin</i>	<i>āpnu</i>	<i>khāb</i>		<i>urāi</i>	
much	expenditure	doing	his-own	all (whole property)	wasting		
दिह ।		थो	ख	खरखप	किधि	तो	
<i>didhu.</i>		<i>Sō</i>	<i>khāb</i>	<i>kharach-patra</i>	<i>kidhi</i>	<i>tō</i>	
was-given		He	all	expenditure	doing	that	
(was thrown away).		(having ran through the whole property)					
देखेदे	बड़ि	आकास	पड़ि	गिया ।	हिच	बड़ि	दुखी
<i>dekhēde</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>ākāś</i>	<i>paṛi</i>	<i>giya.</i>	<i>Hiya</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>dukhi</i>
country-in	great	famine	fell.	He	great	distressed	

થર ત્રિય । તિન્હ રહાતો જાણ તોષ્ ગામઝામિ એક્
thai-giya. Tinha ēlātō jāu tōc gāmṛāmi ēk
 became. He then going that village-inhabiting one
 માનજાન્ જેહ ખાલિ રિહ । તિન્હ આપ્નુ વિલે
mān-khān hēla jhāli riha. Tinha āpnu bilē
 man-of-rank shelter taking remained. By him his-own field-in
 ઘુસરિ ચરાન મુક્લિ દિધ । ઘુસરિ જો ચત્રિયા કારન
ghusri carāna mukli didha Ghusri jō chatriya khāin
 swine to-feed sending was-given. Swine what husks were-eating
 તો દેરન્ આપ્ના પેટ્ ભરાઈં કોનિ તિન્હે
tō dērn āpnā pēt bharaī kōni Tinhē
 those giving his-own belly to-fill it-was-sought. Him-to
 કિન્હ દિધુ કોનિ । પાહુ ચાક્ષાતન્ તિન્હ
kinha didhu kōni. Pāchu khāk-hāun tinha
 by-any-one was-given not. Afterwards being-awakened by-him
 કહું । માર વાવાન્ કેટલા ખાના દર્મો-પાહન ચાકેર
kahū, 'māra bābān kēṭlā jhānā darmō-pāun cākēr
 it-was-said, 'my father-of how-many men wage-getting Servant
 દરકાર ઘનુ જેય જાહુ પાવે । આ મુ જ્યાંહે મુંજે
darkār ghanu chēya khādu pāvē, ā mu jyāñhē bhūñjē
 need more than food get, And I here of-hunger
 મર । મુ હાંત ઉઠિન્ માર વામાકેને પરહં જાંત ।
maru. Mu hānt uṭhin māra āgākēnē parhā jānt.
 am-dying. I from-here rising my father-of in-vicinity will-go.
 તિન્હ કહિષ્ વાવ્ ! મુ મોર્ષાર વદિધેર તુંહ વામજ્
Tinha kahis, "bāb ! mu gōkshēi badidhēi tūhu āgal
 To-him will-say, "father! by-me God against thy before
 વાપ્ કિધુ । મુ જાણ તાર્ દિકરા બુલિ ઓલકિ
pāp kidhu. Mu jāu tār dikrā buli ōlaki
 sin has-been-done. I again thy son being-called described
 વારિષ્ કોનિ । તિન્હે તુ એક્ દર્મો-પાહન ચાકેર કારિ
pāris kōni. Minhē tu ēk darmō-pāun cākēr kari
 will-be-able not. Me-to thou a wage-getting servant making
 રાક્ । પાહુ તિન્હ ઉઠિન્ આપ્નુ વામાકેને ત્રિય ।
rākḥ." 'Pāchu tinha uṭhin āpnu āgākēnē giya.
 keep." 'Afterwards he having-risen his-own father-to went.

तिन्हा यन्हासे रहे वेकरा बाम जोवान पावे ।
Tinha ēglastē rahē tēkrā āgā jōwān pāwē.
 Him at-distance remaining by-his father to-see it-was-got.

इन्हा दयाबहि हासिन् जारन् । उखेहने
Inha dayābahi hāsīn jāin, unḍēl-nē
 By-him being-kind (affectionate) running going, by-the-neck

लेहन । बुक्का दिवा । दिकरा तिन्हे कहूँ,
lēin, bukrā dīdhā. Dīkrā tinhē kahū,
 taking, kisses were-given. By-the-son him to it-was-said.

बाब ! बाब मोकार बदिवेर वेरा बागळ पाप कियु ।
'bāb! bāb mōkāra badīvēra vēra bāgaḷ pāp kiya.
 'O-father! by-me God against thy before sin has-been-done.

मु बाउर तार दिकरा बुलि बोलखि पारिख कोनि ।
mu āur tār dīkrā buli bōlakhī pāriḅ kōni.
 I again thy son being-called described will-be-able not.'

बाब बापना बाकेरने कहूँ, जेसु बाउ सुक्का
Bāb bāpanā bākēranē kahū, 'jēsu bāu sukka
 By-the-father his-own servant-to it-was-said, 'soon good cloth

लि बाउर इन्हे परादहा दे । इन्हा हावे रंजे
li bāur inhē parādaha dē. Inha hāvē raṅjē
 taking bringing him-to put-on give. His hand-to ring

बाउर मोडे कायदा दे । जेने इन्हे लेहन खादु-बाउन्
āur mōḍē kāyadā dē. Jēnē inhē lēin khādu-bāun
 and feet-to shoes give. (Let)-us him-to taking dinner-eating;

कुसी रहिन् जेवै मार दिकरा मरि गिय जोवन् चारन्
khūsī rahin. Jēvē mārā dīkrā mari-giya, jōvān chāran;
 merry remain. For my son dead-went (was), alive is;

हाजि गियत पाचोत हायह । तार बाड कुसी बायन्
hāji giyata pāchōta hāyaha. Tār bād khūsī bhāyan
 lost-went (was) found has-been.' After-this in-happiness to-remain;

खाना ।
lāgā.
 began.

तिन्हा मोडो दिकरा बिल्मो हुत । तो बाउन् चिरे
Tinha mōḍō dīkrā bilmō huta. Tō bāun chīrē
 His elder son field-in was. By-him coming house-to

લાવુ ગાજુ જાણ-જોવાન પાઉં । તબ તિન્હ ઠક ઠાકેરને
lācu bājnu khām-jōvān pāū. *Tab tinha ṭk ṭākērne*
 dancing music to-hear was-got. Then by-him a servant-to

કાનહે ઘોહારન ડુહુ, જા જબ હું । ઘો
kānhē bhōhārin puchu, ‘*ā khab khū,*’ *Sō*
 near calling it-was-asked, ‘this all what (is),’ By him

ઇનહે કહું, તાર ભાઇ ઠાવ તાર ઠાગા
inhē kahū, ‘*tār bhāiya āva tār āgā*
 him-to it-was-said, ‘thy brother having-come (by)-thy father

જાહ જાહુ તૈયાર કિહુ, કિન્હે તિન્હ તિન્હે
khāu khādu taiyār kiḥu, *kinhē tinha tinhē*
 dinner preparation has-been-done, because by him him-to

has been prepared

હુંજિહ-જાહ જોવાન પાઉં । તિન્હ રિન્હ કિહુ ।
khūjihu-khāu jōvān pāū. *Tinha riṅ kiḥu.*
 in-healthy-state to-see it-has-been got.’ By him anger was-done.

ઘરમિકો જાર કોનિ । પાહુ તિન્હ જાગા બાહાર
Gharmikō jāi kōni. *Pāchu tinha āgā bāhār*
 House-to went not. Afterwards (by) his father out-side

જાહન । બુઝારન કિહુ । ઘો જવાબ કરકે જાપના
āun bujhāin kiḥu. *Sō jawāb karkē jāpnā*
 coming consoling (him) was-done. He answer making his-own

જાગાને કહે, ઇતના વરણ-સે તારિ સેવા કર ।
āgānē kahē, ‘*ētnā varakh-sē tāri sēvā karu.*
 father-to says, ‘so many years-from thy service has-been-done.

તારિ જાત કેદે પરહિકોલા કોનિ । તો તુ મનહે
tāri āt kēdē parhikōlā kōni. *Tō tu manhē*
 thy word at-any-time been-disobeyed not. Still thou me-to

કેદે ઠક બકરિનુ સેહિલકો દેરનિ, જો માર
kēdē ṭk bakrinu sehikō dē-ni, *jō māru*
 at any time a goat-of kid-to give-not, so that my

બંધુને લેઇન હું-સે । તાર ઇહિ દિકરા
bādhunē lēin hūḥē. *Tār ṭhi dikrā*
 friends-to taking (we)-may-make-merry. Thy this son

जो कबविन् खावे रहिन् तार् खाबज खादु । रिह
jō kahabin khātē rahin tār khābja khādu, hiya
 by-whom harlots with remaining thy property eaten-up, he

जब् आव तु इनिगुरिये खादुखाउ तैवार किधु ।
jab āwa tu ini-guriyē khādu-khāu taiyār kidhu.
 when came by-thee for-him dinner prepared was-made.'

सो तिहरे कहे, दिकरा तु मार बरोबर रह ।
Sō tihṛē kahē, 'dikrā tu mār barobbar raha.
 By him him-to it-was-said, 'O-son thou my always art.

मार जडबु था सो खब तार । खुसी
Māru jēflu thā sō khab tāru. Khusi
 My all-that is it all (is) thine. (Being) merry (for his return)

जारन् रिह । तार् एयब भारब मरि निवत जीवत् जारन्
jāin riha. Tār ēyab bhāiya mari giyata, jibat thāin
 right is. Thy this brother dead went (was), alive being

आव, हाजि निवत पाँव
āwa; hāji giyata, pāwa.
 has-come; lost went (was), has-been-found.'



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PLATE II. OBVERSE.

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MA DEVA OF PRAGJYOTISA, (UNDATED)

PLATE II. REVERSE



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PLATE III. REVERSE.

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58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72.



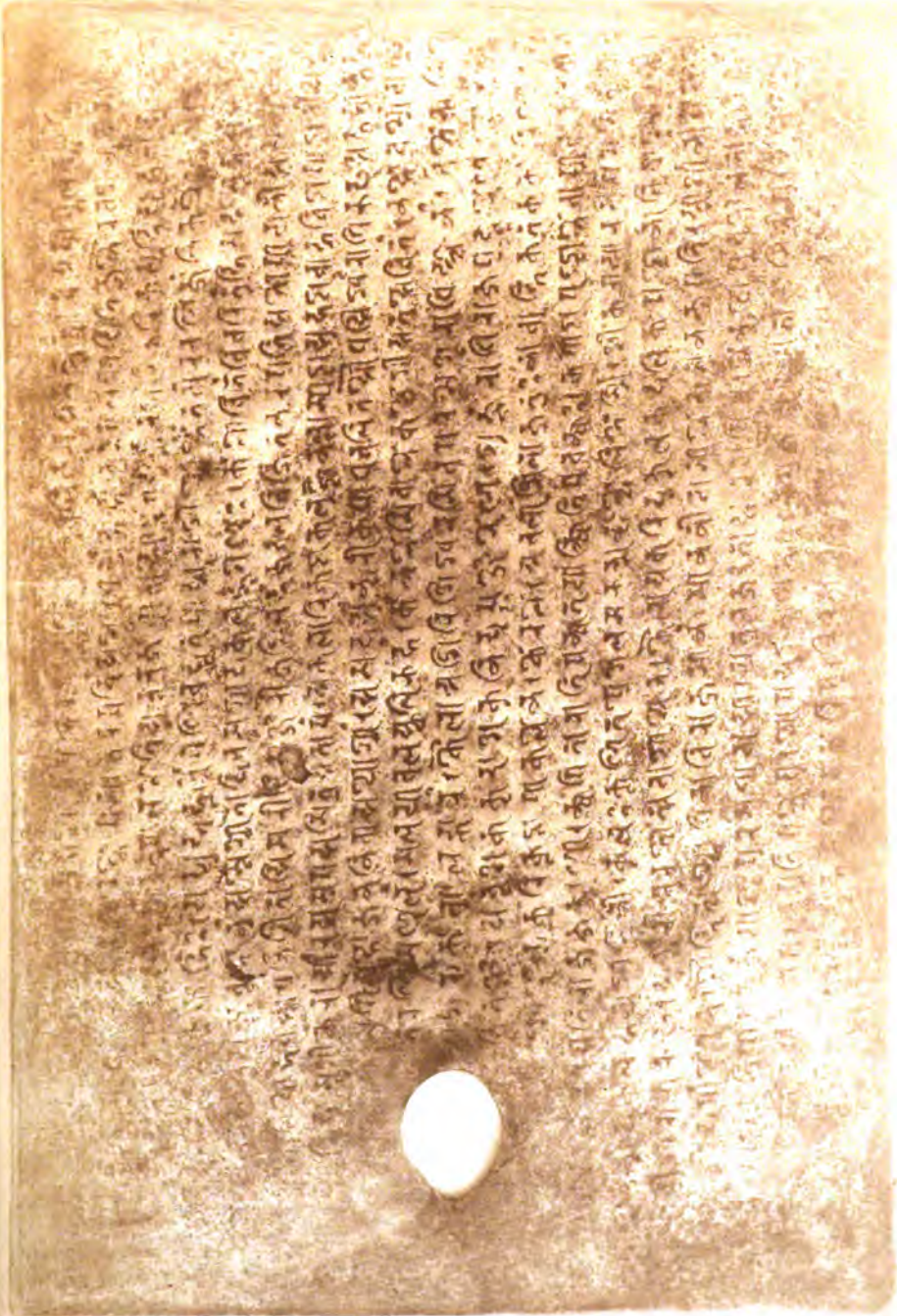
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA VARMA DĒVA OF PRĀGJYĀTHĀ, THE SEAL, (UNDATED)

(SCALE $\frac{2}{3}$)



COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA. THE SEAL.

Photo-etching.



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COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA OF PRĀGJYŌTIṢA ĀSĀM.

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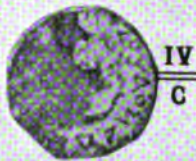
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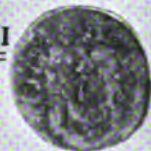
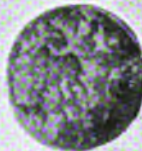
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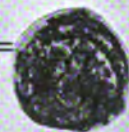
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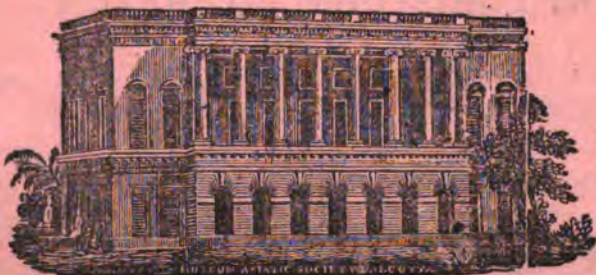
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OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

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EDITED BY

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CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
 AND PUBLISHED BY THE
 ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1898.

Price (exclusive of postage) to Members, Rs. 1-8.—To Non-Members, Rs. 2.
 Price in England, 3 Shillings.

Issued 20th September, 1898.

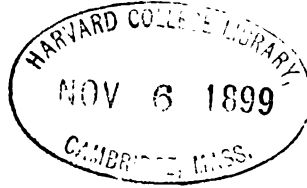
JOURNAL
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On Primary Suffices in Kāçmīri.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.,
PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read August, 1898.]

These are treated in the *Kṛdanta-prakriyā* of Içvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. They form nouns (including adjectives and participles) by direct accretion to verbal roots. Many of them would be properly classed as verbal forms.

1. **आञ् ाn.** This is used to make present participles. It does not change for gender or number, and is added direct to the root (ix. i. 2).¹ Thus,—

| ROOT. | PRESENT PARTICIPLE. |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| कर <i>kar</i> , do. | कराञ् <i>karān</i> , doing. |
| बोझ <i>bōz</i> , hear. | बोझाञ् <i>bōzān</i> , hearing. |

If the root ends in a vowel, the letter व *w* is inserted (3). Thus,—

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| दि <i>dī</i> , give. | दिवाञ् <i>dīwān</i> , giving. |
| खि <i>khi</i> , eat. | खावाञ् <i>khyawān</i> , eating. |
| चि <i>ci</i> , drink. | चवाञ् <i>cyawān</i> , drinking. |

Note that all verbs ending in इ *i* change इ *i* to य *ya*, except नि *ni*, take, दि *dī*, give, चि *yi*, come.

This form is frequently used adverbially (4). Thus पराञ् पराञ् करिञ् *parān, parān, karun*, coming, coming, he made it.

This form corresponds to the Sanskrit present participle.

2. **इत् *ith*.** Used to form a past participle absolute or conjunctive participle, corresponding to the Sanskrit conjunctive participle in आ *tvā*, or य *ya* (त्य *tya*). Thus,—

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| कर <i>kar</i> , do. | करिच् <i>karith</i> , having made. |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|

¹ References, here, and elsewhere, to Içvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.
J. i. 25

A preceding long वा *ā* (not short वा *a*) is modified. Thus,—

दार *dār*, place.

दारिष् *dārith*.

ओ *ō* and ए *ē* become ऊ *ū* and ई *ī* respectively before this prefix (14,15).

Thus,—

बोञ्ज *bōz*, hear.

बूञ्जिष् *būzith*, having heard.

मेन् *mēn*, measure.

मीनिष् *mīnith*, having measured.

If a root ends in र *i*, the final र *i*, together with the suffix become यष् *yāth* (ix. i. 7, 8). Thus,—

हि *hi*, take.

ह्यष् *hyāth*, having taken.

खि *khi*, eat.

ख्यष् *khyāth*, having eaten.

Exceptions are—

नि *ni*, take.

निष् *nith*, having taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिष् *dith*, having given.

दि *yi*, come.

दिष् *yith*, having come.

When the root वुञ्ज *wuḍ*, fly, signifies *mōkṣa*, final release, it becomes वुञ्जिष् *wujith*, having obtained final release; but वुञ्जिष् *wuḍith*, having flown (ix. i. 9).

The root मर्षराव् *māṣrāv*, cause to forget, usually forms मर्षराविष् *māṣrāvith*, regularly, but in the phrase 'to cause to forget death,' it becomes माषविष् *māṣawith*. Thus,—

मरञ् मारविष् *marun māṣawith*, having caused (so and so) to forget death (ix. i. 10).

The suffix क्यष् *kyāth*, may be added to this form. Thus, करिष् क्यष् *karith kyāth*, having done (ix. i. 6).

3. इ *i* (ix. i. 11–15). This is used instead of इष् *iṭh*, when the word is repeated to represent frequentative action. In this case both a preceding वा *a* and a preceding वा *a* are modified. Thus,—

कर *kar*, do.

करि करि *karⁱ karⁱ*, having made over and over again.

मार *mār*, beat.

मारि मारि *mārⁱ mārⁱ*, having beaten repeatedly.

कार *kār*, boil.

कारि कारि *kārⁱ kārⁱ*, having boiled repeatedly.

As in the case of **इथ** *ith*, preceding **र** *ē* and **ओ** *ō* become **ई** *ī* and **ऊ** *ū* respectively. Thus,—

पेट *tsēt*, pound.

पौटि पौटि *tsiī' tsiī'*, having pound-
ed continually.

बोज *bōz*, hear.

बूजि बूजि *būz' būz'*, having heard
continually.

So also we have—

बैह *bēh*, sit.

बिबि बिबि *bih' bih'*, having sat
continually.

When a root ends in **र** *i*, the final vowel together with the suffix become **य** *ya* (*ē*); or the form in **थ** *th* may be used (12). Thus,—

कि *khi*, eat.

कक कक *khē khē* or **कय कय** *khyāth*
khyāth, having eaten fre-
quently.

चि *ci*, drink.

चच चच *cē cē* or **चथ चथ** *cyāth cyāth*,
having drunk frequently.

Exceptions are, as usual,—

नि *ni*, take.

निनि निनि *ni ni* or **निथ निथ** *nith nith*,
having taken frequently.

दि *di*, give.

दिदि दिदि *di di* or **दिथ दिथ** *dith dith*,
having given frequently.

यि *yi*, come.

यियि यियि *yi yi* or **यिथ यिथ** *yith yith*,
having come frequently.

4. **वुनु** *wun** (fem. **वाण** *wañ*; plur. masc. **वनि** *wan'*, fem. **वाणै** *wañē*) used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 25–27). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करवुनु *karawun**, a maker.

If a root ends in **र** *i*, **अव** *aw* is inserted and the **र** *i* changed to **य** *y*. Thus,—

कि *khi*, eat.

अववुनु *khyawawun**.

चि *ci*, drink.

अववुनु *cyawawun**.

Exceptions are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निववुनु *niwawun**.

दि *di*, give.

दिववुनु *diwawun**.

यि *yi*, come.

यिववुनु *yiwawun**.

5. वीच् *wōl**, (fem. वाच्यच् *wājēñ*; plur. masc. वाचि *wāḷi*, fem. वाच्यच् *wājēñē*) is also used to form nouns of agency. For examples, see below (ix. i. 28-31).

6. घाच् *grākh* (fem. घाक्यच् *grākāñ*, *vide ante*, p. 34). Also used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 28-31).

These two last suffixes are really secondary ones, (see Sec. Suff. No. 9, 10). They are added to abstract verbal nouns, especially to that in उन् *un* (No. 16), the उन् *un* being changed to अन् *an*. Thus,—

कर *kar*, make. कश्च् *karun*, making. करन्वीच् *karanwōl**, or
करन्घाच् *karangrākh*, a
maker.

पर *par*, read. पश्च् *parun*, reading. परन्वीच् *paranwōl**, or
परन्घाच् *parangrākh*.

If the abstract noun is feminine (see No. 31m) and ends in न् *n*, that न् *n* is changed to न् *ñ* or न् *ñ*.

ज्ञान *zān*, (31m) know. ज्ञान् ज्ञान्वीच् (ज्ञान्वीच्) *zāñwōl**
zān (fem.) or ज्ञानुन् *zānun* *zāñwōl** or ज्ञानन्वीच् *zānanwōl**,
(masc.) knowledge. or ज्ञान्घाच् *zāñgrākh*, (ज्ञान्घाच्
zāñgrākh), or ज्ञानन्घाच् *zānan-
grākh*, a knower.

These two suffixes can only be used with feminine abstract nouns when the verb expresses a condition of the body or mind. Thus ज्ञान *zān*, know, expresses a condition of the mind, and therefore we can say ज्ञान्वीच् *zāñwōl**. But the verb घञ् *graz*, roar, which also has a feminine abstract noun (see No. 31g.) घञ् *graz*, cannot form घञ्वीच् *grazwōl**, because the verb does not express a condition of the mind or body. We can only use the masculine abstract noun, thus, घञन्वीच् *grazanwōl**.

If a root ends in र् *i*, the र् *i* becomes य् *y* before अन् *an*, and अन् *an* becomes अन् *ana*. Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

खान्वीच् *khyanzwōl**,
खान्घाच् *khyanagrākh*, } an eater.

चि *ci*, drink.

चान्वीच् *cyanzwōl**, a drinker.

Exceptions are,—

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| नि <i>ni</i> , take. | निनबोल् <i>ninawōl*</i> , or निनदाल् <i>nina-grākh</i> , a taker. |
| दि <i>di</i> , give. | दिनबोल् <i>dinawōl*</i> , &c., a giver. |
| यि <i>yi</i> , come. | यिनबोल् <i>yinawōl*</i> , &c., a comer. |
| 7. नल् <i>nal</i> . | |
| 8. लल् <i>lal</i> . | |
| 9. अल् <i>al</i> , ल् <i>l</i> . | |

These three are used as follows with the roots दि *di* and दाव *dāv* in special senses, all obscene. Thus,—

दिनल् *dinal*, an unchaste woman.

माञ्चदिनल् *mājēdinal*, “*mātrgāmi*,” अञ्चदिनल् *bēñēdinal*, “*svasrgāmi*,”
कोरिदिनल् *kōridinal*, “*kanyāgāmi*.”

माञ्चदिनल् *mājēdilal*, “*mātrgāmi*.”

दावल् *dāwal*, an unchaste woman.

माञ्चदावल् *mājēdāwal*, “*mātrgāmi*,” अञ्चदावल् *bēñēdāwal*, “*svasrgāmi*,”
कोरिदावल् *kōridāwal*, &c.

माञ्चदिनल् *mājēdil*, “*mātrgāmi*,” &c. (ix. i. 32–35).

10. ल् * (fem. ल् *; plur. masc. ल् †, fem. य ‡). This is the termination of past participles. This form is now, however, always used as a past tense, and the true participle is described later on (No. 12) (ix. i. 36–39). Examples are,—

कर *kar*, make. कर् *kār**, (it was) made.

पर *par*, read. पर् *pār**, (it was) read.

खन *khan*, dig. खन् *khan**, (it was) dug.

This suffix is added to all transitive and impersonal verbs (*i. e.*, verbs of the first conjugation), and, as a verbal form, is used when the logical subject (in the case of the agent) is in the first or third person.

It cannot be used when it is in the second person. Thus, कर् *kār** may mean, ‘it was done by me,’ or ‘it was done by him,’ but cannot mean ‘it was done by you.’ So खल् *as**, it-was-laughed by me or by him.

and with No. 12 in the case of verbs of the third conjugation, and both members of the compound change for gender, number and case.

The word is also written and pronounced मृत^* *mut**, (fem. मृते^* *mṛte**; plur. masc. मृति^* *mṛti**, fem. मृते^* *mṛte**) (ix. i. 40).

Examples of the use of this participle are,—

A. FIRST CONJUGATION. (Form 10).

करमंतु^* *kar^mmat^{*}*, or करमुतु^* *kar^mmut^{*}*, made.

SINGULAR.

| | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|--|---|
| Nom. | करमंतु^* <i>kar^mmat[*]</i> . | करमंतु^* <i>kar^mmat[*]</i> . |
| Acc. | करिमतिश्^* <i>karⁱmatish[*]</i> . | करमंश्^* <i>kar^mmat[*]</i> . |
| Ag. | करिमति^* <i>karⁱmat[*]</i> . | करिमति^* <i>karimat[*]</i> . |

PLURAL.

| | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|---|--|
| Nom. | करिमति^* <i>karⁱmat[*]</i> . | करमन्त^* <i>kar^mmat[*]</i> . |
| Acc. | करिमत्यन्^* <i>karⁱmatyan[*]</i> . | करमन्तन्^* <i>kar^mmatgan[*]</i> . |
| Ag. | करिमत्यौ^* <i>karⁱmatyau[*]</i> . | करमन्तौ^* <i>kar^mmatgau[*]</i> . |

NOTE.—1. The irregular declension of the first half of the compound.

2. The feminine termination of the singular, मंश्^* *mat^{*}*. We should (according to iv. 51) expect मते^* *mat^{*}*, but my paṇḍit assures me that मंश्^* *mat^{*}* is the correct form. Compare p. 59, ante.

The above declension is as given by my paṇḍit, and is not given by I-k.

B. SECOND CONJUGATION. (Form 10).

जलमंतु^* *jal^mmat^{*}*, or जलमुतु^* *jal^mmut^{*}*, fled.

| | | |
|-------|-------|--|
| Sing. | Masc. | जलमंतु^* <i>jal^mmat[*]</i> . |
| | Fem. | जलमंश्^* <i>jal^mmat[*]</i> (vide ante, pp. 32, 33). |
| Plur. | Masc. | जलिमति^* <i>jalⁱmat[*]</i> . |
| | Fem. | जलमन्त^* <i>jal^mmat[*]</i> . |

C. THIRD CONJUGATION. (Form 11).

SINGULAR.

| | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|--|--|
| Nom. | बबोमंतु <i>vyāṭhyēmat^s</i> . | बबेमंतु <i>vyāṭhyēmat^s</i> . |
| Acc. | बबेमन्ति <i>vyāṭhyēmatⁱ</i> . | बबेमन्त्र <i>vyāṭhyēmat^s</i> . |
| Ag. | बबेमन्ति <i>vyāṭhyēmatⁱ</i> . | बबेमन्त्रि <i>vyāṭhyēmat^s</i> . |

PLURAL.

| | Masc. | Fem. |
|------|--|---|
| Nom. | बबेमन्ति <i>vyāṭhyēmatⁱ</i> . | बबेमन्त्र <i>vyāṭhyēmat^s</i> . |
| Acc. | बबेमन्त्रन् <i>vyāṭhyēmatyan</i> . | बबेमन्त्रन् <i>vyāṭhyēmat^san</i> . |
| Ag. | बबेमन्त्रो <i>vyāṭhyēmatyan</i> . | बबेमन्त्रो <i>vyāṭhyēmat^sau</i> . |

The following forms are irregular :—

| FROM | PAST PARTICIPLE. |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| बि <i>yi</i> , come. | बामंतु <i>āmāt^s</i> . |
| बन्न <i>at^s</i> , enter. | ब्रामंतु <i>t^sāmāt^s</i> . |
| नेर <i>nēr</i> , issue. | ड्रामंतु <i>drāmāt^s</i> . |
| प्रस <i>pras</i> , give birth. | प्यामंतु <i>pyāmāt^s</i> . |
| जि <i>zi</i> , be born. | ज्रामंतु <i>zāmāt^s</i> . |
| मर <i>mar</i> , die. | मुमंतु <i>mūmāt^s</i> , or मुदुमंतु <i>mūd^smāt^s</i> . |

Of all these, except मुदुमंतु *mūd^smāt^s*, the first number of the compound does not change for number or case. Thus,—

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Sing. | Masc. | बामंतु <i>āmāt^s</i> . |
| | Fem. | बामन्त्रु <i>āmāt^s</i> . |
| Plur. | Masc. | बामन्ति <i>āmātⁱ</i> . |
| | Fem. | बामन्त्र <i>āmāt^s</i> . |

The forms for $\text{मृदमत्} \text{ mūd}^m\text{mat}^m$ are.

Sing. Masc. $\text{मृदमत्} \text{ mūd}^m\text{mat}^m$.

Fem. $\text{मृमत्} \text{ mūmat}^m$.

Plur. Masc. $\text{मृदिमति} \text{ mūd}^i\text{mat}^i$.

Fem. $\text{मृमत्त} \text{ mūmat}^a$.

In other words $\text{मृदमत्} \text{ mūd}^m\text{mat}^m$ is only used in the Masculine.

13. $\text{मुत्} \text{ mut}^m$, see No. 12 $\text{मत्} \text{ mat}^m$.

14. $\text{अनय} \text{ anay}$. This gives the force of the past conjunctive participle, negatived (ix. i. 51).

$\text{कर} \text{ kar}$, make.

$\text{करनय} \text{ karanay}$, not having made.

$\text{जर} \text{ gar}$, make.

$\text{जरनय} \text{ garanay}$, not having made.

$\text{पर} \text{ par}$, read.

$\text{परनय} \text{ paranay}$, not having read.

$\text{पोठ} \text{ pōṭh}$, be fat.

$\text{पोठनय} \text{ pōṭhanay}$, not having become fat.

$\text{दि} \text{ hi}$, buy.

$\text{द्वनय} \text{ hēnay}$, not having bought.

Irregular are,—

$\text{नि} \text{ ni}$, take.

$\text{निनय} \text{ ninay}$, not having taken.

$\text{दि} \text{ di}$, give.

$\text{दिनय} \text{ dinay}$, not having given.

$\text{यि} \text{ yi}$, come.

$\text{यिनय} \text{ yinay}$, not having come.

15. $\text{अनी} \text{ anī}$. This is the first of a series of forms, connected with the Sanskrit participle in $\text{अनीयः} \text{ aniyah}$. It is used as an impersonal future passive participle, like the Latin *faciendum* (ix. i. 50). Thus,—

$\text{कर} \text{ kar}$, make.

$\text{करनी} \text{ karani}$, it is to be made.

$\text{पक} \text{ pak}$, go.

$\text{पकनी} \text{ pakani}$, it is to be gone.

$\text{वृष} \text{ wōṭh}$, rise.

$\text{वृषनी} \text{ wōṭhani}$, it is to be risen
(one must rise).

$\text{दि} \text{ ci}$, drink.

$\text{अनी} \text{ cēni}$, it is to be drunk.

$\text{दि} \text{ hi}$, buy.

$\text{द्वनी} \text{ hēni}$, it is to be bought.

Irregular, as usual are,—

$\text{नि} \text{ ni}$ take.

$\text{निनी} \text{ nini}$, it is to be taken.

$\text{दि} \text{ di}$, give.

$\text{दिनी} \text{ dini}$, it is to be given.

$\text{यि} \text{ yi}$, come.

$\text{यिनी} \text{ yini}$, it is to be come.

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16. क्वन् *un*.
 17. क्वन् *an*°.
 18. क्वन् *un*°.

These three are used indifferently for one another (ix. ii. 2, 3). The first is of the first declension, and the second and third of the second. Their declension is as follows:—

| | SINGULAR. | PLURAL. |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Nom. | क्वन् <i>karun</i> . | क्वन् <i>karan</i> . |
| Acc. | क्वन्स् <i>karanas</i> . | क्वन्न् <i>karanan</i> . |
| Ag. | क्वन्न् <i>karanan</i> . | क्वन्नी <i>karanau</i> . |
| Obl. ¹ | क्वन् <i>karan</i> ° | क्वन्नी <i>karanau</i> . |
| Nom. | क्वन्न् <i>karan</i> ° or क्वन्न् <i>karun</i> °. | क्वन्नि <i>karin</i> °. |
| Acc. | (not used). | (not used). |
| Ag. | क्वन्नि <i>karin</i> °. | (not used). |
| Obl. ¹ | क्वन्नि <i>karani</i> . | (not used). |

If the root ends in *r* *i*, the first and third forms are not used (ix. i. 21, 24). We only have forms like,—

| | NOM. MASC. | ACC. SING. |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| क्वि <i>khi</i> , eat. | क्विन् <i>khyan</i> °. | क्विन्स् <i>khyanas</i> . |
| क्वि <i>hi</i> , buy. | क्विन् <i>hyan</i> °. | क्विन्स् <i>hyanas</i> . |
| क्वि <i>ci</i> , drink. | क्विन् <i>cyan</i> °. | क्विन्स् <i>cyanas</i> . |

Exceptions, as usual, are,—

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| क्वि <i>ni</i> , take. | क्विन् or क्विन् <i>nyun</i> °. | क्विन्स् <i>ninas</i> . |
| क्वि <i>di</i> , give. | क्विन् or क्विन् <i>dyun</i> °. | क्विन्स् <i>dinas</i> . |
| क्वि <i>yi</i> , come. | क्विन् or क्विन् <i>yyun</i> °. | क्विन्स् <i>yinas</i> . |

This is used,—

- (a) As an adjective.
 (b) As an abstract verbal noun.

(a) As an adjective, it is equivalent to the Sanskrit participle in क्वन्नीयः *aniyaḥ*. Thus, क्वन् *karun* or क्वन्न् *karan*°, means 'it is to be

¹ The oblique form is that form which the agent case assumes before post-positions.

Instead of the agent case, the genitive can be used, in all these idioms (ix. i. 45). Thus we may say,—

बोनु मरि सुव् मारनु *cyōn** (instead of *ṭṣṭ*) *gaṭṣhi suh māraṇ**.

बाङ्ग मरि स ज्जनाव मारनु *cyāñ* (fem.) *gaṭṣhi s^o zandān^o mārañ*.

So also in the plural,—

बाङ्गि मरन् तिस् मारन्नि *cyānⁱ gaṭṣhan tim mārañⁱ*, you should beat them.

बाङ्ग मरन् तिम मारन् *cyāñḥ gaṭṣhan tim^o mārañḥ*, you should beat them (fem.).

Pronominal suffixes can also be added to the main verb (not to the participle) (ix. i. 46). The formation of these suffixes will be dealt with in the chapter on verbs.

महुष् करनु *gaṭṣhu-s karun**, it should have been done to him.

महुय् करनु *gaṭṣhu-y karan**, it should have been done for thee.

लग्यष् करन् *lagy-as karun*, it should be done for him.

पज्याम् करन् *pazy-am karun*, it should be done for me.

(b) As a substantive, the form is used as a masculine Abstract Verbal Noun, or Infinitive (ix. ii. 2, 3 and ff). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करन् *karun*, करनु *karan**, or करनु *karun**, the act of making, to make.

The accusative singular is used with the post-position कित् or क्युत् *kyut** (ix. i. 17) to form a dative. E.g., परमष् कित् *paranas kyut**, for reading. Thus,—

परमष् कित् प्रङ्ग *paranas kyut* praṅg*, a couch for reading. कित् *kyut** is an adjective.

We thus have,—

परमष् कित् प्रङ्ग *paranas kyut* praṅg*, a couch (masc. sg.) for reading.

परमष् किति मर *paranas kitⁱ gar**, houses (masc. pl.) for reading.

परमष् कित् चूकि *paranas kit^s cūkⁱ*, a chair (fem. sg.) for reading.

परमष् कित् चोक्क *paranas kit^s cōkk^e*, chairs for reading.

In all the above it will be seen that the essential meaning of the verb is active. A couch for reading means a couch for reading something,—*e.g.*, a book,—and the verb is not changed whatever the gender of the object may be. Thus पूँचि *pūthi*, a book, is feminine, but we still say

इक् पूँचि (or इक् पोथ्य) परनक् कित् प्रह् *yih pūthi* (or *yith pōthē*)
paranas kyut^m pragg, a couch for reading this book.

We may also use the dative of other verbal nouns in the same way. Thus, षेटनक् कित् *ṣeṣanas kyut^m* or (No. 30*d.*) षेटक् कित् *ṣeṣas* (masc.) *kyut^m*, for grinding to powder; पञ्जनक् कित् *pañjanas kyut^m* or (No. 31*g.*) पञ्जि कित् *pañji* (fem.) *kyut^m*, for roaring.

But if the verb is used passively then it agrees with the subject in gender, and the form is no longer substantival but adjectival. Thus, 'a book for reading' means 'a book for being read,' and we must say,—

परंक् कित् पूँचि *parañ kiti^s pūthi*.

On the other hand we say परनक् कित् चूँकि *paranas kiti^s cūki*, because the phrase means a chair for reading, and not a chair for being read.

Note that when the verb is used passively, it is in the form of the *nominative* feminine, not in the accusative, although preceding कित् *kiti^s*.

We may also use the *nominative* masculine before कित् *kyut^m* (ix. i. 22, 23) when the verb is used passively. Thus परन्क् (or परन्क् or परंक्) कित् षकुक् *parun^m* (or *parun* or *parañ^m*) *kyut^m pōstukh* (masc. sg.), a book for reading. We thus get the following adjectival forms when the verb is used passively,—

Masc. Sg. परंक् कित् षकुक् *parañ^m kyut^m pōstukh*, a book for reading.

(We cannot say परंक् कित् प्रह् *parañ^m kyut^m pragg*, a couch for reading).

Masc. Pl. रन्कि किति वाक् *ranⁿⁱ kiti^s hākh*, vegetables for cooking.

Fem. Sg. परंक् कित् पूँचि *parañ kiti^s pūthi*, a book for reading.

Fem. Pl. करण् किरण् कास्य *karāṅṅ kiṅṅ^o kāmē*, businesses (fem. pl.)
to be done.

These are all capable of declension. Thus,—(acc.) परणस् कितिस्
पराणस् कुर् यवान् *paranas kitis pōstakas chuh thawān*, he places a book
for reading.

The oblique base of the form in षन् *ṣn^o* is used to indicate a pur-
pose (ix. i. 18). I note that in poetry the form ends in षने *anē*, not
in षनि *ani*. Thus,—

परनि (or poetical परने) गणान् कुर् *parani* (or poetical *paranē*) *gaṭṭhān*
chuh, he goes to read. रणनि गौन् *ranani gauv*, he went to cook.

When the word समख *samakh*, meet, is used in this form, it means
to pay a visit of condolence. Thus, समखनि गौन् *samakhani gauv*, he
went to pay a visit of condolence. Otherwise the ordinary dative of
the verbal noun in उन् *un* is used. Thus, समखान पुष्पं रुद् *samakhana*
puṭṭhy rūd^o, he stopped to meet him (ix. i. 19).

This verbal form is used to form Inceptive and Desiderative com-
pounds. Thus,—

Inceptive compounds, are made with the infinitive in षन् *ṣn^o* or
उन् *un^o*, and the verb हि *hi*, take (viii. i. 57). Thus, सुह् कुर् चय् लेखुन्
सुवान् *suh chuh khāth lēkhun^o hyawān*, he begins to write a letter;
करन् सुवान् कुर् *karun hyawān chuh*, he begins to d. If the object is
feminine, the feminine infinitive is used. Thus, सुह् कुर् ज्ञानान् मारण्
सुवान् *suh chuh zanān^o māraṅṅ hyawān*, he begins to beat the woman.
These forms are however, almost always used in the past tense. Thus,
करन् षणुन् *karun hyaṭun*, he began to read, (and is doing it now).
तमि कुर् चय् लेखुन् षणुन् *ṭamⁱ chuh khāth lēkhun^o hyaṭ^omaṭ^o*, he has
begun to write the letter. Literally, by him the letter to-be-written
has been taken. So तमि चय् ज्ञानान् मारण् षणुन् *ṭamⁱ chhēh zanān^o*
māraṅṅ hēṭṭ^omaṭ^o, he has begun to beat the woman (ix. i. 41).

Another way of forming inceptive compounds is to use the oblique
form of the infinitive with the verb लण *lag* already mentioned. Thus,—

सुह् करनि लण् *suh karani laṅ^o*, he began to do.

सुह लुग् कथ लेखनि *suh lag^o khāth lēkhani*, he began to write the letter.

सुह लुग् जनाम मारनि *suh lag^o zanān^o mārani*, he began to beat the woman. It will be observed that this form of the verbal noun does not change for gender.

Similarly, **Desiderative compounds** are made with the verb रुक् *yitsh*, wish. Thus,—

सुह चुह कथ लेखन् रुक्मान् *suh chuh khāth lēkhun^o yitshān*, he wishes to write the letter.

सुह चुह जनाम मारन् रुक्मान् *suh chuh zanān^o mārañ yitshān*, he wishes to beat the woman.

तमि रुक् जनाम मारन् तमि *ṭami yitsh^o zanān^o mārañ*, he wished to beat the woman.

In the formation of this abstract noun the following **irregularities** appear (ix. ii. 4). Only one form of the infinitive is given, but the others follow the same rule,—

तल *tal*, fry.

तलुन् *talun* or तल्युन् *talyun*.

बज़ *baz*, fry, serve.

बज़ुन् *bazun* or बज़्युन् *bazyun*.

Some verbs only use their Abstract Noun in the Feminine, and, moreover, are then sometimes irregular in their formation (ix. ii. 24 and ff.). They are the following:—

ABSTRACT NOUNS.

ज़र *zar*, be inwardly wrathful ज़रिन् *zariñ*, inward wrath.

(impersonally).

बुव *zau*, quarrel (impersonally). बुविन् *zauviñ*.

[These two, when used with other verbs, take the *regular* feminines in phrases like,—

बनिन् बबुन् ज़रन् *amis hēteⁿ zarañ*, he began to be angry. Literally, being angry began to him].

मोरव *mōrav*, bear (of pain, impersonally).

मोरवुन् *mōravⁿ*.

मर्त *marṭ*, be impatient (used impersonally).

मर्तुन् *marṭⁿ*.

19. $\text{अञ् } añ$.20. $\text{इञ् } iñ$.21. $\text{उञ् } uñ$.

These are all Feminine forms of the masculine verbal adjectives, and of the masculine abstract nouns or infinitives, in $\text{अञ् } un$, $\text{अञ् } an$, or $\text{उञ् } un$ (Nos. 16–18). No. 19 is the regular feminine of all three, and is discussed under the head of those suffixes.

It is also specially used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the following verb.

$\text{वेन } tēn$, know by a sign, $\text{वेनवञ् } tēnavañ$ the giving of a sign (ix. ii. 43).

In the case of the following verbs it is only used in the fem. pl. ($\text{अञ् } añ$) (ix. ii. 42),—

$\text{कड } kaḍ$, bring out.

$\text{कडवञ् } kadvañ$, blaming.

$\text{पाश्चर } pāśc̣r$, blame.

$\text{पाश्चरवञ् } pāśc̣ravañ$, blaming.

$\text{बुक } bruk$, weep.

$\text{बुकवञ् } bukvañ$, weeping.

A few verbs (mostly connected with female ideas, and mostly used impersonally) have no masculine forms, and are also discussed under the head of Nos. 16–18.

They have only feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in $\text{इञ् } iñ$, or $\text{अञ् } añ$. For easy reference, I repeat them here.

The two following form their abstract or infinitives in $\text{इञ् } iñ$, and in no other way (ix. ii. 24). That is to say they have no infinitive in $\text{अञ् } un$.

$\text{अर } ar$, be inwardly wrathful, whether referring to a man or a woman, always used impersonally, and always in the feminine. Thus, $\text{तश्च अर } taśc̣ ar$ (fem.), of him or her inward wrath was felt, i.e., he or she was inwardly angry. Abstract noun or infinitive $\text{अरवञ् } arvñ$, not $\text{अरवञ् } aravñ$ or $\text{अरवञ् } aravñ$, inward wrath. $\text{अरवञ् } aravñ$, does occur, but it is the abstract noun or infinitive of another verb, $\text{अर } ar$, increase.

Other examples of the use of this curious verb is $\text{तश्च अरवञ् } taśc̣ arvñ$ (fem.) he or she is inwardly angry. $\text{तश्च अरि } taśc̣ arī$, he or she will be angry.

बुव *ṭuv*, (ix. ii. 24) quarrel, also used impersonally, and in the feminine. Abstract noun or infinitive बुविञ् *ṭuviñ*, quarrelling.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, सुव् बुव् बुवान् *suh chhuh ṭuvān*, he is quarrelling.

Future tense, सुव् बुवि *suh ṭuvi*, he will quarrel.

Past tense, only used in the feminine,—

तमि बुव् *tamⁱ ṭuv^o*, by him quarrelling was done.

तमि बुव् *tami ṭuv^o*, by her quarrelling was done.

Note, that in the Past, it is always used impersonally, and in the feminine gender though it may refer to males.

We thus see that ञर *ṭar* is always construed with the genitive (तस् *tas*), but बुव *ṭuv*, in the Present and Future as an ordinary Intransitive Verb, and in the Past as an Impersonal Verb.

The two following verbs, form their abstract nouns or infinitives in ञञ् *ññ*, and in no other way.

मोरव *mōrav*, (viii. iii. 25) bear pain, used impersonally and in the feminine in the past tenses only. Abstract noun or infinitive मोरवञ् *mōrav^oññ*.

Examples of the use of this verb,—

Present tense, सुव् बुव् मोरवान् *suh chuh mōravān*, he is bearing pain.

Future tense, सुव् मोरवि *suh mōravi*, he will bear pain.

Past tense, तमि मोरव् *tamⁱ mōrav^o* (fem. impersonal) (pain) was borne by him, he bore pain.

मर्ति *marti* (ix. ii. 25), be impatient. Abstract noun, or infinitive, मर्तिञ् *marti^oññ*.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, तस् च्चर् मर्तिञ् *tas chh^hh marti^oññ* (fem.) *marti^oññ*, of that man, or of that woman, there is impatience.

Future tense, तस् मर्ति *tas martiⁱ*, of that man, or of that woman, there will be impatience.

Past tense, तस् मर्ति *tas marti^o*, of that man, or of that woman, there was impatience.

It is thus construed exactly like ञर *ṭar*.

The following verbs optionally form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in **ख्** *kh^as*, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in **उन्** *un* (ix. ii. 26).

ख् *kh^as*, pluck the hair. In the case of this verb, **ख्खुन्** *kh^asun* (masc.) is used when men are referred to, and **ख्खुन्** *kh^asⁿ* (fem.) when women are referred to (*sensu obsceno*).

फिन् *phits*, forget; **छ्** *phöç*, be inwardly angry; **फुव** *phuh*, be inwardly angry. In the last two the fem. abstract noun is used of the wrath of females.

वज्जव *wazav*, moisten; **वुज्ज** *wujs*, be burnt.

The following verbs optionally form the feminine abstract noun in **इन्** *iñ*, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in **उन्** *un* (ix. ii. 27-32).

सार *sār*, feel (see No. 26); **खुन** *khut*, dig from below; **डुव** *ḍuv*, close (of a flower); **दुव** *ḍuv*, sweep; **दल** *ḍal*, pass over; **त्रुक्** *truk* (see No. 30a), bite in pieces; **थेक्** *thëk*, praise; **नत्स** *naṭs*, dance; **नट** *naṭ*, tremble; **नम** *nam*, bend; **वुज्ज** *wuz*, appear (as water from a spring); **वुठ** *wuṭh*, twist; **वुप** *wup*, burn inside; **लिव** *liv*, smear (makes **लिविन्** *liviñ*, or **लिविन्** *lipiñ*); **ल्यव** *lyav*, lick; **कर** *kar*, do (**करिन्** *kariñ*, however, only means a mason's trowel); **वट** *waṭ*, twist (**वटिन्** *waṭiñ* means a collection); **फर** *phar*, steal (**फरिन्** *phariñ* means a female thief). Thus, **सारीन्** *sāriñ*, feeling.

If the secondary suffix **अल्** *al* (sec. suf. No. 6) is ever used with any abstract verbal noun, it cannot be used with the masculine form, but only with the feminine form in **इन्** *iñ* (ix. ii. 27). This **अल्** *al* is only used with a few verbs. Thus, **थेकिन्** *thëkiñal*, a praiser; **वटिन्** *waṭiñal*, a trembler, and so on.

22. **अन्** *an*, (masculine). Used to form masculine abstract nouns in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 41). Thus,—

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| चि <i>ci</i> , drink. | अन् <i>cyan</i> (masc.) drinking. |
| खि <i>khi</i> , eat. | अन् <i>khyan</i> (masc.) drinking. |
| हि <i>hi</i> , place. | अन् <i>hyan</i> (masc.) placing. |

20. **अन्** *an* (fem.). Used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 35, 37) **कपट** *kapaṭ*, cut; **दन्** *ḍan*,

shake out dust; नहव *nahāv*, obliterate; पिल *pil*, arrive; फिर *phir*, turn over (pages); माज *māz*, be intent upon; मिलव *milav*, unite; मुज़र *muḡzar*, open; बूर *mūr*, shell (pease, &c.); लव *lyav*, lick; वुठ *wuṭh*, twist; वुव *wuv*, be not extinguished; बाँदर *āḍar*, mix; बाँदर *khāḅḅar*, divide; डूँदर *tshōṭar*, make small; ज़ौँदर *ziṭhar*, make long; डूँदर *ṭōṭar*, have insufficient means of livelihood; पीँदर *piṭhar*, blame and instruct; फुँदर *phuṭar*, break; बाँदर *baḍar*, make great; बाँदर *bāḡar*, divide; मँदर *mōṭar* make thick; वोँदर *wōvar*, shave metal.

Thus, कपटन *kapaṭan* (fem.) cutting.

The verb गिलव *gilav*, whirl about, forms गिलन *gilan*, which means 'an attempt' (ix. ii. 36).

The verb नव *nav*, be new, forms नव्वरन *nōv^aran*, raking up an old story against a person (ix. ii. 38).

The verb लार *lār*, touch, forms लारन *lāran*, which means 'trembling' (ix. ii. 40).

Some people use this form with the roots तञ्जर *tañar*, dilute; तञ्जर *tata^ar*, make hot; सञ्जर *syaz^ar*, make straight (ix. ii. 39).

24. रब *rab*. This is optionally used in the case of the root मश *maṣ*, to form a masculine verbal abstract noun (ix. ii. 5). Thus, मशरब *maṣrab*, forgetting.

25. उ^a, this is optionally used to form masculine verbal abstract nouns from the three following roots (ix. ii. 6).

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ददर <i>dōdar</i> , rot. | ददर <i>dōḍar^a</i> , rotting. |
| ख़ज़र <i>xōzar</i> , wither. | ख़ज़र <i>xōzār^a</i> , withering. |
| ससर <i>sōsar</i> , decay. | ससर <i>sōsar^a</i> , decaying. |

26. ज^a is used optionally to form feminine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (viii. ii. 62, 63, 68, 72, 79).

तच *tach*, pare, तच *tach^a*, scratching (also तच *tāch*); रच *rach*, protect, रच *raçh^a*, protection; हाड *tshāḍ*, search, हाड *tshāḍ^a*, searching; हाँड *tshāḍ*, search (with a nasal), makes either हाँड *tshāḍ^a*, or हाँड *tshāḍ*; चान *chān*, sift, चान *chān^a*; दोन *dōn*, card cotton, दून *dūn^a*; चार

thār, be quick, चाक् *thār*^s; बाँबर *bābar*, be quick, बाँबक् *bābar*^s; सार *sār*, feel, साक् *sār*^s (*vide* p. 210); चन्द्र *handar*, be cold, चन्द्रक् *handar*^s.

27. च् *a* (masc.); used optionally to form masculine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (*ix. ii. 7*).

छम्ब *chōmb*, husk; खस *xōs*, cough; बगार *bagār*, fry in oil; बह *bēh*, sit; लम *lam*, pull; लोस *lōs*, be weary; वुन *wun*, be unlucky.

Thus, छम्बक् *chōmb*^s, the act of husking, and so on.

28. च् *a* (fem.) used optionally to form a feminine abstract verbal noun in the case of the verb वुन *wuyg*, to howl like a dog, in a special meaning (*ix. ii. 57*).

Thus, वुनक् *wuyg*^s, lying awake at night on account of some care.

वुनक् *wuyg*, means a dog's howl.

29. आव् *āv*. Used optionally in the case of the verb लद् *lad*, send, build, elevate, push, when it means 'build,' to form a masculine abstract noun. लद्वाक् *ladāv*, also means, the wages of building (*ix. ii. 8*).

30. ——— (masc.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form abstract nouns. In such cases roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular and plural. These roots are classed according to their final letters. In the case of causal roots ending in आव् *āv*, the आव् *āv* is dropped.

(a) क् *k*, certain verbs in क् *k* and कव् *kav*, make optional verbal abstract nouns by changing the क् *k* or कव् *kav* to क् *kh* (*ix. ii. 9*). These verbs are,—

छक्व *chōkav*, wash.

छक् *chōk*, become speechless.

तक् *tak*, bite in two with a noise.

तुक *tuk*, bore like a rat.

ढक्व *ṭōkav*, cause to disappear.

ढक् *ṭhuk*, bury.

त्रुक *truk*, cut to pieces, eat (*vide* p. 210).

थक् *thak*, be weary.

पाक्व *pākav*, cook.

फुक *phuk*, blow up fire.

ब्रक् *brak*, clench with the teeth.

Thus, च्छ् *chōkḥ*, the act of washing. च्छ् *chōkḥ*, speechlessness and so on. The root चुक् *phuk* becomes च्छ् *phōkḥ*, when it means 'to puff.' Otherwise it is simply चुक् *phukḥ*, the blowing of a fire.

(b) न g. This case is exactly similar to the preceding one. It occurs in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 10). Thus,—

OPTIONAL FORM OF ABSTRACT NOUN.

दगव *dōgav*, husk.दग् *dōg*, husking.रग *ragg*, paint.रग् *ragg*, painting.सगव *sagav*, water plants.सग् *sag*, watering.

(c) ञ *ṅ* (ix. ii. 11). It occurs only in the case of the verb,—

वीञ् *vīṅ*, cheat; abstract noun वीञ् *vīṅḥ*, cheating.

(d) ड *ḍ* (ix. ii. 12).

जेड *ḍeḍ*, powder; लुड *lōḍ*, rob; वाड *vōḍ*, join. These can form abstract nouns in ड *ḍh*. Thus, जेड् *ḍeḍh*, pounding to powder.

(e) ड *ḍ* (ix. ii. 13).

गंड *gaṅḍ*, tie; optional abstract noun, गण्ड् *gaṅḍ*, tying.

(f) ख *n* (ix. ii. 14).

खन *khan*, dig; खण *khēn*, cut; optional abstract nouns, खन् *khan*, digging, खण् *khēn*, cutting.

(g) प *p*. The following verbs optionally make their abstract nouns in प् *ph* (ix. ii. 15).

कांप *kāmp*, tremble; कृप *kṛp*, cut with scissors; चाप *chāp*, chew (Cf. No. 31n.); जप *zap*, mutter prayers; तप *tap*, kick of a horse, &c.

Thus, कांप् *kāmph*, trembling, and so on.

(h) न *m* (ix. ii. 16).

ब्रम *bram*, be in error; abstract noun, optionally, ब्रम् *bram*.

(i) र *r* (ix. ii. 17).

चार *cār*, tie tightly.

चीर *cīr*, wring out.

तार *tār*, cross over (active).

फुकार *phukār*, speak in anger, bubble up (of steam).

फार *phyār*, strain (liquid).

मार *mār*, beat.

सर *sār*, remember.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चार *cār*, tying tightly.

(j) च l (ix. ii. 18).

चल *čəl*, force inside (active).

चल *čhal*, cheat.

चल *čəl*, scrape.

तोल *tōl*, weigh.

दल *dāl*, split (active).

मेल *mēl*, meet.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चल *čəl*, forcing inside.

(k) व w (ix. ii. 19).

जुव *zuv*, live.

दुव *đuv*, sweep.

ताव *tāv*, heat.

अवव *wōhav*, curse.

These optionally form their abstract nouns in व v. Thus, जुव *zuv*, life; अवव *wōhav*, cursing.

(l) स s (ix. ii. 20).

रस *ras*, be juicy.

हसव *h^sasv*, incite.

Thus, रस *ras*, juiciness; हस *h^s*, inciting.

(m) च h (ix. ii. 21, 22).

गह *g^h*, grind.

सह *č^h*, suck.

गह *g^h*, grinding; सह *č^h*, sucking. The former also makes गस *gas*, grinding.

31. — (fem.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form feminine abstract nouns. In such cases, roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular. These roots are classed according to their final letters.

In the case of causal roots ending in अव *av*, the अव *av*, is dropped.
The following are the verbs :—

(a) क *k* (ix. ii. 56).

चक *chak*, scatter.

चिक *chik*, sprinkle.

चमक *camak*, shine.

दक *ḍak*, run.

फुंक *phūk*, smell.

खँक *çĕk*, doubt.

Thus, चक् *chākh*, (fem.) a scattering, a sowing of seed; खँक् *çĕkh* (fem.), doubting.

(b) ख *kh* (ix. ii. 75).

There is only one, and it is irregular. लेख *lēkh*, write, makes लेप् *lēph*, a writing (nom. pl. लेप *lēph^o*).

(c) ग *g* (ix. ii. 57).

ज्ञान *zāg*, be watchful.

डान *ḍāg*, emit a loud cry.

दग *dag*, beat.

मंग *maṅg*, ask.

लग *lag*, be with.

लाग *lāg*, imitate.

वुंग *wuṅg*, bark (of a dog).

संग *çōṅg*, sleep.

Thus, ज्ञान *zāg*, watchfulness. वुंग *wuṅg*, is, specially, a dog's howl. वुंग *wuṅg^o*, means the lying awake at night owing to some care.

(d) च *ch* (ix. ii. 61).

तच *tach*, pare.

मन्दच *mandach*, be ashamed.

Thus, तच् *tāch*, scratching. The first may also form तच् *tāch^o* (62).

(e) त् *ṭ* (ix. ii. 58).

पत्त *paṭṭ*, trust with a loan.

रोत्त *rōṭṭ*, be preferred.

चीत्त *çrōṭṭ*, be pure.

Thus, पद् *pāṭah*, trust (of all kinds), रौद् *rōṭah*, preference.

(f) ष् *ṣh* (ix. ii. 59).

इद् *yīṭah*, wish.

प्रिद् *prīṭah*, ask.

Thus, इद् *yīṭah*, wishing. We say प्रिद्गार कर्त्तव्यम् *prīṭah-gār^s kar^s-n-as*, asking, &c., was done by him for him.

(g) ज्ञ *ḡ* (ix. ii. 64).

गज् *graz*, roar.

Thus, गज् *graz*, a-roaring; गजि कियुत् *grazi kyut^s*, for roaring (ix. i. 17).

(h) ढ *ṭ* (ix. ii. 65).

धूढ *ṭhūṭ*, break wind with noise.

हृढ *ṭhaṭ*, winnow.

फुढ *phuṭ*, be broken.

Thus, हृढ *ṭhāṭh*, winnowing.

(i) ट *ṭh* (ix. ii. 66).

यट् *tyāṭh*, be bitter. The abstract noun, यट् *tyāṭh*, means necessity, necessariness.

Thus, तमाङ्किय यट् *tamāṅkī tyāṭh*, the want of tobacco.

(j) ड *ḍ* (ix. ii. 67, 68).

मिड *māḍ*, mix.

हिड *ṭhāḍ*, search.

The latter makes हिड् *ṭhāḍḍ*, or हिड् *ṭhāḍḍ^s*. [The verb हिड् *ṭhāḍ*, search, without the nasal, always makes हिड् *ṭhāḍḍ^s*].

(k) न *t* (ix. ii. 69).

न्यत् *nyat*, shear.

लत् *latav*, kick.

Thus, न्यत् *nyāṭh*, a shearing; लत् *lāṭh*, a kick.

(l) द् *d* (ix. ii. 70).

पद् *pad*, break wind.

प्यद् *pyad*, be cognisant of.

पंद् *pōnd*, sneeze.

Thus, पंद् *pōnd*, a sneeze.

(m) व * (ix. ii. 71).

वासव *āman*, change for the bad.ज्ञाव *ān*, know.Thus, वासव *āman*, a change for bad.

(n) व p (ix. ii. 73).

ज्ञाव *āp*, gnaw.Thus, ज्ञाव *āp*, a gnawing (Cf. No. 30g.).(o) व p^h (ix. ii. 74).वुव *wup^h*, fly.Thus, वुव *wup^h* a flying.

(p) व b (ix. ii. 76).

रंब *ramb*, be beautiful.रूव *rāb*, be beautiful.Thus, रंब *ramb*, beauty.

(q) व y (ix. ii. 77).

प्रव *pray*, be pleased with.Thus, प्रव *pray*, love.

(r) र r (ix. ii. 78).

आवर *āwar*, cover.उंवर *ū^har*, depend upon.तूर *t^har*, be cold.थीवर *th^har*, be quick.दोर *d^har*, run.मूर *m^har*, husk.लार *l^har*, touch.सखर *sak^har*, set forth.

लार *l^har*, means absconding. The verb दुंवर *dū^har*, separate, forms दुवर *dū^har*, separating (ix. ii. 60). The verb, वंवर *va^har*, bury makes वव *va^har* (ix. ii. 67).

(s) ल् l (ix. ii. 80).

गौगल *gāgal*, }
गौगल *grāgal*, } be disturbed in one's work.

डाल *ṭāl*, go away with indifference.

तंबल *tambal*, change one's mind.

मोकल *mōkal*, be released.

वोलल *wōlal*, adorn.

फाल *ṣahal*, be cold.

Thus मोकल *mōkal*, release.

(t) व w, (ix. ii. 81).

दव *dav*, run.

Thus, दव *dav*, running.

32. इक् *iç* (ix. ii. 33). This is used optionally to form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives, in the case of the following verbs.

इक्क *içök*, be angry ; तप *tap*, become hot ; लज *lajç*, be lame.

Thus, इक्क *içökiç*, anger.

The ✓ मिलव *milav*, unite, irregularly forms मिलमिक् *milamiç* (ix. ii. 34).

33. अक् *ak* (nom. sg. अक् *akh*) (fem.), used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the verb पोट *pōth*, be fat ; e.g., पोटक् *pōthakh*, fatness (ix. ii. 45).

34. अत् *at* (nom. sg. अत् *ath*) (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 44).

अर्ज *arz*, earn ; बाव *bāv*, declare one's intentions ; अपप *wōpaz*, become ; वप *çrap*, decay ; स्यद *syad*, succeed ; गर *gar*, make ; वट *waṭ*, twist ; फाल *ṣahal*, be cold ; ह्यक् *hyak*, be able.

Thus, अर्जत् *arzath* ; nom. sg. अर्जत् *arzath*, earning.

35. अय *ay* (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 46).

वखन *wakhan*, tell ; खार *khār*, ascend ; जग *zäg*, be watchful ; वाल *wāl*, take down ; नज *naç*, dance ; होक् *hökh*, be dry ; आमन *āman*, change for the bad.

Thus, वकनच् *wakhanay*, telling. The verb मंग् *mang*, ask, forms मंग्गिच् *māṅgay*, asking (ix. ii. 47).

The verb बाग् *bāg*, divide, forms बागच् *bāgay*, division, or बागनच् *bāganay* (ix. ii. 48, 54).

The verb जेन *žen*, conquer, forms जिच् *ziy*, victory (ix. ii. 49).

From the verb साव *sāv*, sleep, comes the derivative, उदसावच् *ulasāvay*, waking, lying awake (ix. ii. 50).

The simple word सावच् *sāvay*, means 'happiness' (ix. ii. 51).

From the verb आनन *ānan*, change for the worse, already mentioned, we also have आननच् *hūmanay*, a false charge (ix. ii. 52).

From the verb लाग *lāg*, cultivate, we have लागनच् *lāganay*, cultivation (ix. ii. 53).

From the verb साद् *sād*, accomplish, we have सादनच् *sādanay*, a chief cause (ix. ii. 55).

36. वावच् *awañ* (fem.) (with unmodified vowel). This is added to a verb to signify wages (ix. ii. 82, 83, 84). Thus,—

करवच् *karawañ*, (fem.), the wages of doing; पारवच् *parawañ*, the wages of reading; लोववच् *lōnawañ*, the wages of reaping; रोजवच् *rōzawañ*, the wages of remaining.

If the root ends in a vowel the suffix is वावच् *wawañ*. Thus,—

(दि *di*) दिववच् *diwawañ*, the wages of giving; निववच् *niwawañ*, the wages of taking; ख्यववच् *khyawawañ*, the wages of eating; च्यववच् *cyawawañ*, the wages of drinking.

37. अन्हार *anhār*, used to signify fitness (ix. ii. 91). Thus,—

करन्हार *karanhār*, fit to be done.

मन्हार *ganḍanhār*, fit to be bound.

If the verb ends in a vowel, the suffix becomes अन्हार *anhār*. Thus,—

ख्यन्हार *khyanhār*, fit to be eaten.

च्यन्हार *cyanhār*, fit to be drunk.

ह्यन्हार *hyanhār*, fit to be placed.

But as usual,—

निजहार *ninahār*, fit to be taken ;

दिजहार *dinahār*, fit to be given ;

यिजहार *yinahār*, fit to come.

The verb लज *lag* makes लजहार *lagahār*, which simply means 'worthy.'



On Secondary Suffixes in Kāçmīri.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.

[Read August, 1898.]

The following account of Secondary Suffixes in Kāçmīri is based on the fourth part of Içvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. Some of the so-called suffixes are evidently merely nouns in composition, but I have thought it best to retain them.

The following suffixes express **Relationship**.

1. पुतु *pūt** (iv. 1).¹ This Suffix (the Skr. पोतः *pōtaḥ*) added to a noun in the form of the instrumental singular case (the न् n of the first declension being dropped), signifies son, e.g.,—

दरु *dar*, (instr. दरन् *daran*) a certain caste, दर-पुतु *dar*-pūt**, the son of a man of that caste.

कौलु *kaul*, a certain caste, कौल-पुतु *kaul*-pūt**, the son of a man of that caste.

त्युकु *tyuk** (instr. तिक् *tikⁱ*), a certain caste, तिक्-पुतु *tikⁱ-pūt**, the son of a man of that caste.

कावु *kāv*, a crow, काव-पुतु *kāv*-pūt**, a young crow.

कावु *kaṭ*, a ram, काव-पुतु *kaṭ*-pūt**, a young ram.

Apparently irregular are,—

म्याँ-पुतु *myā'-pūt**, a young ram; ककर-पुतु *kōkar-pūt** a chicken;

कोतर-पुतु *kōtar-pūt** a young pigeon; and पचिन्-पुतु *pachin-pūt**, a young bird.

This Suffix can only be used with generic terms, such as the above. It cannot be used with proper names (iv. 2).

NOTE.—The word चुर-पुतु *çūr*-pūt**, either means the son of a thief (चुर *çūr*), or may be applied to children as a term of endearment (iv. 3).

¹ References here and elsewhere to the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

When the Suffix is added to the word *मिन्* *miñ*, a kiss, *मिन्-पुन्* *miñë-pūñ*, or *मन्-पुन्* *mññë-pūñ*, means simply a kiss (iv. 4).

2. *कथ्* *kāth*. This word also means son, but is rarely used, except in abuse, or anger (iv. 5), e.g.,—

चुर-कथ् *tsūr-kāth*, son of a thief.

मान-कथ् *gāñ-kāth*, son of a pimp.

घोन-कथ् *pōg-kāth*, son of destruction.

वाङ्ग-कथ् *wāz-kāth*, son of a cook.

रास-कथ् *rās-kāth*, son of adultery.

क-कथ् *kō-kāth*, (*कुपुत्रः*) a bad son.

We also, however, find *स-कथ्* *sō-kāth*, a good son (*सुपुत्रः*) and *सक-कथ्* *sōkh-kāth*, a son of happiness (*सुखपुत्रः*).

3. *कथ्* *kaṭh*. This Suffix, on the contrary is used as a term of praise, with words signifying castes or professions (iv. 6), e.g.,—

बड-कथ् *baṭh-kāṭh*, a real son of a brāhman (i.e., a good brāhman).

So *दर-कथ्* *dar-kāṭh*, *कोक-कथ्* *kaul-kāṭh*.

चाण-कथ् *chāñ-kāṭh*, a real son of a carpenter, a good carpenter.

Apparently irregular in not having a final ° for the first member, are words like,—

सुनर-कथ् *sōñ-r-kāṭh*, a real son of a gold-smith, a good gold-smith.

मनर-कथ् *man-r-kāṭh*, a real son of a shell-worker, a good shell-worker, cf. No. 38.

We find also (from *मूष* *mūṣ*, a buffalo, ante, p. 63), *मैष-कथ्* *maṣ-kāṭh*, a buffalo-calf.

4. *तुर* *tur*, fem. *तर* *tar*. This Suffix is associated with the relationship of first-cousin (iv. 8, 9, 10). Thus,—

पफतुर *pōphatur* *bōy*, the son of a paternal aunt (*lit.*, brother by a paternal aunt).

मासतुर *māsatur* *bōy*, the son of a maternal aunt.

मामतुर *māmatūr* *bōy*, the son of a maternal uncle.

पफतर *pōphat-r* *bēñē*, the daughter of a paternal aunt.

मासन्तर् अन्न *māsat^{er} bēñē*, the daughter of a maternal aunt.

मामन्तर् अन्न *māmat^{er} bēñē*, the daughter of a maternal uncle.

Irregular is पितृन्तर् बोध *pitur^o bōy^o* (fem. पितृन्तर् अन्न *pit^{er} bēñē*), the son (daughter) of a paternal uncle.

So also we have प्रपत्तन्तर् बायि काकन्तर् *pōphat^{er} bāyⁱ kāk^{añ}*, the wife of the son of a paternal aunt.

Similarly for the other wives, मासन्तर् बायि काकन्तर् *māsat^{er} bāyⁱ kāk^{añ}*; मामन्तर् बायि काकन्तर् *māmat^{er} bāyⁱ kāk^{añ}*, and पितृन्तर् बायि काकन्तर् *pit^{er} bāyⁱ kāk^{añ}*.

5. *न्तर् th^{er}*, fem. *न्तर् z^o* indicates, with a change in the termination of the root-word, the relationship of nephew (iv. 11, 12, 13). Thus,—

बानन्तर् *bābath^{er}*, brother's son (बोयु *bōy^o*, a brother).

बायन्तर् *bāw^{ez^o}*, brother's daughter.

अयन्तर् *byanath^{er}*, sister's son (अन्न *bēñē* a sister).

अयन्तर् *byan^{ez^o}*, sister's daughter.

द्वारन्तर् *dyārath^{er}*, son of a husband's brother, (द्रियु *dryuy^o*, a husband's brother).

द्वारन्तर् *dyāraz^o*, the daughter of a husband's brother.

The following Suffixes form **adjectives of possession**.

6. *न्तर् al*, fem. *न्तर् al*. This Suffix is restricted to natural possessions, i.e., when a thing or quality is spoken of as not only accompanying an object, but as actually forming part of it (iv. 15–19), cf. No. 9. When added to verbal nouns, they must be in the feminine form, see p. 210.

As usual, the noun to which the suffix is added takes the form of the instrumental singular, but before *न्तर् a*, *न्तर् i* becomes *न्तर् y*, and *न्तर् a*, for *न्तर् an*, is dropped. Thus,—

| FROM. | WE HAVE. |
|--|---|
| दाङ् <i>dār^o</i> , a beard. | दायन्तर् <i>dāryal</i> , fem. दायन्तर् <i>dāryal</i> , bearded. |
| गोङ् <i>gōtāh</i> , a moustache. | गोयन्तर् <i>gōtāhal</i> , moustached. |
| डङ् <i>ḍākh</i> , a hair-curl. | डयन्तर् <i>ḍakhal</i> , curly-headed. |
| बन्तर् <i>bab</i> , bosom. | बयन्तर् <i>babal</i> , bosomed. |
| कोङ् <i>kōch</i> , belly. | कोयन्तर् <i>kōchal</i> , bellied. |

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|
| ह्यङ् <i>hyang</i> , a horn. | ह्यङ्गल् <i>hyangal</i> , | horned. |
| ठूक् <i>thūkkh</i> , blow of a horn. | ठूक्कल् <i>thūkkal</i> , | striking with the horn. |
| हळ् <i>thōl</i> , blow of a horn. | हळळल् <i>thōlal</i> , | striking with the horn. |
| त्तप् <i>tsāph</i> , a bite. | त्तपल् <i>tsapal</i> , | biting. |
| फल् <i>phaç</i> , brightness, cleanness. | फळल् <i>phaçal</i> , | well-dressed. |
| गॅन् <i>gěñ</i> , a wrinkle. | गॅन्गल् <i>gěñal</i> , | wrinkled. |
| स्यल् <i>syas</i> , a wart. | स्यसल् <i>syasal</i> , | warted. |
| पंड् <i>pōnd</i> , a sneeze. | पंडल् <i>pōndal</i> , | one who sneezes. |
| मळस्यल् <i>machēṭṣc</i> , moles. | मळस्यल् <i>machēṭṣcal</i> , | covered with moles. |
| त्रास् <i>tsās</i> , a cough. | त्रासल् <i>tsāsal</i> , | one who has a cough. |
| सूँट् <i>tsūṭ</i> , crepitus ventris. | सूँटल् <i>tsūṭal</i> , | one who breaks wind. |
| So also we have,— | | |
| हाल् <i>hātsh</i> , an accusation (fem.). | हासल् <i>hātshal</i> , | one who brings an accusation (<i>not</i> an accused person). |
| स्यव् <i>syav</i> , a tongue. | स्यवल्ल् <i>syaval</i> , | a calumniator. The |

word does not mean possessing a tongue, which is स्यविचल् *zēvisast*, or स्यविचोल् *zēviwōl*, (No. 9).

When this suffix is added to the words स्यन्न *bēñē*, a sister, and कूर *kūr*, a daughter, the compound implies incestuous sexual connexion, thus, स्यन्नल् *bēñēl*, कौर्यल् *kōryal*. To convey the idea of possessing a sister or a daughter we must say स्यन्नबोल् *bēñēwōl*, कौर्यबोल् *kōrēwōl*, (No. 9).

The word दाल् *dār*, a beard, optionally takes the suffix यल् *yāl* thus दायल् *dāryal*, or दाँरियाल् *dār'yāl*, bearded (iv. 19).

The word यद् *yad*, a belly, becomes यडल् *yadāl*, having a large belly, pot-bellied (iv. 30). On the other hand यडल् *yadāl*, means 'gluttonous' (iv. 31). So from हर *har*, a quarrel, we have हरल् *harāl*,

quarrelsome (iv. 32), and from जत् *jat*, hair, जत्स^ल *jats^l*, very hairy (iv. 33).

7. लद् *lad*, fem. लद् *lad*. This suffix is sometimes used instead of अल् *al*, but usually in a bad sense (iv. 20, 21). Thus,—

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| फक् <i>phak</i> , a stink. | फकलद् <i>phakalad</i> fem. फकलद् <i>phakalad</i> stinking. | |
| हृक् <i>tshök</i> , slyness. | हृकलद् <i>tshökhalad</i> , | sly. |
| हृक् <i>chök</i> , a sore. | हृकलद् <i>chökhalad</i> , | full of sores. |
| बक् <i>bak</i> , a cry. | बकलद् <i>bakalad</i> , | prating. |
| दक् <i>dökh</i> , pain. | दकलद् <i>dökhhalad</i> , | pained. |
| द्राक् <i>drög</i> , a famine. | द्राकलद् <i>drög^{alad}</i> , | afflicted with
famine. |

This termination cannot be substituted for अल् *al* in every case. For instance we cannot say गौहलद् *gōtshalad*, दकलद् *dakhalad*, or बबलद् *babalad*. But with some words both अल् *al* and लद् *lad* can be used. Thus besides ग्यलल् *gēñal*, we can have ग्यललद् *gēñalad*, wrinkled; besides स्यलल् *syasal*, स्यललद् *syasalad*, warted; and besides त्सायल् *tsāsal*, त्सायललद् *tsāsilad* (*sic*). When the word फक् *phaç* means eccentricity, it takes the termination लद् thus फकलद् *phaçalad*, mad, eccentric. When it means brightness, it takes the termination अल् thus फकल् *phaçal*.

8. योर् *yōr*, fem. यार् *yār*. This suffix occurs in the following words. It is added as usual to the instrumental in the first two cases. In the last it is irregular (iv. 22, 23) :—

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| पञ्ज् <i>paç</i> , truth. | पञ्जियोर् <i>paç^tyōr</i> , | fem. पञ्जियार् <i>paç^tyār</i> , |
| | | truthful. |
| अपञ्ज् <i>apaç</i> , untruth. | अपञ्जियोर् <i>apaç^tyōr</i> , | fem. अपञ्जियार् <i>apaç^tyār</i> , |
| | | untruthful. |
| मञ्जिन् <i>manzyum</i> , | मञ्जियोर् <i>manzyum^tyōr</i> , | a go between,
a medium. |

The last word is really a compound substantive and its fem. is मञ्जिमयार् *manzim^tyārēñ*.

9. **बोल्** *wōl**, fem. **बाब्बल्** *wājžēñ*; a suffix signifying possession, when the thing possessed accompanies the possessor, but does not actually form part of it (iv. 24). (Cf. No. 6).

As elsewhere, the suffix is added to the instrumental singular. Thus,—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| द्यार् <i>dyār</i> , (masc.) wealth. | द्यारबोल् <i>dyārawōl*</i> fem. | द्यारबाब्बल् <i>dyārawājžēñ</i> ,
wealthy. |
| लार् <i>lār*</i> , (fem.) a house. | लारिबोल् <i>lariwōl*</i> , | लारिबाब्बल् <i>lariwājžēñ</i> ,
possessing a house. |
| ज्याय् <i>çāy</i> , (fem.) a place. | ज्यायिबोल् <i>çāyiwōl*</i> , | ज्यायिबाब्बल् <i>çāyiwājžēñ</i> ,
possessing a place. |
| कूर् <i>kūr*</i> , a daughter. | कोरिबोल् <i>kōriwōl*</i> , | कोरिबाब्बल् <i>kōriwājžēñ</i> ,
possessing a daughter. |
| न्यचिबु <i>nēc̣yuv*</i> , a son. | न्यचिविबोल् <i>nēc̣iv'wōl*</i> , | न्यचिविबाब्बल् <i>nēc̣iv'wājžēñ</i> ,
possessing a son. |

But,—

गुपुन् *gupun*, a quadruped. **गुपुन्बोल्** *gupanwōl**, possessing herds.

गर *gar**, a house. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{गरोल्} \text{ } *garwōl**, \text{ the master of a house.} \\ \text{गरबोल्} \text{ } *garawōl**, \text{ possessing a house.} \end{array} \right.$

10. **ग्राक्** *grākh*, fem. **ग्राकल्** *grakañ*. This may be used instead of **बोल्** *wōl** in the same sense (iv. 24). Thus,—

लार् *lār**, a house, **लारिग्राक्** *larigrākh*, fem. **लारिग्राकल्** *larigrakañ*, possessing a house, and so on.

11. **हत्** *hāt**, fem. **हत्त** *hātṣ**. This suffix denotes inconvenience experienced by the mind or feeling, but not by the corporeal body (iv. 25). The usual rule is followed in adding the suffix. Thus,—

न्यन्दर् *nyand'r* (fem.), sleep, **न्यन्दरिहत्** *nyand'rihāt**, fem. **न्यन्दरिहत्त** *nyand'rihātṣ**, afflicted with sleep.

त्रेश् *trēṣ* (masc.) thirst.

त्रेशहत् *trēṣahāt**, thirsty.

बूह *bōch**, hunger.

बूहहत् *bōchahāt**, hungry.

क्रूद् *krūd*, anger.

क्रूद्हत् *krūdahāt**, angry.

गुम *guma*, sweat.

गुमहत् *gumahāt**, sweaty.

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| ताप् <i>tāph</i> , sunshine. | तापवत् <i>tāpahat</i> ^s , feeling the sunshine. |
| तृत् <i>tṛ</i> , cold. | तृरिवत् <i>tṛrihat</i> ^s , feeling cold. |
| आर् <i>ār</i> , pity. | आरवत् <i>ārahat</i> ^s , pitiful. |

In the two following the adjectives formed do not necessarily refer to mind or feeling,—

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| लाव <i>law</i> ^s , dew. | लाववत् <i>lawahat</i> ^s , dewy. |
| ताव <i>tāw</i> , warmth. | ताववत् <i>tāwahat</i> ^s , warm. |

E.g., ताववत् बुतराव *tāwahat^s butarāth*, warm ground.

12. वत् *vyat*^s, fem. वत् *vyat^s*. This suffix is added in the case of the words मंदव *mandach*^s, shame; मोद *mōd*^s, respect; मान *mān*^s, honour, in the same meaning as वीव *vōl*^s (iv. 26). Thus,—

| | |
|--|---|
| मंदववत् <i>mandachavyat</i> ^s , | fem. मंदववत् <i>mandachavyat^s</i> , ashamed. |
| मोदवत् <i>mōdavyat</i> ^s , | fem. मोदवत् <i>mōdavyat^s</i> , respected. |
| मानवत् <i>mānavyat</i> ^s , | fem. मानवत् <i>mānavyat^s</i> , honoured. |

So also,—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| वसवत् <i>barsavyat</i> ^s , | fem. वसवत् <i>barsavyat^s</i> , wealthy. |
|---------------------------------------|--|

13. वान् *ān*, fem. वान् *ān*, added to the words दंद् *dand*, a tooth, and नस् *nast*, a nose, in a bad sense (iv. 28).

Thus, दंदाव् *dandān*, fem. दंदाव् *dandān*, having an ugly tooth.

नस्ताव् *nastān*, having an ugly nose.

14. व् *at*, fem. व् *at*. This is used with the same words in the same meaning (iv. 29).

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| नस्व् <i>nast^s</i> , fem. | नस्व् <i>nast^s</i> . |
| दंद्स् <i>dand^s</i> , fem. | दंद्स् <i>dand^s</i> . |

15. उर् *ūr*^s, fem. उर् *ūr^s*, a variant of the preceding (iv. 29).

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| नस्तूर् <i>nastūr^s</i> , fem. | नस्तूर् <i>nastūr^s</i> . |
| दंदूर् <i>dandūr^s</i> , fem. | दंदूर् <i>dandūr^s</i> . |

16. वत् *af*, fem. वत् *af*, added to वैस् *vaīs*, age, gives वैस्वत् *vaīsvat*, meaning 'very old.' Added to र्व् *r^s*, malice, we have र्वस्वत् *r^svaf*, malicious (iv. 34, 35).

17. इद् *it*, fem. इद् *it*, is used as follows (iv. 36–38).

From अक्षिद् *achit*, the eye.

अक्षीद् *achit*, fem. अक्षीद् *achit*, having the evil eye.

रूप् *rūp*, beauty.

रूपिद् *rūpit*, very beautiful.

लूब् *lūb*, desire.

लूबिद् *lūbit*, covetous.

ज्यब् *zyav*, tongue.

ज्यबिद् *zēvit*, a calumniator.

18. अद् *ūth*, fem. अद् *ūth*, as in अक्षद् *lyākh* (fem.) abuse, अक्षद् *lyakal*, or अक्षद् *lyakalūth*, abusive (iv. 39).

The following suffixes form **Abstract Nouns**.

19. अर् *ar*, (masc.) added to adjectives (iv. 41). This termination is added in the usual way to the form of the case of the agent, *i* becoming *y*. Thus,—

बियुद् *byuy*^२, stale.

बिय्यर् *biyyar*, staleness.

तारुद् *taru*^२, much.

तार्यर् *tarayar*, excess.

फहर् *phahur*^२, hard.

फह्यर् *phaharyar*, hardness.

नवुद् *navu*^२, new.

नव्यर् *navyar*, newness.

पपुद् *papu*^२, ripe.

पप्यर् *papyar*, ripeness.

फफुद् *phaphu*^२, stammering.

फफ्यर् *phaphyar*, stammeringness.

गवुद् *gōb*^२, heavy.

गव्यर् *gōbyar*, heaviness.

ओमुद् *ōm*^२, unripe.

ओम्यर् *ōmyar*, unripeness.

गगुद् *gaç*^२, silent.

गग्यर् *gaçyar*, silence.

तारुद् *tarōp*^२, acrid.

तार्यर् *tarōpyar*, acidity.

फरिद् *pharic*^२, hard (fem).

फरिद् *pharic*^२ *çyar*, hardness.

The last adjective is only used in the feminine.

The main word is also subject to the following changes,—

(a) If the adjective is of three or more syllables, अर् *ar* becomes

आर् *ār* (iv. 42). Thus,—

अङ्गुल् *wōzul*^२, red.

अङ्गुल्यार् *wōzajyār*, redness (see i. below).

मङ्कल *mōkul*^२, free.

मङ्कल्यार् *mōkajyār*, free.

(b) This rule is, however, not universal (iv. 44). Thus,—

| | |
|--|---|
| अपञ्चु <i>apas*</i> , untruthful. | अपञ्चार् <i>apazar</i> , untruthfulness (see h. below). |
| कृष्णु <i>krṣṇ*</i> , black. | कृष्णार् <i>krṣṇār</i> , blackness (see h. below). |
| काञ्चुर् <i>kāñçur*</i> , tawny. | काञ्चयर् <i>kāñçaryar</i> , tawinness. |
| काञ्चुर् <i>kāñçur*</i> , dark-blue. | काञ्चयर् <i>kāñçaryar</i> , dark-blueness. |
| कृष्णु <i>krṣṇ*</i> , miserly. | कृष्णार् <i>krṣṇār</i> miserliness (see h. below). |
| काञ्चुर् <i>kāñçur*</i> , pinewood. | काञ्चयर् <i>kāñçaryar</i> , the nature of pinewood. |
| कौञ्चुर् <i>khōñçur*</i> , left (not right). | कौञ्चयर् <i>khōñçaryar</i> , leftness. |
| गळ्ळोणु <i>gəḷḷōṇ*</i> , light black. | गळ्ळोणार् <i>gəḷḷōṇyar</i> , light blackness. |
| तृणु <i>tṛṇ*</i> , skilful. | तृणयर् <i>tṛṇaryar</i> , skilfulness. |
| विचणु <i>viçṇ*</i> , uneven. | विचणार् <i>viçṇyar</i> , unevenness. |

(c) The word डोठु *ṭōṭh**, dear, beloved, forms डोठुणार् *ṭōṭhūṇār* or डोठुण *ṭōṭhyar*, belovedness (iv. 43).

(d) When the word हण *haç*, a mother-in-law, takes चर् *ar*, the word हणार् *haçar* is only used in low abuse. The right word for the condition of a mother-in-law is हणतोणु *haçatōṇ** (No. 27) (iv. 45).

(e) The suffix is optional in the case of the following (iv. 46).

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| कणु <i>kəṇ*</i> , hunchbacked. | कणु <i>kəṇ*</i> , or कण्यार् <i>kəṇyār</i> , hunchbackedness. |
| गणु <i>gaṇ*</i> , silent. | गणु <i>gaṇ*</i> or गण्यार् <i>gaṇyār</i> , silence. |

(f) When the adjective ends in *u-mātrā* preceded by क् *k*, च् *ch*, or ग् *g*, these letters become च् *c*, च् *ch*, and ज् *j* respectively (iv. 47).

Thus,—

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| निचु <i>nyuk*</i> , little. | निचार् <i>nicyar</i> , littleness. |
| तचु <i>təç*</i> , sharp. | तचार् <i>təçyar</i> , sharpness. |
| हचु <i>həç*</i> , dry. | हचार् <i>həçyar</i> , dryness. |

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| त्रिच्यु tryukh ^३ , clever. | त्रिच्यार् trichyar, cleverness. |
| द्रोग् drōg ^३ , dear. | द्रोग्यार् drōjyar, dearness. |
| स्रोग् sroḡ ^३ , cheap. | स्रोग्यार् srojyar, cheapness. |

Exceptions are (iv. 48), *vide ante*, pp. 32, 182,—

| | |
|---|---|
| त्सोक tsōk ^३ , sour. | त्सोक्यार् tsōkyar, sourness. |
| कुकुक् khūkh ^३ , speaking
through the nose. | कुकुक्ख्यार् khūkhkhyar, nasality of voice. |

(g) Under similar conditions, *ṭ t* becomes *च् c*, *ṭ th* becomes *च् ch*, *ḍ d* becomes *ज् j*, and *ṣ ṣ* becomes *ञ् ñ* (iv. 49). Thus,—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| मोट् mōṭ ^३ , fat. | मोच्यार् mōcyar, fatness. |
| गोट् gōṭ ^३ , dark. | गोच्यार् gacyar, darkness. |
| द्रोठ् drōṭh ^३ , hard. | द्रोच्यार् drōchyar, hardness. |
| मोठ् mōṭh ^३ , lazy. | मोच्यार् māchyar, laziness. |
| मोण्ड् mōṇḍ ^३ , blunt. | मोच्यार् mōñjyar, bluntness. |
| बाठ् baṭ ^३ , great. | बाच्यार् bajyar, greatness. |
| प्रोण् prōṇ ^३ , old. | प्राञ्यार् prāñar, oldness, (see <i>h</i> , for
elision of <i>y</i>). |

(h) Under similar circumstances, *ṭ t* becomes *त्स ts*, *ṭ th* becomes *त्स th*, *ḍ d* becomes *ञ्*, and *ṣ ṣ* becomes *ञ् ñ*, after all of which *y* is elided (iv. 50, 51). Thus,—

| | |
|---|---|
| तत्त tat ^३ , hot. | तत्स्यार् tatsar, heat. |
| मत् māt ^३ , madness. | मत्स्यार् matsar, madness. |
| रत्त rat ^३ , good. | रत्स्यार् ratsar, health of body (iv. 41). |
| वाठ् wāṭh ^३ , open. | वाच्यार् wāṭhar, openness. |
| थाठ् thāṭ ^३ , high. | थाच्यार् thazar, height. |
| मण्ड् maṇḍ ^३ , sick. | मञ्यार् manzar, sickness. |
| तण् ṭaṇ ^३ , thin. | तञ्यार् tañar, thinness. |
| गुमान् gumāṇ ^३ , slightly dirty. | गुमान्यार् gumāñār (see <i>a</i>) slight
dirtiness. |
| तमान् tamāṇ ^३ , black. | तमान्यार् tamañār, blackness. |
| तुराण् tūraṇ ^३ , cold. | तुराण्यार् tūrañār, coldness. |

| | |
|---|---|
| अन् <i>an^s</i> , blind. | अन् <i>añar</i> , blindness. |
| कडमलिन् <i>kaṭamalyun^s</i> , half-clean. | कडमलिन् <i>kaṭamaliñār</i> , half-clean-ness. |

From the word पनुन् *panun^s*, own, we get irregularly पानन् *pānañār*, selfness.

Similarly य् *y* is elided in other cases after modified consonants.

Thus, in प्रान् *prāñār* in (g) above, so,—

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| हृन् <i>ṭhōṭa^s</i> , empty. | हृन् <i>ṭhōṭsar</i> , emptiness. |
| अह् <i>aṭh^s</i> , weak. | अह् <i>aṭhar</i> , weakness. |
| पञ् <i>paç^s</i> , true. | पञ् <i>paçar</i> , truth. |

(i) So also, when *u-mātrā* is preceded by ख् *l*, the ख् *l* becomes ख् *j* (iv. 52). Thus,—

| | |
|---|--|
| खल् <i>khāl^s</i> , open. | खज् <i>khajyar</i> , openness. |
| बुल् <i>wūl^s</i> , fickle. | बोज् <i>wōjyar</i> , fickleness. |
| कुमुल् <i>kumul^s</i> , delicate (see a). | कुमज् <i>kumajyār</i> , delicateness. |
| अजुल् <i>wōzul^s</i> , red. | अजज् <i>wōzajyār</i> , redness. |
| जायुल् <i>zāyul^s</i> , fine. | जायज् <i>zāy^sjyār</i> , fineness. |
| पिणुल् <i>piçul^s</i> , soft. | पिणज् <i>piçajyār</i> , softness. |

(j) Similarly we have (iv. 53),—

| | |
|---|---|
| त्रक् <i>trakur^s</i> , hard. | त्रकज् <i>trakajyār</i> or
त्रक्यर् <i>trakaryar</i> , hardness (see b). |
|---|---|

(k) Similarly ह् *h* becomes ह् *ç* (iv. 54). Thus,—

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| हिह् <i>hyuh^s</i> , like. | हिहर् <i>hiçyar</i> , similarity. |
| त्रोह् <i>ṭōh^s</i> , acrid. | त्रोहर् <i>ṭōçyar</i> , acridity. |

(l) Similarly स् *s* optionally becomes स् *ṭsh* (iv. 55). Thus,—

| | |
|---|---|
| कृस् <i>kṛs^s</i> , youngest. | कृस् <i>kaṭṭshar</i> or कृस् <i>kaṭsar</i> , the condition of a youngest son. |
|---|---|

20. इमी *imī* (fem.). This is optionally used instead of अर् *ar*, after बहु *baḥ^s*, great, thus बडीमी *baḍimī*, or बज् *bajyar* (No. 19, g), greatness (iv. 56).

21. यार् *yār^s* (fem.). This is optionally used instead of अर् *ar*, in the two following words (iv. 57).

शुद्ध *śrūṭṣ^s*, pure.

शुद्धियार् *śrūṭṣ^syār^s* or शोद्धर् *śrūṭṣar* (20, h), purity.

अशुद्ध *aśhyāṭ^s*, impure.

अशुद्धियार् *aśhyāṭ^syār^s* or अशुद्धर् *aśhyāṭar* (20, g), impurity.

22. ज्ञ *z* (fem.). This is added to words ending in योर् *yōr^s*. Thus from (iv. 58).

मन्त्रिसू-योर् *manśyūm^s-yōr^s*,
a go-between (see No. 8).

मन्त्रिसू-यार्ज्ञ *manśim^s-yār^sz* (the fem. form of मन्त्रिसू *manśyūm^s* is used), the office of a go-between.

पञ्जियोर् *pañyōr^s*, truthful.

पञ्जियार्ज्ञ *pañyār^sz*, truthfulness.

अपञ्जियोर् *apañyōr^s*, untruthful.

अपञ्जियार्ज्ञ *apañyār^sz*, untruthfulness.

So (cf. No. 21).

शुद्धियार्ज्ञ *śrūṭṣ^syār^sz*, purity, and

अशुद्धियार्ज्ञ *aśhyāṭ^syār^sz*, impurity.

23. इल् *il* (fem.), used to form abstract nouns from substances, not from adjectives (iv. 59).

Thus, पण्डित् *paṇḍiṭh*, a paṇḍit, पण्डितिल् *paṇḍiṭhil*, the condition of a paṇḍit.

कार् *chām*, a carpenter.

कारिल् *chānil*, the condition of a carpenter.

गोर् *gōr*, a priest.

गोर्िल् *gūril*, the condition of a priest.

This suffix cannot be used with every word. Sometimes No. 24, must be used. We cannot for instance, say, from इषिल् *dōsil*, a plasterer, इषितिल् *dōs^shil*, the office of a plasterer. We can only say इषितार्ज्ञ *dōs^slāz* (iv. 60).

The word लैल् *lāṭṭah*, a eunuch, is irregular. It forms लैतिल् *lāṭṭahil*, or लैतिल् *lāṭṭahil* (iv. 62).

24. चाङ् *āz*, (fem.), used optionally instead of the preceding (iv. 59, 60). Thus,—

पाङ्चिताङ् *paṅc'itāz*, the condition of a paṅdit.

चाणाङ् *chānāz*, the condition of a carpenter.

गोराङ् *gōrāz*, the condition of a priest.

द्विचिञ्चाङ् *dviśiñcāz*, the condition of a plasterer.

25. रचाङ् *rāz*, (fem.), is a compound of the two preceding which is sometimes used (iv. 61).

मत् *mat*, a madman.

मतिञ्च *matil* or मतिञ्चाङ् *mat'lāz*, the condition of a madman. If मत् *mat* is used to mean 'mad,' (as an adjective), its abstract noun would be मत्तर *matgar* (No. 19, h).

ब्रह् *br̥ṣṭh*, ignorant.

ब्रिडिञ्चाङ् *br̥iḥ'lāz*, ignorance.

So गुरिञ्चाङ् *gur'lāz*, चानिञ्चाङ् *chān'lāz*.

26. वच् *vay*, (fem.), used to mean the wages of any act (ix. ii. 85-87). Thus,—

चानवच् *chānavay* (fem.), the wages of a carpenter.

द्विचिञ्चवच् *dviśiñcavay* (fem.), the wages of a plasterer.

From नाव् *nāv*, a boat, we have नावच् *nāvay*, the hire of a boat.

From बोर् *bōr* or बार् *bār*, a burden, we have बावच् *bāvay*, the wages of a porter.

27. मोञ् *tōn* (masc.). This gives a meaning of relationship. It is added, as usual to the agent form (iv. 63). Thus,—

मोञ् *mōl*, a father.

माङ्चितोञ् *māḥ'itōn*, fatherhood.

माञ् *māj*, a mother.

माङ्जितोञ् *māj'itōn*, motherhood.

बोञ् *bōy*, a brother.

बाङ्जितोञ् *bāy'itōn*, brotherhood.

पुञ् *puṭh*, a son.

पुत्रतोञ् *puṭ'ratōn*, sonhood.

चञ् *haç*, mother-in-law.

चञ्जतोञ् *haçatōn*, mother-in-lawhood.

28. **पोन** *pōn*^२, used instead of No. 27 when the relationship is not intimate (iv. 63). Thus,—

| | |
|---|--|
| वस <i>vyas</i> , a comrade. | वसपोन <i>vyasapōn</i> ^२ , comradeship. |
| दाय <i>dāy</i> , a nurse. | दायपोन <i>dāyapōn</i> ^२ , nursehood. |
| पोज <i>pōj</i> ^२ , low. | पाजिपोन <i>pājipōn</i> ^२ , lowness of position (in a household). |

29. **उत्** *ut* (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 64).

| | |
|--|---|
| वथर <i>ṣath^२r</i> , an enemy. | वथरुत् <i>ṣath^२rut</i> , enemyhood. |
| म्यथर <i>myath^२r</i> , a friend. | म्यथरुत् <i>myath^२rut</i> , friendship. |
| पितुरु <i>pitur</i> , a father. | पितुरुत् <i>piturut</i> , fatherhood. |
| रस <i>rṣ</i> ^२ , a saint. | रसुत् <i>rṣyut</i> , sainthood. |
| बन्ध <i>band</i> , a relation. | बन्धुत् <i>bandut</i> , relationship. |

30. **उन्** *un* (masc.), used with the following word (iv. 65).

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| मेथ <i>maith</i> , a corpse. | मेथुन् <i>maithun</i> , the condition of a corpse. |
|-------------------------------------|---|

31. **उस** *us* (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 66, 67).

| | |
|---|---|
| मथ <i>mōṇḍ</i> , a widow. | मथुस <i>mōṇḍus</i> , widowhood. |
| दुब <i>dob</i> ^२ , a washerman (Cf. p. 34). | दुबुस <i>dōbus</i> , a washerman's club, but दुबिस् <i>dōbil</i> , the condition of a washerman (No. 23). |

32. **बद्** *bād*^२ (masc.), used in the following (iv. 68).

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| सन <i>sōn</i> , a co-wife. | सनबद् <i>sōnbād</i> ^२ , co-wifehood. |
|-----------------------------------|--|

[So also **पितुरिबद्** *pit^२rībād*^२, fatherhood; **बायिबद्** *bāyībād*^२] or **बाजिबद्** *bājībād*^२, brotherhood, commensality (iv. 69).

The suffix is used with the numerals 100, and above (iv. 70), as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| हथ <i>hāth</i> , a hundred. | हतबद् <i>hatabād</i> ^२ , hundreds. |
| साथ <i>sās</i> , a thousand. | सासबद् <i>sāsabād</i> ^२ , thousands. |
| लथ <i>lāch</i> , a hundred thousand. | लथबद् <i>lāchyabād</i> ^२ , hundreds of thousands. |

Applied to vegetables, it means a bundle,—

हाक् *hākḥ*, spinach.

हाक्बद् *hākabād**, a bundle of spinach.

मुज् *muj*, a radish.

मुजिबद् *mujibād**, a bundle of radishes.

गग्ज् *gōgʹj*, a turnip.

गग्जिबद् *gogʹjibād**, a bundle of turnips.

In all the above, as usual, the suffix is added to the form of the agent. मुज् *muj*, may also be मुजि *mujʹi*, and it would then form मुज्बद् *mujēbād**. Cf. No. 82 post.

33. बद् *bāḥ* (fem.), used in the following, बाजिबद् *bājʹibādḥ*, commensality (see No. 32), (iv. 69).

34. उल् *ul** fem. ज् *ʹj**, used to form adjectives as follows (iv. 72-87).

गद् *gāḥ**, wisdom.

गद्दुल् *gātul**, fem. गद्ज् *gātʹj**, skilful.

कण्ड् *kōṇḍ*, a large spring, also a large round earthen vessel.

कण्डुल् *kōṇḍul**, fem. कण्ड्ज् *kōṇḍʹj** circular.

गण्ड् *gāṇḍ*, a knot.

गण्डुल् *gāṇḍul**, fem. गण्ड्ज् *gāṇḍʹj**, in quantities, wholesale.

गथ् *gāṭḥ*, current of a river.

गथुल् *gātul**, fem. गथ्ज् *gāṭʹj**, excessive, very much.

गद् *gād*, (not used).

गद्दुल् *gādul**, fem. गद्ज् *gādʹj**, very much.

ढद् *ḍāḥ**, a weight (usually of grain) weighing twelve seers.

ढद्दुल् *ḍāḥul**, fem. ढद्ज् *ḍāḥʹj**, large enough to hold a *ḍāḥ**.

द्गु *dōg**, a fist.

द्गुल् *dōgul** fem. द्गुज् *dōgʹj**, shaped like a fist, lumpish.

पद् *pōṭ**, a child.

पद्दुल् *pōṭul**, fem. पद्ज् *pōṭʹj**, an image, an idol.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| मळ् <i>mōl</i> , price. | मळुल् <i>mōlul</i> *, fem. मळुल् <i>mōluj</i> *,
costly, high-priced. |
| साद् <i>sād</i> , taste. | सादुल् <i>sādul</i> *, fem. सादुल् <i>sāduj</i> *,
taste, nice to eat. |
| काद् <i>kōtsh</i> , bag. | कादुल् <i>kōtshul</i> *, fem. कादुल् <i>kōtshuj</i> *,
a porter. |
| छक् <i>chōkh</i> , cleansing. | छकुल् <i>chōkul</i> *, fem. छकुल् <i>chōkuj</i> *,
clear, distinct. |
| त्तद् <i>tsāth</i> , cutting. | त्तदुल् <i>tsātul</i> *, fem. त्तदुल् <i>tsātuj</i> *,
a thief. |
| पक् <i>pāth</i> , trust. | पतुल् <i>patul</i> *, fem. पतुल् <i>patuj</i> *, a
raft (fem. a mat). |
| वक् <i>tsōth</i> , the anus. | वतुल् <i>tsōtul</i> *, fem. वतुल् <i>tsōtuj</i> *, a
sodomite. |
| राक् <i>rāth</i> , night. | रातुल् <i>ratul</i> *, night-time. |
| दक् <i>dōh</i> , day. | दुदुल् <i>duhul</i> *, day-time. |
| मुन् <i>mūn</i> , wool. | मुनुल् <i>munul</i> *, fem. मुनुल् <i>munuj</i> *,
woollen (with short ante-
penult). |

35. युल् *yul**, fem. युल् *uj**, used to form adjectives as follows (iv. 88-95).

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| टप् <i>tap</i> *, ringlets. | टपुल् <i>ṭapyul</i> *, fem. टपुल् <i>ṭapuj</i> *,
having much hair. |
| जट् <i>jaṭ</i> * (pl.), matted hair. | जतुल् <i>jatyl</i> *, fem. जतुल् <i>jatuj</i> *,
having matted hair. |
| दाक् <i>dāh</i> , burning. | दादुल् <i>dahyl</i> *, fem. दादुल् <i>dahuj</i> *,
piteous (with short antepenult). |
| रक् <i>ras</i> flavour. | रसुल् <i>rasyul</i> *, fem. रसुल् <i>rasuj</i> *,
full of flavour, imparting
flavour. <i>E.g.</i> , रसुल् चुक् म्यवान्
<i>rasyul</i> * <i>chuh gyawān</i> , he is sing-
ing sweetly. |

| | |
|---|---|
| मद् <i>māṭh</i> , consolation. | मद्दुल् <i>matṭhyul</i> *, fem. मद्दिज् <i>matṭhiḥi</i> *, consolatory. |
| अद् <i>arāh</i> , affection. | बिद्दुल् <i>srihyul</i> *, fem. बिदिज् <i>srihiḥi</i> *, affectionate (with change of antepenult, vowel). |
| मिद् <i>miṣ</i> , a rag-nail, a piece of loose skin at the nail, a dolly-idler. | मिद्दुल् <i>miṣyul</i> *, the same as <i>miṣ</i> ; also a splinter or thorn under the nail. |
| सद् <i>syākh</i> , sand. | सद्दुल् <i>sākyul</i> *, fem. सदिज् <i>sākiḥi</i> *, sandy, e.g., सदिज् बुतराद् <i>sākiḥi butarāṭh</i> , sandy soil; also sandy-tasty, mealy, of fruit. |
| माज् <i>māj</i> *, a mother. | माज्दुल् <i>mājyul</i> *, shy, tied to his mother's apron strings. |

36. युन् *yun**, fem. दन् *iñ*, occurs as follows (iv. 96).

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| मल् <i>mal</i> , dirt. | मल्दुन् <i>malyun</i> *, fem. मलिदन् <i>maliñ</i> , dirty. |
|------------------------|--|

The termination also implies measure or weight (iv. 109). Thus,—

| | |
|---|--|
| त्रक् <i>trākh</i> , a weight or measure of four and three quarter seers. | त्रक्कुन् <i>trākkyun</i> *, fem. <i>kāṭh</i> , a ram weighing a <i>trākh</i> ; त्रक्कुन् नद् <i>trākkyun</i> *, fem. <i>ṇaṭ</i> *, a jar holding a <i>trākh</i> . |
| सेर् <i>seer</i> , a seer. | सीरुन् <i>siryun</i> *, fem. <i>thāl</i> , a dish holding a seer. |
| खार् <i>khār</i> , a measure of sixteen <i>trākhs</i> . | खार्कुन् <i>khāryun</i> *, fem. <i>bōr</i> *, a load weighing a <i>khār</i> . |
| चचोक् <i>ṭṣṭrōk</i> *, a measure of four <i>trākhs</i> . | चचोक्कुन् <i>ṭṣṭrākkyun</i> *, containing that measure. |
| पल् <i>pal</i> , four <i>tolahs</i> . | पल्दुन् <i>palyun</i> *, weighing four <i>tolahs</i> . |
| पंजुन् <i>pāṣuv</i> *, half a <i>trākh</i> . | पंजुन्कुन् <i>pāṣaṣun</i> *, measuring half a <i>trākh</i> (iv. 110). |

It will be observed that all the above are more or less irregular.

The suffix is also used with the words for sixty and seventy (iv. 111).

षेठ् *ṣeṭh*, sixty.

षीथुन् *ṣīthyun*^o, worth sixty.

सतत् *satath*, seventy.

सतत्युन् *satatyun*^o, worth seventy.

We cannot do this with other numbers. Thus we say दहन् दहद् *dahan hañd*^o (genitive) *dāñd*, a bullock worth ten.

It is also used with pronouns (iv. 112). Thus,—

त्युन् *tyūt*^o, so much.

तीत्युन् *tītyun*^o, worth so much.

य्युन् *yyūt*^o, how much.

यीत्युन् *yītyun*^o, worth how much.

क्युन् *kūt*^o, how much ?

क्युत्युन् *kṛtyun*^o, worth how much ?

य्युन् *yūt*^o, this much.

इत्युन् *yītyun*^o, worth this much.

We also have (iv, 113).

वारिष् *warihy*, a year.

वार्षुन् *wārṣyun*^o, of one year ; one year old.

37. उन् *un*^o, is used as follows (iv. 97-98).

कुद् *k^oṭ*^o, a beam.

कुटुन् *kūṭun*^o, a small beam, a stick.

दग् *dag*, a blow.

दगुन् *dagun*^o, a club, a mace.

38. र् *r*, is used with the following words to signify profession or calling (iv. 99-108).

रङ् *rañg*, colour.

रङ्ग् *rañg^or*, a dyer.

सन् *ṣon*, gold.

सन्ग् *ṣon^or*, a goldsmith.

मन् *man*, a precious stone.

मन्ग् *man^or*, a lapidary.

तम् *ṭam*, skin.

तम्ग् *ṭam^or*, a leather worker.

दाद् *dāñd*, a bull.

दाद्ग् *dāñd^or*, a vegetable seller.

काद् *kāñd* (not used).

काद्ग् *kāñd^or*, a baker.

दाष् *dās*, destruction.

दाष्ग् *dās^or*, a destroyer.

फाष् *phās*, discord.

फाष्ग् *phās^or*, a causer of discord.

बन् *bañg^o*, Indian hemp.

बन्ग् *bañg^or*, a hemp-smoker.

बम् *bam*, an impediment.

बम्ग् *bam^or*, an impeder.

लाम् *lam^o*, delay.

लाम्ग् *lam^or*, a delayer.

लाब् *lāb*, interest.

लाब्ग् *lāb^or*, a money lender.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| साङ् <i>sāl</i> , invitation. | साङ्गर् <i>sāl^{er}</i> , a member of a bridegroom's party. |
| लूढ् <i>lūth</i> , plunder. | लूढर् <i>lūth^{er}</i> , a plunderer. |
| ब्रम् <i>bram</i> , delusion. | ब्रम्गर् <i>bram^{er}</i> , a deluder. |

Irregular is,—

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| लूब् <i>lūb</i> , covetousness. | लूढर् <i>lūd^{er}</i> , a coveter. |
|---------------------------------|--|

[Others write these words रंगुर् *rangur^o*, सनुर् *sōnur^o*, &c. Thus making the termination उर् *ur^o*, not र् *r*].

39. गर् *gar^o*, (masc.), fem. गर् *gar^o*, used to signify a profession relating to anything sold (ix. ii. 88, 89). Thus,—

| |
|---|
| सायगर् <i>lāggar^o</i> , (साय <i>lāṣ</i> is fem. pl.), a seller of parched grain. |
| गङ्गुगर् <i>gaṅḡangar^o</i> , a book binder. |
| कङ्कगर् <i>kanggañ^o</i> -(plur.)- <i>gar^o</i> , a comb-seller. |
| मङ्गुगर् <i>maṅḡangar^o</i> , a man who kneads cloth in water (to soften it). |

This is not used with words which have other forms, like सनुर् *sōn^{er}*, in preceding list.

From दाङ् *dāṅḡ*, paddy, we have, irregularly, दाङ्गर् *dāggar^o*, a paddy seller, *vide ante*, p. 70.

40. युम् *yum^o*, fem. इम् *im^o*, used to form ordinals (iv. 114.)

| | |
|--|---|
| अक् <i>ākḥ</i> , one. | अक्युम् <i>akyum^o</i> , fem. अकिम् <i>akim^o</i> , first. |
| दक् <i>dah</i> , ten. | दह्युम् <i>dahyum^o</i> , fem. दहिम् <i>dahim^o</i> , tenth. |
| वुक् <i>wuh</i> , twenty. | वुह्युम् <i>wuhyum^o</i> , twentieth. |
| हक् <i>hāth</i> , a hundred. | हत्युम् <i>hatyum^o</i> , hundredth. |
| साङ् <i>sās</i> , a thousand. | साङ्गुम् <i>sāsyum^o</i> , thousandth. |
| कक् <i>kaṭṣ^o</i> (masc.) | कक्युम् <i>katsyum^o</i> , fem. ककिम् <i>kakim^o</i> ,
ककिम् <i>katsim^o</i> , which out of many ? |
| कक् <i>kaṭṣ^o</i> (fem.) | |
| बोनि <i>yīi^o</i> (masc. plur.), how many. | बोत्युम् <i>yītyum^o</i> , fem. बोतिम् <i>yītim^o</i> , which out of many. |

तीनि *tīṭi*, that many.

तीत्युम् *tītyum**, fem. तीनिम् *tītim**,
that out of many.

ईनि *yīṭi*, this many.

ईत्युम् *yītyum**, fem. ईनिम् *yītim**,
this out of many.

41. र् *i*, fem. र् *i*, denotes place of origin (iv. 117). Thus,—

सोवपोर् *sōvpōr*, Sopor, name
of a town.

सोवपूरि नाव् *sōvpūrī nāv*, a boat of
Sopor; fem. सोवपोरि *sōvpōri*.

ईरान् *yīrān* Persia.

ईरानि गुर *yīrānī gur*, a Persian
horse; fem. ईरानि *yīrāni*.

चीन् *cin*, China.

चीनि चोचु *cinī khōc*, a China cup;
fem. चीनि *cini*.

हिन्दुस्तान् *hindustān*, India.

हिन्दुस्तानि कपुर् *hindustānī kapur*,
Indian cloth; fem. हिन्दुस्तानि
hindustāni.

42. उर् *ur**, used as follows (iv. 118).

काशोर् *kaçir* (fem.), Kash-
mir.

काशुर् कंज् *kāçur kōng* Kashmiri
saffron.

So काशुर् पश्मीन् *kāçur paçmin**, Kashmiri *pashmeena*; काशिर् कठ *kāçir kōṭh* (fem.), *aucklandia costus* from Kashmir.

43. उक् *uk**, fem. उक् *c**. This is used to signify origin, either in place or time. If उक् *uk** is preceded by य् *y*, युक् *yuk** becomes इक् *ic** in the feminine. It is really one of the genitive particles (p. 37) (iv. 119, 120).

कति *kati*, where?

कत्युक् *katyuk**, fem. कतिक् *katic**, of
where?

तति *tati*, there.

तत्युक् *tatyuk**, fem. ततिक् *tatic**, of
there.

इति *yiti*, here.

इत्युक् *yityuk**, fem. इतिक् *yitic**, of
here.

यति *yati*, where.

यत्युक् *yatyuk**, fem. यतिक् *yatic**,
of where.

उति *huti*, here.

उत्युक् *hutyuk**, fem. उतिक् *hucic**, of
here.

| | |
|--|--|
| कर kar, when. | करुक karuk ^० , fem. करच karac ^० , of what time. |
| गर gar ^० , a house. | गरुक garuk ^० , fem. गरच garac ^० , domestic. |
| राथ rāth, yesterday. | रातुक rātuk ^० , fem. रातच rātac ^० , of yesterday. |
| परस parus ^० , the day before yesterday. | परसुक par ^० suk ^० , fem. परसच par ^० sac ^० , of the day before yesterday. |
| दक्षुन् dachyūn ^० , south. | दक्षिन्युक dach ^० nyuk ^० , of the south. |
| खोवुर khōwur ^० , north. | खोवुर्युक khōw ^० ryuk ^० , of the north. |

The word अज् az, to-day, makes अज्युक azyuk^०, of to-day.

44. युम् yum^० (or इम् im^०), fem. इम् im^०. This termination is added to the post-position पारि pārī, beyond (cf. No. 70). When phrases like कमि पारि kami pārī occur, the मि mi of the pronoun is elided when this suffix is added (iv. 120). Thus,—

| | |
|---|---|
| पारि pārī, beyond. | पारियुम् pāryum ^० , fem. पारिम् pārīm ^० , born in the country beyond (the hills). May also be written पारिम् and so throughout. |
| कमिपारि kamipārī, in what direction. | कपारियुम् kapāryum ^० , of what direction. |
| तमिपारि tamipārī, in that direction. | तपारियुम् tapāryum ^० , of that direction. |
| यमिपारि yamipārī, in what direction. | यपारियुम् yapāryum ^० , of what direction. |
| उमिपारि humipārī, beyond that. | उपारियुम् hupāryum ^० , of over there. |
| इमिपारि yimipārī, in this direction. | इपारियुम् yipāryum ^० , of this direction. |
| अमिपारि amipārī, in that (visible) direction. | अपारियुम् apāryum ^० , of that direction. |

So also we have,—

ब्रीठ् *brīṭh*, in front.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

ह्यूर् *hyūr*, above.

प्यठ् *pyāṭh*, above.

तल् *tal*, below.

बन् *bōn*, below.

अन्द् *and^r*, within.

न्यब् *nyab^r*, outside.

मन् *man*, in.

ब्रीठ्युम् *brīṭhyum*, of the front.

पथ्युम् *patyum*, of the rear.

ह्यैर्युम् *hīryum*, of above.

प्यठ्युम् *pēthyum*, of above.

तल्युम् *talyum*, of below.

बन्ध्युम् *bōnyum*, of below.

अन्द्ध्युम् *and^rryum*, of within.

न्यब्ध्युम् *nyab^rryum*, of outside.

मन्ध्युम् *maneyum*, internal (Cf. Nos. 8 and 22).

45. क्यल्लु *khyal*, fem. क्यल्लु *khēy*, signifies multitude (iv. 121).

गाव् *gāv*, a cow.

गुर् *gur*, a horse.

गुपन् *gupan*, cattle.

त्यूर् *tyūr*, a ram.

जानान् *zanān*, a woman.

महान्युव् *mahanyuv*, a man.

गोवक्यल्लु *gōv^rkhyal*, a herd of cows. *Vide ante*, p. 67.

गुरिक्यल्लु *gur^rkhyal*, a troop of horse.

गुपन्क्यल्लु *gupankhyal*, a herd of cattle.

तीरिक्यल्लु *tīr^rkhyal*, a herd of rams.

जानान्क्यल्लु *zanān^rkhyal*, a group of women.

महानिविक्यल्लु *mahaniv^rkhyal*, a crowd of men.

It will be observed that the termination is added to the Nominative Plural.

46. अय् *ay*, used as follows (iv. 122).

लूक् *lūkh*, people.

लूकय् *lūkay*, a crowd of people.

47. उन् *un*, fem. अ न्, the genitive termination. It is used to form adjectives also (iv. 123). Thus,—

पान् *pān*, self.

पानुन् *panun*, fem. पानन् *panañ*, own.

Note that in this word the long vowel of the base is shortened.

48. उद् *ud^o*, fem. उद् *s^o*. This is used as follows (iv. 124).

पद् *par*, another.

पपद् *parud^o*, fem. परपद् *paras^o*,
another's.

49. थ् *th^o*, used to form adverbs of manner (iv. 125), with elision of a preceding व् *h* (iv. 131). So also in other cases. Thus,—

तिव् *tih*, that.

तिथ् *tith^o*, in that manner.

यिव् *yih*, who.

यिथ् *yith^o*, how.

क्याव् *kyāh*, what ?

क्याथ् *kyath^o*, how ? (vowel shorten-
ed, iv. 129).

इव् *yih*, this.

इथ् *yith^o*, thus.

उव् *huh*, thus.

उथ् *huth^o*, in that manner.

50. थ् *th^o*, fem. थ् *ts^h*, forming adjectives of manner (iv. 126).

Thus,—

तिथ् *tyuth^o*, fem. तिथ् *tits^h*, of that kind.

यिथ् *yyuth^o*, fem. यिथ् *yits^h*, of what kind.

किय् *kyuth^o*, fem. किय् *kits^h*, of what kind ?

इथ् *yuth^o*, fem. इथ् *yits^h*, of this kind.

उथ् *huth^o*, fem. उथ् *huts^h*, of that kind.

51. पांति *pāñhⁱ* or पांतिन् *pāñhin*, used pleonastically after adverbs of manner, and similarly after other words (iv. 127, 128, 129). Thus,—

तिथपांति *tith^opāñhⁱ*, in that way.

यिथपांति *yith^opāñhⁱ*, how.

क्याथपांति *kyath^opāñhⁱ*, how ?

इथपांति *yith^opāñhⁱ*, thus.

उथपांति *huth^opāñhⁱ*, in that way.

So also तिथपांतिन् *tith^opāñhin*, &c.

So also we have,—

बिय् *biy^o*, other.

बियपांतिन् *biy^opāñhin*, otherwise.

सोरव् *sōruy*, all.

सारिवपांति *sāriy^opāñhⁱ*, in every way.

हल्व् *hal^o*, crooked.

हल्वपांति *hal^opāñhⁱ*, crookedly.

In the same way the termination can be added to the genitive of any noun.

E.g., तसन्दि पाठि *tasandⁱ pāṭhⁱ*, like that.

गुरि सन्दि पाठि *gurⁱ sandⁱ pāṭhⁱ*, like the horse.

So also we have phrases like लयतताङ्गपाठि *layath^e-tāñ-pāṭhⁱ*, in any manner. ताङ्ग *tāñ* = Skr., अपि *api*.

52. रंग *rang^e*, used to form adverbs of manner as follows (iv. 130).

तमिरंग *tamirang^e*, in that manner.

यमिरंग *yamirang^e*, how.

कमिरंग *kamirang^e*, how ?

इमिरंग *yimirang^e*, thus.

उमिरंग *humirang^e*, in that manner.

अमिरंग *amirang^e*, in that manner.

अकिरंग *akirang^e*, in one manner (from अक् *ākh*, one).

द्वयिरंग *dwayirang^e*, in two ways (from द्वक् *z^oh*, two).

त्रयिरंग *trëyarang^e*, in three ways (from त्रिक् *trih*, three).

सारिरंग *sārirang^e*, in every way (from सोक् *sōr^e*, all).

यत्निरंग *yatñirang^e*, in many ways (from यक् *yakt^e*, very).

सिद्धाहिरंग *siṭhāhirang^e*, in many ways (from सिद्धक् *siṭhāh*, very).

53. इⁱ, to form adverbs of place from pronominal bases (iv. 132). Thus,—

तति *tatⁱ*, there.

यति *yatⁱ*, where.

कति *kātⁱ*, where ?

इति *yitⁱ*, here.

उति *hutⁱ*, there.

अति *atⁱ*, there.

So also we have (iv. 155), formed from words which are not pronominal bases,—

ब्रौठ् *brōṭh*, before.

ब्रौठि *brōṭhⁱ*, in front.

पथ् *pāth* behind.

पथि *pāthⁱ*, in behind.

| | |
|--|---|
| खोवुर् <i>khōwur</i> ^o , left. | खोवुरि <i>khōwur</i> ⁱ (p. 53), on the left. |
| दक्षुन् <i>dachyun</i> ^o , right. | दक्षिनि <i>dāchin</i> ⁱ (p. 54), on the right. |
| तल् <i>tal</i> , below. | तलि <i>tal</i> ⁱ , below. |
| प्यठ् <i>pyāṭh</i> , above. | प्यठि <i>pyāṭh</i> ⁱ , above. |

54. अन *an*, अनी *anī*, अनस् *anas*, अनन् *anan*, added pleonastically to the adverbs of place mentioned in No. 53 (iv. 133, 135). Thus,—

कत्यन् *katyan*, कत्यनी *katyanī*, कत्यन्स् *katyanas*, or कत्यन्न् *katyanan*, where ?

तत्यन् *tatyan*, तत्यनी *tatyanī*, तत्यन्स् *tatyanas*, or तत्यन्न् *tatyanan*, there.

यत्यन् *yatyan*, यत्यनी *yatyanī*, यत्यन्स् *yatyanas*, or यत्यन्न् *yatyanan*, where.

अत्यन् *atyan*, अत्यनी *atyanī*, अत्यन्स् *atyanas*, or अत्यन्न् *atyanan*, there, &c.

55. इ *i*, to form adverbs of motion from (iv. 132). Thus,—

तति *tati*, from there, thence.

यति *yati*, from where, whence.

कति *kati*, from where ? whence ?

रति *yiti*, hence.

हुति *huti*, thence.

अति *ati*, thence.

56. प्यठ् *pyāṭh*^o, added pleonastically to the adverbs of motion from, mentioned in No. 55 (iv. 134). Thus,—

ततिप्यठ् *tatipyāṭh*^o, thence.

यतिप्यठ् *yatipyāṭh*^o, whence.

कतिप्यठ् *katipyāṭh*^o, whence ?

रतिप्यठ् *yitipyāṭh*^o, hence.

हुतिप्यठ् *hutipyāṭh*^o, thence.

This is merely the post-position of the ablative. Cf. Hindūstāni कहीं से *kahīn sē*.

57. ओर् *ōr* used to form adverbs of place as follows (iv. 136).

तोर् *tōr* there ; योर् *yōr*, where ; कोर् *kōr*, where ? योर् *yōr*, here

होर् *hōr*, there ; ओर् *ōr*, there.

When the suffix *य् y*, even, is added, *ओ o* becomes *अ ā*. Thus,—
तूर्यं tūry, even there; *यूर्यं yūry*, even where; *कूर्यं kūry*, even where?
यूर्यं yūry, even here; *अर्यं ury*, even there.

58. *तु t^a*, or *तुश् tuth*, used to form adverbs of place (iv. 136).
 Thus,—

ततु तत^a or *ततुश् tatuth*, there; *यतु यत^a* or *यतुश् yatuth*, where; *कतु कत^a* or *कतुश् katuth*, where? *रतु रत^a* or *रतुश् rituth*, here; *हतु हत^a* or *हतुश् hututh*, there; *अतु अत^a*, or *अतुश् atuth*, there.

With emphatic *य् y*, these become, *ततुय् ततुय्^a*, *ततुय्श् ततुय्^ay*, even here; *यतुय् यतुय्^a* or *यतुय्श् यतुय्^ay*, even where, and so on (p. 88).

59. *ओर or^a*, used to make adverbs of motion from (iv. 137).
 Thus,—

तोर तोर^a, thence; *योर योर^a*, whence; *कोर कोर^a*, whence? *योर योर^a*, hence; *होर होर^a*, thence; *ओर ओर^a*, thence.

60. *अलि ali* or *अलि^a alⁱ*, used to make adverbs of time (iv. 138).
 Thus,—

तलि तलि^a, or *तलि^a t^li^a*, then; *यलि यलि^a* or *यलि^a y^li^a*, when; *अलि अलि^a* or *अलि^a a^li^a*, when?

This termination is not used with other pronouns. The word for 'now' is *अस् wōñ*. 'Even now' is *तुस् wuñ* (iv. 139). 'When?' is also *कर kar* (iv. 140).

61. *र i*, or *रⁱ*, used to form adverbs of time (iv. 141, 143). It is really the case of the agent, sometimes masc., and sometimes (to agree with *विज्ञि wizi* understood) fem. Thus,—

From —

रातुश् रातु^a, night time.

रातुलि रातु^aलि, by night.

We also have *रातुक् रातु^aकुत^a*, with the dative post-position (iv. 142).

दहलु दहलु^a, day time.

दहलि दह^aलि, by day.

अहफुलु अहफुलु^a, break of dawn.

अहफुलि अहफुलु^aलि, at daybreak.

सुलु सुलु^a, earliness.

सुलि सुलि^a, early.

यत्काल् *yats^hkāl*, delay. यत्कालि *yats^hkālⁱ*, late.
 काल् *kāl*, time. कालि *kālⁱ*, at the (right) time.

We have also कालिक्क *kālⁱkyāth*, the day after to-morrow. क्क *kyāth* is the sign of the Locative. Again ततिकालिक्क *tatikālⁱkyāth*, two days after to-morrow.

विक्क *wis^h*, time, takes this suffix, which is in this case, clearly the agent singular, in the following phrases.

कमिक्कि *kamiwizi*, when ? तमिक्कि *tamiwizi*, then ; यमिक्कि *yamiwizi*, when ; &c.

62. ष् *s*, used to form adverbs of time in the following. It is really the accusative singular (iv. 144).

कोक्क *kōj^h*, the forenoon meal. कालिष् *kājis*, at the time of the forenoon meal.
 मिम्युक्क *mimiyuz^h*, the after-noon meal. मिमिक्किष् *mimisis*, at the time of the afternoon meal.

63. अन् *an*, used to form adverbs of time, especially with regard to the divisions of the day (iv. 145).

मन्दिक्क *mandyūṣ^h*, midday. मन्दिक्कन् *mandiṣan* at midday.
 दुपहर् *dupahar*, midday. दुपहरन् *dupaharan*, at midday.
 कालक्कन् *kālakan*, evening. कालक्कन्न् *kālakanan*, at evening.
 बतन्यन् *batanyang*, the time of the night meal. बतन्यन्न् *batanyanggan*, at the time of the night meal.
 बतद् *batadab*, the time of going to bed after the night meal. बतद्दन् *batadaban*, at bed time.
 अद्राक् *aḍrāth*, midnight. अद्रातन् *aḍrātan*, at midnight.
 पत्युन्पहर् *patyumpahar*, the last watch of the night. पतिम्पहरन् *patimpaharan*, in the last watch of the night.

We even find this with foreign words, as,—

सुब् *sub^h*, morning. सुब्दन् *sub^han*, at morn.
 शाम् *ṣām*, evening. शामन् *ṣāman*, at eve.

64. च् *a*, used to signify distribution, with the prefix प्रथ् *prāth* (iv. 146). Thus,—

दध् *dōh*, a day. प्रथ्दध् *prāthdōh^h*, day by day.

(Also दृक् *dōh*°, day by day, iv. 147).

पहर् *pahar*, a watch.

प्रक्पहर् *prāthpahar*°, at each watch.

वरिह् *warihy*, a year.

प्रक्वरिह् *prāthwarihy*°, yearly.

प्रक् *prāth*, also simply governs the accusative.

Thus,—

अक् *āk*, one.

प्रक् अकिह् *prāth akis*, one by one.

विह् *wis*°, time.

प्रक् विह् *prāth wizi*, each time.

महनिव् *mahanyuv*°, a man.

प्रक् महनिविह् *prāth mahanivis*, man by man.

झनान् *zanān*°, a woman.

प्रक् झनानि *prāth zanāni*, woman by woman.

When च् *y*, even, is added to the phrase प्रक्दृक् *prāthdōh*°, the प्रक् *prāth* is always dropped. Thus, always, दृक्च *dōhay*, even day by day (iv. 148). प्रक्दृक्च *prāthdōhay*, is not used.

65. पक् *pāth*, is also used to signify **distribution**, as follows (iv. 149).

दृक्पक् दृक् *dōhapāth dōh*°, day by day.

वरिह्यपक् वरिह् *warihyapāth warihy*°, year by year.

झनिपक् झनि *zanipāth zani*, person by person.

66. उक् *us*, used as follows (iv. 150, 151, 152).

इह् *yih*, this.

इह् उक् *yihus*, this year.

ब्रौह् *brōih*, before.

ब्रौह् उक् *brōihus*, next year.

पक् *pāth*, behind.

पक् उक् *parus*, last year (with change of *t* to *r*).

प्रौह् *prōh*°, belonging to the year before last.

प्रौह् उक् *prōyus*, in the year before last.

67. किन् *kin*°, used to form adverbs of direction from (iv. 153); added to No. 55. Thus,—

ततिकिन् *tatikin*°, thence; यतिकिन् *yatikin*°, whence; कतिकिन्

katikin°, whence? इतिकिन् *itikin*°, hence; हुतिकिन् *hutikin*°, thence.

ब्रौह् *brōih*, before.

ब्रौहिकिन् *brōih'kin*°, from before.

पक् *pāth*, behind.

पतिकिन् *pat'kin*°, from behind.

| | |
|--|---|
| दक्षुन् <i>dachyur</i> ^o , right. | दक्षिनिकिनि <i>dachinⁱkinⁱ</i> , from the right. |
| बोधुर् <i>khōwur</i> ^o , left. | बोधुरिकिनि <i>khōw^orⁱkinⁱ</i> , from the left. |
| तल् <i>tal</i> , below. | तल्लिकिनि <i>talⁱkinⁱ</i> , from below. |
| पथ् <i>pyāth</i> , above. | पथ्लिकिनि <i>pāthⁱkinⁱ</i> , from above. |

68. कनि *kani*, used to form adverbs of direction from (iv. 153), with No. 59. तोरकनि *tōrakani*, from there; योरकनि *yōrakani*, from where; कोरकनि *kōrakani*, whence? होरकनि *hōrakani* or ओरकनि *ōrakani*, thence.

So also we have, signifying cause,—

- तमिकनि *tamikani* or तवकनि *tawakani*, for that reason.
- यमिकनि *yamikani* or यवकनि *yawakani*, for what reason.
- कमिकनि *kamikani* or कवकनि *kawakani*, for what reason?
- यमिकनि *yimikani* or यवकनि *yiwakani*, for this reason.
- हमिकनि *humikani* (not हवकनि *huwakani*), for that reason.
- अमिकनि *amikani* or अवकनि *awakani*, for that reason.

It is also used with words of time to signify uncertainty (iv. 154). Thus,—

अङ्कनि *askani*, perhaps to-day; पनाङ्कनि *pagāh^kkani*, perhaps to-morrow; कालिक्यङ्कनि *kālⁱkyāth^kkani*, (see No. 61), about the day after to-morrow; अत्रकनि *ātrakani*, about the day before yesterday; दहङ्कनि *dahumkani*, about the tenth (lunar) day; हारकनि *hārakani*, about *aṣāḍha*.

69. पत् *pat*^o, used to form adverbs of time after (iv. 153). Thus,—

- तमिपत् *tamipat*^o, after then.
- तवपत् *tawapat*^o, after then, and so on, as in No. 68.

70. पारि *pārⁱ*, to indicate direction from or in (iv. 156). Cf. No. 44). Thus,—

- कमिपारि *kamipārⁱ* or कपारि *kapārⁱ*, in or from what direction?
- तमिपारि *tamipārⁱ*, or तपारि *tapārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

यमिपाँरि *yamipārⁱ*, or यपाँरि *yapārⁱ*, in or from what direction.

रमिपाँरि *yimipārⁱ* or रपाँरि *yipārⁱ*, in or from this direction.

उमिपाँरि *humipārⁱ* or उपाँरि *hupārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

अमिपाँरि *amipārⁱ* or अपाँरि *apārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

And so on. So also,—

दक्षिणिपाँरि *dāchinⁱpārⁱ*, from or on the right ; बोधिपाँरि *khōwⁱpārⁱ*, from or on the left ; ब्रूँडिपाँरि *brūⁱṭhⁱpārⁱ*, in or from the front ; पतिणिपाँरि *patimⁱpārⁱ*, in or from behind.

From चोर *ṭṣōr*, four, we have चपाँरि *ṭṣōpārⁱ* or चवापाँरि *ṭṣōwōpārⁱ*, in or from all round, i.e., all four directions.

But चारिपाँरि *ṭṣōripārⁱ*, in or from four directions only (iv. 157). As usual these nouns take the case of the agent.

71. कुन् *kun*, added to adverbs of place to signify direction (iv. 158). Thus (No. 57), तोकुन् *tōrkun*, in that direction ; बोकुन् *yōrkun*, in what direction ; कोकुन् *kōrkun*, in what direction ? योकुन् *yōrkun*, in this direction ; होकुन् *hōrkun*, in that direction ; ओकुन् *ōrkun*, in that direction.

तूर्यकुन् *turykun*, even in that direction ; यूर्यकुन् *yūrykun*, even in what direction.

Again (No. 58), ततकुन् *tātⁱkun*, in that direction ; यतकुन् *yātⁱkun*, and so on.

In these last the final त *tⁱ* of the first element may be changed to थ *th*. Thus,—

तथकुन् *tathkun*, in that direction ; यथकुन् *yathkun*, in what direction ; कथकुन् *kathkun*, in what direction ? इथकुन् *yithkun*, in this direction ; उथकुन् *huthkun*, in that direction ; अथकुन् *athkun*, in that direction. With emphatic थ *y* we get, तथ्यकुन् *tathykun*, even in that direction ; यथ्यकुन् *yathykun*, even in what direction, and so on.

Similarly we have,—

ग्राम् *gām*, a village.

ग्रामकुन् *gāmkun*, in the direction of the village.

गर् *gar^e*, a house.

गरकुन् *garakun*, in the direction of the house.

कल्ल *kōl*, (fem.), a river.

वार् *wār*^a, a garden.

ह्यार् *hyār*^a, ह्यूर *hyūr*^a, or

ह्यूर *hyūr*^a, above.

बन्न *bōn*, below.

कल्लिकुन् *kōlikun*, towards the river.

वारिकुन् *wārikun*, towards the garden.

ह्यार्कुन् *hyār^akun*, ह्यूरकुन् *hyūr^akun*,
or ह्यूरकुन् *hyūr^akun*, towards
above.

बन्नकुन् *bōnkun*, [towards below.

The suffix can also be used as a post-position added to the accusative. Thus,—

मोळ् *mōl*^a, a father.

मांज् *māj*^a, a mother.

मोळिक् कुन् *mōlis kun*, towards the father.

मांज् कुन् *mājē kun*, towards the mother.

So तमिक् कुन् *tamis kun*, towards him; यमिक् कुन् *yamis kun*, towards whom.

72. उव् *uv*^a, (fem. अव् *av*^a), signifies **composed of** (iv. 159).
Thus,—

सन् *sōn*, gold.

मैत् *mēt*^a, earth.

काठ् *kāth*, wood.

सनुव् *sōnuv*^a, fem. सनव् *sonav*^a,
made of gold.

मैत्यव् *mētēyuv*^a, fem. मैत्तव् *mētēyav*^a
made of earth.

काठव् *kāthuv*^a, made of wood.

In all the above, the suffix is added to the form of the agent, but a final *a* is elided.

73. बुब् *buz*, fem. the same, signifies **dependent on** (iv. 160).
Thus,—

लूक् *lūk*, people.

खड् *khōḍ*, a hollow.

कलय् *kōlay*, a wife.

लूकबुब् *lūkabuz*, dependent on
people; belonging to other
people.

खडबुब् *khōḍabuz*, dependent on a
hollow; i.e., buried in the
ground.

कलयबुब् *kōlayabuz*, dependent on
a wife; having only one rela-
tion,—his wife.

74. ल्यक् *lyak^s*, fem. ल्छक् *l̥c^s*, used with अद् *ad*, half, as follows (iv. 161).

अदल्यक् *aḍalyak^s*, incomplete : e.g.

अदल्लक् *aḍl̥c^s* *kōm*, an incomplete action.

अदल्लक् *aḍal̥c^s* *l̥ar^s*, an incomplete house.

75. रिन् *riṅg*, used as follows (iv. 162) to make diminutives.

अब् *ab^{er}*, a cloud.

अब्परिन् *ab^{erariṅg}*, a slight cloud.

दुब् *d^{oh}*, smoke.

दुब्परिन् *d^{ohariṅg}*, a slight cloud of smoke.

वाब् *wāw*, wind.

वाब्परिन् *wāwariṅg*, a little wind.

76. ल्थक् *lth*, (fem.), used to form diminutives of words signifying breath or light (iv. 163). Thus,—

प्राब् *prāb^s*, life.

प्राब्बल् *prāb^{alth}*, a spark of life.

श्राब् *śāb^s*, breath.

श्राब्बल् *śāb^{alth}*, a trace of breath.

ग्राब् *gāb^s*, light.

ग्राब्बल् *gāb^{alth}*, a very little light.

तैग् *ṭēg^s*, a lamp.

तैग्बल् *ṭēg^{lth}*, a little lamp.

The final *lth* becomes *t* in declension. Thus, acc. sg. प्राब्बल्ति *prāb^{al^{ti}}* (not प्राब्बल्ति *prāb^{al^{ti^s}}*).

77. त्त् *t^{er}* (fem.), used to form diminutives of words meaning cloths (iv. 164).

कप्त् *kapur*, cotton cloth.

कप्त्त् *kap^{er}*, a piece of cloth.

पत्त् *pat^s*, woollen cloth.

पत्त्त् *pa^{er}*.

78. चल् *chal* (fem.), used to form diminutives, especially of clothes (iv. 165).

कप्त् *kapur*, cotton cloth.

कप्त्चल् *kap^{archal}*, a piece of cotton cloth.

त्त् *ṭēṭ^s*, a cake.

त्त्चल् *ṭēṭ^{chal}*, a piece of cake.

बुर्ज् *burj^s*, a *bhurja* leaf.

बुर्ज्चल् *burj^{achal}*, a piece of *bhurja* leaf.

पत्त् *pat^s*, a tablet.

पत्त्चल् *pa^{cēchal}*, a piece of board.

कृष्णाम् *kṛṣṇamāṣ*, the liver.

कृष्णाम्चल् *kṛṣṇamāṣ^{chal}*, a piece of liver.

79. तिखिन् *tilim*, also forms similar diminutives (iv. 165).

Thus कपरतिखिन् *kapartilim*; च्चतिखिन् *ççöcëtilim*; बुर्जतिखिन् *burjatilim*, &c.

It is smaller than a thing formed with No. 78.

80. रेम् *rēmph* (fem.) (*vide ante*, p. 62), used to form diminutives, and in pity (iv. 166). Thus,—

| | |
|--|--|
| गुर <i>gur</i> ^० , a boy. | गुरिरेम् <i>gur'rēmph</i> , a poor little boy. |
| गुर <i>gur</i> ^० , a horse. | गुरिरेम् <i>gur'rēmph</i> , a poor little horse. |
| महानिव <i>mahanyuv</i> ^० , a man. | महानिविरेम् <i>mahaniv'rēmph</i> , a poor man. |
| खँड <i>khēḥ</i> ^० , an apple. | खँडिरेम् <i>khēḥ'rēmph</i> , a little apple. |

81. रैह *rēḥ* (fem.), indicates connexion, including the idea of partition (iv. 167). Thus,—

कपूर *kapur*, cotton cloth; कपररैह *kaparrēḥ*, a piece of cloth.

मातामाखरैह *mātāmākrēḥ* *chēḥ*, there is some slight relationship with his maternal grandfather.

82. जंढ *janḍ* (masc.), added to words signifying vegetables or wood, to signify a little (iv. 168). Thus,—

| | |
|---|---|
| खाक् <i>hākḥ</i> , spinach. | खाकजंढ <i>hākazanḍ</i> , a little spinach. |
| काड <i>kāḥ</i> , wood. | काडजंढ <i>kāḥazanḍ</i> , a little wood. |
| पोष <i>pōḥ</i> , a flower. | पोषजंढ <i>pōḥazanḍ</i> , a few flowers. |
| स्युन् <i>syun</i> ^० , firewood. | सिनिसंढ <i>sin'zanḍ</i> , a little firewood. |
| स्युन् <i>syun</i> ^० , vegetables, meat, &c., (eaten with rice). | सिनिसंढ <i>sin'zanḍ</i> , a few vegetables (not meat. If meat is included in the idea, <i>zanḍ</i> cannot be used). |

मुजि *muj*ⁱ, a radish (Cf. No. 32 *ante*). मुजजंढ *mujēzanḍ*, a few radishes.

83. काक् *kāḥ* (fem.), used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

खाककाक् *hākakāḥ*, a little spinach; काडकाक् *kāḥakāḥ*, a little wood; पोषकाक् *pōḥakāḥ*, a few flowers; so सिनिकाक् *sin'kāḥ*; सिनिकाक् *sin'kāḥ*; मुजकाक् *mujēkāḥ*.

84. तुलु *tul** (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus;— हाकतुलु *hākatul**, a little spinach; काठतुलु *kāthatul**, a little wood; पोषतुलु *pōṣatul**, a few flowers. So झिनितुलु *zin'tul**; सिनितुलु *sin'tul**; मुजतुलु *mujētul**.

We may also add वा *ā* (iv. 170). Thus हाकतुलुवा *hākatuluwā*, a little spinach.

85. चोपु *thōp** (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाकचोपु *hākathōp**; काठचोपु *kāthathōp**; पोषचोपु *pōṣathōp**; झिनिचोपु *zin'thōp**; सिनिचोपु *sin'thōp**; मुजचोपु *mujēthōp**.

86. फलु *phal**, used to signify a little more especially of any kind of grain (iv. 169). Thus,—

दास *dāñḥ*, paddy.

दासफलु *dāṣphal**, a little paddy.

Vide ante, p. 70.

तमुलु *tōmul*, rice.

तमुलुफलु *tōm^olaphal**, a little rice.

कर *kar**, peas.

करफलु *karaphal**, a few peas.

मंग *mōṅg*, mung.

मंगफलु *mōṅgaphal**, a little mung.

So also,—

तसु *ts^on*, charcoal.

तसुफलु *ts^onēphal**, a little charcoal.

बडु *baṭh**, cowdung fuel.

बडुफलु *baṭhⁱphal**, a little cowdung fuel.

मसु *mēks**, earth.

मसुफलु *mēksēphal**, a little earth.

फलु *phal**, in the plural, means 'grains,' and is not used as a diminutive. Thus,—

दासफलि *dāṣphali*, grains of paddy; तमुलुफलि *tōm^olaphali*, grains of rice, &c.

वा *ā* may be added to फलु *phal**. Thus (iv. 170) बतफलुवा *bata-phalwā*, a little boiled rice.

87. म्यु *mōy* or म्यवा *mōyā*, may be used to form diminutives with any of the words mentioned in Nos. 75 to 86, except kinds of wood and grain (Nos. 82 and 86) (iv. 170). Thus;—

अब्रम्यु *āb^oramōy* or अब्रम्यवा *āb^oramōyā*, a small cloud; दुहम्यवा *d^ohamōyā*, slight smoke; वावम्यवा *wāwamōyā*, slight wind; हाकम्यवा

hākamōyā, a little spinach (only used of cooked spinach. *वाकतुला* *hākatulā* (cf. 84) means both cooked and uncooked); *पोषम्बवा* *pōṣamōyā*, a few flowers; *चून्मबवा* *čūñēmōyā*, a little charcoal; *मैत्तुम्बवा* *mētṭēmōyā*, a little earth; *बतम्बवा* *batamōyā*, a little boiled grain.

88. *हन्* *han* or *हना* *hanā*, used exactly like No. 87 (iv. 170). Thus,—

अब्रहन् *ab^orahan* or *अब्रहना* *ab^orahanā*, and so on.

89. *बल्* *bal*, is added to any word to indicate the presence of water, or a place for offering sacrifices to minor deities or spirits (iv. 171, 172, 173). Thus we have.

व्यथबल् *vyathabal*, wherever the water of the Jhelam flows. *E.g.*, (to a man going to bathe) *ज्जु क्तु नरुल्?* *व्यथबल्* *čūh kat^o gatṣhakh?* *vyathabal*. Where are you going? (Answer) to *vyathabal*, i.e., to bathe in the Jhelam.

So *गंगबल्* *gangabal*, name of a well-known bathing place. *मार्बल्* *mār^obal*, *vide ante*, p. 67, the water of the river Mār. *पुकरिबल्* *pōkharibal*, a tank (with water in it), name of a well-known tank. *क्रीरिबल्* *krir^obal*, a well; *आवरिज्जबल्* *āvāriñēbal*, a place where a funeral pyre is set up (always on the bank of a river); *सिम्भानबल्* *ṣimṣānabal*, a burning ghat, (always on the bank of a river).

सबबल् *sababal*, a place where a wedding dinner party is carried on *वुरबल्* *wurabal*, the place where the cooking fires (*wur*) for a bridegroom's party are used; *कीद्बल्* *kīḍabal*, a brick or potter's kiln; *राज़बल्* *rāzabal*, a burning *ghāṭ* (*rāz* is the superintendent of a burning *ghāṭ*. Hence, here used for a *ghāṭ*). *ग्राबल्* *grāṭabal*, the site of a Persian wheel. *यारबल्* *yārabal*, the place where water (Skr. *वारि* *vāri*,) is offered to ancestors; i.e., according to Kāçmīri custom, a bathing place.

An Account of Travels on the Shores of Lake Yamdo-Oroft.—By SARAT
CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., RAI BAHADUR.

[Read February, 1897.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. EARLY ACCOUNTS OF LAKE PALTÍ.

In 1730, Orazio Della Penna, a Capuchin missionary, visited this great lake of Tibet and described it as follows :—

“The easternmost place is called Kambala, which is the name of a great mountain, on the slopes of which are many places, and in the plain at the foot to the south is a great lake called Iandro, which is eighteen days' journey round, according to those who have made the circuit, but within are some hilly islands. The same lake has no outlet that I know of, and during a day and a half's march round it, I can vouch that I saw none; while as regards the remaining portion, I have the authority of those who have made its circuit.”

This was the famous ring-like lake of Paltí, which has appeared in all maps since the days of D'Anville. The peculiar lake of Paltí, Piate, or Yam-dok-chu, with its great central island, like a large ring, first appeared on the map prepared by D'Anville, from the survey of the Lamas, under Jesuit instruction, which was published by Du-Halde in 1735. It has been repeated on all subsequent general maps. Giorgi, in his 'Alphabetum Tibetanum' (1762) says, that Palte lake, otherwise called Jang-so or Yam-dso, according to native report is of very great size, so that a man could not journey round it under eighteen days. It is three days' journey from Lhasa. From the middle of the lake rises a continuous chain of hills and islands. On the southern side is a monastery, the abode of a great queen, who is born a second time, called Torcepano. She is honoured as a real goddess by the Indians and Nepalese, who worship her under the name of Bovani. The Tibetans believe a certain holy spirit is reborn in its divine essence in this hideous female, just as in the Grand Lama. Whenever she issues

from her house, or from the island, or journeys into the city of Lhasa, a procession precedes her. Mr. Bogle, it will be remembered, made the acquaintance of this female divinity; and Dr. Hamilton cured her of an illness, and visited her constantly:—

“The holidays at the new year drew nigh, and the Lama’s relations came from parts of the country to pay their respects to him. His cousin the Teshu-tzay Debo (Tashi-tse Deba), with his wife and family, his nieces, the two *annés* whom I saw at Teshu-tzay, their mother Chum Kusho; their true brothers, Pyn Kushos; and a half-sister Durjay Paumo (Dorje Phamo), a female Lama, who is abbess of monastery near the Piate Lake, and is animated by the spirit of a holy lady who died many hundred years ago. * * * * *

“They stayed about two months at Teshu Lumbo, during which time Mr. Hamilton cured Durjay Paumo and Chum Kusho of complaints which they had long been subject to. * * * * *

“The mother went with me into the apartment of Durjay Paumo, who was attired in a *Gylong’s* dress, her arms bare from the shoulders and sitting cross-legged upon a low cushion. She is also the daughter of the Lama’s brother, but by a different wife. She is about seven-and-twenty, with small Chinese features, delicate, though not regular, fine eyes and teeth; her complexion fair, but wan and sickly; and an expression of langour and melancholy in her countenance, which I believe, is occasioned by the joyless life that she leads. She wears her hair, a privilege granted to no other vestal I have seen; it is combed back without any ornaments, and falls in tresses upon her shoulders. Her *chanea*, like the Lama’s, is supposed to convey a blessing, and I did not fail to receive it. After making presents and obeisances, I kneeled down, and stretching out her arm, which is equal to “the finest lady in the land,” she laid her hand upon my head.”¹

Mr. Manning is the only Englishman who ever saw Lake Palti, and it appears from his narrative that he was not aware that the hills on the opposite shore formed an island. In his diary he wrote:—

“Pursuing our course, and gradually descending, the valley at length opened into a large stony plain, at the end of which stood a considerable town on the margin of an extensive lake, or little sea, as it is called. From the opposite or further margin of the lake rose diminutive mountains in a continued chain, which bounded the whole prospect in front.”

On the 1st of January 1866, the Pandit, trained and sent on his travels by Colonel Montgomerie arrived at the banks of the Palti or Yamdok-chu lake at a small post called Piahte-jong.

¹ *Markham’s Mission of George Bogle*, pp. 244 & 245.

He describes the breadth of the lake as varying from two to three miles, and says that it is reported to be very deep. In the centre of the lake there is a hill at the foot of which, are situated a number of villages. The circumference of the lake is about 45 miles; it is crossed in wicker boats covered with leather.

The Pandit rode along the banks from Piahte-jong to the village of Demalung, from which point the lake stretches to the south-east about 20 miles, and then turns west.

This is the Pandit's account of the lake, extracted from his diary. He further reported to Colonel Montgomerie, that he was informed that the lake encircled a large island, which rises into low, rounded hills, 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, and covered with grass to the top. Between the hills and the margin of the lake, several villages and a white monastery, were visible on the island. The Pandit was told that the lake had no outlet, but he says, its waters were perfectly fresh. Mr. Manning on the contrary says, in the text, that the water of the lake is very bad. The Pandit's observations make the lake 13,500 feet above the sea; and the island rises to 16,000 feet above the sea.

2. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF TIBET.

Tibet, to speak in the language of Captain Samuel Turner, strikes a traveller, at first sight, as one of the least favoured countries under heaven, and appears to be in a great measure incapable of culture. It exhibits only low rocky mountains, without any visible vegetation, or extensive arid plains, both of the most stern and stubborn aspect. Its climate is cold and bleak in the extreme, from the severe effects of which, the inhabitants are obliged to seek refuge in the sheltered valleys, and hollows, or amidst the warmest aspects of the rocks. Yet perhaps providence, in its impartial distribution of blessings, has bestowed on each country a tolerably equal share. The advantages that one possesses in fertility, and in richness of its forests and its fruits, are amply counterbalanced in the other by its multitudinous flocks and invaluable mines. As one seems to possess the pabulum of vegetable, in the other we find a superabundance of animal life. The variety and quantity of wild-fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds, in Tibet are astonishing.

The climate of the country north of the Himalayas within the distance of 60 miles, in a direct line from the Kangchanjunga, is extremely cold. The summits of the mountains within this zone remain covered with snow

all through the year.¹ Owing to the high altitude and the rudeness of the winds which prevail there, the ground composed as it is of sand, gravel and loose stones, remains hard as if baked in winter. The climate and soil being alike inhospitable, in this part of the country, there is little habitation of men. The country is occupied by herdsmen and shepherds and also by *Kyang* (wild ass), wild sheep, antelopes, rabbits, wolves and other smaller wild animals. There are snow leopards but no tigers or snakes in Tibet. In the southern parts of Tibet are built cities and castles, and groves of poplar, willows, and stunted trees have been planted. The mountains are destitute of everything except grass and dwarf shrubs.

Sowing takes place in the beginning of May; the Tibetans gather

Products. little wheat, much barley which is their staple food, and some peas which they bruise and give to their horses and cattle. The latter crop is gathered in September. These harvests as well as that of rape from the seeds of which oil is extracted, yield sixty fold, and in good season eighty fold. The people grow carrot, turnips, radishes, garlic and onions. In the south and south-eastern parts are found, walnut, peach, apricots, wild apples and wild vines which yield a few grapes. There are some few flowers. The poplar, elm, willow and ash abound in most of the parks and groves of Tibet.

There are many gold mines in the provinces of U-Tsang, Chang, Takpo, Koñ-bo and Kham. Silver abounds in the last province which borders on China. **Mines and minerals.** There are also mines of copper and nickel. Sulphur, vitriol, cinnabar, cobalt, turquoise, stones, amber and alabaster are abundant. The hills of Tibet have, from their general appearance strong mark of containing those fossils, that are inimical to vegetation. Tibet is very poor in iron. It is not that there are no mines of that useful metal in Tibet. It is probable that the Tibetans either do not know to work those mines or that they have no fuel, enough to fuse the metal. In the neighbourhood

¹ During my residence at Tashi-lhunpo, I took observations from the thermometer. I had a Fahrenheit thermometer and a pair of maximum and minimum thermometers. The thermometer during the month of October, was on an average 37° in the morning; at noon 45° and in the evening 40°. During the month of November there was frost in the morning and evening, and the thermometer stood below 30° in the morning and 36° at noon in the shade. A serene, clear sky prevailed, during day and night not a cloud was to be seen in it. The genial warmth of the sun in the transparent atmosphere made the days very delightful. The weather in the months of October and November was clear throughout, cool, and pleasant and the prevailing wind blew from the south and south-west.

of Tashi-lhunpo there is a lead mine. In the province of Chang-thang, about twenty days' march north and north-west of Tashi-lhunpo, there are immense mines of rock-salt which is universally used for all domestic purposes in Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan.

People in Tibet generally suffer from sore eyes, and blindness.

Diseases. The high winds which prevail nine months in the year, sandy soil, and glare from the reflection of the sun, both from the snow and sand, are evidently causes of the same. Coughs, colds, and rheumatism are frequent in Tibet. Simple fevers occasionally arise from temporary causes. They are easily removed, sometimes without treatment.

Liver diseases with the exception of *Pekan*, which is produced by sedentary habit and continual drinking of tea-soup made with rancid butter, are occasionally met with. Tibet is not exempt from venereal diseases. People suffer from it apart from other causes, more on account of the grossness of their food and for want of cleanliness in their habits of living. Smallpox, when it appears in Tibet strikes the people with too much terror and consternation. They pay less attention to those who are infected, thinking their case hopeless. All communication with the infected is strictly forbidden, even at the risk of their being starved, and the house or village is afterwards erased.

During the time I was laid up at the monastery of Samding I observed that the physicians there used roots and bark of roots for making powders and decoction for administering to their patients. The bark, leaves, berries, and stalks of many shrubs and trees are used in a pulverised state or in decoction. Some are astringent, some are of bitter taste, but the generality is employed to strengthen digestion and to work as tonics.

The Tibetans drink tea prepared in the manner of soup with butter

Food. and salt and leave a little in the cup, with which they make a dough with barley meal, and afterwards eat it. For dinner and supper they make the barley meal paste with tea and eat it with boiled mutton, kid or beef of yak when available. They are fond of a gruel made of dried meat, barley meal, radish, or dried curd. The Lamas seldom eat fish or fowl. All classes of people eat raw meat, though occasionally. Only the rich eat rice, bread and meat with sauce, as dainty dishes, called *Gya-zê* prepared after Chinese fashion. They drink malt beer: ardent spirit is seldom taken. The people generally use dried dung of cows, donkeys, horse and sheep, for fuel. Firewood is used when it is available in some districts. They cook in earthen-ware vessels. The Tibetans are skilful potters.

For clothing purposes they have only cloth of wool, serge, or yarn, blankets, which are seldom more than a foot in breadth, and skins with the hair on. In winter they use robes lined with lambskin. Silk robes lined with fur are used by the rich nobles and official Lamas.

Clothing.

They live in walled houses made of stone and sun-dried bricks, built with flat or terrace roof. Their houses are spacious and several storeys high. The grand Lama's residence at Lhasa is thirteen storeys and covers the entire summit of a hill. The temples are generally furnished with gilt turrets and domes made after the Chinese style. The houses are generally whitewashed with a kind of lime, their inside is often neatly plastered and contains paintings. The roof rests on wooden beams and is generally made of slate or clay beaten on branches of trees placed on the beams. The floor of their houses are generally kept clean.

House.

Mr. George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner whom Warren Hastings sent to the court of the Tashi Lama, brought back with them a very good opinion regarding the character of the Tibetans. Visiting Tibet full one century after Turner's time, I returned with the same kind of impression of the character of the people. Humanity, and an unartificial gentleness of disposition, are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan. Without being officious, they are obliging; the higher ranks are unassuming, the inferior, respectful in their behaviour; nor are they at all deficient in attention to the female sex; in this respect their conduct is equally remote from rudeness and adulation. The women of Tibet in higher life enjoy an elevated station in society. To the privilege of liberty, the wife adds the character of mistress of the family, and companion of her husbands. Among the humbler classes the company of all, indeed, she is not at all times entitled to expect, different pursuits, either agricultural employments, or mercantile speculations, may occasionally cause the temporary absence of each; yet whatever be the result, the profit of the labourer is expected to flow into the common store; and when one of the husbands returns, whatever may have been his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home. The custom of polyandry which prevails here links whole families together in the matrimonial yoke, checking the increase of population in this singularly unfertile country. It also tends to prevent domestic discords, arising from a division of family interests, and to concentrate all the spirit, and all the virtues, inherent in illustrious blood. Jealousy causes unhappiness and dissensions where several men, not brothers, live in the company of one wife. The several husbands are then called *ñamdo-pyün*, i. e., brothers on account of a joint wife.

Character and Social Customs.

In higher life courtship is carried on with little art, and quickly brought to a conclusion. The elder brother of a family, to whom the choice belongs, when enamoured of a damsel, makes his proposal to the parents. If his suit is approved, and the offer accepted, the parents, with their daughter, repair to the suitor's house, when the male and female acquaintances of both parties meet and carouse for the space of three days, with music, dancing, and every kind of festivity. At the expiration of this time, marriage is complete. Mutual consent is generally the bond of union, and the parties present are witnesses to the contract which is formed for life. In case when one man marries one wife mutual consent is supplemented by a pecuniary contract which makes it dissoluble.

The country round the lake does not exhibit a varied prospect; it is all a leafless, dreary scene; one uniform russet brown covers alike the valleys and the hills. On the summits of the hills, here and there, springs are seen arrested in their fall, and converted into solid monuments of ice. These contribute greatly, together with the universal nakedness of both hills and valleys, to impress the traveller with an idea of the extreme bleakness of the region, and the rigour of its climate. The atmosphere, indeed, is in an extreme degree keen and pure. The dryness of the soil and scantiness of vegetation, contribute little towards charging the air with humidity. It remains clear even to brilliancy throughout the year. In winter the water of the lake becomes frozen. Its expanse becomes uniformly smooth, presenting a most noble sheet of ice.

In the narrowest parts of the lake there are ferries. During summer and autumn small boats made of an entire skin of a yak ply across them, carrying one or two sheep, goats or persons. In winter on the frozen surface, dust and powdered cow-dung are thrown to make the passage of sheep and goat over them less slippery.

The smaller lakes freeze to a great depth which afford ground for skating, but the people of Tibet are ignorant of that kind of amusement; they, however, are very good sliders.

II.—ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS.

I. A VISIT TO SAMDING, THE GREAT MONASTERY OF THE LAKE COUNTRY OF YAMDO.

On the 15th of May, 1882, while I was proceeding to Lhasa, in the company of Lhacham Kusho, the wife of *Shápé* Phala, one of the four Ministers of the Grand Lama, of Lhasa, I suddenly fell ill at Nangar-tse.

The kind-hearted lady gave me an introduction to her cousin Dorje Pha-mo, the incarnate female hierach of Samding. In handing over the letter to me she said :—"Fear not Pandubla, Dorje Pha-mo will be as kind to you as myself. We have no hand in the inevitable consequence of *Karma*. You must submit to it, but I am glad that you have fallen ill here instead of at another place, for here we can send you to Dorje Pha-mo. Come directly to our house when you recover." She warned my two attendants Pador and Lama Tomola surnamed Tshingta not to desert me. Her two sons exhorted Pador to be a faithful and devoted servant to Pandubla (myself), and serve him to the last. It was about 9 A.M., when I slowly rode towards Samding. At a distance of about two miles from Nangar-tse, we crossed a sluggish stream which flowed towards the Yamdo lake. The rivulet was teeming with a small fish and overgrown with a kind of sedge, over which green moss was scattered. The plain over which we travelled was extensive towards the north and south.

Crossing three or four limpid, but sluggish streams, all on their way to join the great lake, we arrived at the eastern side of Samding monastery, which, perched on the top of a barren hill, looked very picturesque. The flight of stone steps from the foot of the hill to the top of it, along which a zig-zag pathway wound up, lined by a stone wall about six feet high and three feet broad, filled me with the greatest dismay : how could I ascend to that height when my heart throbbed even while I was seated on the pony! Arrived at the large *Chhorten* (stūpa) where pilgrims generally halt and encamp, Tomola asked two men, who were coming down from the monastery, if Dorje Pha-mo was accessible to pilgrims, and if the two physicians were at the monastery. Being answered in the affirmative, I dismounted from the pony, and sat down gasping on a stone step. After a few minutes' rest we commenced our wearisome ascent. Taking rest at every bend of the stair, I reached its top about 300 feet in height. The top of the steps, however, was not the end, for a narrow pathway thence lead us further up to the foot of the monastery. From the eastern edge of the hill we now came to the north-western face of it, whence we enjoyed a grand view of the inner lake of Yamdo. Ascending a few steps, we arrived at the northern gate of the monastery, which faces the inner and higher lake called Dumo-tsho, the demon's lake. I saw with surprise several men walking round the monastery and continually twirling *Manikhorlo* (prayer wheels), for I thought men, excepting women pilgrims, had no access to the monastery of which the presiding head was an incarnate nun; but the number of monks seemed to be large among the circumambulators. I was led along a narrow lane towards the north-east corner of the monastery. A few minutes after I was waiting

seated on the plinth of the building. Amchi Chhenpo the senior physician arrived, and with an appearance of kindness and sympathy, while feeling my pulse said "*mi-tog, mi-tog* do not apprehend (danger), do not apprehend; you have come from a great distance, I will give you good medicine." He appeared to be about 70 years in age, quite grey, but with a frame still strong and sturdy, of middle stature, with agreeable features, broad forehead and dignified looks. Helped by Tomola, I followed him, and after ascending two ladders we arrived at the portico of his residence. The old man, while twirling his prayer wheel with the right hand, and frequently taking snuff with his left, observed the working of my lungs with attention as I walked and climbed up. He gave me two powders to be taken with warm water and ordered his cook to serve me with a cup of plain tea. Shortly after being refreshed we went to the place of the venerable lady Dorje Pha-mo, carrying Lhacham's letter. Tomola represented my case to her through the Amchi Chhenpo, and paid five *tankas* with a scarf for her blessings and protection. Dorje Pha-mo was at this time performing some religious service. She received the letter and immediately consulted certain books on divination to examine my fortune. She then informed Tomola that she had found my illness to be serious though not fatal, in consequence of which, the speedy observance of some efficacious religious service would be urgently needed. As I had come from Tashi-lhunpo, and with a letter from Lhacham, she would be glad to see me later on. She also conveyed to me her leave to freely ask for anything we might require for subsistence during our stay at Samding. This assurance was most cheering, and enlivened my drooping spirits. Tomola went to the evening congregation of the monks leaving me in the old physician's charge. He presented the assembly with enough of tea and butter, and also a few pieces of silver, together with a scarf, requesting them to pray for my recovery. The monks with one voice prayed that the gods might extend their mercy to me, a pilgrim from a distant land. Next day Tomola arranged to entertain the monks of the monastery who were about eighty, with food.

The monastery of Samding was built on the narrow neck of land which connects the peninsula of Donang with the main land of Tibet. It has the holy lake of Yamdo on its west and the accursed Dumo, the demon's lake, on its east. Dorje Pha-mo is venerated for her power to suppress the demons which, it is believed, infest the latter.

The peninsula of Donang and the smaller islands of the great lake are frequented by great abundance of water-fowl, wild geese, ducks, and storks called *Tung-tung*, which, on the approach of winter take their flight to the milder regions in the Himalayas.

Large numbers of swans, the largest species of the crane kind, come here in summer and autumn and lay eggs, some of which are as large as a turkey's egg, in the sands and in the crevices of rocks near the banks. During the rainy season sounds resembling those of a falling avalanche, or what are called "Barisal guns," are heard from Samding and the neighbouring places to come out of the smaller lake in consequence of which it is called Dumo-tsho—the lake of the demon.

2. JOURNEY ON THE SHORES OF LAKE YAMDO-CROFT (PALTU).

On the 23rd of October (1882) on my way to the ancient monastery of Sam-yea, I revisited the place called Dsara tsan-chhur (the nook of the genii), so called on account of its being a hiding place of robbers who waylay travellers. Passing it with feelings of dread and danger, we entered into the tortuous winding of a rugged and gloomy valley, which passed, we began to see light as the glen widened. We then got a peep into the table-land of Nangar-tse and descried the famous monastery of Samding, the late scene of my sufferings. Its white walls and sombre roofs could be distinctly seen. At about 10 A.M., we arrived at the solitary village of Rhingla. Formerly when Rhingla was prosperous, a branch monastery of Samding existed here. It is now in ruins with the exception of a *chhorten*. There are two or three families here who make pottery. We cooked our breakfast in the house of an old potter of 70 whose two sons were engaged in turning pots. They employed a concave wooden pan, on which pots were turned by being twirled with the hand. During the rotation of the pan with the pot the potter shaped the latter with a wooden knife, and sometimes with his fingers. After breakfast we resumed our journey. Crossing the Dsara chhur which rising from Kharula empties itself in the Yamdo lake we ascended along the gentle slopes of a hill to take the road to Talung.

The contrast between the elevated and the lower platform of this lake country is most striking. The latter, which extended up to the margin of the lake, being covered with an extensive carpet of deep verdure, afforded refreshment to the eye, while the former, the abodes only of vultures and kites, was of a most repulsive and inhospitable aspect. The inlets of the Yamdo lake from this side were also numerous. We passed by a walled enclosure, adjoining which there were some ruins. We were told that this enclosure was solely used as a pony market, and that the annual pony fair of Talung formerly used to be held here. There were many *dōk* sheds, now deserted, probably owing to the shepherds and herdsmen having retired to more fertile parts of the country. We now found ourselves in a gravelly plain

filled with scattered blocks of rock and boulders. The way, which threaded sometimes along the edge of the mountains and sometimes through the middle of the plain, was very rough. I therefore rode very carefully. The village of Talung (country of ponies), which has a hillock in its middle, from a distance presented a very imposing appearance. We arrived at this at 5 P.M. A castle-like monastery with painted windows and corner towers adorns its top. The village is large, containing upwards of two hundred houses, scattered over the flat. At the foot of the central hill there is another monastery belonging to Sakya. The barley-fields were all stony and evidently sterile. Far behind were the *dök-pa* sheds. The yaks of the place appeared to be of good breed and large size. The people, from the way they had cultivated the lands, seemed very industrious. This year's crop had been much damaged by the frost and hailstorm of September. The villagers refused us shelter in their houses, suspecting Phurchung to be a *Duk-pa* (Bhutanese). The Bhutanese are called Lhopa (the Southern) at this place, and are very much dreaded, as they often make raids on this place for plundering the villagers of their cattle and grain. The skies were filled with rain clouds, and a slight shower fell. After making fruitless negotiations for securing our night's shelter under a roofed house, at last we came to the gate of the Sakyapa monastery, where many monks, the elders of the villages, and the villagers, including children and women, were standing in anxious expectation of the arrival of Je-tsun kusho of Sakya, who was just returning from a pilgrimage to Mon-chho-nag and other places of the South. The band was playing hautboys, drums, and the gigantic trumpets (called *Dung-chhen*). Gopon (our guide) winked at us not to speak, so we kept quiet, while he conversed with the villagers and succeeded in convincing them that we were not *Dukpas*. A kind-hearted *Gelong* (monk) conducted us to the interior of the monastery compound through a lofty doorway. The hall through which we passed was about 18 feet wide and about 15 feet high. Here the spectators were drawn up in two rows, and the Lamas of the monastery, dressed in their church costumes, were present to receive their revered lady, Je-tsun kusho. The *Gelong* agreed to accommodate us in the house of one of his friends. The *namo* (hostess), though very good-natured, still suspected us of being bad men from Bhutan, but being repeatedly assured by Gopon that we were not Bhutanese, she accommodated us in an out-house where ponies are halted, and furnished us with good *chhang* (malt beer). The stall was far from being comfortable; but since leaving Gyaf-tse I had been a stranger to comfort. Phurchung gave me a wretched meal. I slept well amidst the clamour of the religious service occasioned by the arrival of Je-tsun kusho.

24th October 1882.—We resumed our journey a little before sunrise. The streamlets were frozen and the ponies slid several times on the slippery ice; the wind was howling and extremely chill. My face, tightly bandaged with a piece of Assam silk cloth, was well protected; but my feet within the boots began to freeze, and I could hardly draw out my hands from inside the long sleeves of my lambskin vestments. There were no villages near the way. Far behind were the *dokpa* tents, whence the howling of mastiffs was alone heard. From this distance the village and the monastery of Taling were visible. After two hours' journey we came to the edge of the Yamdo lake, a nook of which we had now almost doubled. We crossed the Shandung-chhu inlet of Yamdo with much difficulty owing to its being frozen. The Shandung monastery and the valley for some time formed the only object of importance within view. The morning sun had lengthened the shadows of the cliffs that overhang the Yamdo; so that we had to journey a long way under their shade, and could not enjoy the genial rays of the sun. To add to the discomforts a very chill, unwelcome breeze blew, freezing our extremities. We had a glimpse of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which is noted for its supplying the whole of Tibet with a class of fantastic dancers called Achi-Lhamo actors. Some of these professional players and dancers annually visit Darjeeling. As we came nearer we obtained fuller views of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which commanded a singular view, as it was situated like an eagle's eyrie amidst the bleak and sombre cliffs of Yamdo. Passing along the circuitous margin of another nook of the lake, we entered another broad valley with a stream in its middle flowing towards the lake. The large village of Ri-o-tag, I was told, was on this side of Yamdo. After an hour's ride we came within two miles of it. The plateau through which we now passed was several miles long and broad. To our right we saw at a distance of eight or nine miles the ruins of Ri-o-tag Jong. About a mile towards our right hand side we were shown a place near a village where we could breakfast, shortly passing the village we crossed the Ri-o-tag stream after which we crossed a saddle-like eminence. Beyond the latter is a stream flowing to the Yamdo, on the banks of which we halted for breakfast. This was a grassy patch of ground filled with cavities and mole hills. Phurchung prepared me a dish of boiled *phing* (vermicelli made of peas) and mutton with rice. At 10 A.M. we resumed our journey. We were now ascending an undulating plateau. This rose, as we proceeded, in successive retiring terraces, the undulations being in an ascending slope. These were covered with grass, now yellowish brown at the approach of winter. Presently the tortuous winding of the Yamdo came in view as

we ascended a gentle acclivity. An hour's ride brought us to the top of this ridge, which ran in a lateral direction from right to left till obstructed by the lake. From this eminence we saw the villages of Yuröp, Kegutag and Khyunpo-dō situated on the side of the lake. The country, though very thinly populated, yields extensive pastures, as could be judged from the healthy appearance of the numerous cattle—yak, sheep, goat, and donkeys grazing here and there. At 3 P.M. we saw a man coming towards us at a swift pace. Gopon accosted him, and after a short conversation found him to be his friend's son. As the man was going on urgent business to his home at Ri-o-tag, he said he could not come back to Shari in the evening, but begged us to pass the night at the house of his father-in-law, who was the richest man of Shari. Riding slowly down a gentle slope, we came to a flat dip, where we met a shepherd tending about three to four hundred sheep. He saluted me and pointed out to us the village of Shari, situated on the lee side of a ridge standing between Yamdo and a small lake about six or seven miles in circumference. The margin of this fresh water lake and the slopes on all sides were covered with excellent pasture, on which a number of cattle were grazing, while the lake itself abounded with wild ducks and swans, besides other water-fowl, all of which would have been very tempting objects for sportsmen. The village of Shari, which commands an excellent view of the smaller lake, being situated on an eminence on its bank, contained two rich families, the huts of whose *misser* (serfs) were scattered round their spacious houses. A long and well repaired *mandang* (votive pile of inscribed stones) with a pretty *chhorten* (*stüpa*) near it formed the frontage. Alighted near the *chhorten*, I sat on its plinth, and sent Gopon to negotiate for our night's accommodation. His acquaintance, who was unwell, was afraid of receiving us in his house, evidently from apprehension of smallpox. Gopon, however, after much entreaty, obtained his leave for our occupying the *Manilhakhang* (temple of the *mani* prayer wheel), and a maid-servant with a kettleful of tea came to conduct us to it. The *Manilhakhang* was a pretty turret-like stone house, measuring 8 feet by 10 feet inside with a small spire rising from the middle of its flat roof. Its outside was decorated with a dusky red cornice, and the stones of its bonded walls were painted with Buddhist figures, so it presented an inviting appearance. On entering I was received by a grey-headed man, and a small table was placed before me and tea poured in a China cup for my refreshment. The centre of the room was occupied by a *mani* cylinder (prayer-wheel) about three feet in diameter and six feet high. Its outside was covered with *mantras* (charms) in the *Lantsa* (Rājā character of Magadha) and the ever present mystic expres-

sion—*Om mani padmē hūm*. I spread my rug to the east of the cylinder, and accommodated myself in a space about four feet wide. The old man, whose sole occupation was to turn the prayer-wheel, had his bed at the opposite side. He continually muttered *Om nani padmē hūm*. The floor was good and remarkably clean; the walls were painted, containing basso-relievo figures from the Buddhist pantheon. There was no forage nor gram for our ponies. Phurchung cooked for me, and Gopon, after regaling himself with several bottles of *chhang* (malt-beer), went to sleep on the lawn-like margin of the lake, tethering the ponies to graze in the pasture. His friend had assured him that our ponies would not be removed by anybody during the night. The wind blew rather strongly during the first part of the night. I gave some rice and tea to the old man, who, considering me a sacred personage, prostrated himself several times to salute me, though I vainly tried to explain to him that being a layman I did not deserve such homage from anybody. When he came to receive my *chhag-wang* (benediction from the touch of the hand), I told him that I was no incarnate being, and could not place my palms on his grey head, but being equally subject to misery like himself, I could touch his forehead with mine as a token of sympathy with him as a brother man. I also pointed out to him the hands of Pema Juñ-nē (Padma Sambhava) the saint, where he could apply his forehead for benediction.

But this only impressed him with still more pious feelings, and he called some of his acquaintances, a few shepherds, to prostrate themselves before me, which they did. The old man told us of the condition of the monastery of Shari Gonsar, situated on the top of a hill behind the village, and also of the village where we ought to halt next day. I passed the night very comfortably.

25th October.—I awoke early in the morning, about 4 o'clock, refreshed and in good spirits. The ponies saddled, we started for Khame-dō, our next stage. The wind began to blow afresh with much fury, and the chill was simply tormenting. My body, though well protected by lambskins, could not escape the penetrating effects of the cold, and began to freeze. After crossing two large inlets of the Yamdo, we came to a nook of the great lake. While traversing the little promontary overhanging this nook, we met a woman of about 40 cutting wild plants resembling brushwood. The cold was so severe that I could hardly bring out my hands from within the fur sleeves, yet the woman was doing her work as if it was a summer morning with her. The nook passed, we came to a solitary village with three or four huts belonging to two *dök-pa* families. Some yaks were grazing on the margin of the lake, which here presented a very desolate and

solitary appearance. Some pointed rocks interposed here and there. This passed, we crossed a small *La* (hill) and descended towards another lake which, with its grassy flat shores and the undulating slopes above them, looked very lovely and cheering. The dark blue expanse of water, now ruffled by the wind, rose in gentle waves. This was the lake Rombu-dsa, which is fed by a few inlets. Our way partly lay along the dried margin of the lake, which was sandy, and partly in grassy paths above the highest water mark. We passed a caravan of yaks and donkeys carrying heaps of fuel, consisting of fragrant weeds and some wood. After a slow ride of two hours along the margin of this lake and a flat valley beyond it we entered into a gorge, from which we had a glimpse of the Yamdo lake. Here there are two roads to Khame-dō one by the side of the great lake, and the other *viâ* Melung village across the Lonagla Pass. I was told that the latter was rather difficult on account of the steepness of the *La*. I, however, preferred the more difficult route, having been informed that I would have to use the saltish water of the Yamdo at breakfast if I went by the easier one. Half an hour's ride from this gorge brought us to the village of Melung. It was past 11 A.M. when I dismounted at the door of the *Gambu's* (village headman) house. He received me with much politeness, and begged to know how he could serve us. We bought *chhang* for our use and hay for our ponies. I preferred to sit in the yard, which was filled with cowdung, the *Gambu's* house being very low and the ceiling covered with soot. The *Nabo's* (host) brother sat near us and had a chat with Gopon about the Chinese Ampa's movements, as *Ülag* (road service) was demanded from them. After breakfast we resumed our journey, intent upon reaching the next stage, which according to Gopon would be the village of Khame-dō. Our guide always sought places for halting where he had acquaintances; so that sometimes we halted after marching long distances, and sometimes after very short marches. Passing a dried-up water-course filled with boulders and broken stones, we ascended the steep slopes of Lonagla, also filled with splinters, rocks, and gravel. There were evidently no pastures, but still a few yaks and sheep were grazing at this barren place. Gopon picked up some flints, and told us that the village derived its name from the flints, as *m̄* in Tibetan means 'fire' and *lung* a "valley." Hence Melung is fire or flint valley. The *La* was high, and our ponies were knocked up. From the village to the top of the Pass it was about a mile's distance. The *La* crossed, we entered another spacious and flat valley intersected by sparkling brooks. On the slopes of the hills here juniper and other fragrant plants grow in abundance. The pastures for yaks and sheep were of luxuriant growth. The grass of this pleasant valley, now

growing yellow, refreshed our eyes. There was a remarkable contrast in the appearance of the opposite sides of Lonagla. Crossing the bends of several tiny streams, and passing across the valley, we arrived at the village of Kha, where the men and women were engaged in threshing corn. Heaps of sheaves lay in their yards. We now found ourselves in an extensive open country, more resembling a plain. As we proceeded onward, we caught a glimpse of some *jong* (castle) standing on a distant isolated peak. The valley was filled with numerous villages. The villagers, intent on their work, did not care to inquire about us, but only now and then stared at us with some curiosity. The dogs of this place were very fierce and powerful, and kept barking as long as we remained in their sight. Passing many houses on our left, and walking a distance of about a quarter of a mile, we entered the large village of Khame-dō, which stands on the flat slope of the ridge extending to the back of the village of Kha. At the entrance of the village there were several *Mandangs*. After inquiring from several villagers where we could get accommodation for the night, we were pointed out the house of one of the richest residents of the place who usually received guests. Several seats made of slabs resembling marble were placed in the courts of their residences as well as in the open ground. The houses of the villagers were very good looking, large and white-washed. The barley stalks were stout and long. Gopon told me that some of these altar-like seats were made by potters and painted with lime. The villagers use them for basking in the sun. At 5 P.M. we came to the gate of the rich resident whose guest we were to be. After much knocking we succeeded in getting the door opened by an old woman, who, after inquiring what we wanted, disappeared. After a while the *nabo*, an old man of nearly seventy, made his appearance and showed us his stable, where we could pass the night. It was on account of our guide's foolishness that we failed to get better accommodation here, for he offered only to pay one *tanka* (six *annas*) as house-rent, whereas this miserly landlord asked for more. I paid the *nela* (rent) immediately, which pleased the old man, who at my request supplied us with two stuffed cushions and a screen. The latter was very useful, as at the time a strong wind blew and we had no other protection against it, for the stables in Tibet are not like those in India. They are stalls open on three sides. When my rugs were spread and I took my seat as a respectable man, the *nabo* drew near and began to converse with me about the harvest which the people had just reaped. The crop of this year, he said, was damaged by the September frost. We bought from him a *Phagri* (sheep burnt like a pig after slaughter). This yielded us very fat mutton. Our host was one of the rich-

est men of the village, which contained upwards of a hundred families. His house is very large and surrounded by a wall with three gates. There were plenty of willow, juniper and other fragrant plants in this village. The juniper plant formed a part of their fuel, which chiefly consisted of dried cattle dung.

26th October.—I rose from bed at sunrise. Our miserly *nabo* came early to take back from us the curtain and the fine articles which he had lent us. We parted with him after an exchange of polite expressions. He begged us to come to his house on our way back. We resumed our journey at 6 A.M. A villager joined us near the precipitous rock which stands at the entrance of the village on this side. He proved a pleasant companion for a few miles. We passed along the side of another small lake, and were shown the large village of Ling, the seat of the *Jongpon* of this side of the Yamdo District. This fellow talked of certain orders that were received by the *Jongpon* of Ling from Lhasa to examine strangers travelling within his jurisdiction. He also said that similar orders were sent to Sam-yea. We crossed two little streams with him by wading across them. When we came to the bank of a third stream, which was the largest, he parted with us after showing us the *rab* (ford). My pony, in wading through the half frozen stream, once sank up to his knees, Gopon extricated us with much exertion. The pony had several stumbles besides. We now entered the extensive table-land of Kamoling, the Arcadia of Tibet. Here were grazing hundreds of ponies belonging to the Government of Lhasa. The head of the Government stables has one of his establishments here. It took us several hours to cross a bend of this large pasture land. Its breadth was ten to twelve miles, but its length appeared very great. There was no water in the several water-courses which intersected the plain. In some of the streamlets bulging crusts of ice were seen. We were very thirsty. At noon we arrived at the village of Shabshe, containing nine or ten families.

We cooked our breakfast in the court of a poor woman's house, filled with goat's dung and some goats' hair-bags and hay. Our good *namo* kindly lent us some fire-wood. The object of our preferring dirty huts and stables in a village to clean flats and river banks was that we got fuel, water, water-vessels, &c., from the host, which, as a rule, were generally included in the *nela* (house-rent). The *namo* was a very well-behaved and obliging woman. Though very poor, she seemed to be in good spirits and cheerful. She has three children by two joint husbands. We bought one-fourth of a sheep at one *tanka* from one of her neighbours, and some barley meal, of inferior quality.

After breakfast we resumed our journey. As there were several

ways leading in different directions, our good *namo* kindly accompanied us a short distance to show us the way to Sam-yea. There were other villages scattered in this upland plain, which passed we came to the little village of Tan-tha, situated at the foot of the *La*, we were about to ascend. Climbing up a short distance, we came near some well-constructed recluse's cells, now empty. These from a distance appeared like some monastic establishments. Gopon showed to me the monastery, situated on a dome-shaped hill near the lake, but half a mile off from the place. The ascent from here was very tiresome. But all these fatigues vanished when the height gradually widening the horizon brought sublimer scenes to my enchanted eyes. I really thought that the view from the top of Thib-la, of the snowy country of Tibet, of her far-famed lake and river, and of an immense congregation of snowy mountains which skirts like silvery fringes, on the vanishing line of the dark blue sky in the horizon, cannot be equalled by the sceneries of the glorious Himalaya. The numerous windings of this *scorpion lake*, as Yamdo is called, the countless hills and mountains which they surrounded, and the waving line in the horizon where the snows of Noi-jon Kang-Zang mingle with the blue summits of distant mountain ranges, were all visible from Thib-la. The valley of the deep and meandering Tsañpo, the dark pine and fir forests which here and there broke the monotony of the bleak mountain scenery, and the snowy mountains of Lhobra, bore a striking contrast to the scenery on the other side. Both defy description. On the southern flanks of this lofty pass, which appeared to be more than four thousand feet above the lake, a kind of broad-leafed plants, called *yeshi kogo*, grow. The dried leaves rustled as they were blown by the wind. The wind blew so strongly that I found it difficult to stand. This increased the fatigues of this exceedingly trying journey along the steep slopes of Thib-la. The down-hill journey was worse than the up-hill one. At 5 P.M., we arrived at the village of Thib. There were about ten houses in this little village, all clustered together and only separated from one another by narrow lanes and barley fields. Heaps of hay and unthreshed barley lined these little avenues. There were some willows of stunted growth in the village. We were conducted to the house of a well-to-do villager. The *namo* received us very kindly. One of her husbands was in the field reaping barley crop. Her elder husband was gone to Lhasa. We were accommodated in the upper floor of her house which was spacious enough. A part of the house was under repair. The night was very fine and the skies bright, and the little village with its white-washed houses and fields was bleached with moonlight.

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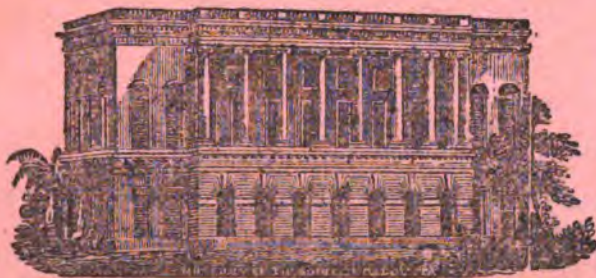


JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

Vol. LXVII, Part I, No. 4.—1898.

EDITED BY

THE PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.



“The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia; and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature.”—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

•• Communications should be sent under cover to the Secretaries, *Asiat. Soc.*, to whom all orders for the work are to be addressed in India; or care of Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W. O., or Mr. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, Germany.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
AND PUBLISHED BY THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1899.

Price (exclusive of postage) to Members, Rs. 1-8.—To Non-Members, Rs. 2.
Price in England, 3 Shillings.

Issued 20th February, 1899.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 4.—1898.

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An ancient inscribed Buddhistic statue from Ārāvastī.—By THEODOR
BLOCH, PH.D.

[Read March, 1898.]

The statue with which I am dealing in this paper, was discovered by General Cunningham during the working season of 1862-1863 among the ruins of the modern Set-Mahet, in the Gonda District, Fyzabad Division, of Oudh. It was presented by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Elgin to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1863, and is now in the Indian Museum. It is a colossal standing figure,¹ 11' 8" high, made of a sort of reddish sand-stone, the same material which the Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period are made of. The head, the halo, and the right arm are almost entirely gone; the left hand is slightly damaged. The body is represented clad in a large garment, which leaves bare the right shoulder only. It is tied round the waist by a girdle, and reaches down to the ankles; round the left shoulder it is laid in the fashion of a Roman tunica. The feet are naked, and a peculiar object of uncertain meaning is represented standing between them. The statue has always been described as an image of Buddha, but from what follows it will become clear that this is not quite correct. It is a figure of a Bōdhisattva, and not of a Buddha. But, in any case, we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.

The most important part of the statue, however, is its pedestal. This is due to the fact that it contains in three lines an inscription in ancient characters of what Prof. Bühler in his *Indian Palæography* has called "the Northern Kṣatrapa type" of the last century B.C. or the first A.D. This inscription has been edited before by *E. L. Mitra*,

¹ The statue has been described or referred to previously by General Cunningham in *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, p. 339, Vol. V, p. VII, and Vol. XI, p. 86, and by Dr. Anderson in his catalogue of the *Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 194.

in this Journal, Vol. XXXIX (1870), Part I, p. 130, and Plate VII, No. XXI, and by Prof. Dowson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. V, p. 192 and Plate 3, No. XXXII.¹ Both these editions are very unsatisfactory indeed, and it is for this reason that I now re-edit this ancient document.

The pedestal which contains the inscription, measures 3' by 6"; the inscription consists of three lines of writing, the size of which varies between $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Unfortunately the greater portion of the first line and a few characters in the beginning of the second are entirely gone; the remainder, however, is in a fair state of preservation. The last portion contained the date, and it is owing to its loss that we are to resort to palæographic evidence for the purpose of forming an idea as to the age of the record itself and of the statue on which it is inscribed. I have already above stated my opinion on this point in describing the characters of the inscription as belonging to the "Northern Kṣātrapa Type." This type is to be found in the inscriptions of the *Mahākṣātrapa Śaḍāsa* or *Śōḍāsa*, the son of *Ranjubala*, whose reign in the North-West of India preceded that of the Kuṣāṇa Kings Kaniska, Haviṣka, etc. Of *Śōḍāsa*, hitherto three inscriptions² have been found, viz. :—

- (1) An inscription from the Jail Mound in Mathurā: Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 30, and No. 1, Plate XIII;
- (2) An inscription from the Kaṅkāli Tilā at Mathurā: Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199, No. II (with facsimile);
- (3) The Mora Well Inscription: Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. XX, p. 48, and Plate V, No. 4.³

Compared with the considerably larger number of Kuṣāṇa inscription, the characters of these documents differ in the following points:—

(a) the letter *ya* when forming the second part of a compound (*samyuktākṣara*) is expressed by its full sign, not by the ligature: so in No. 1 (Mathurā Jail Mound Inscription) throughout, viz., *śōḍmīsiya*, *mahākṣātrapasiya*, *Śōḍāsasiya* (A. S. R., Vol. III, Pl. XIII); in No. 2 and No. 3 no compound letter with *ya* occurs;

(b) the upper cross-bar of the letter *ṣa* consists only of a short horizontal line attached to the left hand vertical line of the letter, while in the Kuṣāṇa *ṣa*, as a rule, it reaches as far as the right hand

¹ See also Cunningham, *l.c.*, p. 339, and Vol. XI, p. 87.

² With the exception of Mathurā Lion Capital, of course, which is inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi.

³ This is, correctly spoken, only an inscription of a son of Rājūvāla. His name is lost, but, in all probability, he was Śōḍāsa. A photo taken from an impression of this inscription is in the Indian Museum.

vertical line. This rule also holds good throughout in all the three inscriptions, viz., No. 1, l. 1: *kṣatrapasya*, l. 2: *puṣkarīṇī* (twice); No. 2, l. 2: *kṣatrapasa*, l. 3: *ghōṣēna* (twice); No. 3, l. 1: *kṣatrapasa*, l. 2: *vṛṣṇēna*, l. 4: *vapuṣā*;

(c) the more archaic form of *ṣa* is preserved, against the Kuṣāṇa form of this letter, which is nearly like a *ṣa* turned upside down: compare e. g. the *ṣa* of *Ṣōḍāsasa* with *ṣiṇi* of Nos. II and XI, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199 and 201;

(d) of compound letters, as a rule, the top of the second lower-most letter is marked by the *seriff*, this letter being not merely a continuation of the down-stroke of the first. Thus, in No. 1, l. 1: *mahākṣatrapasya*, *ṣōḍāsasya*, l. 2: *paṣcima*, *stāmbha*;¹ in No. 2, l. 2: *svāmisa*, *mahākṣatrapasa*, *saṁvatsarē*; in No. 3, l. 3: *yastā*, l. 4: *jvalatā*;

(e) the writing, as a rule, is done with greater care and shows a preference for angular forms, against the cursive, slovenly executed letters of the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions. This will become clear at once by glancing over the facsimile-plates of Prof. Bühler's articles on Mathurā Inscriptions in Ep. Ind., Vols. I and II.

The same peculiarities of writing which, I trust, will be considered sufficient proof of an earlier age of the Northern Ksatrapa type, as compared with the Kuṣāṇa type, occur also in a number of cognate inscriptions from Mathurā or the country around it. Thus, e.g., in the Anyor Inscription in A. S. R., Vol. XX, Plate V, No. 5, and in Mathurā Inscriptions, ed. Bühler, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, No. 33; Vol. II, No. 4, 5 and 7. Among the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions, I know of only one document which exhibits the same characteristics. It is the inscription on the Elephant Capital from the Kaṅkāli Tilā at Mathurā, figured in Plate V of A. S. R. Vol. III.² This inscription is dated in the reign of

¹ Of this inscription I have only seen the facsimile in Plate XIII of A. S. R., III, which is not altogether reliable as to these minor details.

² See also p. 20 of *test*. Of this interesting sculpture, the Indian Museum also possesses a photograph. In the Inscription it is said to be a *Nandiṣāla*, which may mean, that the pillar was "as big as Nandin," but which also may be a technical term of unknown meaning. It is a Jaina sculpture, as may be seen from the concluding line of the inscription, which records that the monument was erected *Arahāntanaṁ puṣyāyē* 'in adoration of the Arhants.' The inscription, according to the photograph, reads:

(line 1) [Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya Dēvaputrasya Huviṣkasya saṁ 30-8

(line 2) hē 3 dī 10-1 ētāyē purvāyē naṁdī-ṣāla

(line 3) pratiṣṭhāpitō Qivadāsa-ṣrēṣṭhi-putrēna ṣrēṣṭhinā

(line 4) [A]ryyēna Rudradāsēna Arāhāntanaṁ puṣyāyē.

This means: "On the 11th day of the 3rd half-month (*pakṣa*) of the cold season, in the year 38, (during the reign of) Mahārāja Dēvaputra Huviṣka, on this date (specified as) above, this (pillar which is) as big as Nandin (?) has been set up by

Huviṣka, in the year 38 (38 in text; the plate gives 18), and here too the ancient form of *ṣa* is preserved throughout; but *ya* in compound letters is given in its full form only once, in *āryyēna* (line 4), and the rule as to the *seriff* on top of the second part of compound letters never appears to be observed. Thus, this isolated document cannot prove much against what I have said above as to the difference between the Northern Kṣatrapa and Kuṣaṇa type of writing.

Now it is the former, not the latter, type to which the characters of the inscription from Çrāvastī almost decidedly belong. This will be clear even from the facsimile given by Prof. Dowson.¹

Thus : (a) the letter *ya* in compounds is expressed by its full form throughout with the only exception of *puṣya* in line 1, where we have a ligature of exactly the same form as *e.g.* in the various compound letters *ṣya* in No. 12, of A. S. R., Vol. III, Plate XIV; thus, in line 1 : *bhikṣusya*, line 2 : *saddhyavihārisya*, *bhikṣusya*, *Balasya*, *trēpiṭakasya*, line 3 : *acaryyānām* ;

(b) *ṣa* is written in its ancient form, with a small cross-bar, throughout : *viz.*, line 1 : *bhikṣusya*, *Puṣya*, line 2 : *bhikṣusya* ;

(c) *ṣa* occurs in its archaic form throughout : *viz.*, line 2 : *dāṇḍaṣca*, *Çāvastiyē* ;

(d) the rule as to the *seriff* in compound letters is observed almost throughout : *see* line 1 : *purvayē*, *bhikṣusya*, line 2 : *saddhyavihārisya*, *bhikṣusya*, *Balasya*, *trēpiṭakasya*, *bōdhisatvō*, *chātrām*, *dāṇḍa*, *Çāvastiyē*, line 3 : *acaryyānām*, *sarvastivādinām*. There is only one exception from this rule, *viz.*, the letter *ṣca* in *dāṇḍaṣca* (line 2). This letter exhibits a cursive form, which looks very much like *ṣya*, but there remains no doubt as to the correctness of my reading, as may be seen from the context ;

(e) the shape of the letters is decidedly more angular and reminds one strongly of the letters in Çōḍāsa's inscriptions. In addition to this, I must call special attention to the *ḍa* of *dāṇḍaṣca* (line 2), which is of a much more archaic form than that usually met with in Kuṣaṇa, or even Northern Kṣatrapa inscriptions.

It is for all these reasons that I am inclined to believe that the inscription contained a date referring to the reign of one of the Kṣatrapa the Seth, the noble Rudradāsa, the son of the Seth Çivadāsa, in adoration of the Arhants." Both the Donor's and his father's name are compounds made with Çiva, the pillar is described as being as big as Nandin, the famous vehicle of Çiva; but the concluding words dedicate the monument to the Arhants. Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Çaivism as its greater rival, Buddhism.

¹ I regret that it is impossible at present to publish a photograph of the Statue or a facsimile of the Inscription.

predecessors of the Kuṣāṇa Kings.¹ The inscription, accordingly, and so also the statue itself, belong to the last century B.C., or the first century A.D., for the question as to the date of those Northern Kāstrapa Kings depends entirely on the date of Kaniṣka and his successors, a point, on which, to my mind also, Mr. Fergusson's phantastical conclusions have been too readily accepted by Prof. Oldenberg and others. In any case, there remains no doubt that the statue is one of the oldest Buddhist images which hitherto have been found in India.

I now publish my transcript of the inscription, made from the original stone:

Transcript.

(line 1).

१० ७ इतये पुर्वये मिच्छुस्य पुथ .

(line 2). •[स्य]²सङ्घविहारिस्य मिच्छुस्य वलस्य त्रेपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्वो³
ह्वानं दास्यन्म श्रावस्तिये मगवतो चक्रने

(line 3). कोसंबकुटिये सचर्यायां सर्वस्तिवादिनं⁴ परिभ्रहे ।

Translation.

“(During the reign of—, in the year—, season—, half-month—, on the) 19th (day), on this date (specified as) above (this statue of) a Bōdhisattva (together with) an umbrella and a stick, (being) the gift of the monk Bala, a teacher of the Tripiṭaka, (and) fellow-wanderer of the monk Puṣya-(mitra), (has been set up) in Ārāvastī, at the place where the Blessed One (i.e., Buddha) used to walk, in the Kōsambakuṭī, for the acceptance of the teachers belonging to the Sarvāstivāda-School.”

The language of this inscription is the well-known mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prakrit which is met with in all the Mathurā Inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period and thereabout. Practically it is the same

¹ The date must have contained a reference to the reign of a king. The broken portion of line 1 is much too long for a simple date, expressed, moreover, only by *saṃ* and similar abbreviations, as is the rule throughout in Mathurā and other cognate Inscriptions.

² Only the second portion, viz. *ya*, of this compound letter is visible. It is, however, evident that this *ya* belonged to the Genitive-termination of the proper name beginning with *Puṣya*, which may be conjectured to have been *Puṣyamitrasya*.

³ Traces of the first *ō* of *Bōdhisattvo* are still visible on the stone.

⁴ The letter *ōd* of *Sarvastivādinam* has been added later. It is very small and hardly visible on the facsimile, but clear enough on the stone. Apparently the “additional letter *ta* between *sarvasti* and *dinam*, shown in R. L. Mitra's copy” as mentioned by Prof. Dowson (l. c. p. 192) is this letter *vā*.

language in which the *gāthās* of the *Lalitavistara* or similar Buddhistic books are written, and which I consider with Prof. Bühler, Kern and others to be the result of persons who spoke Prakrit and were unlearned in Grammar, trying to write Sanskrit. In fact till very late at the end of the Buddhistic period, all the Buddhistic Inscriptions are notorious for their neglect of the rules of spelling and grammar, and also the Buddhistic Sanskrit Literature, with a few rare exceptions, can not certainly be called classic as to its style, whatever its merits else may have been. The fact that the mixed dialect is exclusively used in the inscriptions of Kaniska and even earlier certainly proves the correctness of the Buddhistic tradition which places the translation into Sanskrit of the Buddhistic Scriptures into the time of Kaniska. In the Ārāvastī Inscription, we meet with the following instances of mixed forms, being half Sanskrit and half Prakrit :—

(a) the Loc. Sing. of feminine nouns in *ā* or *i* is *-ayā* (i.e., *-āyā*) or *-iyā*; thus: *āyā purvayā* (l. 1), *Ārāvastīyā* (l. 2), *Kōsambakūṭīyā* (l. 3);

(b) of masculine nouns in *i* or *u*, the Genitive Sing. takes *-ya*; thus: *bhikṣuṣya* (ll. 1 and 2), *saddhyavihāriya* (l. 2);

(c) compound letters are sometimes given in their Sanskritic, sometimes in their Prakritic form; thus *caṅkamā* (l. 2), *parigrahā* (l. 3) for Skt. *caṅkaramā* and *parigrahā*, against *saddhyavihāriya* (l. 2; Sanskrit *sadhryavihārin*) and *acaryyānām* l. 3 (Skt. *ācāryānām*). Another instance is *Ārāvastīyā* (l. 2) for Skt. *Ārāvastīyām*; this form, however, curiously enough re-occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (see Petersburg Dictionary s. v. *Ārāvastī*);

(d) long vowels before compound letters are shortened as a rule, in accordance with Prakrit; thus: *acaryyānām Sarvastivādinām* (l. 3) for Skt. *ācāryānām Sarvastivādinām*. The long vowel of *chātrām dāṇḍaḥ-ca* (l. 2) for Skt. *chātrām dāṇḍaḥ-ca* which is perfectly clear on the original stone, is due to the vernacular pronunciation, and agrees with such forms as *āntīvāsī* for Skt. *antīvāsī* in various other Mathurā Inscriptions, and the genitive termination *-āca* instead of *-āca* in Bharhut.¹ The sandhi of *dāṇḍaḥ-ca* (*ibid.*) is, of course, an instance of the opposite tendency;

(e) a form of peculiar interest is *saddhyavihārin* in line 2. It corresponds to *sādhivihārin* in Sanchi Inscriptions, I, 209 (Ep. Ind. II, p. 379), where it has been translated 'fellow-wanderer' by Prof. Bühler (*l. c.*). Its first part is in Pāli *saddhim*, which in the dialect of this Inscription becomes *saddhya*. This clearly shows that Pāli *saddhim* does not go back to Sanskrit *sārdhām*, as has been hitherto assumed by most scholars, but to Sanskrit *sadhryak*, as has been first recognized by Prof. Fischele.

¹ See Bühler, Epigr. Ind., Vol. II, p. 195.

The Inscription records the gift of a Bōdhisattva by a monk Bala to some teachers of the Sarvāstivāda School, who resided at Ćrāvastī. He is called "a fellow wanderer (*saddhyavihārin*) of the monk Puṣya—(probably Puṣyamitra)" and a *Trāipiṭaka* or in Sanskrit *Traipiṭaka*, i.e., "one who has studied or teaches the Tripiṭaka." A similar term, *pēṭakin*, is met with as early as the Bharhut Inscriptions,¹ and in later time we find the same title in the Inscription No. 6 from Kanheri (Arch. Surv. Rep. Western India, Vol. V, p. 77), a document written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D., where we read of a "*traipiṭakōpādhyāya-bhadanta-Dharmavatsa*."² This clearly proves that the Tripiṭaka must have been studied in India till at least the end of the 5th century A.D. The existence in these days at and near Mathurā of the school of *Sarvāstivādins*, to which the recipients of the gift belonged, is well-known to us already from cognate inscriptions, and does not call for any remark.

By far the most important statements of the inscription, however, are the description of the gift itself, and of the locality where it was set up. The former is described as "a statue of a Bōdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick" (*Bōdhisatvō chātram dāṇḍaṣ=ca*, line 2). The Bōdhisattva of course is the statue on which the inscription is engraved; the umbrella apparently surmounted the statue, similar ones being frequently met with among the sculptures from Gandhara. In Bharhut, Sanchi and Gaya the presence of Buddha is generally indicated by a throne (*vajrāsana*) surmounted by an umbrella, and these also remain associated with him in later Buddhistic art. It is evident that the umbrella belongs to Buddha because he is a *cakravartin*, just as the wheel, the sign of the unrestrained progress of the law, marks him as an *apratihatacakra* or 'universal king.' According to the Lalita Vistara, the two signs of royalty, the umbrella and the two chowrees appeared already at his birth; we read here (p. 96) that at that time *antarikṣē dvē cāmarē ratnacchatram ca prādur abhūt*, and among the various reliefs from Gandhara representing this scene, which are now in the Indian Museum, there is one on which the artist literally followed the poet's words and sculptured a chowree hanging in the air. The stick (*dāṇḍaṣ=ca*) I believe to have been a portion of the umbrella by which it was connected with the halo surrounding the head; it may have been laid out with jewels

¹ See Dr. Hultzsch's Edition in Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges., Vol. XL, p. 74 and Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 23 f, No. 134.

² I believe *traipiṭaka* and *upādhyāya* are two different titles of Dharmavatsa. He was one who had studied the three Piṭakas, and he had acquired the academical degree of *Upādhyāya* or "teacher." *Traipiṭaka* also occurs very often as a distinguishing title in Tārānātha's Tibetan History of Buddhism in India, where Schiefner translates, "*Dreikorbhalter*."

or some precious stones, for if it was merely a piece of wood or iron, no reason seems to me why the inscription mentions it specially. The umbrella, then rightly might have been called a *ratnacchatru*.¹

The statue itself is described as an image of a *Bōdhisattva*, not of a Buddha. To everyone who is acquainted with the ancient Buddhist scriptures, it is well known that these two terms are never used promiscuously, but strictly distinguished from each other;² and that such a supposition would be quite out of place here, may be easily seen by comparing this word with the other *Bhagavatō camkamē* in the same line of the Inscription, where Buddha is spoken of as *Bhagavān*. This can be easily confirmed by looking over other ancient inscribed statues of Buddha. Here, with one exception only, the term *Bōdhisattva* is never employed in describing the image, but such other terms as *Buddha*, *Tathāgata*, *Bhagavān*, *Āstā*, etc., which also in literature signify the teacher after he had reached the state of enlightenment, in distinction from the preliminary stage of a *Bōdhisattva* or, as it is generally explained, "a being that in this birth is destined to reach the *bōlhi*, without being born again." I refer to the following inscriptions:—

- (1) An Inscription on the pedestal of a large statue of Buddha, in Anyor near Mathurā: A. S. R. Vol. XX, p. 49 and Plate V, No. 5: the characters of the Inscription belong to the Northern Kṣatrapa type. The statue is described in line 1 as *Buddha-pratimā*;
- (2) An Inscription, incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman: Epigr. Indica, Vol. II, p. 212 and No. 42 of Facsimile Plate. The date of the Inscription *Sam* 74 with all probability refers to the Kuṣāṇa

¹ I must at least mention one other possible, though highly improbable, explanation of the words. On the Mathurā Lion Capital a *samanachatra* is mentioned which Prof. Bühler hesitatingly translated by 'a stūpa of a monk'; see Journ. Roy. As. Soc., New Ser., 1894, p. 536, note 6. He refers to the modern *chatri* which is used for a certain class of tomb-like monuments not uncommon in Northern India, which, however, to my mind do not seem to have any structural resemblance with a Buddhist stūpa, but rather look like Muhammadan *Maqbirahs*. But, granted the correctness of this explanation, then we might take *chātram* in our Inscription as 'a stūpa'; *daṇḍa* might refer to something similar to the *yaṣṭhi* (*yaṣṭhi*) in the Sue Bihar Inscription; see Dr. Hoernle's edition in Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 327, probably 'a metal rod containing the seven precious substances, and deposited inside the stūpa.' This explanation, though scarcely probable, would however, prove important for the question as to whether the statue has been found by General Cunningham in situ, or not.

² A few isolated instances adduced by Prof. Windisch in his *Māra und Buddha*, p. 211, cannot prove anything for the time to which this statue belongs.

Era. The statue is described as *Bhagavatō Çakyamuninā* (read :—*muninō*) *pratimā* ;

- (3) An Inscription on a statue of Buddha from Mankuar: Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 45. The Inscription is dated in the 129 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to 448–449 A.D. The statue is described as *Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-matā-viruddhasya...pratimā* ;
- (4) An Inscription under a figure of Buddha in the Kanheri Caitya Cave No. III: Arch. Surv. Rep. of Western India, Vol. V, p. 77, No. 6. The Inscription is written in characters of the Western alphabet of the 4th or 5th century A.D. The figure is called *Bhagavat-pratimā* (line 3 of inscription) ;
- (5) An Inscription on the base of a statue of Buddha from Sarnath, near Benares, now in Indian Museum: Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 281. The Inscription, on palæographical grounds, may be allotted roughly to the 5th century A.D. The statue is labelled as *pratimā Çāstuh*.

These are the only ancient Buddha statues, as far as I know, which contain Inscriptions giving us a clue as to the meaning of the image. But there is one remarkable statue still left which I have already been alluding to above. It is a statue of a seated Buddha from Budh Gaya, figured by General Cunningham in his *Mahābōdhi*, Plate XXV, and described *ibid.*, p. 53. This statue is also now in the Indian Museum, but unfortunately an inspection of the original sculpture does not give any more help in deciphering the mutilated Inscription on the base. On the contrary, some more letters have still broken off, and not even the whole context of Cunningham's facsimile is now to be found on the stone. But so much at least seems to me certain that its purport was to record the fact that a certain *Bhikṣu* set up this statue of a Bōdhisattva, who was represented as seated on a *siṃhāsana*, traces of which are still visible on the sculpture behind the neck of the figure. Thus, I believe, the words in line 2 of the Inscription, *viz.*, *Bōdhisattva-pratimām siṃharathē pratiṣṭhāpayati* are best accounted for. Here then again we have a statue of a Bōdhisattva, not of a Buddha.¹

How then is this discrepancy to be accounted for? There is nothing in the head-dress to distinguish the Gaya Image from any

¹ I do not agree with General Cunningham referring the date 64 of line 1 of the Inscription to the Çaka Era. The form of some letters of the Inscriptions, especially of *sa*, is much later and the true date probably lies 150 or 200 years behind. I am unable to make anything out of the name of the *Mahārāja* mentioned in the beginning of the record.

ordinary Buddha statue of about the same time or even later. With respect to the Çrāvastī Image, we must leave off this point at all, as the head unfortunately is broken.¹ But the point, on which both the Gaya and Çrāvastī image are alike to each other, while they differ from any ordinary Buddha statue, is the shape in which the garment is laid round the body, leaving naked in both the right shoulder. The ordinary type of Buddha represents the teacher dressed in the *saṃghāṭī* that large vestment which covers the whole body of a Buddhist monk, reaching to the ankles and leaving bare only the neck and the shaved head. It looks, indeed, very much so as if Buddhist artists in trying to revive the figure of their divine Lord in painting or in stone, did not imitate any other type among the Hindu Pantheon, but tried to depict the Lord so as the pious mind believed him to have been, and the model from which the first statues of Buddha were made, was the appearance of an ordinary Bhikṣu, just as the Jainas made the images of their *Tirthaṅkaras* look like an ordinary Yati. If General Cunningham, therefore, with respect to the Çrāvastī statue says that "the right shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures" (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), this is decidedly wrong. The evidence adduced above rather leads us to believe that *wherever we find a Buddhist statue which has the right shoulder bare, this is to be taken as a sign that the statue represents not a Buddha, but a Bōdhisattva.*²

It is not my intention here to press this argument. The evidence, I admit, is but scanty, and the subject is one which still labours under great difficulties. I merely want to point, in connexion herewith, to two other facts which tend to corroborate the result thus arrived at. The first point is taken from the Gandhara sculptures. Here the type with the right shoulder bare, occurs only in connection with a particular position of the hands which is generally described as

¹ I know of one more Buddha statue of very much the same style as the Çrāvastī Image. It is only the upper part of the statue, shown on a photograph in the Indian Museum together with the statue described in A. S. R. X, 5, which Dr. Führer in his List wrongly calls an image of Açvaghōṣa, but which really seems to be an image of a Nāgarāja. Here the head is preserved; it is without any ornament or dress, the hair represented in the same conventional way as in the Mankuar Image where Mr. Fleet erroneously speaks of "a close fitting cap." The *uṣṇiṣa* or 'skull-born' is also seen on this fragment. The vestment is very much like the Çrāvastī Image.

² There is, of course, one more point in the shape of the dress of this statue which is against the ordinary fashion of Buddha images, *viz.*, the girdle round the waist. The vestment of the Çrāvastī image is decidedly not the *saṃghāṭī*, while those from Gandhara and Bihar, referred to further on, appear to be clad in this garment.

dharmacakramudrā, and which Prof. Grünwedel in his valuable "*Handbuch der Buddhistischen Kunst in Indien*" (Berlin, 1893, p. 146 ff) has from independent reasons, tried to establish as a characteristic of statues representing not *Çākyaṃuni*, but the future Buddha *Maitrēya*. *Maitrēya*, according to Buddhist Mythology is not a Buddha yet, and I question the correctness of Prof. Grünwedel's words who calls these statues representations of "*Maitrēya* as Buddha." To my mind, it would be more appropriate to speak of them as "*statues of Maitrēya*," and from the result which I have arrived at above, it is extremely probable that the fact that such statues wear the right shoulder uncovered by their vestment, is due to their being representations of a *Bōdhisattva*, in this particular case the *Bōdhisattva Maitrēya*.¹ The next point in connexion herewith refers to the Bihar Buddhist statues. Among these, I have met with the type of Buddha with his right shoulder bare only in connection with a peculiar attitude of the hands commonly called "*bhūmisparça-mudrā*."² This holds good almost throughout, as far as I know. Now it is my opinion that this particular attitude where Buddha touches the earth with the top of the fingers of his right hand, while the left lies in his lap, always is intended to depict him as sitting under the *Bōdhi*-tree (which indeed is always represented on such statues), and calling the earth as a witness during his great struggle with *Māra*. This opinion of mine rests on the fact that in some of the Bihar images belonging to this type the demons of

¹ There remains of course one doubtful point. Some statues of a different type, representing figures in royal dress, and formerly called "*statues of princes*," have been explained by Prof. Grünwedel as representations of *Maitrēya*. How then is this difference in type to be accounted for? I can see no reasonable explanation. My above statement rests on careful examination of the Indian Museum collection of Gandhara sculptures, among which there are about 200 images of Buddhas or *Bōdhisattvas*, coming partly from Swat, partly from *Yūsufzāi* (*Jamālgarhī*, *Takht-i-Bāhī*, etc.). I have come across only one exception, *i.e.*, a figure seated cross-legged, the right shoulder bare, and the right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. On the base of the statue, a small relievo of the *Indrasālaguhā* scene is sculptured (see my note in Proceedings, A. S. B., 1898, July, p. 186 ff). My statement referring to the Bihar sculptures also is based on the Indian Museum collection; the number of Buddhist statues among them may be given approximately as 200. Their date, as will be known, is the time of the Pāla Kings of Magadha.

² A fair specimen of this type may be seen in Plate II of this Journal, Vol. LXIII, 1894, Part I. It is a photo-etching of a statue excavated by Dr. G. A. Grierson near Rajgir, the ancient *Rājagṛha*. In the description given by *Bābū Çarat Candra Dās* on the authority of Lama Sherab Gya-tsho (p. 37) this attitude is called the *dhyaṇī āsana* which seems to be wrong. Also the tree above the head of Buddha is wrongly called the *Kalpavṛkṣa*. Other similar statues may be seen in Cunningham, *Mahābōdhi*, Plate XXI 7, D, E, F, and Plate XXVI.

Māra's army are still represented, while on the majority of them no sign of Māra or his warriors is visible. Further it must be noticed that in Sarnath¹ and Ajanta,² wherever the attack of Māra is represented, Buddha's attitude is exactly the same as in those Bihar images above described. And this holds good also for Gandhara, where Buddha's attitude in the Māra scenes is always that of *bhūmisparça*, as called by me above.³ This point again tends towards the same direction. For when Buddha was attacked by Māra, he was not yet a *Tathāgata* or a *Buddha*, he was only a *Bōdhisattva*, and wherever the scene is described in Buddhist Literature, he is spoken of by that term. Thus, here again, the right shoulder has been left uncovered, because the artist did not intend to represent the Divine Teacher after he had reached the perfect state of enlightenment, but merely in a preliminary stage, as a *Bōdhisattva*. The evidence, accordingly, derived from epigraphical as well as sculptural facts, tends to show that wherever we meet with a statue of Buddha which represents him with his right shoulder uncovered, we must consider this *a priori* as a sign indicating that the image is not meant for a Buddha, but for a *Bōdhisattva*.

But to return to the Inscription, we must now take into consideration the important statement as to the locality where the statue was set up. As we have seen already, the image was erected in *Ćrāvastī* (spelled *Ćāvastī*), in the *Kōsāmbakuṭī*, "in the place where Buddha used to walk" (*Bhagavatō camkamē*). *Ćrāvastī*, or in Pāli *Sāvathī*, contained the *Jētavana*, a place on which Buddhists look with the same veneration as a Christian does on the house of Lazarus in Bethania. In this garden or park there were two buildings, as we learn from the famous medallion in the Bharhut Stūpa, labelled as: *Jētavana Anādhapēḍikō dēti kōṭi-samīhatēna kētā*, i.e., 'Anāthapiṇḍaka gives the Jētavana (to Buddha), having purchased it⁴ for a layer of kōṭis (i.e., gold pieces)' (see Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Plates XXVIII and LVII). One of

¹ See Plates 67, 68 of Dr. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, Part I.

² There are two representations of Māra's attack on Buddha in Ajanta. One is a sculpture, figured in Plate LI of Burgess and Fergusson *Cave Temples*, the other the famous painting, a drawing of which may be seen, e.g., on page 93, woodcut No. 31, of Grünwedel's *Handbuch*.

³ But on the specimens seen by me, about 3 or 4 in number, the right shoulder is covered. All of them are, however, very poor with respect to workmanship.

⁴ Dr. Hultsch takes *kētā* as Pāli form of skt. *krētā*, but it is a gerund, corresponding to skt. *kritvā*; its prototype would be *krayitvā*, and it corresponds to *kiṇitvā* in the story of the Avīdūrēnidāna (Fansböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 92). I also do not agree with his translation of the words *Kōsāmbakuṭī* as "the Hall at Kauçāmbī;" see his edition of the Bharhut Inscriptions No. 39, on page 230, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, for 1892.

those two buildings is described as *Kōsambakuṭī*; it is the building mentioned in our Inscription, as has been recognized long ago by General Cunningham. The second building is called *gandhakuṭī*, and is referred to directly in the tale of the *Avidūrānidāna* (*Jātaka*, ed. Fansböll, Vol. I, p. 92), where we read that Sudatta (*i.e.*, *Anāthapiṇḍika*) erected this building in the centre of the park (*sō majjhē Dasabalassa gandhakuṭīm kāreṣi*). Further it is stated in the same place, that he also erected 'places to walk, to sleep, and to stay during the day' for Buddha (*caṅkamaṇa-rattiṭṭhāna-divāṭṭhānāni ca*), one of which doubtless was the *Bhagavatū caṅkama*, where the statue was set up, according to the Inscription.

It thus is established beyond doubt that *the statue originally was erected in Çrāvastī*, and the only point that remains for our discussion is the question whether we are entitled to identify the locality where the statue was discovered by General Cunningham in 1863, *i.e.*, the modern Set-Mahet with the site of the ancient Çrāvastī?

It has been done so by General Cunningham; see his account on Sahet-Mahet, or Çrāvastī, in *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 330 ff., and Vol. XI, p. 78 ff. This identification up to lately, seems to have been generally adopted, and is repeated by Dr. Führer in his *List of Antiquarian Remains in the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, p. 306. Recently, however, it appears to have come into discredit again. I refer to V. A. Smith's report on the Remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District (Allahabad, 1896) where in note 3, p. 4 he states: "I greatly doubt the correctness of the accepted identification of the site of Çrāvastī. I have a strong suspicion that Çrāvastī should be identified with Chārdā, or Chahārdah, in the Bahraich district, about forty miles north-west of Sēt-Mahēt (Sahēt-Mahēt). The latter place, which is commonly reputed to be the site of Çrāvastī, will probably prove to be Sētawya, which was situated eastward from Çrāvastī." It is for this reason that I take up the question here again.

It would be wrong to infer from a statement contained in the diary of the Journey of Hionen Thsang, that the image discovered by General Cunningham is the same statue which the Chinese pilgrim saw in Çrāvastī. He tells us that (*St. Julien, Hionen Thsang*, Vol. I, p. 296) "les bâtimens du *Kia-lun* (convent) sont complètement ruinés; il n'en reste que les antiques fondemens. On ne voit plus qu'une petite maison en briques qui s'élève toute seule au milieu des décombres; elle renferme une statue du Bouddha." Though this description closely agrees with the site where the General found the statue in 1863, yet from what immediately follows in Hionen Thsang's account, we learn that the statue which he saw, was made of sandel-wood, while Cunningham's

statue is made of stone; and if we compare his account with the narrative of Fa-Hian (p. 75 of Beal's translation), it becomes evident that both refer to the same statue. This was recognized originally also by General Cunningham (see Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 340¹), but later on, he changed his opinion, and said (Arch. Surv. R., Vol. XI, p. 86): "When Hwen Thsang visited Srāvastī in A.D. 636, he found the Jetavana so completely ruined, that nothing more than the foundations remained. 'One small brick temple containing a statue of Buddha rose alone amid the ruins.' This solitary temple I have identified with No. 3,¹ because the Inscription which I found inside dates back to the early period of Indo-Scythian rule. *The statue must, therefore, have been enshrined in this temple several centuries before the time of Hwen Thsang; and as I found it inside the temple in 1863, it is certain that it must have been there in A.D. 636, when the Chinese pilgrim visited the Jetavana.*" This rather bold statement has been accepted without hesitation by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains, p. 310, where he says that "this very statue of colossal size, (i.e., the statue seen by Hiuen Thsang) was found in 1863 by General Cunningham inside a small ruined brick temple." We may, of course, admit an error on Hiuen Thsang's side, but we have no reason whatever to do so. And, on the other hand, the fact that the statue does not seem to have been noticed by Hiuen Thsang, does not appear to me to value much. It may have been buried below the ground as early as in his time, and it may be owing merely to this fact that the statue has still been preserved to us in a country where stone material always, on account of its rarity, has been valued high and greatly demanded, while, on the other hand, further excavations conducted by General Cunningham and Dr. W. Hoey at the same site have been very resultless as to ancient sculptures or inscriptions.

While thus the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims become useless to us in deciding the question whether the image stood at Set-Mahet already at their time or not, we can, on the other hand, not derive an argument against the question at issue from the fact that the statue was made from the same material which was in use at the same time in Mathurā. For, as General Cunningham rightly observes (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), "we know that the sculptor's art was in a very flourishing state at Mathurā during the first centuries of the Christian era" and the same fact holds also good for a number of other ancient sculptures that have come to light in the country around Mathurā. We are perfectly justified in putting all these sculptures,

¹ This refers to Plate XXV, same Volume.

which, by no means, all have been found in Mathurā itself, but some of them at a considerable distance away, together under the class-term of Mathurā sculptures, just as we speak of Gandhara-sculptures, and such a term rests on much stronger grounds than many a similar one introduced by Indian Archæologists. If, indeed, we find a statue with an Inscription, approximately 19 centuries old telling us that the place where the statue was set up, was Çrāvastī and their being no visible signs that the statue has been transported from some other place, such as Inscriptions in later characters, etc., we must primarily infer that the site where it stands is the same place as that mentioned in the Inscription, until by some independent reasons we have come to the conclusion that such an assumption cannot be upheld. Such independent reasons, in our case, would be the distance in miles and the direction according to the horizon, as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims between Çrāvastī and other places visited by them.

The next place to which both Fa-Hian and Hinen Tshang travelled from Çrāvastī, is *Kapilavāstu*, the birth-place of Buddha. The latter place, by the discovery in 1896 of the famous Paḍeria Edict of Aṣōka, has been identified beyond doubt with a modern site in the Nepalese Terai to the north of Uska Bazar station. How far its distance from Set-Mahet in English miles is, I am unable to make out with certainty; its direction according to the horizon from Set-Mahet is to the East. The distance recorded by Fa-Hiang between Çrāvastī and Kapilavāstu is about 14 *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction;¹ Hiuen Tshang gives 500 *li* in a south-eastern direction as the distance between the kingdom of Çrāvastī and the kingdom of Kapilavāstu.² Both accordingly record the direction as lying to the south-east, while the actual direction between Set-Mahet and Paḍeria seems to be to the east. The question accordingly is: are we, on account of this discrepancy, justified in assuming that the statue has been brought to the place where General Cunningham found it, from somewhere else, while the actual site of Çrāvastī must be searched for somewhere to the north-east of Paḍeria?

¹ From Çrāvastī to Na-pi-ka, the birth-place of the Buddha Krakū chanda; 12 *yōjanas* to the south; from this place to Buddha Kapakamuni's birth-place (*viz.*, the modern Nigliwa in Tahsil Taulehva, Nepal): less than 1 *yōjana* to the north: from this place to Kapilavāstu: less than one *yōjana* eastward; see Chapter XXI and XXII (p. 85-86) of Beal's translation.

² St. Julien, Vol. I, p. 309 "en partant de ce royaume (*i.e.*, *She-lo-fa-si-ti* = Çrāvastī), il fit environ cinq cents *li* au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de *Kis-pi-lo-fa-su-tu* (Kapilavāstu)." I expect that the distance in *lis* and *yōjanas* agrees nearly with the actual distance in English miles between Set-Mahet and Paḍeria, but I have no means to work out this question, and I refrain myself, for this reason, from taking it into consideration. 500 *lis* or 14 *yōjanas* both come up approximately to 80 English miles.

To my humble opinion, such an assumption would be very difficult to maintain. Suppose, a pious Buddhist Monk or layman who had got hold of the statue at the place where it was standing previously, desired to make it a gift to some of his co-religionists who were then residing at the place which is now called Set-Mahet. For this purpose, he removed the statue, 11' 8" in height, and of a considerable weight some thirty or even fifty miles. Is it not then entirely in opposition to the usual custom in India that he took all this trouble and, in connexion with it, the considerable expenses upon himself without recording even his name on the statue? Ārāvastī in 636 A.D. when Hiuen Tshang visited the place, certainly was already very much devastated, and only few Buddhists were residing there. But it must have been absolutely depopulated and no one must have been there to claim the possession of the image which even on its size would have excited the religious veneration of an ordinary Hindu or Buddhist, if he was allowed to take the statue away, and nobody dared to object, as it has been done now-a-days hundred of times to Archæologists and Collectors of sculptures for the various Museums. And is it really in accordance with the usual custom in India that, whenever a religious man wants to gain merit by setting up a statue or building up a temple, he utilizes some old broken stone which he has come across with at some distant place? On the contrary, in such a case, no respect whatever for any object of antiquity is shown—a feeling which indeed is entirely new to the ordinary Indian—and the donor rather boasts himself of having made a new statue, however ugly, out of some other piece of venerable antiquity.

These considerations make me inclined to trust the authority of the Inscription on the statue discovered by General Cunningham and to look upon the discrepancy in the direction as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim as a minor point of no considerable importance. There is some more Epigraphical evidence as to the site of the ancient Ārāvastī which I may be permitted to add here, though, unfortunately, it does not help us any further. Ārāvastī is mentioned also in the following Inscriptions:—

- (1) Madhuban Copper-plate Inscription of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj; date Harṣa-samvat 25=631-632 A.D.; Epigr. Indica, Vol. I, p. 72, line 8 ff. of Inscription: *Ārāvastī-bhuktāu Kuṇḍadhānī-vaiṣayika-Sōmakuṇḍikā-grāma*. The plate was discovered in 1888 by a ploughman in a field near Madhuban, Pargaua Nathūpur, Distr. A'zamgarh, N.-W. Provinces.
- (2) Dighwa-Dubauli Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja
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Mahēndrapāladēva; date [Harṣa]-samvat 155=761-762 A.D.; Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, 1886, p. 112; line 7 ff. of Inscription: *Ārāvastī-bhuktīsu Ārāvastī-maṇḍal-āntakṣpātī-Vālayikā-viṣaya-sambaddha-Pānīyaka-grāma*. The plate is in the possession of a Brahmin in the Saran District, Bihar, but seems to have been brought there from some distant place.

- (3) Katak Copper-plate Inscription of the third year of Mahārāja Bhavagupta II.; date 11th century A.D.; Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 357; line 38 ff., of the Inscription mentions a Brahman who had come to Katak from the bhāṭṭa-village Kāsilli in the Ārāvastī-maṇḍala (*Ārāvastī-maṇḍalē Kāsillī-bhāṭṭagrāma-vinirggatāya*).

All these localities, however, mentioned as lying in the *maṇḍala* or *bhukti* of Ārāvastī, I have been unable to identify; for that Vālayikā in the Dighwa-Dubauli Inscription (No. 2) may be the modern Ballia in the North-West Provinces, is nothing more than a mere guess. If it is possible to identify those places, they would certainly help to settle the question, but I am unable at present to do this.

To sum up the results of this paper, we learn from the Inscription on the base of the statue discovered by General Cunningham in 1863 at the modern Set-Mahet:—

- (1) that the statue was erected in the last century B.C. or first century A.D., and consequently is one of the oldest Buddhist images found in India;
- (2) that it represents a Bōdhisattva, and not a Buddha, this being recognisable also in the shape of the robe leaving the right shoulder naked;
- (3) that, finally, the statue originally was set up in Ārāvastī and that the place where General Cunningham found it, viz., the modern Set-Mahet, has to be considered on the authority of the Inscription as the site of the ancient Ārāvastī, notwithstanding a certain discrepancy in its actual direction from Kapilavāstu (Paḍeria), as compared with the direction recorded by the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hiuen Tshang.

*A new Inscription of Mahārāja Bhōja I., from Marwar, dated Harṣa
Samvat 100.—By THEODOR BLOCH, PH. D.*

[Read April, 1898].

This Inscription which is edited here for the first time, is engraved on a copper-plate discovered by Dēbiprasād, a Munsif of Jodhpur in Marwar State, Rajputana. It is stated to have come to light some fifty years ago during a heavy rainfall in a village called Sewa,¹ in Pargana Didwana¹ of the Marwar State, where it was lying buried under the earth, and whence it is said to have come to Daulatpur, in the same State; it is now deposited in the Darbar Hall of Jodhpur. I edit the Inscription from impressions kindly supplied to me by Dēbiprasād, Munsif of Jodhpur, who discovered the plate in Daulatpur and arranged for its being deposited in Jodhpur.

Judging from the impressions, the plate measures 1' 9" by 1' 4½"; its weight is said to be 30 seers. It is inscribed on one side only in characters of exactly the same type as the two Inscriptions of the same dynasty, already known to us, *viz.*, the Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla, and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Mahārāja Vināyakapāla.² The average size of the letters is ¾". The seal, measuring, according to the impression, 9½" by 6½", is soldered unto the proper right side of the plate; it resembles in shape exactly the seal of the two other plates, mentioned above. It contains an Inscription, consisting of 10 lines of writing in relievo, above which there is, in an arch, the figure of a standing goddess, doubtless the Bhagavati mentioned in the Inscription as tutelary deity of Mahārāja Bhōja. The same figure is also to be seen in the upper portion of the seal of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate. The latter which I had an opportunity to inspect, leaves no doubt that this goddess Bhagavati is intended for Durgā or Pārvati, as she is represented

¹ Written *सेवा* and *ديوانه* respectively, in the vernacular alphabets.

² Edited by Mr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 105 and 138, with facsimile.

as holding a mirror and water-jar (*darpaṇa* and *kalāṣa*) in two of her left hands, both of which are among the attributes of this goddess.

The language of the Inscription is Sanskrit. With respect to orthography, the same peculiarities re-occur here, as in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates; *viz.*, the letter *b* is everywhere expressed by the sign for *v*; *parambhagavatī* (or *parambha*^o) stands for *paramabhagavatī* (in lines *e* and *k* of the seal, and lines 4 and 6 of the text); *samvatsrō*, in the date (line 16), is written for *samvatsarō* or *samvatsarāṇḍam*; *aṅṣa* is written for *aṁṣa* (in lines 10 and 14).

The Inscription opens with the well-known Genealogical list of Muhārājas from *Dēvaçakti* down to *Bhōja*; the same pedigree, in exactly the same words, is repeated on the seal also, and may be seen, too, in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates of Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakapāla. Thereafter, we learn, that the *Mahārāja-Çrī-Bhōjailēva*, from his victorious camp, pitched up at *Mahōdaya* (line 1) issued a command to his officials in the village *Sivā*, belonging to the district (*viçuya*) of *Dēṇḍrānaka*, which lay in the country of *Gurjjarattra* (*Gurjjarattra-bhūmau*; lines 6 foll.), informing them that a certain *Bhaṭṭa-Harṣuka* (line 8) had reported to him, that the above-named village (*viz.*, *Sivā-grāma*) had been granted by the present King *Bhōja's* great-grandfather, *Mahārāja Vatsarāja*, (line 9: *parama-dēva-pādānām prapitāmaha*, etc.,) to his (*sc.* *Harṣuka's*) grandfather, *Bhaṭṭa Vāsudēva*. This *Vāsudēva* again by a special deed (*prutigraha-patṭrēṇa*), had made over the sixth part of its revenues to a certain *Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu* (line 10). *Mahārāja Bhōja's* grandfather, the *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭa*, confirmed the original grant; but in the reign of the present King *Bhōja (dēva-rājyē*, line 11), both the original grant (*çāsana*) and the record of its being sanctioned by *Nāgabhaṭa (anumati)* had been lost. The *Mahārāja Bhōja*, therefore, after he had come to know about the grant, its sanction, and enjoyment, consented that the said village should be enjoyed by the Brahmans, the descendants of *Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva*, who belonged to the *Kāçyapa-gōttra* and were students of the *Āçvalāyana-[çākhā]* of the *Rg-vēda*, as well as by the Brahmans, the descendants of *Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu*, who belonged to the *Kātyāyana-gōttra* and were students of the *Āçvalāyana-[çākhā]* of the *Rg-vēda*, in the same way as it had been enjoyed before, and as the division of the shares had been already settled (*prāg-bhōgākramēṇ=aiva yathāṁṣam*, line 14). Then follows a çlōka (line 15 ff.) which tells us that the *çāsana* was drawn up¹ by *Prabhāsa*, and that

¹ This is the meaning of the word *prayukta* according to Prof. Bühler's suggestion; see Mr. Fleet's note 9, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 177. The translation of the first line of the verse accordingly would be: "(This is the writing) of the long-enduring *çāsana*, drawn up by *Prabhāsa*."

the *Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa* acted as *dātaka*.¹ The date² of the assignment (*nibaddha*) of the grant is the year 100, the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna. As in the case of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates, the date must be referred to the Harṣa Era, corresponding therefore to 706-707 A.D.

The new information which this Inscription furnishes regarding the history of this family of Mahārājas, is but scanty. It gives us the date Harṣa Samvat 100 (= A.D. 706-707) for Mahārāja Bhōja, and mentions the name of a Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa who has been left out in the later lists, apparently because he never ascended the throne. Of greater interest, however, are the localities mentioned in the Inscription. The village Sivā, the *agrahāra* of the Brahmin families descending from Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva and Bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇu, is described as lying in the *Gurjjaratrā-bhūmi*, in the *Dēṇḍvānaka-viṣaya*. The former I am unable to identify; but the latter apparently is identical with the modern Didwānā, the name of a town and pargana in Marwar State in Rajputana.³ The place is shown in the map accompanying Webb's Currencies of Rajputana, and also on Plate 27 of Constable's Hand Atlas of India; it is situated midway between Jaypur and Bikanir. Accordingly, the village Sivā must be identical with the modern Sōwā, the place where, if tradition can be trusted, the plate came to light some fifty years ago. The villages granted in the two other Inscriptions of the same dynasty, lay respectively in the modern districts of Faizabad in Oudh, and of Benares; but we now learn that one part at least of the dominions of this family of petty chiefs (Mahārājas) lay also on the other bank of the Jumna, about 500 miles distant from their Zamīndāri in Oudh and 700 miles from Benares.

I now edit the Inscription from impressions supplied by Dēbiprasād :

Text.

The Seal :

- (a) परमवैश्यावो महाराजश्रीदेवशक्ति-
- (b) देवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तदादागुध्यातः श्रीभूषिका-
- (c) देव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज-
- (d) श्रीवत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तदादागुध्यातः

¹ For other instances of a *Yuvarāja* acting as *dātaka*, see Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla (Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 245), and Mungir Plate of Dēvapāla (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 258).

² Expressed by a symbol, not in numerical figures.

³ This has been already suggested to me by Dēbiprasād.

- (e) श्रीसुन्दरीदेव्यासुत्यन्नः परंभगवतीभक्तो¹
 (f) महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्त-
 (g) त्यादानुध्यातः श्रीमदीसटादेव्यासुत्यन्नः पर-
 (h) मादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीरामभद्रदेवस्त-
 (i) स्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्रीमदप्पादेव्यासुत्यन्नः
 (k) परंभगवतीभक्तो¹ महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः [॥*]

The Plate :

- (1) श्रीं खलि [॥*] महोदयसमावासितानेकनौ² हृद्यश्चरथपतिसम्पन्नस्तन्वा-
 वारात्परमवैष्ण-
 (2) वो महाराजश्रीदेवशक्तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्रीभुयिकादेव्या-
 सुत्यन्नः परम-
 (3) माहेश्वरो महाराजश्रीवत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्रीसुन्दरी-
 देव्यासुत्यन्नः
 (4) परम्भगवतीभक्तो³ महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानुध्यातः श्री-
 मदीसटादे-
 (5) व्यासुत्यन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीरामभद्रदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्यादानु-
 ध्यातः श्री-
 (6) मदप्पादेव्यासुत्यन्नः परम्भगवतीभक्तो³ महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ गुर्जरत्ना-
 भूमौ देवद्वान-
 (7) कविषयसम्बद्ध⁴सिवाग्रामाग्रहारे समुपगतान्सर्वानिव यथास्थानगियुक्ता-
 ग्प्रनिवासिनश्च
 (8) समाज्ञापयति । भट्टहर्षुकेन विज्ञपितं । उपरिनिखिताग्रहारसर्व्वीयस-
 मेत आचन्द्रार्क-

¹ Read परमभगवती०

² The reading श्री is quite obvious here as also in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates. Mr. Fleet's reading श्री seems erroneous.

³ Read परमभगवती०

⁴ Read सम्बद्ध.

- (9) क्षितिकालं पूर्व्वं दत्तदेवप्रक्ष¹देयवर्ष्मितः परमदेवपादानां प्रपितामह-
महाराजश्रीवत्स-
- (10) राजदेवेन मत्पितामहभट्टवासुदेवाय शासनेन दत्तो मुक्तश्च [।*] तेन
चास्य षष्ठांशो² भट्टविष्णवे प्र-
- (11) तियहृपक्षेण दत्तः [।*] पितामह महाराजश्रीनागभट्टदेवेनानुमति-
ईत्ता [।*] देवराज्ये तु तच्छासनमनुम-
- (12) तिस्र विगतिमुपयतेतदित्यं³ विक्षपितं शासनमनुमतिप्रतियहृपक्षं⁴
भोगश्च क्षात्वा मया पित्रोः पुण्याभि-
- (13) हृदये काश्यपसगोल्लान्धजायनवक्षुचसत्रक्षचारि⁵भट्टवासुदेवाग्वयजत्राक्ष-
खानां⁶ कात्यायनसगोल्लान्ध-
- (14) जायनवक्षुचसत्रक्षचारि⁵भट्टविष्णवग्वयजत्राक्षखानां⁶ प्राम्भोगक्रमेणैव
यथाग्रम⁷नुमोदित इति विदित्वा
- (15) भवद्विषमनुमन्तयः [।*] प्रतिवासिभिरप्याश्चाश्वव्याविधेयैर्भूत्वा⁸ सर्वा-
या एषां समुपनेया इति ।
प्रभासेन⁹ प्रयुक्त]-
- (16) स्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः ।
श्रीमान्नागभटो ना[ज्ञा] युवराजोत्र दूतकः ।
सम्बन्धो¹⁰ १००¹¹ पावगुणशुदि १०¹¹इ निवद्धं¹² ।

1 Read प्रक्षु.

2 Read षष्ठांशो.

3 Read •जवेत्येतदित्यं.

4 This ought to be either अनुमतिप्रतिपक्षपने or अनुमतिं प्रतिपक्षपनं.

5 Read •वक्षुचसत्रक्षचारि.

6 Read •वक्षुखानां.

7 Read यथाग्रम.

8 Read विधेयभूत्वा.

9 Metre Anuṣṭubh.

10 Read संबन्धरा or संबन्धराणां

11 Expressed by a symbol.

12 Read निवद्धं.

The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Biyāt.—By H. BEVERIDGE, Esq.,
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[Read November, 1898.]

This work, which is still in manuscript, owes its origin to the Emperor Akbar. We learn from the introduction to the *Akbarnāma* that when Abū'l-faḡl undertook, under Akbar's orders, to write the history of the emperor's reign, considerable pains were taken to collect the necessary materials. Among other things inquiries were made among members of the royal family and old servants of the Court, and all who had knowledge of past events were directed to put their recollections into writing. It was in obedience to this order that Bāyazīd Biyāt, who was then holding an office in Akbar's kitchen, dictated his memoirs to a clerk of Abū'l-faḡl. The same order produced the charming memoirs of Princess Gulbadan, Akbar's aunt, and apparently also those of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer. There is a copy of Bāyazīd's Memoirs in the India Office, MS. No. 216. This was Erskine's copy, and is the one which I have used for this article. Major Raverty had another copy which he quotes in his Notes on Afghānistān, but which, he informs me, is no longer in his possession. I hope that other copies may turn up, and also that some scholar will one day undertake the editing of the text. If any one undertake the task, he will do well to consult MS. Additional 26,610 of the British Museum. This is a nearly complete translation of the Memoirs by Mr. Erskine, and which might almost be printed as it stands.

Bāyazīd Biyāt belonged to a Turkish tribe, but was a native of Persia and was brought up in Tabriz. This appears from p. 77*b* where we are told that 'Ali Quli Shaibāni (Khān Zamān) was a neighbour of Bāyazīd's in Tabriz when he was little, and also from p. 102*a* where it is stated that Bāyazīd grew up with 'Ali Quli in the Āwa quarter of Tabriz. Bāyazīd was the younger brother of Shāh Bardī Biyāt, the saint and poet, who forsook the profession of arms to become a water-carrier and whose tomb is at Bardwān.¹

¹ See Professor Blochmann's article on Bahrām Saqqā, the name assumed by Shāh Bardī, in the J. A. S. B. for 1871, vol. 40, p. 281.

Bāyazīd dictated his memoirs at Lāhor in 999 (1590–91). He was then an old man, and though still in service,—he was Bakāwal Bēgi, or Steward of the kitchen,—he had had a paralytic stroke and was unable to write with his own hand. The facts that he was old and frail and that he had to dictate his recollections from memory account for their rambling character and for the inconsecutive style of the sentences. The Memoirs contain much valuable information, and in particular they give elaborate lists of Humāyūn's followers. They are also occasionally picturesque, as for instance, in the detailed account of the meeting between the two brothers, Humāyūn and Kāmṛān, after the latter had been blinded, but as a whole they are badly written and less interesting than the memoirs of Jauhar. They are styled on the fly-leaf of the MS. *Tārikh-i-Humāyūn*, but this title is not given by the author, who speaks of them only as a *mukhtaṣar* or abridgement, and it is not an adequate description of the contents, for the latter part of them is taken up with events of the reign of Akbar. They begin with Humāyūn's flight into Persia in 1543 and come down to the time of writing (1590–91). Abū'l-faḥl has evidently used them a good deal, though he nowhere expressly mentions them, and they are frequently quoted by Erskine in his valuable history of Humāyūn's reign. Bāyazīd tells us that nine contemporaneous copies of his book were made, two of which went into Abū'l-faḥl's library. I hope that some of them will be found one day in India. Bāyazīd's name occurs in the *Āin* under the title of Bāyazīd Bēg Turkmān as a commander of three hundred (Blochmann's translation, p. 501), and his son Iftikhār is mentioned lower down (p. 516), as belonging to the class of commanders of two hundred.

The Memoirs begin with Humāyūn's arrival in Sistān, and describe his journey to Harāt, and contain a copy of the elaborate despatch on which Shāh Ṭahmāsp gave directions to the governor of that city for Humāyūn's reception and entertainment. Bāyazīd, however, did not meet with Humāyūn, till the latter had joined the king of Persia at Zangān, and had gone hunting with him at Solomon's Throne (*Takht-i-Sulaimān*), south of the Caspian. After mentioning (at p. 11b) his own presence at the feasts and hunts, Bāyazīd tells us that when Humāyūn took leave of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and proceeded towards Tabrīz, he himself was in the service of His Holiness Saiyid Muḥammad 'Arab, the Shāh's *Imām* or chaplain, who had been entrusted that year with the conveyance of the royal donative to the shrine of Imām Riḏā at Maṣḥhad. Apparently when Humāyūn went westward, Bāyazīd proceeded on the opposite direction towards Maṣḥhad, for he was there

with his father when Humāyūn arrived on the first Shawwāl 951, (16th December, 1544). It was the day of the *'Īdu-l-fitr* or the breaking of the fast of the Ramazān, but the weather had been so bad from rain and snow that the people of Mashhad had not been able to see the moon. Humāyūn, however, was able to satisfy the Qazī that he had seen the moon when crossing the Zaqī¹ Pass on the previous evening and so after 9 A.M. all the inhabitants proceeded to the 'Idgāh. Humāyūn stayed several days in Mashhad, putting up in an upper room (*bālakhāna*) behind Imām Rizā's dome. One night he circumambulated the shrine and visited the tombs of the poet Mir 'Ali Shēr and others, and in his zeal insisted upon acting as a servant of the shrine and on snuffing the lamps. This incident is also mentioned by Jauhar, (Stewart's translation, p. 60), but is referred by him to Humāyūn's first visit to Mashhad. Perhaps Humāyūn performed the ceremony twice. From Mashhad Humāyūn proceeded towards Afghānistān, and joined the Persian army on the banks of the Hilmand. He sent a force to take the castle of Bast, on the Hilmand near the junction of the Arghandāb, and Bāyazīd went with it, though apparently not in any official capacity. From Bast, Humāyūn went to Qandahār and besieged it for some months. Bāyazīd was here also, and accompanied Bairām Khān on his embassy to Kābul. On the way they were attacked by the Hazāras, and Bāyazīd records the feat of Muḥammadi Mirzā, a grandson of Jahān Shāh, the last king of the Turkmāns of the Black Sheep. Muḥammadi was on a horse which had been sent by Tahmāsp as a present to Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, and he leapt with it a ditch which was eighteen cubits wide, in order to attack a Hazāra archer who had wounded several of the king's troopers. He killed him, but not before the archer had discharged his arrow and wounded the horse on the chest. Notwithstanding the wound, the horse carried Muḥammadi for ten miles further and then dropped. Here Bāyazīd incidentally mentions that the famous Bairām Khān, whom he styles Baharlū, claimed to be descended from the same family as Muḥammadi. At Kābul, Bāyazīd saw the child Akbar, who was then living with his grand-aunt Khānzāda Bēgam, and heard Māham Bēgha say, that he was born in 949 (the 946 of text must be a mistake), that he was then 3½ years old, and that this date had also been written up in Kābul by his Majesty Humāyūn.

The embassy returned to Qandahār after about two months, and apparently Bāyazīd did not return with it, but joined his brother

¹ I cannot find this name on the map, though there is a place Zarkī marked N. of Mashhad. Probably the pass was to the west of Mashhad on the way from Nishāpūr.

Bahrām Saqqā who had not then become a darvesh and was in Gardiz, 65 miles S.-E. Kābul, in the service of Mirzā Kāmran. Later on, p. 19a, Bāyazīd tells us that Kāmran took Gardiz, Naghaz, and Baugash from his brother Shāh Bardī and gave them to Khizr Khān Hazāra with instructions to guard the line of march from Qandahār and Ghazni. Shāh Bardī *alias* Bahrām Saqqā received in exchange the districts of Ghūrband (N.-W. Kābul), Zohāk and Bāmiān, but when he came to pay his respects to Kāmran on his way thither, Kāmran requested him to put off his journey to Ghūrband till the affairs of the army had been settled. So Bahrām and his brother Bāyazīd stayed at Kābul till Kāmran had reviewed his troops and till the arrival of Humāyūn. This was followed by the desertion of all Kāmran's officers. Shāh Bardī was one of them and joined Humāyūn along with the famous Bāpūs Bēg and with Bāyazīd. Humāyūn entered Kābul on the 10th Ramaẓān¹ 952, (16th November, 1545), and had the pleasure of meeting again his wives and sisters, and his little son Akbar. Bāyazīd records that Muayyid Bēg Dūldai Barlās died only a week after the taking of Kābul, and that this was the cause of universal joy, every body saying that he was the Satan of mankind, and was the cause of Humāyūn's losing India, and that now there was hope that Humāyūn would recover that country. This is the same Muayyid who was so brutal as to cut off the hands of about 2,000 men who formed the garrison of Cunār and had capitulated.² Bāyazīd is charitable enough to express the hope that Munkir and Nakīr, the two angels who question the departed, may not have been so severe on Muayyid as were his fellow-men. In the spring of 1546, Maryam-makāni, Akbar's mother, arrived from Qandahār and the circumcision of Akbar, then between four and five years old, was celebrated in March of that year with great splendour, the city being illuminated, &c. for forty days. It was on the occasion of this *āinbandī* or festival that Bāyazīd's brother, Shāh Bardī, came under a spell,³ or was drawn to religion so forcibly that he gave up his profession of a soldier and became a water-carrier under the

¹ There is, as Erskine observes, Hist. II. 325, a discrepancy about this date, but he seems wrong in saying that Bāyazīd gives the year as 953. His own copy has 952; and that this is correct appears from the statement on p. 224, that the festivities at Kābul took place in the beginning of 953.

² The statement that Muayyid was the cause of Humāyūn's losing India is corroborated by Janhar, (pp. 15 and 16 of Stewart), who says that it was owing to Muayyid's advice that Humāyūn crossed to the south-west of the Ganges, a step which led to the disaster of Causā.

³ Memoirs p. 19a *jazaba rasīda* lit., an attraction or drawing occurred. There is another reference to this brother at p. 98a.

name of Bahrām Saqqā. His brother adds that he composed a *diwān* or collection of poems which has been acceptable to all, both the elect and the general public, and that he went off to Turkistān, reciting, or making a rosary of (*tasbīḥ numūda*¹) the Persian *diwān* of Shāh Qāsim Anwar,² and the Turki *diwān* of Shāh Nasimī.³ We shall hear of him again as a water-carrier in the streets of Agra.

After some days of feasting the royal party went to visit Khwāja Rāg-rawān, the site of the moving sand, and there the princes engaged in wrestling-bouts. Humāyūn wrestled with Imām Qulī Qūrcī, and Mirzā Hindāl with his cousin Mirzā Yādgar Nāṣir. After that they went to Khwāja Sih Yārān, the Place of the Three Friends (Jarrett's *Āin* II, 409 n), to admire the arghawān tree blossoms of the Dāman-i-kōh. About this time Caghatāi Sulṭān who was a Mughul prince of great promise and an universal favourite died, and one Mir Amānī made a pretty chronogram about him. After describing him as a rose and saying that in the season of the rose he meditated a journey, the verses wind up thus:—

“I sought the date from the bereaved nightingale and she said weeping, the rose has gone out of the garden” (*gul az bāgh birūn shud*). Here if we take 50, the numerical value of *gul*, from 1003, the value of *bāgh*, we get the date 953.⁴ With this, Bāyazīd ends the first chapter of his memoirs.

The next opens with an account of the trial and execution of Mirzā Yādgar Nāṣir which took place in the end of 953, (January 1547). It seems that a regular indictment was preferred, consisting of nearly thirty articles. One of them went as far back as the taking of Cāmpānir in 1535 and was as follows:—“On the taking of the Fort of Cāmpānir we (Humāyūn) had come into the treasury and had commanded that no one, unless sent for, should come to the treasury-door, but you came without orders and sent your respects through a *bakāwal* (Steward) who had brought us a special dish of soup. We left coins of all sorts on the tray and sent soup to you, and you had

¹ Perhaps *tasbī* making a seven fold copy.

² A native of Tabriz which may account for Bahrām's attachment to his poetry. He was a mystic poet and died 837 A.H. or 1434 near Harāt. There is a good account of him in Beale's Oriental Dictionary, but the date of his death there given seems wrong.

³ See Professor Browne on the Hanafī sect in J. R. A. S., January, 1898, pp. 62 and 67. Nasimī was put to death for heterodoxy at Aleppo in 820 (1417). Nasim is a district near Baghdād. The poet's real name was Saiyid 'Imādu-d-dīn. See Rien's Catalogue of Turkish MSS. 165a.

⁴ Badā'ūnī has a similar chronogram on the death of Bairām. Lowe's translation, p. 41.

the audacity to lift off a *Muḥaffarī* (a silver coin) from it and to make over the tray¹ and all its contents to the *bakūwal*. This was disrespect according to the imperial constitutions (*tūra*)." Another was of a more serious nature, *viz.*, that he had conspired with Shāh Ḥusain of Sind against Humāyūn, and that so Humāyūn had been driven to take refuge in Persia. Yādgār Nāṣir was found guilty and Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāi (apparently Humāyūn's mother's brother), the governor of Kābul, was ordered to put him to death. But he refused, saying that he had never killed a sparrow, how then could he kill Prince Yādgār Nāṣir. Mun'im Bēg suggested the employment of Muḥammad Qāsim Mauji, and he the same night had the Mirzā strangled with a bow-string. Yādgār was buried in front of the citadel gate, but his body was afterwards exhumed and interred beside his father in Ghazni. Some time after this, Humāyūn, we are told, had a drinking party and when he got up was so unsteady that his foot slipped. His butler expressed sorrow that his master should take anything that could reduce him to such a state, and Humāyūn accepting the rebuke, vowed that he would never touch intoxicating drinks again. We are told that he kept his vow for the rest of his life. He also sent for the grave seigniors who had been his boon companions and told them that it should not have been left to his butler to warn him against evil courses. He now resolved to go to Badakhshān in order to coerce Mirzā Sulaimān who had failed to present himself at Kābul. On the way he punished some men who had offended him. One of them, Mastī Firāq, he ordered to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. The man cried out that he had the holy Koran under his arm, and that they should first take this away in order that it might not be damaged. Search having been made, it was found under his armpit, and his piety was rewarded by a pardon. In Badakhshān Humāyūn fell dangerously ill and when he recovered found that Kāmṛān had taken advantage of his illness to resume possession of Kabul. Humāyūn hurried back and succeeded in driving out Kāmṛān for the second time. The latter fled to the north and was afterwards besieged in Tāliqān (in Badakhshān) by Humāyūn. After a while he had to surrender and applied to his brother for leave to go to Mecca. Humāyūn was, however, too soft-hearted to insist on such an abdication and so recalled Kāmṛān after he had gone a little way on his journey, and had an interview with him at Tāliqān. Bāyazīd gives a full and curious account of the ceremonies with which Kāmṛān was

¹ Probably the tray (*ḥawān*) here meant is that containing the food or soup, and the insolence consisted in the rejection of what the king had sent, and in making over the coins to a servant.

received, and describes the entertainment which followed. There is also a description of this meeting in Princess Gulbadan's *Memoirs*. One story which Bāyazīd tells is about a conversation during the festival between Ḥusain Quli Sultān, the keeper of the seal, and Kāmṛān. There was various discourse, he says, and Ḥusain Quli told Kāmṛān it was reported that at a meeting held by 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān, the question had been put whether a man who had not in his heart hatred to 'Alī as big as an orange, could be called a Musulmān; that afterwards this subject had been brought up again in a meeting at which Kāmṛān was present and that Kāmṛān was reported to have remarked that it behoved a servant of God to have such a hatred as big as a pumpkin. Kāmṛān was indignant at Ḥusain Quli's remarks and asked him if he took him for a heretic. To this the other replied that he was only repeating what he had heard, and that the recital of an infidel's language did not make the repeater an infidel. As the Uzbaks were strong Sunnis it is not unlikely that the question was really put, and as Kāmṛān was a Sunni or at least was desirous of pleasing the Sunnis and had married into an Uzbek family it is likely enough that he improved upon the question in the manner stated. This story is one of those which Abū'l-faḍl has borrowed from Bāyazīd.¹

The entertainment lasted for three days and was followed by a council meeting in which the propriety of making an attack on Balkh was discussed. It does not appear that Kāmṛān was present at this council, or that he was invited to express his opinion about the expedition. Very probably he was not asked for he himself had been a supplicant to the ruler of Balkh and had obtained some assistance from him in his contests with his brother.

It is suggested by Erskine that the help which the Uzbek chief had given to Kāmṛān was one of the motives for the attack on Balkh. There was considerable difference of opinion among the councillors, and in the end it was resolved that they should all march south to Nāran where the roads to Balkh and Kābul separated and that they should there decide what they should do. On the way Humāyūn turned off to visit the fountain of Band Kushā near Ishkamish (in Badakhshān and E.-S.-E. of Kundūz. On the map there is a place marked Cashma (spring or of fountain) about 7 miles N. E. of Ishkamish). There he sent for the blacksmiths and bade them prepare an iron pen, saying that when his Majesty his father Bābar returned

¹ It is also told by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in his *Memoirs*. See Tenfel's paper in Z. D. M. G. and Paul Horn's trs. Strassburg 1892, p. 87. But Mr. Horn has erroneously made the orange a pomegranate. See Text, Z. D. M. G., Vol. 46, p. 59b.

from Samarqand, he had written the date and the number of his companions, and that it was proper he should make a similar record. So he engraved the date, &c., with his own blessed hand. Abū'l-faḡl¹ also tells this story, (*Akbarnāma* I, 282), and says that the occasion of Bābar's putting up the inscription was the submission to him of his brothers, Khān Mirzā and Jahāngīr. It was, he says, in accordance with this precedent that Humāyūn engraved the inscription, for his brothers, Kāmṛān and 'Askarī, had just been reconciled to him and performed homage. But I have been unable to find the passage in Bābar's Memoirs. At p. 101 of these Memoirs Bābar records the cutting of an inscription near a spring, but this was in the neighbourhood of Farghāna, and again at p. 233 there is a reference to the cutting of an inscription, but this too is not the Ishkamish one. If Abū'l-faḡl's statement is correct, he must, I think, have got it from some other source than the Memoirs.

It does not appear that there was any fresh discussion at Nāran about going to Balkh, it having already been decided apparently that the expedition should not take place that year. At Nāran therefore the brothers separated, and Kāmṛān received Kūlāb as his fief. Humāyūn went on to Pariān where he repaired the fort constructed by his ancestor Tīmūr. From Pariān he paid a visit to some silver mines. He sent for miners and had an experimental working made but found that the produce would not repay the cost of excavation. After this he resumed his march to Kābul, and on coming to the Uḡhtarkarām (?) pass he lost his way. The servants who were ahead went to find out the road but could not. At last a man was seen going along on foot. He was hailed and asked his name (p. 41b). "A servant of God," he replied. "We are all servants of God," rejoined Humāyūn, "tell us your real name." My name is "Khāk" (earth), replied the man. Humāyūn on this said, "What is your proper name? what sense is there in the word *khāk*?" He then replied, "Then call me what you like." Humāyūn who had been already put out by losing his road, now got very angry and said, "Shall I call you a kite or a muck-rake (*Gūh dalāl*)?" "During the five or six years," says Bāyazīd, "that I had been in attendance on him, I had never seen him so put out before." After this colloquy the man became their guide and brought them to the village of Uḡhtarkarām. Humāyūn spent the following winter in Kābul and then set out early in the spring of 1549 on the expedition against Balkh.

¹ The visit of the four brothers to the fountains is also mentioned by Jauhar, Stewart, p. 92.

It is strange what a fascination Central Asia seems to have possessed for Bābar and his descendants. We find Bābar spending the best years of his life in fruitless attempts to regain possession of Farghāna and to establish himself in Samarqand, and now we find his sons engaged in the same bootless warfare, and neglecting the far more promising field of India. A war against the Uzbaks seems to have been to this family what a campaign against the Persians was to the Greeks, or a crusade to the European nations in the Middle Ages. Humāyūn made his attack in company with his brother Hindāl and his cousin Sulaimān. Kāmṛān and 'Askarī sent word that they would come, but they failed to put in an appearance. Kāmṛān indeed took advantage of Humāyūn's absence on this expedition to capture Kābul for the second time.

We are told by Bāyazīd, (p. 94*b*), that Sulaimān of Badakhshān fought 72 battles with the Uzbaks, and was always successful, but if so he was the only Timūride who ever got the better of them. And he too eventually found that the Uzbaks were too strong for him, for he lost his son Mirzā Ibrāhīm, who was made prisoner by the Uzbaks in one of his father's expeditions and was taken to Balkh and put to death there. And Sulaimān himself was eventually driven out of Badakhshān in his old age and forced to take refuge with Akbar. Where Bābar had failed, even with the powerful help of the king of Persia, it was not likely that his unstable son Humāyūn should succeed. His campaign against Balkh ended in disastrous failure, and his sufferings during the retreat remind us of those experienced by his father when he fled from Samarqand after having been driven out by Shahbānī Khān. Bāyazīd was present in the campaign and was now a direct servant of Humāyūn, having begun his career as a servant of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Aubāh, the king's butler, and having afterwards served Ḥusain Qulī, the keeper of the seal.

As Humāyūn was marching towards Aibak, one of his followers shot a leopard. The seal-bearer remarked that this was a bad omen, and cited the instance of the Uzbaks who on account of a similar occurrence had once put off an expedition to Khurāsān. But Humāyūn got over the argument by observing that the Uzbaks were his enemies and that so what was a bad sign for them was a good one for him. Aibak was taken after a short resistance and Khwāja Bāgh, the guardian of Pir Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, was made prisoner. Humāyūn took the singular step of asking the Khwāja how he should proceed in order to be successful in his expedition against Balkh. The Khwāja naturally replied that he was an enemy and so his opinion should not be taken, but Humāyūn persisted, saying, that the Uzbaks were honest men and

would tell the truth, and that the *Khwāja* was the most honest of his countrymen. On this *Khwāja Bāgh* gave him the disinterested advice to cut off the heads of all his prisoners including himself. *Humāyūn's* answer was that they were all *Musulmāns* and that he could not put to death so many of his co-religionists. The *Khwāja* then proposed a treaty with *Pir Muḥammad*, but *Humāyūn* also rejected this suggestion. He then continued his march *viā Khulm* to *Balkh*. At first his enterprise seemed likely to be successful, but his soldiers got discouraged by the continued absence of *Kāmṛān* and apprehended that *Kāmṛān* would attack *Kābul* in their absence, and get possession of their families who had been left behind in that city. So when victory was apparently within their grasp the invaders retreated southwards to *Dera Gaz*. The attempt to execute a change of position in the face of an enemy had the same disastrous effect that followed a similar manœuvre before the battle of *Qanauj*. The retreat became a flight, and *Humāyūn* had much difficulty in effecting his escape. The hardships he encountered on the way back to *Kābul* are minutely described by *Bāyazīd*, but he has not the descriptive power of *Bābar* or even of *Janhar*, and he seems too anxious to magnify his own performances. As *Erskine* remarks in his MS. translation, (p. 47), *Bāyazīd* is much the hero of his own tale. One extract, p. 49*b*, may however be given.

“When we came to the foot of the *Sih Paj Pass*, which is one of the passes in the *Hindū Kush*, his Majesty halted and said that for some days he had not slept. He then laid his blessed head on *Mādar*¹ *Sulṭān's* knees and told him to sing him to sleep by repeating anything he knew. *Mādar* begged that *Bāyazīd* might be ordered to join his voice, and *Bāyazīd* did so. As his Majesty had represented that he was hungry, *Bāyazīd* endeavoured to get him some food. There was a shield which had been cast aside as out of repair. It had a steel boss and *Bāyazīd* made ready on it some horse-flesh and a stew and presented it to his Majesty when he awoke. He partook of it and often said afterwards in *Kābul* that he had never eaten anything so delicious as that dish (*āsh*).” *Humāyūn* returned to *Kābul* on 1st *Ramāzān*, 956, (23rd September, 1549), in time to save the city from being taken by *Kāmṛān*. With this event *Bāyazīd* concludes the second chapter of his *Memoirs*.

The third chapter begins with an account of the defeat of *Humāyūn* by *Kāmṛān* in the *Qipcāq Valley*. *Humāyūn* was wounded in this engagement and had to retire to the hills, while *Kāmṛān* followed

¹ *Erskine* renders this “mother of *Sulṭān*,” but it is hardly likely that any women were with the party.

up his success by taking Kābul which now fell into his possession for the third time.

The next event recorded is the negotiation for Humāyūn's marriage with Shābzāda Khānam, the daughter of Mirzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān. The story is told at wearisome length, the only interest in it being the revelation of the haughty and masterful character of Ḥaram (or Khānam) Bēgam, the wife of Sulaimān. She was indignant that persons of such inferior rank as Khwāja Jalālu-d-din and Bibi Fāṭima should be sent to demand the hand of her daughter, and tauntingly told Fāṭima that her business in Kābul was the enticing away of men's daughters. "Did you think of getting my daughter in that way?" she said. "Why has none of the Bēgams or Aghācas come; if my daughter's name is not great, the reputation of his Majesty the king is great." Ḥaram became mollified after a while and sent a message to Humāyūn that she would be proud to give him her daughter if he came for her. Presumably the marriage never took place for we hear no more of it, and the fact that Ḥaram's son Ibrāhīm was afterwards married to Humāyūn's daughter, Bakhshī Bānū, would surely prevent a marriage between Humāyūn and Ibrāhīm's sister. Ḥaram in her message to Humāyūn spoke of his traversing the defiles of the Hindū Kush and this leads Bāyazīd to observe (p. 59a) that the name of these mountains was changed to Hindū Kōh by Akbar in 994, (1586), because he perceived that the range extended from the limits of Bengal to the borders of Tabriz, and because the shrines of Tabriz saints are to be found on its slopes.¹

After this comes the account of the night attack by Kāmrān on Humāyūn's camp and the death of Mirzā Hindāl. Bāyazīd records the cynical remark made by Mun'im Khān upon this event. Coming up to Humāyūn, he inquired why he was weeping. "Because I have heard that Mirzā Hindāl has been martyred," replied Humāyūn. "You lament your own good," said Mun'im, "you have one enemy less." Upon this his Majesty stinted his tears. Hindāl's death took place in 958, (1551), and the word "Shabkhūn," (night attack) gives the chronogram. Here Bāyazīd digresses to tell a story about Akbar, belonging to this year. The young prince was having his lessons with the son of Mullā Hisāmu-d-din, a famous doctor of Samarqand, in a tent in his mother's

¹ Bāyazīd adds a "God knows," to this rather unintelligible explanation. There are Tombs of Tabriz Saints in India, *e. g.*, of Jalālu-d-din at Pandua, in the Maldā district. Akbar may have thought of him because his own name was Jalālu-d-din and may have thought that by calling the range Hindū-Kōh he was grounding a claim to it. At all events, this fact that he invented the name Hindū-kōh is interesting.

garden. Mun'im came there to pay his respects, and the child put up his foster-brother, Adham Kōka to ask for a holiday. Mun'im made the desired request to the teacher, and as he was then prime minister and all-powerful, the tutor at once gave Akbar his liberty. This came to Humāyūn's ears and next day when Shamsu-d-din Atka brought Akbar to salute his father, Humāyūn observed to the child, "Yesterday you got Ḥāji Muḥammad Sulṭān to ask your teacher to set you free, do not such a thing again." When the prince had gone back to his school, Humāyūn turned to Mun'im Khān and said "I heard that you got him the holiday, but I mentioned the name of Ḥāji Muḥammad to my son because he is yet young and possibly it might remain in his heart 'Mun'im Khān got me a holiday, and then told the king' and this might lead to your harm some day when I am no longer here. As for Ḥāji Muḥammad, he is a man without any decency and so deserves any harm that may come to him."

Bāyazīd adds that he heard this story in Jaunpūr in 978 (1570-71) when Mun'im Khān was Khān-khānān.

Bāyazīd describes the blinding of Kāmrān but he was not present on the occasion and his narrative is by no means so detailed as that of Janhar. He, however, gives a most affecting description of the interview between the two brothers afterwards when they met at midnight, and the blind Kāmrān was led out as far as the tent-ropes to meet Humāyūn. But it has been so well translated in Erskine's History (II, 416), that it is unnecessary to repeat the account. I shall only remark that what Kāmrān said to the bystanders after acknowledging that his misfortunes were due to his own fault is somewhat different in Bāyazīd from Mr. Erskine's rendering. According to the latter, Kāmrān said, "If it be known that his Majesty has shown favour to me, let it also be known how little I have deserved it." Apparently what Kāmrān said was, (Bāyazīd 64b) "If people consider that his Majesty has dealt kindly by me, I attest the fact." (*man sijil kardam*). Mun'im Khān was now appointed guardian of Akbar. He took him to Jūi Shāhi, which is the old name of Jalālābād. The Jalālābād fort was built by Mun'im Khān and received its name in compliment to Akbar, (one of whose names was Jalālū-d-dīn), and who got Jūi Shāhi as his appanage in succession to his uncle Hindāl, whose daughter also he married. Bāyazīd gives the chronogram of the building of Jalālābād, which also served, with the addition of one letter, for the date of the building of the Jaunpūr bridge ten years later. One Qāsim Arslān was the composer of the chronograms but they do not seem to be correctly given in the MS. Apparently they should run *Bānīy-i-ō ān Mun'im Khān*, and *Bānīy-i-ō in Mun'im Khān* which would give respectively 972 and 982.

Bāyazīd was now in the service of Jalālu-d-din Maḥmūd of Aubah, as his *sāmān* or butler and he relates how Jalālu-d-din sent him from Kābul to Jalālābād with a quantity of ice, grapes, *riwāj*, lemonade and sugar-candy, as a present to Akbar. In spite of the heat of Jalālābād, he says, the ice arrived intact as the box had bran in it and was wrapt in felt. Akbar was highly delighted with the ice, ate a portion, and had some put into his water bottle, and also distributed it to his officers. He then questioned Bāyazīd about public affairs. Bāyazīd had brought a letter from Jalālu-d-din in which he asked where Akbar would take up his quarters when he came to Kābul. Akbar asked Bāyazīd what season it was in Kābul, and when he replied that the white roses were in bloom in the *Shāh Ārāi* garden, Akbar ordered that his dinner should be prepared in that place. Afterwards Akbar proceeded to the *Bāgh Wafā* at Adānīpur, which was a famous garden made by his grandfather, and again questioned Bāyazīd about public affairs, and about Balkh and Samarqand. He wrote a reply to Jalālu-d-din and Bāyazīd went off in the evening with it to Kābul. He travelled with great expedition for he arrived next day on the *Shah-i-barāt*, (6th August, 1552), before the people had lighted up for the festival. This was good going as the distance (from Adānīpur) is about 180 miles and he tells us that old soldiers were astonished at his coming so quickly. He was alone too, and the roads were bad. He now gives a cook's chronicle of how he prepared dinner for Akbar in the *Awarta Bāgh* (? middle garden) and how Akbar arrived next day at noon and was regaled by him with pheasants' wings (*qūl-i-qairgha*) and how the prince sent the remainder of the birds to the *Bēgams*.

At p. 69b. Bāyazīd incidentally mentions that Mun'im *Khān*'s father, Miram Bēg, was guardian of Mirzā 'Askari, and had charge of Qandahār, and that on the occasion of an attack by the Hazāras he sacrificed his own life in order to let the prince escape. This is a valuable supplement to Blochmann's account of Mun'im *Khān* which says (p. 317) that nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of Mun'im's father, Miram (or Bairām) Bēg.

At p. 72a we have it recorded that in the spring of 960, (1553), two sons were born to Humāyūn in one month. One was Muḥammad Ḥakim, who was afterwards ruler of Kābul, and whose mother was Cūcak Bēgam, and the other was Muḥammad Farkh Fāl whose mother was *Khānīsh*, the daughter of Cacaq Mirzā of *Khawārizm*, but who only survived for a few days.

The fourth chapter of the *Memoirs* commences with a very full list of the officers who accompanied Humāyūn, Akbar, and Bairām to India.

From p. 77b we learn that Bāyazīd left without notice the service of Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn on account of some injury which he received from the Khwāja's brother. He went to Bangash where 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī was, whom he had known in his childhood at Tabriz, but eventually he proceeded to Kābul and became the servant of Mun'im Khān. The brother of the Khwāja here referred to was Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd who was afterwards put to death along with his elder brother,¹ by Mun'im Khān. See *Ma'āgīru-l-umarā* I. 617.

For several pages after this the Memoirs are occupied with an account of the siege of Kābul by Sulaimān Mirzā of Badakhshān, and his son Ibrāhīm. It seems that on Humāyūn's death Sulaimān considered that as the oldest member of the great Timūr's family he was entitled to a share in Humāyūn's dominions. Bāyazīd, according to his own account, took a prominent part in repelling the attack, and was wounded by an arrow. Sulaimān did not take the town, but a compromise was made whereby his *Imām* was allowed to read the *khutba* in his name for one day in Kābul.²

At p. 87b we are told that Mun'im Khān came out of Kābul as soon as the siege was over and proceeded towards Bāgh-dih-afghānān. On the way—in front of the royal baths—he met Khwāja Mirakī, the *diwān* of Maryam-makānī, who had stayed outside during the siege and had sided with Mirzā Sulaimān. Mun'im at once had him pulled off his horse and hanged at the door (*ishak*) of a costermonger's shop. The interest of this entry lies in the fact that Khwāja Mirakī was the grandfather of Nizāmu-d-dīn the historian.

P. 88a tells that Sulṭān 'Ādīlī, the successor of Sikandar, died near Allāhābād, and that the famous Hēmū vowed to God that if he defeated the Mughuls he would become a Musulmān. On the next page Bāyazīd expresses his satisfaction that God erased from the infidel's heart the recollection of this vow after he had defeated Tardī Bēg. As the glory of Timūr, he says, had descended to Humāyūn, and then been transferred to Akbar, God, on the field of Pānipat, put forgetfulness of his vow into Hēmū's heart. The same page describes how Bairām Khān put Tardī Bēg to death. He had an old grudge against him, and used his defeat by Hēmū as a pretext for assassinating him. He sent for him, we are told, to his own house, then left the room on pretence of a necessary purpose, and sent in men who put Tardī Bēg to death on the carpeted floor of the *diwānkhāna*. A few pages further on (92a) we are told that the reason for Bairām's dislike of Tardī Bēg

¹ Blochmann calls him the son of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, 384.

² The account by Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V, 249, may be compared with this.

was that when they were in India together before Humāyūn's expulsion, Bairām, then only Bairām Bēg and the *Muhrdār* (seal-keeper), had wanted to sit on the same carpet (*sūlca*) with Tardi Bēg who was at that time governor of Etāwā, and that the latter had refused to make room for him.

Hēmū's head was sent to Mun'im Khān in Afghānistān (at Qūruqsāi) and he sent it on to Bāyazīd at Kābul with instructions to place it over the Iron Gate, and to have the drums of rejoicing beaten. It was 3 or 4 hours of the night when the head arrived and Bāyazīd at once went up to the citadel to give the good news to the Bēgams. They sent out a number of their servants to inquire how it was certain that it really was Hēmū's head, to which Bāyazīd replied by sending them Mun'im Khān's letter to read.

P. 90a tells of Bāyazīd's being sent for and reproved by Maryam-makāni's orders for not clearing out a house for a servant of hers. He pleaded Mun'im Khān's commands and was forgiven. On this occasion Māh Cacak Khālifa acted as interpreter or perhaps as go-between. After this the Bēgams, including Salima Sulṭān and Bika Bēgam went off to India.

P. 93a mentions that Ḥaram Bēgam, the masterful wife of Sulaimān, left Badakhshān on account of some disagreement and came to Kābul. Her husband went to Mun'im begging him to induce her to return. He was successful and Bāyazīd escorted her a part of the way back.

P. 95a records the death of Mirzā Ibrāhīm, son of M. Sulaimān. He and his father, who had been in 72 fights with the Uzbaks and had always been successful, went against Balkh, but this time Ibrāhīm got separated from his father, was taken prisoner and put to death. The date was 966.

P. 98a describes a visit paid by Mun'im Khān and other grandees of the Court to the shrine of Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtyār Kāki on the occasion of the saint's anniversary. The shrine was in old Dihli, i.e., near the Quṭb, which according to some, derives its name from the saint. Quṭbu-d-dīn Kāki was from Ush in Farghāna, which perhaps accounts for his popularity with Bābar's descendants, and his anniversary, i.e., the day of his death, is the 27th November. There is a long account of him by Firighṭa at the end of his history and Abū'l-faḥl has also a paragraph about him, (Jarrett III, 363). Bāyazīd's elder brother, the saint and poet Bahrām Saqqā, was living in New Dihli in the cell of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya near Humāyūn's tomb, but he too went off to the "Ūras" in the discharge of his self-imposed duty of water-carrying. On his way back he got a fresh attack of

jazaba, (attraction), and was insensible for several hours. Bāyazīd here refers again to his brother's poetry and gives three specimens of it. He says that his brother took to writing verse at the order of Shāh Qāsim Anwar who appeared to him in a dream at Samarqand.

P. 99a. Afzal Khān asked Bāyazīd to try and procure the release of Bairām Khān's *diwān* Muzaffar 'Alī Tarbatī who was imprisoned in the house of Darvēsh Muḥammad Khān Uzbek. Bāyazīd mentioned the matter to his master, Mun'im Khān who bade Bāyazīd remind him of the request when he went to Court. Next day when the Khān-khānān (Mun'im) was in the house of Māham Bēgha, Bāyazīd gave him a reminder. Māham was present and observed that the matter was not of such great importance, and that it was only necessary to send some one to Darweesh Uzbek's house to release Muzaffar. The Khān-khānān, however, said that his Majesty must first be consulted, whereon Māham volunteered to mention the matter. While they were talking, Akbar came in from the chase, and after borrowing a needle from Takhta, the mother of Dastam Khān,¹ proceeded to extract the thorns, which had got into his feet in the jungle. Māham represented Muzaffar's case and his Majesty granted the prayer and added that Muzaffar was reported to be able to write *ṣuḥrā* and that the Khān-khānān might, if he liked, take him into his employment. Akbar, we are told, was highly pleased with the Khān-khānān for not acting in even such a small matter as the release of Muzaffar without consulting him.

In pp. 100-101 we have a description of a game of cards at which Akbar was present. Bāyazīd played the game on board a boat with Muqīm Qara. Bāyazīd won, and as Muqīm had no money to pay his losses, Bāyazīd stopped playing. Thereupon Muqīm had to pledge his *pōstīn* or great coat and to sit playing in the cold. Mr. Erskine remarks that the joke seems to have consisted in Muqīm's suffering from the cold. At 101b we are told of Māham Bēgha's kindness to the author and of her giving him a house in Agra. There was a *nīm* tree in the grounds and Bahrām Saqqā, his brother, got him to put up a *saqqī-khāna* or water-house under it. Darvēsh Nazir, one of the Saqqā's disciples, put up a *saqqī-khāna* at the Fort Gate, and when Akbar rode out he used to take a drink, and also used to listen to recitations from the Saqqā's *Diwān*.

P. 102a tells a story about Akbar's sending for eighteen rupees of which the only point seems to be the exhibition of Māham Anaga or Bēgha as a sort of centre of affairs. Akbar sent a eunuch to Khwāja Jahān for the money. He and other officers were in attendance on Māham Bēgha, and he peevishly said to the messenger "from

¹ Blochmann, 398.

whose *jāgir* shall I take it?" Māham got over the difficulty by telling Takhlā, the mother of Dastam, to fetch the money from her Turkish waiting woman. Akbar was at this time, (968, 1561), devoted to the amusement of cock-fighting and in connection with this we are told a story about Shamsu-d-din Atka. This again is prefaced by a reference to Akbar's¹ orders that every one should shave their beards. Shamsu-d-din's beard (or perhaps his hair) was not long but still he had not cut it in accordance with the royal orders which he had only received when on his way from the Pānjāb. Akbar remarked upon this, and Shamsu-d-din replied by way of jest, that his hair had been longish but that when he came to Muttra, he had had it cut after the fashion of the Hindūs of that place. The courtiers applauded the joke, the point of which was its allusion to Akbar's Hindū proclivities. At this time it was the custom that every one who came to pay his respects, should bring a game-cock and Akbar told Shamsu-d-din that he must do the same. Next day Shamsu-d-din appeared, but without a game-cock. When however Akbar noticed this Shamsu-d-din replied that he had one. "Where?" said Akbar, and Shamsu-d-din answered "under my arm." Akbar signed to the attendants to search if this was so, and when they did so the bird set up a crow. Akbar now ordered a certain cock of his to be brought. "Let it be a fighting one," remarked Shamsu-d-din, "for mine is famous in Lāhor." When the royal game-cock was brought, Shamsu-d-din uncovered his and it was found to be a hen bird (*Mākiyān*). The two birds, the cock and the hen, fought and Akbar was greatly delighted.

In the end of 968, (August 1561), there was a hurricane (*jīkar*, dust-storm, Vullers *s.v.*) in Agra and the bridge of boats was broken. A fire too broke out in the carpet-house (*farūsh-khāna*) of Māham Bāgha, and some of Akbar's dancing girls who lodged near it were burnt. The Khān-khānān went to condole with Akbar who seemingly was cynical enough to say that the burning of the girls was a small matter (*sahl ast*) and that they should go and console Māham for the loss of her property. This is followed by a story of how Akbar was unable to get his horse across the river owing to one of the pontoons having got detached, and how Bāyazīd, who is rather fond of blowing his own trumpet, contrived to make the horse jump across the gap.

P. 104a describes an entertainment given by the Khān-khānān when the guests took opium and also "coloured their teeth," (*dandān*

¹ See Blochmann, 193 and Badāoni II. 303. But Bāyazīd's phrase is *ḥukm-i-mūy-i-sar guzāsh-tan* and perhaps this means to leave the hair loose.

raag kardand). Erskine supposes (in his translation) that this is a euphemism for drinking wine. It may also refer to the eating of betel or to smoking. Evidently it was something unusual or improper, for Bāyazīd excuses himself for joining in the teeth-colouring by saying that he always tried to go in for good fellowship.

P. 105a records that Bāyazīd got the title of Sultān from Akbar.

P. 105b describes the assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn by Adham Khān. When Akbar was roused by the noise and came and saw the body and Adham, he called the latter *kūndū*, (filth), or perhaps *gūndū*, (sodomite), and struck him a blow on the ear and stunned him. (According to Abu'l-faḡl the expression used by Akbar was "son of a bitch"). After putting Adham to death, Akbar went to Māham's house and said to her "Māmā, we have killed Adham." Shortly afterwards he put his uncle, Khwāja Mu'azzam to death for murdering his wife. A few days later Akbar had a conversation with the Khān-khānān, and asked him what the people said of his reign. The Khān-khānān replied, "My king, (may you live 120 years!) the people love you and admire your perfect justice in killing Adham Khān for the murder of the Atka, and in putting to death Mu'azzam Sultān for murdering the daughter of Bibi Fāḡima." His Majesty rejoined, "I have done something better than this; it is strange that you don't mention it, but you know it all the same, though from certain considerations you don't refer to it." "What thing is it," said the Khān Khānān, "that I know and from certain considerations do not speak of?" Akbar replied, "What I have done better is this, that I have brought all the Atka's relations from Lāhor, and have scattered them like the stars of the 'Daughters of the Bear,'¹ giving them fiefs all over Hindūstān."²

The Memoirs now become rather tedious and uninteresting, though here and there we can glean valuable information.

At p. 108b, we have a reference to one Jabār Bardī Bēg who had served under Bābar and had for many years been a *darwāzā* and had settled in Badakhshān. He was now returning thither after visiting the tomb of Humāyūn. Many pages are taken up with an account of Mun'im Khān's return to Kābul and his defeat at Jalālābād. At p. 117b,

¹ The expression is *dar raag-i-banātu-n-na'gh parishān kardā haryakrā bahār gūghā-i-Hindūstān jāgīr farmāda im*. *Banātu-n-na'gh* is the Arabic name for the constellation of the Great Bear whose stars stand apart and are not clustered like those of the Pleiades.

² Probably Akbar thought that Mun'im did not refer to this act of justice or generosity because there was an old quarrel between Mun'im and the Atka and it was even supposed that Mun'im was the instigator of the murder. See Blochmann, p. 321.

there is a reference to one Mirzā Shāh, the son of Jannat-āghiyānī. However this is not Humāyūn but a prince of the Deccan. There is a long account of Abū-l-māli. This man killed his mother-in-law, Māham Cūcak, the wife of Humāyūn and mother of Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He was afterwards made prisoner by Sulaimān and put to death by Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

P. 122*b* speaks of a woman named Āghā Sarw-qad (cypress-form) who was formerly in the harem of Bābar and was now apparently the wife or mistress of Mun'im Khān. She came from Khān Zamān's camp to Mun'im's in the capacity of a spy or go-between.

P. 124*b*. We read of Akbar's hunting elephants near Cunār, just as his grandfather had done.

P. 128*b*. Bāyazīd repairs a *ṣaffa* or portico in Benares which had been erected by Humāyūn.

P. 130*a* gives an account of one of Akbar's meetings for religious debates. The *mullās* of Rūm (*mullāyān-i-rūm*) are mentioned as having been present, and probably this means Romish priests. One Mirzā Muffis—a kingdom-less prince, and who is said to have been an adept at logic,—was present and was being pressed with a question by 'Abdu-l-lāh Sultānpūri. His rival Shaiḫ 'Abdu-n-nabi was also there, and in his turn propounded a question to the Prince. The latter who had not replied to 'Abdu-l-lāh's question, and was probably posed by it, (see Lowe's *Badāonī*, 190) seems to have lost his temper and cried to 'Abdu-n-nabi "Slave (*ghulām-i-kor*)! be a little patient till I have answered the big slave, and then I will answer you." Mirzā Muffis, (to whom there is a reference in Blochmann, 541), went to Mecca and died there in 989, (1581), and Bāyazīd witnessed his interment.

P. 131*a*. tells of the wonderful feat of a man called Mir Faridūn, who had some years before swallowed eighty miṣqāls of *baras* or *barasḥ* (an intoxicating drug or drink made apparently from Indian hemp) and who now, to please the Khān-khānān and his friends took 140 miṣqāls of the stuff. He also drank *Kōknār* (a preparation of opium) instead of water, and yet for several nights remained in company, and acted as if the drugs had no effect on him.

P. 132*a*. Bāyazīd came to grief, very deservedly for destroying a Hindū temple at Benares with pillars bearing an inscription 760 years old. He converted the building into a Madrasa, etc. Rāja Todar Mal was annoyed at this and got the inhabitants to complain against him. The result was that Bāyazīd lost his appointment and was for several years a *darwāsh*. After some years he became Mir Māl or keeper of the Seal (Blochmann VI), and subsequently he was made governor of Cunār.

P. 135a. has mention of Rājā Gajpatī, (Blochmann, 399), who is called Rājā of the country of Acina (اچينا?) and is said to have held the *jāgir* of Būjpūr and Bihiya, &c., extending over both banks of the Ganges. At that time he was loyal.

P. 147a. Gives an account of Mun'im Khān's removing his headquarters from Tāuda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangāla), and of the pestilence which broke out there. He says that the nature of the country is such that a pestilence (*wabā*) breaks out there every thirty years (*qarn*) and that on this occasion the plague was assisted by drunkenness (*kaif*). Mun'im Khān was himself a victim, dying there, according to Bāyazīd on the night of Monday, 18 Rajāb 982.¹ On the same night Muẓaffar, the deposed king of Gujrāt, and who afterwards escaped and gave Akbar so much trouble, arrived at Gaur, having been sent there by Bāyazīd from Cunār according to Mun'im's orders. Bāyazīd tells how he himself went afterwards to Gaur and of the difficulty he had in taking charge of Mun'im's property. In this connection he mentions the names of two women, *viz.*, Sēōr (Sarw) Aghā, Mun'im's widow, whom he describes as a reliable woman and one who had been in the harem of Bābar and Humāyūn, and another lady who was the mother of Khwāja Shāh Maṣṣūr, who was Mun'im's *bakhshī*. Bāyazīd said he had no wish after Mun'im's death to remain on active service. He gave up his post of governor of Cunār but held for a time the position of *dārōgha* of the Treasury. In the beginning of 986, (March 1578), he got leave to go to Mecca and left for that place with his wife and children. He was, however, detained for two years in Sūrat on account of a charge of malversation which was brought against him by his enemies. He got over this difficulty and was able to go to Daman, but there he had fresh troubles with the Portuguese and had to pay a heavy ransom before he was allowed to sail. They reached Aden in fourteen days and there a small boat came out to them, which had been sent by Gulbadan Bāgam and other ladies who had been to Mecca and were on their return. Bāyazīd sent the Bēgams news of India, &c. He spent a considerable time in Mecca, and lost his wife and one of his sons there. He buried mother and child in one grave, and occupied it himself for one or two hours *so that it should not be too small or narrow*. He sent his other children home, hoping that he himself should end his days in Mecca and might be laid beside his wife. But he had to return to India in consequence of hearing that his family had been made prisoner by the Portuguese at Daman. He left in 990, (1582), but had to wait long in Mocha harbour for a favourable wind. At last the "olive season" (*mausim-i-zaitūnī*)

¹ It should be 983. The English date is 28rd October, 1575.

came and brought a wind and they were just about to start when a boat called a "tāwari" (see Blochmann, 241) came in from Diu and reported that all Gujrāt was in a blaze owing to the insurrection of Muẓaffar. In this extremity Bāyazīd consoled himself and his friend as they were sitting in the ship's cabin (*dabās*) by taking an omen from Ḥāfiẓ, the result of which was to satisfy them that the descendants of Humāyūn would eventually prevail. He was eight months on board ship and after a voyage of two months arrived at the port of Kūda (qr. Gōdhri, or perhaps Ghoga). Bāyazīd was in danger here but ultimately escaped to Sūrat. Apparently Muẓaffar let him go on account of their old acquaintance when Muẓaffar was his prisoner at Cunār. He liked the climate of Sūrat and was willing to stay there but his sons Sa'ādat Yār and Iftikhār who were in Akbar's service, wrote to him that the Emperor was expecting him. He therefore waited upon Akbar in Fatḥpūr Sikri in the end of 992, (December 1584), and was graciously received, getting a house and the *pargana* of Sanān, for which however he was to pay a rental of 14½ lakhs. Rājā Todar Mal did not like Bāyazīd and tried to screw a higher rental out of him. He got the *pargana* in partnership with his sons, and apparently it was not lucrative.

In 994, (1586), Bāyazīd was raised to the rank of a *manṣab* of 200¹ and next year he was made Steward (*bakāwal*) and chamberlain (*Ishaq Āghā*). But he was soon after attacked with paralysis and had to give up all his appointments. But in 998 he returned to work and was made a Treasury *dārōgha* and *amin*. In 999 Akbar gave him (probably in consideration of his bodily infirmity) permission to sit in the royal presence, and declared before a number of courtiers that Bāyazīd was an honest man and had served the state for nearly two *qarn*, i.e., for 60 years. The Memoirs were completed on Sunday, 1st Ramazān, 999, (13th June, 1591), and with this statement and some verses the book closes. Previous to this Bāyazīd describes some buildings that he erected at Lāhōr, and gives an account of the distribution of copies of his book.

¹ He must have got further promotion for Abu'l-faṣl, (Blochmann, 501), ranks him among the commanders of 800. Probably this was when he became Bakāwal Bāg in 996.

The Cāṭṣvara Inscription of Anagga-bhīma II of Orissa.—
By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU, Editor, Viṣṇvakōṣa.

[Read August, 1896.]

In my article on the copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṅha Dēva II. of Orissa, read in May, 1896, in our Society's meeting, I merely alluded to this Inscription, expressing, however, my desire to publish it in full in a later issue. Now, compliant to that promise, I bring in my present article.

This Inscription, which was first noticed in the Viṣṇvakōṣa¹ in 1894, is incised on a stone-slab in the temple of Cāṭṣvara (or Īiva) at Kisanpur village in the Padmapur Pargana, District Cuttack, and situated nearly 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack and 2 miles to the north of the road from Cuttack to Chandbali. On both sides of this large temple, there are other temples of smaller size dedicated to Kṛṣṇa-Rādhikā and Pārvatī, but these latter from their very appearance and architecture are evidently of a later period than that of Cāṭṣvara. From the resemblance of architecture the temple of Cāṭṣvara may be classed as coeval with other temples, built in several places of Orissa during the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. The whole temple is built uniformly of basalt stone locally called *bauḷ-mālā*. The ornamental beauty and superior workmanship of the architect, are not a little exhibited in the temple, but much of its former beauty is, for want of repair, in gradual decay. The interior of this high temple is all dark, and now affords an unmolested habitation for innumerable bats, through the callous indifference of its votaries. In the sanctum of the temple, there is a deep excavation in which lies the Liṅga immersed in perpetual waters, save at the time of festivals when the water being drawn out the Liṅga makes its appearance.

A few people now inhabit the village Kisanpur, and they too, for the most part of them, are *Bhōpas*, *i.e.*, votaries to the God Cāṭṣvara. Formerly the temple of Cāṭṣvara had been vested with a large

¹ See Viṣṇvakōṣa, Vol. VI, p. 269.

dāvōttara property, but the votaries had alienated a great part of it, and consequently the income having greatly deteriorated, no longer are the offerings and ceremonies conducted in their former grand scale. One thousand bighas of land and 300 *bharaṇas* of paddy per year, are all that now exist to defray the expenses of the temple. A considerable sum is added to the income by the gifts from the visitors, during the two festivals of the *Çivarātri* and the lunar *Caturdaçi* of the bright fortnight in the month of *Kārtika*, when a vast concourse of people floods into the place.

The tradition as to the origin of the temple, runs as follows:—

The site, on which the temple of *Cāṭṣvara* now stands, was a tank. In the vicinity, a village school-master taught his pupils, in his little *Oāṭaṣāḷā*, i.e., school. *Mahādēva*, the great god, himself came in the guise of a *cāṭa*, i.e. pupil, and began to learn with other boys. Now, all the other boys had to be harassed much for their school fees, and paid them after several demands made; but *Mahādēva*, the disguised *cāṭa* paid even before the first demand. Moreover, he would not be prevailed upon to disclose his parentage even at the injunction of the school-master. Doubts now began to grow deep in the mind of the teacher, as to the identity of this extraordinary boy, and one evening he secretly followed the *cāṭa*, when returning from the *Oāṭaṣāḷā*. Then to his great astonishment the boy came direct to the tank, and to the ecstasy of surprise of the beholding teacher, plunged into the waters and disappeared! The night following, the teacher was visited by *Mahādēva* in a dream and addressed to the following effect:—"I was hitherto learning of you with a view to reveal my greatness, go and celebrate my name to the world, henceforth I shall be called *Cāṭṣvara*, the divine pupil." After this miracle, many came to study there and went out profound scholars. By and by, the fame of the virtue of this place reached the ears of the *Utkala-rāja*, who thereupon, caused the tank to be filled with earth, erected the beautiful temple upon it, established the present *Cāṭṣvara-Liṅga* within the temple, and dedicated a vast property towards its maintenance.

In this temple, we find an inscribed slab, bearing the inscription of *Ananga-bhīma II* of Orissa, which forms the subject-matter of my present article. On the 7th of November, 1893, I went there with my friend *Artatrāṇa Miçra* of *Maudā*, to visit the temple of *Cāṭṣvara*. The votaries at our request brought the inscribed slab out of the temple and placed it upon the outer door. The darkness of the night was then fast approaching upon us, and I hurriedly took some rubbings of the inscription in pencil. Subsequently, however, another set of tracing of the same has reached my hand.

The size of this slab is 32·5" × 22". The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ " × $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The Inscription is in 25 lines, running through the entire length of the slab leaving a margin only of 1½ inches on all sides. The letters belong to the ancient Bengali type of Kuṭīla character, and resemble much the characters of the Māghṣvara Inscription published in this Journal for 1897, and those of the Brahmṣvara Inscription, published in our Society's Journal, by Mr. Prinsep.¹

The Inscription was written by a poet named Bhāskara, the principal object of it being to record the erection of a Āṭṣvara temple (of Āṭṣvara) by Ananga-bhīma II.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit and generally correct.

As regards orthography;—the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; *p*, *y* and *v* are sometimes doubled with the superscript sign *r*, e.g. in lines 2, 3 and 4. A curious mistake is committed in line 16, where *thaddiggajah* is written for *yaddiggajah*.

Opening with the words "Om adoration to Āṭṣ," the Inscription first invokes the ocean as the abode of Viṣṇu and the birth-place of the Moon, who adorns the crest of Mahādēva. It then glorifies the family of Cōḍagaṅga born in the lunar dynasty, and gives the following list of Kings:—(1) Cōḍagaṅga, (2) his son Ananga-bhīma I, (3) his son Rājendra (Rājarāja), and (4) his son Ananga-bhīma II, together with the names of two distinguished ministers, namely Gōvinda of the Vatsa Gōtra and the renowned Viṣṇu, the terrible foe of the Muhammadan ruler Tumghāna (Tughril-i-tughān Khān).²

Transcript.

L. 1.

ॐ नमः शिवाय ।

स यस्मिन् मैनाकः स्मरति जगत्क्रोडलजितं
यदन्तः शोकान्तः अयति गृहशामाटपदवीं ।
सुरेभ्यस्तन्मथ्यसगमनुभूय अधित य-
स्वधासत्रं सोमप्लयति सरि-

L. 2.

तानेकसुमगः ३ [1]

तस्माद्भूदिसुममादधानः
क्षानिधिर्बिम्बिलोचनायां ।

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, Plate XXIV.

² See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 740-68, and my article on the copper-plate grant of Nṣimha Dēva II., J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, Pt. I, pp. 233-34.

³ Metre: Ūkharipi.

वसुधैवकुतुम्भेभ्योऽस्तु

मेने सुरारिसुंजुटे पुरारिः ।¹ [2]

धुपाकस्त्राहभुवन्निहमरसमरोदक्षदास्त्र्यैवोन्-
ज्यो-

L. 3. तिष्ठांवावषीहप्रतिमटकरटिस्यामहावप्रवन्वाः ।
वेवाङ्गोर्निप्रवाहैः प्रतिवदमुदयत्सङ्गोसङ्गसौख्य-
प्रेक्ष्यल्लोककेजिः कचवति नजधिक्षानि जीवाधितानि ।² [3]
तेवान्ग्रे विशदयप्रवा-

L. 4. शोडगङ्गकितोन्-
काजवत्तं नरहरितनोर्जातिराविवेभूव ।
र्योद्दामक्षिपमरुदोतीर्षसंन्यासिनो व-
निक्षिंशेन प्रतिवपतवः प्राधिता मोक्षक्षयी ।³ [4]
धन्मिहं करपक्षवे कचितवान् प्रामेव वै-

L. 5. रिश्विः
कोरामर्हतरङ्गितेन मगसा निक्षिंशवल्लीन्ततः ।
षके वैरिवधुजनक्षनतटोर्को सुक्तसुक्ताः पुरः
नवादुद्धरगन्धसिन्धुरमदप्रस्थग्दिगच्छद्योः ।⁴ [5]
वत्सलोहितमच्छकायकुटिवाटोपस्त-

L. 6. रत्नाभ्यसै-
वंदावप्रकरप्रहारतरुः प्रक्षिप्रिमिः पार्श्वैः ।
वच्छांशोर्दिवि मच्छकायपटवं निभिद्य तन्मनुमा
मन्ये निर्दंतिगभिन्त्रैरनुदतो विष्वाहसौमारसः । [6]
शासोव्

L. 7. स्रगुरनङ्गभोमन्वपतिः पुष्पातप्रभं ततो
न स्युतः कफिकाकक्षयमसौकल्लोकजीवाधितैः ।
कोयं मन्मकजापदुर्भेदकरिष्णुं विहायासुजा
अद्भानेकपदे कपे कचवता साञ्जाव्यमासादितं ।⁵ [7]
खैरमुति-

¹ Metre: Upejñti.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Metre: Mandākrāntī.

⁴ Metre: Īrḍūla-vikriḍita, and of the following verse.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

- L. 8. चबगवोभिबपास्यमानो
गोविन्द इत्यजनि वस्यकुञ्जे द्विलेन्द्रः ।
राक्षः क एष महिमा यदसावनेन
साम्नाय्यभारवहने विदधे घुरीयः ।¹ [8]
सेवान्तप्रतिमहोपतिकेशपाश-
श्रीवाकवस्त्रिशिख-
- L. 9. रे मखराजहंसाः ।
यत्यादपङ्कजप्रहाम्भिमिः सपन्ति
राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन ततः क्षितौन्द्रः । [9]
जघ्नेऽसौ तमवङ्गभीमस्यपतिं यस्य प्रतापानजः
ज्वालासंवहितैः सुवर्षशिशुरीयातिप्रवत्सं
- L. 10. यदि ।
आदायेनमहर्निशं यदि घना मुञ्चन्ति धारौकरा
नाशाः पूरवितुं तथापि विजयी यद्दानकेषिक्रमः ।² [10]
जैलोकं विमज्जीकरोति यदि तन्मूर्त्तिभुंघास्यङ्गुनी
कञ्चे चैत् विजुठन्ति
- L. 11. तद्भक्तियो धिष्ठमौलिकाणां खजः ।
यत् पादाजनखद्युतियतिकरैर्भूषाविधियंशभूत्
प्रत्थरिंक्षितिपाकभाजफलके कः पट्टवन्वयहः । [11]
तस्याथ क्षितिपाकभाजवङ्गमौगिनास-
- L. 12. पादाङ्गुले
विष्णुविष्णुरिवापरः कक्षितवान् साक्षिभ्यमथाहृतं ।
श्वेतच्छत्रप्रतानि यस्य यज्ञसा निर्माय किं द्रूमहे
साम्नाय्यं शिककिङ्गनाथस्यपतेरेकातपञ्जीकृतम् । [12]
ये माताः शरखं
- L. 13. रक्षाङ्गुलधिरखन्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो
शैर्वा दुर्दमदोर्विजाकरसिकौहत्खातखण्डैः क्षितं ।
आख्यर्थं यदमोहयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः यदं
प्राप्ता निर्भरनिर्हतिप्रखयितां प्र-

¹ Metre, Vasanta-tilaka ; and of the next verse.² Metre, Gārdūla-vikrīḍita ; and of the next five verses.

- L. 14. त्वर्चिनः पार्थिवाः ॥ [13]
 विन्ध्यात्रेरधिचौमभौमतटिणी कुञ्जे तटेम्भोनिधे-
 विंध्यविंध्युरसावसाविति मयाचैतन्दिशः पश्यतः ।
 साम्नाष्यं सपरिष्मेष न तथा वैखानसानामिदं
 विन्धं
- L. 15. विष्णुमयं यथा परिसृतं तुम्घाष्यष्ट्वीपतेः ॥ [14]
 कण्ठोत्तंसितसायकस्य समटानेकाकिनो निग्नतः
 किं द्रुमो यवनावनोन्दुसमरे तत्तस्य वीरप्रतं ।
 यस्याजोकनकौतुक्यसनि-
- L. 16. नां श्योमाङ्गनेनाकिना-
 मस्यप्रैरनिमेवदत्तिभिरभून्नेचैर्महागुत्सवः ॥ [15]
 साहसाः परितः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेकन्ति यन्मया ²
 प्रेक्षुङ्किः पथिपुष्टरीकपटचैर्दिक्चक्रमा-
- L. 17. क्रम्यते ।
 सम्नासः षटकेषु भौजिषु पदग्यासः कुक्क्याभृतां
 वद्धा यत्र न काचिदुत्कलपतेः साम्नाष्यकक्षीं ह्यतिः³ ॥ [16]
 स्यापोठं कियदम्बरद्विभदय सः सौधमेतत् कियत्
 दिक्चक्रं किय-
- L. 18. देतदेव कलय ब्रह्माष्टखण्डं किञ्चत् ।
 स्यास्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरखं यत्रेदमामोदते
 यत्र दृष्यति यत्र वा निवसति खण्डमेतद् बभूवः ⁴ [17]
 तपनतनयामभ्यादत्तेवर्तंसयितुं शिवः
 कुवलयकुक्क-
- L. 19. कण्ठोत्तसेन विन्धति सुष्णवः ।
 विचकिञ्चवगोत्सुजे मृङ्गीविदनाकिनं खनं
 जगति जनितश्चेताद्देते तदा यशोभरिः⁵ ॥ [18]
 अनेन पुढवोत्तमप्रखयिगोषु वाराग्निधे-
 सटौषु घटिताष्टुलापु-

¹ Read कर्षी ।

² Read यद्विन्धया ।

³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ Metre, Ūrdūla-vikriḍita.

⁵ Metre, Hariṇi.

L. 20.

बषहेमभूमौढतः ।

विनासवसतीश्रुतं क्लृप्तयता वजारातिना
 शचीवदनवारिजे तरणिताः स्म लोषं दृशः¹ । [19]
 पश्याणं सरसां श्रुतैस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्गित्वा यत्तट-
 स्तेराम्भोजगभीरग-

L. 21.

मंकुहरध्वस्ताध्वखेदोन्मैयः ।

षन्तःसौरमसारशीकरमयैः पाथेयमारैरमो
 मन्दंमन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पथिकानाम्बोधिवेत्तानिष्ठाः² । [20]
 आम्बोत्तिक्रौकुटिकमैक्षत यं कटाक्षै-
 र्भक्ष्य तयो वदनताम्-

L. 22.

रसं सुसुम्भ ।

क्षैरं यदीयहृदये विजहार वार्त्ता
 यं दख्खनीतिरपि निर्भरमानिजिङ्ग³ । [21]
 उदयदोषादपथप्रवर्त्तन-
 रखलद्गतौनिश्रुतिवृष्टिविम्भैः ।
 चकार तत्र प्रतिपत्तिसम्प-

L. 23.

दा-

स्यदं पुराखानि पुनर्नवानि चः⁴ । [22]
 कनककलसभारं भारयामास भाखा-
 नजनि रजनिजानि स्फाटिकः पूर्यकुम्भः ।
 ध्वजपटपटुकम्बोर्वच च खोमगङ्गा
 विरचितममुनेदं धाम

L. 24.

कामान्तकस्य⁵ । [23]

त्रिसुवगभवशान्तिश्रुतुमेकार्यवन्त⁶
 झलजयमिव यावत् कुर्वते पर्वतेन्द्राः ।
 सदनमिदमुदखण्डेषुपुञ्जप्रतिष्ठा-
 मिह कलयतु तावद्दीयताञ्च प्रशस्तिः । [24]
 लोक्-

1 Metre, Pṛthvi.

2 Metre, Gārdūla-vikridita.

3 Metre, Vasanta-tīlakā.

4 Metre, Vaṅgasthāvila.

5 Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

6 Not clear.

L. 25.

चतुर्दशममति यज्ञो यदोषं
 विद्याचतुर्दश न हृष्यति यस्य बुद्धिः ।
 मन्वन्तराख्यमि चतुर्दश यस्मि दक्षि-
 नं स्नापिमेति स कविः क्षिप्र भास्कारोऽस्याः ॥¹ [25]

Translation.

Om! adoration to Īiva!

V. 1. Hail to the Ocean, the sole lord of all the rivers, where the mount Maināka is enjoying the pleasures of the paternal lap of the Himalayas, where even the lord of Lakṣmi himself lives as a son-in-law in his father-in-law's house, and who has undergone that process of churning as a svadhā sacrifice.²

V. 2. From that ocean was born the moon, the wonder of all eyes, the love for whose virtues procured him a place in the eye of Murāri and on the crest of Purāri.

V. 3. From the moon was born a race of kings, the blazing fire of whose prowess stopped the rutty streams on the foreheads of the elephants of their adversaries in the field of battle; swelled by the streams of their fame, the sea, heaved up at every moment and thus enjoying the pleasures of the companionship of the heavenly river Mandākini, still displays those sports in wavy frolics.

V. 4. In the line of these sovereigns of renown, the radiant halo of the person of Narahari incarnated itself as King Cōḍaganga, whose sword used to give deliverance to the hostile kings, when they turned, so to say, Sannyāsins on the banks of the sacred river, which flowed from the ooziings of the elephants in fury of war.

V. 5. Who, in the battle-fields, used to clutch with the palm of his hands, first the locks of the goddess of fortune of his adversaries, and then his sword; who first deprived the breasts of the wives of his enemies, of their pearls, and then deprived the temples oozing juice of rut, of the unruly and maddened elephants, of their pearls.

V. 6. When the hostile kings, frightened by the sharpened arrows of the leader of the noisy army obtained deliverance by his arrows it seemed, as if, to avenge their wrongs, these kings proud of their deliverance, were penetrating through the reign of the sun which travels in the sky and which resembled the king in his fiery character.

¹ Metre, Vasanta-tilaka.

² Svadhā means oblation offered to the Pitr̥s or spirits of deceased ancestors.

V. 7. His son was Ananṅga-bhīma, who remained untouched by the ink-like sea of sin of the Kali-yuga; who obtained possession of the empire not by taking to any conspiracy or a host of elephants but by the mere love of other kings.

V. 8. Gōvinda, who was superior to other Brāhmanas, took his birth in the Vatsa Gōtra. The Vēdas voluntarily served him, i.e., he obtained a great proficiency in the study of Vēdas. This is not a great glory on his part, as the king appointed him to bear the burden of the whole empire.

V. 9. From him (sc. Ananṅga-bhīma) King Rājēndra (i.e. Rājarāja) took his birth, the nail-like swan of whose feet-lotus slept soundly on the moss-bed of locks of those hostile kings, who bowed down to him in submission.

V. 10. Whose son was called Ananṅga-bhīma, whose bounty triumphs, even if the golden Sumēru be melted by the fire of prowess and the clouds take up the melted gold and rain constantly to drench the quarters and slake the thirst of the needy, those showers of rain can never satisfy, but his bounty always satisfied the desires of all those who received it from him.

V. 11. Whose fame, when it whitens the Heaven, Earth and the Nether worlds, wipes away the glory of the heavenly Ganges which consists in her pure whiteness; whose praises when uttered by the throat makes away with the usefulness of the garland of pearls, the lustre of the nails of whose feet was the crown of hostile kings, who did not any more feel the necessity of wearing a turban on their head.

V. 12. Whose toes slept (like the domesticated birds) on the forehead of kings, which were, as it were, the tops of houses; whose ministry was accepted by Viṣṇu (a Brahmin) who appeared like a second Viṣṇu, whose fame unified the empire of the kings of three Kalingas.

V. 13. Of the hostile kings, they that sought his protection at the very beginning of the combat, without shooting even an arrow, and they that, confident of the overwhelming strength of their mighty hands, raised their swords, it is strange that both these classes of adverse kings obtained, before long, the eternal happiness by gaining the feet of Viṣṇu, i.e., those that died in the field went to heaven and there obtained final emancipation at Viṣṇu's feet, and those that sought protection were very glad to appear before the minister Viṣṇu and at his feet established peace.

V. 14. The Vaikhānasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the Tuṅghāna King (i.e.,

Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān), when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the banks of the Bhīmā, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores.

V. 15. What more shall I speak of his heroism ! He alone fought against the Muhammadan King, and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes.

V. 16. Whose innumerable elephants and horses frolicked in all directions ; whose white umbrellas when carried on the roads covered all the quarters ; who lived in *Kaṭaka* and trampled over the heads of the principal kings, wherever any work of the imperial goddess of fortune of the King of Utkala had not made its progress.

V. 17. Think for a moment, how small is the earth to hold his fame, of what extent is the sky to spread his fame ; how small is the vault of heaven again where to give a free scope to it ; how small is the horizon where his fame rests like a garland, and how small is the whole universe to contain his fame.

V. 18. All the universe being whitened by his fame, Mahādēva takes Yamunā (mistaking her for the Ganges) up to adorn his crest, the fair ladies hold the blue water lilies (now white) in their garlands ;

V. 19. On the shores of the sea, which are the favourite of Paruṣōttama, he created several Golden-mountains (Sumēru) by the performance of the *Tulā-puruṣa* gift ; and by erecting there hundreds of comfortable pleasure-houses attracted even Indra's eyes which were fixed at the lotus-like face of Ṣaci.

V. 20. He constructed several roads with hundreds of ponds, here and there, about them. The sea-breezes coming to these tanks rested for a while on the bed of the blooming lotuses and thereby after refreshing themselves of the fatigue of the journey, and bearing provisions of aqueous particles, fragrant with the sweet scents of the lotuses, floating in them, followed the travellers.

V. 21. Whom Logic saw with side-long looks, whose lotus-like face the Vēdas kissed, at whose heart the news roamed voluntarily ; and whom the doctrine of administration of justice embraced heartily.

V. 22. He, who was rich in reputation, renewed with his clear sight into the Vēdas, all the Purāṇas now destined to be directed in the wrong ways through the gross-blunder of the expounders of them.

V. 23. He built this temple to Ṣiva the destroyer of Kāma. The sun supports its golden pinnacle, the moon himself is its crystal jar full of water, and the beauty of the banner of its spire is the heavenly river Mandākinī.

V. 24. As long as the principal mountains do heave themselves up the sea, and thereby protect the three worlds, so long do their temple proclaim the fame of its consecration here and sing the eulogy.

V. 25. The poet *Bhāskara* composed this eulogy whose fame could not be measured by the fourteen worlds, whose intellectual powers were not satisfied even with the study of the fourteen branches of learning, and whose pithy sayings are not to be depreciated even in fourteen *manvantaras*.



The date of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri, Orissa.—By BABU MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., Deputy Magistrate, Gaya, Bengal.

[Read August, 1898.]

The great temple of Jagannātha at Puri is widely known in India ; but nothing definite is known about the time of its erection. Touching this point I adduce below some arguments based on recently discovered inscriptions.

The Gangavam̃ca copper-plates of Orissa contain the following important passage¹ :—

पारौ यस्य धरान्तरोक्षमखिर्षं नामिस्तु सर्वा दिशः
 शोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्द्धापि च द्यौरक्षौ ।
 प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य ऋपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षम-
 लस्योत्पाद्यत्पैत्रपेक्षितमयं चक्षेय गङ्गेश्वरः ॥
 जस्योत्तमस्य पयोनिधिरक्षौ संभावितस्य स्थिति-
 नेर्नां शान्ति शशुरस्य पूज्यत इति क्षीराब्जिवासाङ्गुवं ।
 निर्विन्धः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदितस्तदासन्नाभाप्रमा-
 प्येतङ्गुर्गृहं वरं पिष्ट्मृष्टहात्पाप्य प्रमोदान्विता ॥

Translation :—

“What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a god as Puruṣōttama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon, and whose head that heaven (above) ? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gangāśvara.

“The ocean is the birth-place of Lakṣmi, so thinking in his father-in-law's house (the ocean) Viṣṇu lodged with some shame, though he

¹ Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. LXIV, (1895), p. 139; Journal, Vol. LXV, (1896), p. 240. This pantheistic idea and even the very similes of the text may be traced as far back as R̥gvēda (X, 90, 13-4).

got full adoration. Thus ashamed, the god Puruṣōttama was glad to get this new house; and Lakṣmī, too, gladly preferred living in her husband's new house to living in her father's house."

This passage shows that—

- (1) a great temple was erected in Orissa dedicated to Puruṣōttama,
- (2) that it was erected by order of Gaṅgādeva *alias* Cōḍagaṅga, and
- (3) that it was erected on or near the sea-coast.

Puruṣōttama is another name of Jagannātha, whose Kṣētra and Māhātmya are still called Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra and Puruṣōttama-Māhātmya. The description thus leaves no doubt that the temple erected by Cōḍagaṅga can be no other than the present temple of Jagannātha.

Cōḍagaṅga, however, ruled long, for nearly seventy years. His anointment (abhiṣēka) took place formally in 999 Çaka (17th February, 1078 A.D.). But he is believed to have practically ruled from two years back, 997 Çaka, so far as the numerous inscriptions quoted in Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report of 1895-96 (particularly those of Mukhalīṅgam) can be relied on. Similarly, if the date of Vajrahasta's accession be taken as 960 Çaka, then Cōḍagaṅga, his grandson, came to the throne in 997 Çaka (960 + 29 + 8),² or 1075-6 A.D. Orissa has been specifically described in the inscriptions to have been conquered by Cōḍagaṅga.³ Consequently the temple of Jagannātha must have been begun to be constructed several years after his conquest. When the Orissan conquest took place is not known, but at least 8 or 10 years might be reasonably assumed to have elapsed before it was taken possession of. We thus arrive at the anterior limit of 1085 A.D., as the date before which the temple of Jagannātha could not have been built by Cōḍagaṅga.

The posterior limit can be arrived at only indirectly. In the Govindapura inscription of Gayā edited by Prof. Kielhorn, it is said—

गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्भयः प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि असचन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पितपिबृक्तोमः करोह्णसितै-
क्तोयैर्यैः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षयं ।⁴

Translation:—

"Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manōratha went to the sacred Puruṣōttama, and on the

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 190; Professor Kielhorn has thrown doubts on the English equivalent arrived at (see his note on the covering page 3, Vol. IV, pt. V).

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 169; J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIV, p. 130.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 334; for translation see p. 339.

noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon ; (and) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at full-moon time."

This inscription is dated 1059 Çaka or 1137-38 A.D. It was composed by one Gaṅgādharma, son of Maṇḍarāha. The extract shows that the composer's father paid a visit to Puruṣōttama, and gave gifts on the shore of the sea. This visit may be presumed to have taken place 12 or 15 years back from the date of the inscription, or about 1122-25 A.D. The Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra and necessarily the temple must have existed by that time, and must have attained considerable fame to deserve such specific mention. Thirty to thirty-five years might be allowed for this sanctity and the temple can be fairly supposed to have existed by (1125-35 or) 1090 A.D.

That the Kṣētra and the temple existed before the end of the eleventh century receives some corroboration from another inscription. In the Nāgpur praçasti of the Mālava rulers I find the following passage :—

देवासौ पुद्गलोत्तमः स भगवानाग्नित्रये यः श्रिया
येनेदं बलिर्वैरिबन्धविधिना विन्धं समान्वासितं ।
येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां
यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ बुधजनेर्थाजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ।⁵

Translation by Prof. Kielhorn :—

"Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Puruṣōttama to whom fortune resorted, who relieved the universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.'"

The king referred to is Lakṣma Dēva of Mālava, and the verse extracted is one of several describing his *digvijaya*. The verses preceding this refer to the invasion of East India, and the immediately preceding verse 43 refers to his conquest of Anḡa and Kalinga, while the immediately succeeding verse 45 refers to the eastern ocean. The allusion to the "holy Puruṣōttama" in the extract, and its juxtaposition with Anḡa, Kalinga and the eastern ocean points clearly to the Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra and consequently its temple. The inscription is dated Samvat 1161 or 1104-5 A.D. Hence the Puruṣōttama temple would have existed some time before this, or say *circa* 1090 A.D.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 187; for translation see p. 193.

To resume, the above discussion is intended to establish the following conclusions:—

(1) that the present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Cōḍagaṅga of Ganga dynasty,

(2) that it existed by about 1090 A.D. and might have been built between 1085–90 A.D.,

(3) that the conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Cōḍagaṅga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075–1085 A.D.).

The above arguments are not conclusive, but in the absence of positive proof from any recorded inscriptions, they appear to me to carry much weight.



*Notes on the language and literature of Orissa, Parts III and IV.*¹—By
BABU M. M. CHAKRAVARTI, *Deputy Magistrate, Guya.*

[Read December 1897.]

PART III. OṚIYĀ SONGS AND RELIGIOUS POEMS.

In Part II. I have given some glimpses of the Sanskrit compositions in Orissa during the mediæval Hindu rule. The vernacular compositions began to flourish from the close of this Hindu rule. This change was brought on through various causes. The first cause lay in the study of Sanskrit itself. Sanskrit drifted more and more from the colloquial speeches, and a study of the Sanskrit language came to mean years of hard labour. The elaborate and minute analysis and classification of Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics proved a heavy burden for ordinary readers, and the study of Sanskrit literature became more and more unpopular among the leisured classes. If reading of Sanskrit works was found to be troublesome, the writing of works in that language was found to be still more so. The non-Brāhmin scholars continued to study Sanskrit literature on account of its high cultivation, but for compositions they turned their attention to the simple and familiar vernacular.

In Orissa this tendency was aided by its close connexion with Tēliṅgānā. By the 14th and 15th centuries the language of Tēliṅgānā, i.e., the Tēlugu, had been well developed and an abundant Tēlugu literature had been produced. Through trade and through dynastic influences, Tēlugu songs, Tēlugu poems and Tēlugu grammars came to be well known in the southern part of Orissa. The leisured classes saw that the vernaculars were capable of being well-developed, and in this respect Tēlugu literature served as an excellent model. Thus a number of the non-Brāhmin scholars took to cultivation of their spoken speeches.

A further help in this direction was received from the spread of

¹ Parts I and II are published in Journal Part I, 1897.

Vaiṣṇavism. The sanctity of Puri attracted a considerable number of devotees, and several maṭhs of Rāmānuja and other sects sprang up on its sands. About 1510 A.D. Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇavite apostle of Bengal, first visited Orissa, and later on settled in Puri. Here he gathered a considerable following and by and by came to exercise much influence. Though a good Sanskrit scholar, he aimed to impart his religious instructions through the vernaculars. With the Paṇḍits he argued in Sanskrit, but to the laity he preached in their spoken dialect. His disciples came chiefly from the lower classes, and carried out this practice of vernacular preaching more extensively. In this way religion which had hitherto been a strong prop of the monopolising Sanskrit learning, ceased to be so. In contradistinction to Brāhmins, grew up a body of Vaiṣṇava gurus and mahantas whose influence gradually increased over the land, and with whose increasing influence the vernaculars came more and more to the front. The Vaiṣṇava devotees translated the Sanskrit religious works, composed new devotional poems, and by *saṅkīrtans* and vernacular songs considerably developed the power of the vernaculars. To the Vaiṣṇavites are due almost all the early vernacular compositions both in Orissa and in Bengal.

Another cause for the change lay in the overthrow by the Mahomedans of the paramount Hindu power. In 1568 A.D. the last independent Hindu king Tālingā Makunda Dēva was defeated and killed; and Orissa was overrun by the victorious army of Sulaimān Kerānī of Bengal. From that year for nearly two centuries Orissa remained subject to the Mahomedan rule, first under Pathans and next under the Mughals. On the transfer of the supreme power the influence of the Brāhmins and of the Sanskrit language received a check. The Hindu religion itself lost the powerful support of the ruling power. In the towns the Persian and the Persianised Hindī (Urdū) came into vogue. They showed the people that Sanskrit was not the only highly cultivated tongue in India. Hence a certain amount of freedom was produced which was favourable to the cultivation of vernaculars. In the towns and in the courts of petty Hindu chiefs many turned their attentions to compositions in Oṛiyā.

To summarise, the difficulties of compositions in the dead Sanskrit, the example of the early developed Telugu, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism and the supersession of the Hindu rule by the Mahomedans—all tended to swell the tide in favour of the vernaculars. Original Sanskrit works by the Oṛiyās practically ceased. From the 16th century downwards, one finds no real Sanskrit compositions by non-Brāhmins. Even among the Brāhmins the writers confined themselves chiefly to *śikṣās* or ex-

planatory notes on Sanskrit classics. Small pieces, such as *Guṇḍicā-bijaya* or *Guṇḍicā-campu* (description of Jagannātha's car festival), or *Hāsyārṇava* (collection of comic verses) hardly deserve the name of works. Gradually even this Sanskrit scholarship declined and Brāhmins fairly well acquainted with Sanskrit classics or philosophy grew smaller in number. Young students were obliged to go to Benares for studying Sanskrit grammar or Vēdānta philosophy, or to Nadiyā in Bengal for studying Nyāya or logic.

It should not however be understood that because compositions in Sanskrit dwindled, Sanskrit language itself ceased to influence. Both Tēlugu and Urdū did not escape the influence of Sanskrit study, and so could make no change other than a general inclination towards the use of the vernaculars. The vehicle of expression alone changed; the intellectual atmosphere underwent no great change. Sanskrit classics, specially the later ones such as the *Naiṣadhīya* and the *Çiçupāla-vadhā* were considered models to be closely imitated; while Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics supplied the rules of elegant compositions in Oṛiyā. Thus whether in versification or in the sentiment underlying them, in the outer forms or in the inner ideas of Oṛiyā poetry Sanskrit continued to dominate. At the time of discussing the later Oṛiyā poets, this preponderating influence of Sanskrit classics and rhetorics will be more fully seen.

The earliest compositions in Oṛiyā were

(A) Songs or

(B) Translations of the Sanskrit religious works.

These are generally in poetry. Certain prose works, such as *Mādaḷā Pāñji* or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple and *Vaiṣṇavalis* or genealogies of royal families had been begun from old time. They have however no literary merits and their historical value I will treat at the end of this article.

SONGS.

Songs are the articulations of man's heart deeply moved, and are as common to the civilised as to the savage. They are based on a single sentiment, or a single incident, and do not require long continuous thinking. Hence they precede serious compositions, and take their birth from the early childhood of a language. Oṛiyā could not have been an exception, and Oṛiyā songs must have been current from an early period. The earlier songs are lost. The only song which I am inclined to think as pre-Mahomedan is *Kesaba Kō-iḷi* (କେଶବ କୌହିଲି) of Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa. This is known widely in Orissa, and is taught to children in the *pāṭhṣālās*. From its wide popularity it would appear

to be more than three hundred years old. Hunter's list¹ puts its date as 500 years old; but the reasons for this conclusion are not given. The song is based on an incident of the *Bhāgavata*. Ṣri-Kṛṣṇa had gone to Mathurā leaving his mother Yaçōdā. Yaçōdā felt unhappy at the separation and poured out her grief addressing the cuckoo. The verse runs easy, and the subject—a mother's lamentation for her absent son—appeals to Indian hearts. No wonder therefore that the song is so popular in Orissa.

The other songs in current use are much later; but from the works of the chief Oriyā poets the names of several earlier songs can be traced. These songs passed into favourite tunes, and came to be thus noticed. Among the oldest may be named Rukmaṇi Cautisā (रुक्मिणी चोतित्रा)² Madhupa Cautisā (मधुप चोतित्रा) and Biprasimha Cautisā (बिप्रसिंह चोतित्रा).³ Several other old songs are quoted as tunes by Upēndra Bhañja and in the *Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴ It is a matter of regret that most of these songs are now known only by their names.

¹ Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. II, App. IX, p. 206. Here Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa is credited wrongly with the authorship of another song—*Gyanōdaya Kō-ijī*. This song was really composed by Lōkanātha Dāsa, a disciple of one Trilōcana, and is much later. It deals with the mystical doctrines and symbols of Yōga, and some of the stanzas are really creditable, e.g.

अमृतु ज्योति दुखार ।
 यच्चिं विजे निराकार ।
 ज्योतिपरि ज्योति नोय ।
 यानिनी पाचि अळु चण्चि दीप जो ।
 यतन करि अग्निनु वेवे ।
 युमे युमे योनी चीरतु वेवे जो । २१ ।

"Luminous is the door to the universe where shineth the formless. Light unto light darkening, behold, the lamp is burning the whole night. Watch ye with care, then age after age ye can be a Yōgi [26]."

² *Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa's Rasakalōja*, 25th Chānda; *Upēndra Bhañja's Baidōhisā-bijāsa*, 46th Chānda.

³ *Mathurā Mangala*, 5th Chānda for Madhupa; and for Biprasimha, see *Mathurā Mangala* 27th and 30th Chāndas, *Upēndra Bhañja's Baidōhisā-bijāsa*, 45th Chānda.

⁴ *Upēndra Bhañja* mentions *Jadusimha Cautisā* (यदुसिंह चोतित्रा), *Baidōhisā-bijāsa*, 43rd Chānda; *Haṁsadūta Cautisā* (हंसदूत चोतित्रा) *Baid. Bij.* 44th Ch.; *Gōpajibana Cautisā* (गोपजीवन चोतित्रा) *Do.* 47th Ch.; *Chapō-i* (चपो-ि) *Rasapañcaka* 1st Pañcaka. Similarly in the *Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa* one comes across *Bā Cautisā* (बा चोतित्रा) *Ādyakāṇḍa* 16th Ch.; "Caḷa-i Batha" ("चळर रथ") *Ayōdhya Kā.* 11th Ch.; "Kusuma Saurava" ("कुसुम सौरव") *Āraṇyaka Kā.* 17th

The existing songs begin with those of Upēndra Bhañja. Many of the later songs are now being compiled and printed. About four hundred such songs have now been published referable to some 70 or 80 authors. Among them the most prominent authors are Upēndra Bhañja, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā, Makunda Dēva, Banamāli Dāsa, Rājā Jagadēva, Gōpālākṛṣṇa and an unnamed chief calling himself Aṣṭadurgānātha (or owner of eight forts). The first two authors will be separately noticed in Part IV. Makunda Dēva appears to be the king of Khōrdā who was imprisoned by the British for the Khōrdā rebellion of 1804. Rājā Jagadēva was of Pārḷā Khēmḍi, District Ganjām; but his name I do not find in Mr. Sewell's list of Khēmḍi kings.¹ Banamāli Dāsa and Gōpālākṛṣṇa were two Brāhmins who appeared from their songs to have been devout Vaiṣṇavas.

Excluding from consideration the recent ones, the Oṛiyā songs are mostly *Cantisās*, that is in four or more couplets. Occasionally they are either *Chāndas* (like the ordinary poems)² or *Chapōis* (in six couplets), or *Bōlis*.³ As a rule, the songs deal with incidents of Rādḥā and Kṛṣṇa. Loves of human lovers and mistresses are rarely treated, and then the author is most likely of a royal family like Upēndra Bhañja. This exclusiveness in the treatment of the subject-matter originated in the paramount influence of Vaiṣṇavism and is noticeable not simply in songs but also in the other classes of poetry as I will point out later on.

The songs while mostly devoted to Rādḥā and Kṛṣṇa, deal not with their pleasures but with their pains and describe either the pangs of new-born love or the pangs of separation from the beloved. Rādḥā and Kṛṣṇa have been reduced to human level, and even of this anthropomorphised love, not the spiritual but the physical aspect, is generally dwelt upon. Several of these songs are composed in the true lyric vein, but as they generally contain descriptions of acts and feelings which would not be

and Uttarā Kā. 39th Ch.; Urdhaba *Cantisā* (ऊर्ध्व चोतिशा) *Laṅkā Kā.* 4th Ch.; "Kōṭā-i Guṇḍicā" ("कोटार गुण्डिका") *Laṅkā Kā.* 6th and 40th Ch.; Nandābā-i *Cantisā* (नन्दाबाद चोतिशा) *Laṅkā Kā.* 18th and 64th Ch., etc., etc.

¹ Sewell's sketch of the dynasties of S. India, pp. 45-6.

² Chānda songs are referred to in Mathurā *Maṅgala*.

केच चन्द्रवदनी शान्दनीतकु माण्डिलिका ।

ऊडिडा धाडी, धोरला बाडि, रचष पडि जला ॥ 23rd Stanza 14th Ch.

"Some lady, with face handsome as the moon, was singing the Chānda song. (Seeing Kṛṣṇa she missed a line, and ran, leaving singing and dropping her glances (in surprise)."

³ *Bicitra Rāmāyāṇa*. *Jadu Bōli* (जदु बोळि) *Laṅkā Kāṇḍa*, 34th Ch.; *Dadhimanthana Bōli* (दधि मन्थन बोळि) *Do.* 41st Ch.

tolerated in modern society, it is impossible to quote them here. One of the least objectionable is the following song from the pen of Banamāḷi Dāsa; it will give some idea of the Oṛiyā songs. The poet compares love to a sharp knife.

[राग भँभोट । ताल भुला]

प्रीति कुरी प्राय दिखा रे । वाजिव च्छातिरे करलुहा रे । घोषा ।

खेहलुहा यतने तताइ । अञ्जुळ तहिंरे देइ ।

मार कारिगर यतने गड़िळि, तहिंरे कळङ्क विष पिखा रे । १ ।

अतिवड़ तीक्ष्ण से धार । नेत्र न ठेकइ तहिंर ।

नवीन दर्पण परि भटकइ, सवु दिने देख दिशे नूखा रे । २ ।

से च्छुरीकि येऊ कुईव । जाति जुळ सवु तेजिव ।

न पारिले धरि निखे नाश यिव, विरहिमानङ्क प्राय खिखा रे । ३ ।

वोले वनमाली से कुरी । साग वड़ नुहे काहारि ।

याहा संगे येते पीरति करइ, तेतिकि करइ कुषा बुखा रे । ४ ।

Saṅgita Sāgara, first Tarāṅga, p. 28.

“Love is like unto a sharpened knife; its iron hand strikes at the heart; [chorus]. With care heating the love-iron, and with eye-tears toughening it, behold, the love god smith has made it carefully, its rust, alas, being poison-drinking. [1]. Very, very sharp is its edge, on which eye cannot be kept; it shines like a new mirror, looking new every time one sees through. [2]. He who touches that knife will have to forego caste and rank; he who fails to seize it is sure to die, so deadly to separated lovers. [3]. Banamāḷi says that this knife (of love) belongs neither to the old nor to the young; how much (stronger) the attachment, lo! so much (greater) is the uproar. [4].”

A few words about the music of these songs might here be added. Oṛiyā music is essentially southern. In the mediæval times Tanjore was famed for its dancing and singing; and Tēliṅgāna was not behind hand. The Tēlugu music attained its greatest developments during the later Vidyānagara rule. Tēlugu songs are still regarded as among the sweetest in the Indian vernaculars. Orissa which was long subject to the Tēlugu influence naturally borrowed from Tēliṅgāna its music. The *rāgas* or major tunes are almost exclusively Tēlugu which adopted mostly Sanskrit names, such as Dēçākṣa, Kāmōḍi, Bhairava, Mukhāri, Maṅgala, Gurjari, Ghaṅṭārava, Kauçika, Dhanāçri, etc. In course of time the major tunes were often modified by local peculiari-

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ties. These modifications might be considered as minor tunes, and fall roughly under two denominations:—

- (1) *Bāṇīs* (बाणी).
- (2) *Bṛttas* (ब्रत).

The difference in musical notation between the two classes I cannot say. Some of the *rāgas* slightly modified are occasionally treated as *Bāṇīs* such as *Cakrakēḷi* (चक्रकेळि), *Asāṛhasukla* (आसाहसुकल), *Kaḷasā* (कलसा), etc. But the bulk of the *Bāṇīs* are evidently derived from favourite songs such as *Munibara* (मुनिबर), *Rukmaṇi Cautisā* (रुक्मिणी चौतिशा), *Biprasimha Cautisā* (बिप्रसिंह चौतिशा), *Jadusimha Cautisā* (यदुसिंह चौतिशा), *Gōpajibana Cautisā* (गोपजीबन चौतिशा), *Chapō-i* (चपोर), etc. *Bṛttas* are similarly derived from favourite songs or poems such as *Abakāsa Bṛtta* (अबकास ब्रत), *Ḍhaga Bṛtta* (डग ब्रत), *Bhāgabata Bṛtta* (भाजबत ब्रत), *Kṛṣṇakaḷā Bṛtta* (कृष्णकला ब्रत), etc.

In the latter part of the Mahomedan rule, the up-country music was gradually introduced into Orissa. The *tālas* or time-beating thus came into use. I find in the *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa*¹ one *tāla* named as *Ādim Guṇir* (आदिम गुनिर), which looks like an Urdu or Persian name. The well-known *tāla Khēmṭā* (खेमटा) is also mentioned in the above poem.² This appears to me to have been introduced before the Mahomedan conquest, and then apparently from the South. The *Khēmṭā* was known to *Jagannātha Dāsa* who refers to it thus in his *Bhāgabata*:—

खेमटा नादे गीत गाइ ।

के घाय, सिंहनाद वाइ । १६ ॥

10th Skandha, 19th Adhyāya, Printed Ed., p. 117.

(Speaking of the *Gōpa* boys and their sports says) “some ran singing to the *Khēmṭā tāla*, and some ran roaring like lions.”

RELIGIOUS POEMS.

Along with the songs, the *Oṛiyā* religious poems are among the earliest. They had their origin in the religious yearnings of the people. When Sanskrit, the depository of all sacred and mythological informations, became a dead language, it naturally failed to satisfy the desires of the populace. Hence translations into vernaculars came to be necessary, and numerous attempts were made to meet the popular demands. Such attempts must have been made from an early

¹ *Sundarā Kāṇḍa*, 9th Chānda.

² *Ādya Kāṇḍa*, 7th Chānda ; *Laṅkā Kāṇḍa*, 27th Ch.

time, but the earliest ones are lost. The existing works cannot be put before the 16th century A.D.

The chief religious poems in current use are :—

- (1) The *Çrīmad-bhāgavata* (श्रीमद्भागवत) of Jagannātha Dāsa.
- (2) The *Rāmāyaṇa* (रामायण) of Baḷarāma Dāsa.
- (3) The *Mahābhārata* (महाभारत) of Sāraḷā Dāsa.
- (4) The *Harivaṃṣa* (हरिवंश) of Acyutānanda Dāsa.

Generally speaking, these poems are not literal translations but summaries and free adaptations of the Sanskrit original. The verses are usually simple and unornamented; the details are lengthy and tedious. Though they contain occasional passages of good descriptions and fine sentiments, they cannot be ranked high as literary compositions. Their importance lies firstly in the fact that they have supplied the bulk of religious and mythological informations to a strongly religious people from generations to generations. They have influenced all castes and all ages. By children their stories are heard with rapt interest; by adults they are learnt and talked about; by women and old men they are listened for days and months devoutly and patiently as the passport to some worldly good or heavenly bliss. Secondly, they form important land marks in the development of the Oṛiyā literature. Before their time the Oṛiyā was a rude uncouth dialect, poor in ideas, poor in words. These religious authors nursed it, imported words into it or coined words for it, and gave it some polish. They showed that the Oṛiyā language could be made fit for expressing complex thoughts and abstract feelings, and by their own imperfect efforts made it capable of being utilised in various kinds of versifications. They prepared in fact the way for the later Oṛiyā poets Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa, Upēndra Bhañja, and Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṅghāra. Any sketch therefore of the progress of the Oṛiyā intellect would be materially incomplete if it fails to give some accounts of these old religious poems.

The most influential of these has been the *Çrīmad-bhāgavata* or briefly the *Bhāgavata*. Very little is known about it and its author. The work itself gives no clue to its time excepting the fact that it must be later than *Çrīdhara Svāmi*, much later because his name is referred to with high veneration.¹ *Çrīdhara Svāmi* was a Gujarāṭi Brāhmin

¹ श्रीधर नामे विप्रवर । कलिचुगरे जन्म तार ॥ १०२ ॥
 श्रीभागवत वे पुराण । अष्टादश वे श्लोककेषु (? सप्तश्लेष) ॥ १०४ ॥
 नामैका वे चतुर्थीय श्लेषे । कचे शिदिधर परकाये ॥ १०५ ॥

MS. *Bhāgavata*, 12th Skandha, 13th Adhyāya.

"The Brāhmin by name *Çrīdhara* was born in *Kalichuga*. The *Purāṇa Çrī-Bhāgavata* has *ślokas* eighteen thousand. Its *śikā* in thousands one-fourth (of the *Purāṇa*), *Çrīdhara* has expounded in writing."

whose *śikā* or commentary on the Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the best known. He is believed to have flourished by the 14th century A.D. Hence the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata must be much later than 14th century A.D. Starting from backward I find that it must be earlier than saṅgā 1143 or 1736 A.D. in which year was copied a MS. of the fourth Skandha.¹ It is earlier than Baidśhisabiḷāsa, one of the earliest poems of Upendra Bhañja, for the Bhāgabata is referred to as a tune (Bṛtta) in its 27th Chānda. He preceded Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa whose principal work the Rasakallōḷa is probably based on the tenth Skandha 1st to 52nd Adhyāya of the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata. Dinakṛṣṇa refers to a tune Rukmaṇi Cautisā (Rasakallōḷa 25th Chānda), and this tune is derived from a song which is likely to have been based on the popular vernacular Bhāgabata (10th Skandha 56th to 58th Adhyāya). If Dinakṛṣṇa's time be taken at the middle of the 17th century, as I shall show later on, the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata must be still older and cannot be later than the close of the 16th century.

This is borne out by the general tradition, according to which Jagannātha Dāsa, the author of the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata, is identifiable with the Jagannātha Dāsa who founded the Atibaṛa subsect of Oṛiyā Vaiṣṇavas, and who was a disciple of Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇavite preacher of Bengal. This tradition is strongly corroborated by the Jagannāthacaritāmṛta which attempts to give a biography of the Atibaṛa founder somewhat like Caitanya's in the Caitanyacaritāmṛta. In that work the author Dibākara Kara remarks in the 5th Adhyāya :—

श्लोक करि भागवतार्थ । पदे कलि भाषाचरित ॥ १६ ॥

पूर्वे येउं गोसाँहं यहिँ । येवख भाषा कृन्ति कहिँ ॥

से पद ठिक ठिक करि । लेखिलि भाषा अनुसरि ॥ १७ ॥ Ms. folio 28.

“ Having understood the śloka of Bhāgabata, I rendered them into *Bhāṣā*. The lines which my Gōsāī (*i.e.*, Jagannātha Dāsa) had said before in *Bhāṣā*, I correctly understood, and wrote following this *Bhāṣā*.”

As Jagannātha Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya, he must have flourished in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century, and the Bhāgabata was probably finished towards the latter part of this 2nd quarter.

The Jagannāthacaritāmṛta has not yet been printed. The manuscript which I am using consists of 136 folios with four lines on

¹ See Supra pt. I, p. 380, J. A. S. B., Part I, 1897. The passage runs thus :—

इति श्रीमद्भागवतवे महापुराणे... चिंती चर्चायः ॥ ० ॥ समस्त रामचन्द्र दो महा-
राजाह्वर १२ अक्षर घन ११४२ साले ए पुस्तक संपूर्णे देखा । Ms. Folio 127.

each page. It is a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Oṛiyā verses. It purports to be a biography of Jagannātha Dāsa, but the first seven Adhyāyas treat more of Caitanya than of Jagannātha, while the 20th Adhyāya is exclusively devoted to a description of the Puruṣōttama Kṣētra. The author Dibākara Kara was a Brāhmin Vaiṣṇava of the Atibaṛa subsect.¹ His time is unknown, but from the respect in which he is held by the Vaiṣṇavas of that subsect, he cannot be less than 150 to 200 years old. The biography is more full of quotations, eulogies and miracle descriptions than of facts, and after a wearisome reading, I have been able to cull the following few details about Jagannātha Dāsa.

Jagannātha was born at Kapilēṣvarapura Sāsana, District Purī. His father was Bhagabāna Dāsa Purāṇa Paṇḍā (reader of Purāṇas), and his mother was named Padmā. The time of his birth is noted as noon of bhādra ṅkṛa aṣṭamī. As he grew into boyhood, he took up the usual studies of a Brāhmin, and he is said to have read up to his eighteenth year. *Apropos* of the Bhāgabata, it is said in the 1st Adhyāya:—

श्रीरामायण ग्रन्थ साधि । श्रीभागवते देले बुधि । १६ ।

डादश स्कन्द भागवत । टीका टिप्पणिसिद्धि सहित ॥ १०५ ॥

"Having studied the Rāmāyaṇa, he applied his mind to (studying) the Bhāgabata;—the twelve skandha-ed Bhāgabata with all its notes and commentaries."

After finishing the studies, Jagannātha Dāsa took up his father's pursuits, *viz.*, reading Purāṇas in the temple of Jagannātha. Hero Caitanya often met him and was so much delighted with his reading and religious devotion that he made him a disciple. Gradually Jagannātha became the favourite of Caitanya who gave him the surname Atibaṛa or "the greatest." This displeased the other disciples, most of whom left Purī. Caitanya grew more and more fond of him and recommended him to king Pratāpa Rudra of Orissa. Soon after Caitanya disappeared (*i.e.*, died). Jagannātha Dāsa continued to reside in Purī. He showed various miracles to the king and converted him

¹ In the 5th Adhyāya the author thus speaks of his own ancestors.

मो नाम निप्र दिवाकर । निमदेव पिता मोदीर । ४ ।

मोषाळदासे बुद्धुपिता । बन्ददासे ताङ्कर पिता । ५ ।

ताङ्कर पिता बार दासे । चम्पा नामेच माता मोर । ६ ।

भरदास मोच मोदीर । हृद्यत्वनिर प्रवर । ७ । MS. Folio 27.

"My name is Dibākara, a Bīpra (Brāhmin by caste). Nima Dēba is my father, and Gōpāla Dāsa my uncle. Their father is Nanda Dāsa, whose father is Bā-i Dāsa. My mother is by name Campā. My gōtra is Bharadvāja, and (my) pravara Vṛhatyaṅgira."

and numerous others as his followers. Ultimately, Jagannātha Dāsa himself disappeared in the body of the Lord Jagannātha. According to the author, Caitanya was an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, while Jagannātha Dāsa was an avatāra of Rādhā.

The Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the most sacred book of the Vaiṣṇavas, their Bible or Koran. The Oṛiyās are mostly Vaiṣṇavas, and hence the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata enjoys an immense popularity. In every respectable house a room is set apart in which the Bhāgabata with the other religious works is kept on a *gāḍī* (raised seat) and periodically or daily worshipped with flowers, tulsi leaves and sandal pastes. In every important village a shed is set aside at one end, where the villagers gather and hear every week the Bhāgabata read out by Brāhmins. On auspicious days the Bhāgabata is read out in a gentlemen's house to his friends and relatives, while the *pōthī* is always handled with care and respect.

I give below two extracts to let the reader have some idea of the writer's powers. The first gives a description of the summer season in the groves of Bṛndābana; and the second attempts to describe in vernacular the Māyā doctrine of Vēdāntism.

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| एमन्ते शुभ परीक्षित । | सभावे सरिखा वसन्त ॥ ५ ॥ |
| निदाघकाल आगमन । | घर्मे तापित सर्व जन । |
| सर्वदा वसन्त पवन । | सधौरे वहे दिन दिन । |
| वसन्त गुहे ना दुर्लभ । | ये वने श्रीराम माधव । |
| नदीनिर्भर जल नादे । | निवीड़ भरङ्ग श्रवदे । |
| निर्भर जलकाये मिषि । | अतिशीतल वनस्थली ॥ १० ॥ |
| नदीतरङ्ग पुष्पवन । | पवन योगे कम्पमान । |
| जले अक्कह पुष्प येते । | कमल कुमुद सङ्घिते । |
| ताहाङ्ग रेणु घेनि वळे । | पवन वहे कुतुहळे । |
| एणु से लुप्तावन देश । | निदाघ न करे स्परश । |
| घन गहन वन भूमि । | तेणु गुहन्ति जीवे अमी ॥ १५ ॥ |
| अति गभीर नदीजळे । | कहरौ वाजि उठे वळे । |
| पङ्क दिश्रह वेनि तट । | भङ्ग तरङ्गे धुष्पा तुठ । |
| एणि एवग भूमि देश । | आदित्य न करह घास । |
| सभावे कुसुमित वने । | चित्र मयूर पक्षी खने । |
| कोकिल सारस निकार । | अमर ध्वनि मगोहर ॥ २० ॥ |

10th Skandha, 19th Adhyāya, printed ed. pp. 115-6.

“Now listen Parikṣita. In due course passed away the spring. [5]. Came hot summer, perspiring all men. (But in Bṛndābana) every day the spring breezes blow gently. Spring cannot be rare in the grove where Ṣri-Rāma (Balabhadra) and Mādhaba (Kṛṣṇa) are. The deep springs babbling, make murmurs in the river water. The sprays of the stream and of the springs mixing, keep cool the woody groves. [10]. With the breeze shake the river ripples and the blossoming groves. Playfully the wind wafts abroad the (pollen) dusts of the flowers in water, the lotuses, the nelumbiums, and others. Hence this Bṛndābana land with its deep woods and groves hot summer never touches; hence its residents never feel tired. [15]. In the deep river water, ripples rise one after another in force; muddy look both its banks; the ripples breaking wash the bathing recesses. Moreover, the sun never torments this forest grove, this wood by nature blooming with flowers, and resounding with the screams of the many-coloured peacocks, with the notes of the cuckoos and the cranes, with the delightful hum of the bees. [20].”

मो नाथ नम तो पयर । आदिपुरुष विश्वेश्वर ।
 प्रकृति परे तोर वास । एकु प्राणिवि अमकाश । ७० ।
 जन्तु अन्तर वाहारे । तो विनु अन्य नाहिं परे ।
 आत्मादि मायायवनिका । जीव स्वरूपे थाइ एका ।
 इन्द्रिय तुळे मोम करि । अमय आदि रूपे पूरि ।
 तोहोर माया यार चित्ते । से तोते जाणिव केमन्ते ।
 नट मध्ये ये नायक । से येहे नाटे मोहे लोक । ७५ ।
 नाना काह्णिवि से भियाइ । नृत्यकारकु ये नचाइ ।
 देखन्ता प्राणौ मन मोहे । सत्य विचारे किछि नोहे ।

1st Skandha, 8th Adhyāya, printed ed. p. 40.

“Salutation to thy feet, oh Lord! thou, the first cause, the Lord of the universe. Thou residest beyond Prakṛti (nature), and hence art invisible to beings. [70]. The interior and the exterior of all creatures, nothing is outside thee. (The ideas of) *Ātmā*, i. e., Self and others are but so many *māyā* curtains, while in essence the Being remains the same. This Being enjoys through the senses; and puts on (as masks) forms like *abhaya*, and others. How can he know thee, oh Lord! over whose mind thine *māyā* (illusion) is? Just as the master among the *naṭas* (jugglers) by his juggleries fascinates the lookers-on; [75] and bringing forth various tricks and causing puppets to dance, bewitches the minds of spectators—but in truth they are nothing (so is it with thee, oh Lord!).”

The Bhāgabata was also translated in Oriyā by Kṛṣṇa Simha, the Rājā of Dharākōṭa in Ganjām District, and this translation is believed to be more accurate. But like the revised version of the Bible it has failed to be popular. Hunter's list also mentions an Oriyā version of the Bhāgabata by one Kṛṣṇa Dāsa. The influence of Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgabata is traceable in many of the later works. It moulded three large works, *viz.*, Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa's *Rasakallōḷa*, Bhaktacaṛaṇa Dāsa's *Mathurā Maṅgala*, and the *Prēmapañcāmṛta* of Bhūpati Paṇḍita. Modified by Rādhā-cultism, it had its effect on the works of Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā and Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṅhāra. It suffused whether with or without Rādhā-worship, the numerous songs of the Oriyās (*Cautisās* and *Pōis*). As already pointed out it gave rise to a separate tune and class of versification. Even now various *Jātrās* based upon and borrowed from the Bhāgabata are played to large audiences in the mofussil, and are watched with much interest. The importance of this work in the past and even present life of the mofussil Oriyās it would be difficult to exaggerate.

Next in importance is the Oriyā *Rāmāyaṇa* (or as commonly pronounced *Rābāṇa*) of Baḷarāma Dāsa. Little is known about the author. He must be earlier than *sana* 1164 or 1757 A.D. in which year one of the manuscripts I have seen was copied. He apparently preceded the poet Upēndra Bhañja, as the latter refers to him respectfully as *छपा सिद्धार जीन प्रकाशे*, (*i.e.*), one who uttered his verses inspired by the grace of God.¹ This veneration presupposes a pretty long time back and agrees with the general tradition according to which Baḷarāma Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya. In *Jagannāthacaritāmṛta* that I have already referred to, Jagannātha Dāsa is said to have been initiated as a disciple of Caitanya by *मन बलराम दास* (the enthusiast Baḷarāma Dāsa).² If he be identifiable with the author, then the Oriyā

¹ *Baidēhisabijāsa*, 1st Chānda, 4th Stanza, printed ed., p. 4. Upēndra Bhañja does not name him, but this has been explained by his commentator.

² *Jag. caritāmṛta* MS., Folio 10.

बैठति मन बलराम । वैश्य मानहु उचम । १२१ ।

बासन मख (न) भोजन । समख स्थापन खपन । १२३ ।

राज दिवस न जाबनि । प्रेमरे मन होइ बानि । १२८ ।

"That enthusiast Baḷarāma. the best among the Vaiṣṇavas, he does not, while sitting, sleeping, eating, walking, lying, dreaming, know day or night; but is phrenzied in his devotion (to God)."

Baḷarāma Dāsa has been again mentioned in Fol. 36, as a chief disciple of Caitanya Dēva.

बीनोरिदास पण्डित । मन बलराम सजत ॥

Rāmāyaṇa slightly preceded the Bhāgavata and will have to be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century.

Balarāma Dāsa came of a respectable family. He was a son of an Oṛiyā minister named Sōmanātha Mahāpātra.

महामन्त्रिवर सोमनाथ माहापात्र ।

बळरामदास ताहार अटइ पुत्र ।

MS. No. 2, Fol. 308.

“Çri-Sōmanātha Mahāpātrā is the chief of ministers. His son is Balarāma Dāsa.”

He became a devout Vaiṣṇava and came to reside in Puri. In the closing passages of each Kāṇḍa he expresses his humility and prays to Jagannātha for his deliverance. His Rāmāyaṇa is simple in style and is generally written in one form of versification. He sometimes uses grammatical forms not now in existence, e.g.—

चक्ष्म नयनेण सु देखिलि जगन्नाथ ।

तेणु से बाखाबिलि आदिकाख ग्रन्थ ।

MS. No. 1, Fol. 447.

“With the eye of flesh have I seen Lord Jagannātha; hence have I been able to expound the work Ādikāṇḍa.”

Here “nayanēṇa” contains an instrumental form of “ēṇa” which was derived from Sanskrit but is not now in use. Similar grammatical variations are also to be found in the Oṛiyā Mahābhārata. It is a pity that neither of these works has yet been printed. The influence of this Rāmāyaṇa is perceptible in several later works, such as Baidēhisabīlāsa of Upēndra Bhañja, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā, the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Harihara Dāsa and Rāmaliḷā of Sadāsiba Dāsa.¹ The Rāmaliḷā Jātras of the mofussil are mostly based on this work. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa translated another version of the Rāmāyaṇa, which though literally more correct has failed to catch the public ear.

¹ This author is not mentioned in Hunter’s list. The manuscript consists of 92 folios with 5 lines on each page. The work describes in verse the story of Rāma from his birth to his abhiṣeka (crowning). The manuscript was copied in 1229 sana or 1820 A.D. and ends thus—

सदा सदाभिवक्तु रसक छपा कर ।

रामसीता विनु आने मन मोड तार ॥ 121st Canto, 14th couplet.

“(Oh God!) Always do this favour to Sadāsiba, that his mind may not go elsewhere except towards Rāma and Sitā.”

In addition to the Rāmāyaṇa, Baḷarāma Dāsa composed numerous smaller pieces, a list of which is to be found in Hunter's *Orissa*, App. ix. They amount to twenty-two and deal with various religious and ethical topics. Of these I have seen in manuscripts, the *Arjuna Gītā* (No. 2), *Gupta Gītā* (No. 14), and *Tuḷābhīṇā* (No. 23); and in print, *Bēdhā-parikramā* (No. 1), *Gajaniṣṭārāṇa Gītā* (No. 10), and *Mruḡānistuti* (No. 17). I have also seen in print *Kānta Kō-īḷi* (कान्त कोरळि) which was composed by Baḷarāma Dāsa, but which has not been mentioned in Hunter's list. This song is put into the mouth of Sitā and describes the events from her abduction by Rāvaṇa to Rāma's abhiṣeka.

The next great epic of Sanskrit, the *Mahābhārata* has also been rendered into Oriyā. The popular version was by Sārōḷā Dāsa. He was a Āḍra by caste, and while he professed to be a Vaiṣṇava and speaks devoutly of Jagannātha, he was at heart a worshipper of the goddess Caṇḍī. The closing lines of each parva speak of Sārōḷā Caṇḍī Ṭhākuraṇī; and in his last page he says—

यखैरपूरवासेनि हिङ्गुळा चण्डी शारोळो ।

से मोर तुळसीमाळ हेले बक्षस्यळे ।

“The (goddess) Hinguḷā Caṇḍī Sārōḷō dwells at Jakhēmrapura. She is my *tulasī* (*Ocymum*) garland that swings over the breast.”

Then again his last lines are

श्रीचण्डी च यखैरपूरवासीङ्ग चरये ।

शुद्धसुनि शारोळादास पसीला शरये । MS. Folio 245.

“At the feet of Śrī-Caṇḍī, the resident of Jakhēmpura, the Āḍra ascetic Sārōḷā Dāsa seeks refuge.”

The goddess Caṇḍī is said to be of Jakhēṃ which is probably the older form of the present village Jhaṅkara in Thāna Tirtōḷa, District Cuttack. Here the worship of Sārōḷā Ṭhākuraṇī is widely prevalent and attracts considerable local pilgrimage.

It is impossible at present to find out the precise date of this work. It must be older than the 3rd Aṅka of Rāmacandra Dēva, Mithuna 21st, on which date the oldest manuscript I have seen was copied. The 3rd Aṅka of Rāmacandra Dēva II. falls in 1732-3 A.D.¹ How much older he was there is no means of knowing. But from its popularity and veneration, from its uneven versification, and peculiar forms of several of its words and grammatical terminations I infer that the work cannot be later than

¹ In Appendix IV of this article I have shown that Rāmacandra Dēva began to reign in 1731-2 A.D. His 3rd Aṅka or the 2nd year should therefore be 1732-3 A. D.

16th century A.D. and might belong to its first half. Like the Sanskrit original it forms a gigantic undertaking and takes up about two thousand folios. It does not pretend to any literary finish, and the verses often rhyme unequally. But it has the merit of having superseded the Sanskrit Mahābhārata among the common mass.

According to tradition, Sārōlā Dāsa was a resident of the village Kālināga in Parganā Jhaṅkaṛa. A cāsā by caste, he had three more brothers. He was considered the dunce of the family; but through the grace of Sārōlā Dēvi, the principal goddess of Jhaṅkaṛa, he is said to have acquired the power of versifying. The goddess ordered him to compose the Mahābhārata in Oṛiyā; and when he expressed his inability to distinguish good from bad verses, she said "Write on palm leaves whatever comes to your mind. When you get disgusted, take the palm leaves so written to the river Candrabhāgā, and float them on its water. Gather those leaves which will float up to you and stitch them according to the order of receipt. This will be your Mahābhārata." In this way Sārōlā Dāsa is said to have composed his work. Candrabhāgā is another name for the stream Buḍhā that flows past the village Tēntulipadā in Parganā Jhaṅkaṛa. After composing, Sārōlā Dāsa took his poem to Puri, but there the Paṇḍits laughed at it. During the night, however, Lord Jagannātha appeared in a dream to the Rājā, and strongly recommended the work to him. Then by order of the Rājā, the work was re-examined by the Paṇḍits, who unanimously approved it. Pleased with his poem, the Rājā of Puri gave him, as *jāgīr*, Jhaṅkaṛa and three other Parganās. Sārōlā Dāsa's descendants still live at Kālināga, Tēntulipadā and the adjoining villages, and now pass as Karaṇas or members of the writer-caste.

Another version of the Mahābhārata into Oṛiyā was prepared under the direction of the Rājā Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa. But this version though literally more correct, is hardly known among the people. The influence of the Mahābhārata, both Sanskrit and Oṛiyā, may be traced in certain brief redactions such as the Sucitra Bhārata of Kēsaba Dāsa and the Bicitra Bhārata of Bisvambhara Misra. Episodes of Mahābhārata were worked into smaller pieces as Kapaṭapāsā or fraudulent dice-playing, Subhadrā-pariṇaya or marriage of Subhadrā, Gajanistāraṇa Gitā or the deliverance of the elephant in his fight with the tortoise, etc. In addition the Bhāgabatagitā which really forms a part of the Mahābhārata was translated into Oṛiyā; and a version of the Jaimini Mahābhārata was made for popular use.

The last important religious work I will notice is the *Harivaṁṣa*. In the original Sanskrit it is a supplement of the Epic Mahābhārata.

But as it treats of Kṛṣṇa and his career, it assumed more importance in a Vaiṣṇava land. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa, in pursuance of his desire to have Oriyā translations of the chief religious works translated the Harivaṃṣa. But it is not known among the mass. They use two versions which are commonly designated as

- (1) *Khaṇḍkiā* or single-volumed, and
- (2) *Sātakhaṇḍi-ā* or seven-volumed.

The first is later and was made by a Brāhmin named Nārāyaṇa Dāsa. He speaks of himself thus in his last but one couplet:—

श्रीगोळसुन्दरनाथ अभय चरखे ।

विप्र नारायणदास नमह वक्ष्यछे । MS. Folio 272.

“At the safety-giving feet of the all-beautiful Lord of the blue (hill), the Brāhmin Nārāyaṇa Dāsa bows at heart.”

As usual, nothing is known of him. But I am inclined to think that he was contemporary with the chief Oriyā poets, and probably belongs to the beginning of the 17th century.

The second work is much older and more popular. It was made by Acyutānanda Dāsa. He was a Çūdra by caste and was initiated into Vaiṣṇavism. He preached Vaiṣṇavism among the cattle-keeper caste (Gauras) and was given the title *Mahata*. Undoubtedly he was a devout Vaiṣṇava and his poem is full of expressions of humility. He lived in Raṇapura, a Tributary State adjoining the Puri District and was supported by its chief, Padmaḷābha Narēndra. According to Raṇapura royal genealogy, Padmaḷābha was the 97th king of the family, and ruled between 1477 to 1525 A.D. He is said to have accompanied the Orissa king Puruṣōttama Dēva in his raid to Kāñci (Conjivēram). The time of this Harivaṃṣa should therefore be referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Certain personal informations were given by the poet himself in his closing lines.

रखपुर मभि सु आखखचळे सु वविकरि थाइ ।

पद्मनाभ नरेन्द्र मोते अखुं देह पोसइ ।

जाति रे मुहि ये सुमनस्य अटइ ।

दीक्षा पाइ सु गण्ड कुळे थाइ ।

समस्त गोपालपु नाम सिद्धा देइ ।

श्रीहरीचरखकु आश्रि करिथाइ ।

गजडकुळरे सु बोणाइ महत ।
 दया करिछन्ति मोते कमळारक्षान्त ।
 श्रीगोपीनाथञ्च चरखकु आस ।
 कवि अच्युतदासकु रख हे पीतवास ।
 सातखण्ड हरिवंश होइजा सम्पूर्ण ।
 अच्युतदास भावइ गोविन्द चरख ।

MS. last chapter, folios 231-2.

“At Ākhaṇḍācala in Raṇapura I reside. Padmanābha Narēndra supports me. I am born of the Īūdra caste. Having received initiation (into Vaiṣṇavism), I stay among the Gauṛas; and teach and preach to all the Gōpālas (Gauṛas), taking refuge at the feet of Āri-Hari. Among the Gauṛas I am called *Mahata*. The husband of Kamaḷā (*i. e.*, the god Hari) has taken mercy upon me. This prayer to Āri Gōpinātha's feet—Oh yellow-robed!—preserve the poet Acyuta Dāsa. The seven-volumed *Harivaṇṇa* is finished; Acyuta Dāsa meditates on Lord Gōvinda's feet.”

Hunter's list (Vol. II, p. 197) credits this Acyutānanda Dāsa with a *Sapta Bhāgavata* which is evidently a mistake for the *Sātakhaṇḍi-ā Haribāṇsa*. The list also ascribes two smaller pieces to him: (1) *Ananta Gōyi* or the eternal mystery, and (2) *Acyutānanda Mālīkā* or the prophecies of Acyutānanda.

The other religious works in Oriya are, as might be expected in the land of Jagannātha, mostly Vaiṣṇavite. They may be roughly divided into:—

(1) Paurāṇic, such as translations of Āiva Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍa Purāṇa, and of the various periodical Māhātmyas, as Kārttika, Māgha, Vaiçākha, Ekādaçī;

(2) Poems, as Dharaṇī Dhara's translation of *Gitagōvinda*, and the translation of *Haṇsadūta*;

(3) Jagannātha worship—as *Guṇḍicābijā* or the procession of Jagannātha on his car to *Guṇḍicā*, the summer house; *Dārubralma*, and the *Dē-ōja Tōḷā*—an account of the origin of the god and his temple; translation of *Puruṣōttama Māhātmya*, etc.

These works appeared later, and have no such special literary merits as to deserve detailed notice. In the next part will be treated the chief Oriyā poets and this will conclude my sketch of Oriyā literature.¹

¹ In Oriyā pronunciation, the consonants v, y, and ç are hardened to b, j, and z respectively; hence the difference in transliteration.

PART IV. THE LATER OṚIYĀ POETS.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The works of the following authors will be dealt with in this article. They form the most important part of the OṚiyā literature.

1. Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa (दीनकृष्णदास).
2. Upēndra Bhañja (उपेन्द्र भञ्ज).
3. Bhūpati Paṇḍita (भूपति पण्डित).
4. Bhaktacaraṇa Dāsa (भक्तचरणदास).
5. Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā (विश्वनाथ कुण्टिया).
6. Lōkanātha Dāsa (लोकनाथदास).
7. Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā (सदानन्द कविसूर्यब्रह्मा).
8. Abhimanyu Sāmāntasimhāra (अभिमन्यु सामन्तसिंहार).

In the treatment of the subject-matter, etc., the poets differ so little from one another, that a few preliminary remarks will suffice to point out the general characteristics of OṚiyā poetry, and enable me to dispense with the detailed discussion of each poem. The remarks may be noted under the following heads :—

- (a) The subject-matter.
- (b) The versification.
- (c) The sentiment.

On examining the narrative parts of these poems, two general tendencies are perceptible, one *religious*, the other *fictional*. The religious tendency is exclusively Vaiṣṇavite. By the time serious compositions had been begun in OṚiyā, Çivaism in spite of its stronghold at Bhuvanēçvara, and Çāktism in spite of its prevalence at Jājapura, had ceased to influence the popular mind. Viṣṇu-worship was in full swing and naturally OṚiyā poetry reflected this popular bent.

Viṣṇu was worshipped in various forms. One such form was Jagannātha, whose temple and worship at Purī still attract thousands of pilgrims. His rites were well-known to the above authors, who either resided at Purī or visited it on pilgrimage. Upēndra Bhañja translated into OṚiyā verse the local Māhātmya, and Dinakṛṣṇa described the well-known Ratha festival in his *Guṇḍicābijē*. In spite, however, of the veneration for Jagannātha in Orissa, his worship failed to be a great religion because it had no great epic or Purāṇa to fall back upon, and because it had no special organisation to propagate its doctrines. The priests and their agents busied themselves mainly in drawing pilgrims to the shrine and not in proselytising them into a sect; while no great scholar or preacher arose to elaborate the dogmas in any famous poem or religious work.

Rāma-worship, another variant of Vaiṣṇavism was somewhat more successful in Oṛiyā poetry. The Rāmayaṇa has always been the most favourite of Sanskrit poems; and the Rāmāts who came on pilgrimage or resided at Puri in the various *maths* generally exercised considerable influence. Hence the career of Rāma was often selected for the subject-matter, such as Upēndra Bhañja's Baidṣhisabilāsa, Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā's Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa, Sadāsiba Dāsa's Rāmaliḷā. But on the whole, it failed to be popular in Orissa because the Rāmāts were few in number and chiefly confined to Puri, and because it had to contend with the powerful influence of Caitanya and his disciples.

The most prevalent form of Vaiṣṇavism was and still is in Orissa the **Kṛṣṇa-worship**. I shall not burden this article with the origin and history of this great religion, interesting as the subject is, because long before the beginning of serious poetry, Kṛṣṇa-worship had become the favourite religion in Orissa. But since then Kṛṣṇa-worship underwent an important modification. Gradually a feminine element was added to the male type of divinity, and the worship of Kṛṣṇa alone was superseded by the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A similar and parallel transformation from the single to the dual type is traceable in the gradual development of Āivaism into Āaktism, and also in the Buddhistic hierarchy.

The name of Rādhā is comparatively modern. It is not to be found either in the Vēdic works or in the older Sanskrit classics and Purāṇas. The Harivaṃṣa, the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the triple Bible of the Vaiṣṇavites, are silent about her.¹ The earliest authentic mention of Rādhā is to be found in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa and in Jayadēva's Gītagōvinda.² Brahmavaivarta's date is

¹ The following passage of Ārimadbhāgavata is twisted to mean a reference to Rādhā, but obviously it does not.

अनयाराधिनीं नूनं भजयाम् हरिरीश्वरः ।

यज्ञो विद्याय मोविन्दः प्रीतो यामनयद्रुहः ॥ २३ ॥

Bh. 10th Sk. 30th Adh. 23rd Ḷlōka.

"Evidently God Hari was devoutly prayed by this (lady), for Gōvinda has taken her (alone) to privacy leaving us behind."

Another passage (same Adhyāya 34th Ḷlōka) is quoted by the author of Caitanyacaritāmṛta as referring to Rādhā, but the text does not even mention her (Ādilīlā 6th parichēda).

² In Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, Rūpa Gōsvāmī quotes one passage as being from Padma Purāṇa.

यथा राधा प्रियाविन्दोत्सवाः कुण्डं प्रियं तथा ।

सर्वमोषीषू सेवेका विन्दोरत्यन्तवत्प्रभा ॥

l. c. Cai. Car. Mṛ. Ādilīlā 4th pari.

unknown, probably not earlier than tenth century A.D. Jayadēva flourished in the twelfth century. Rādhā-worship cannot therefore be earlier than ninth century and possibly later. She appears to have been evolved out of the Tāntric wave in East India, which gave rise to the worship of Tārā and Vajra-Yōgini in Buddhism, and to that of Durgā and Kālī in Çivaism.

The prevalence of Rādhā-worship in Orissa is largely due to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavites. Jayadēva's exquisite poem was much appreciated by Oṛiyā scholars, and five hundred years ago was ordered by the king Pratāpa Rudra to be sung every evening before Jagannātha to the exclusion of all other songs. Jayadēva's example in treating Rādhā as divine was followed in the Bengali vernacular by other poets, such as Bidyāpatī, Caṇḍī Dās, Gōbinda Dās. Then came Caitanya, the great preacher of Nabadvīp. Partly influenced by the above poets and partly by the Vallabhācāris at Mathurā, he took to preaching Rādhā-cultism, and was ably assisted by his numerous disciples in Orissa and elsewhere. The worship of Rādhā became the most prominent part of his rituals, and after his death he himself came to be regarded as an incarnation jointly of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.¹ The preachings of Caitanya and his

"As Rādhā is the favourite of Viṣṇu, so her Kuṇḍa is his favourite. Among all the Gōpīs she alone is the most beloved of Viṣṇu."

The passage seems spurious. Padma Purāna is notorious for its large later additions, and even then no second ślōka is forthcoming in that voluminous work about Rādhā. Besides, Kṛṣṇa and not Viṣṇu should be associated with her. Furthermore if the author of Caitanyasrīnāmā is to be believed (Madhyalīlā, 18th pari-ohāda), Rādhā-Kuṇḍa was first discovered by Caitanya, and hence could not have been mentioned in Padma Purāna composed several centuries earlier.

Another passage is sometimes quoted to indicate the antiquity of Rādhā (Bṛhadgautamiya Tantra).

देवीकृष्णमयीप्रीता राधिका परदेवता ।

सर्वकामोमयी सर्वकामिः सर्वोदिनी परा ।

"Dēvi Rādhikā, it is said, is rapt in Kṛṣṇa, the highest divinity, possessor of all prosperity and beauty, all-charming, the highest."

If the ślōka be genuine, it does not affect my arguments. The date of Bṛhadgautamiya Tantra is uncertain, but it cannot be much old, as all Tantras are comparatively modern and generally date from eighth century downwards.

१ राधाकृष्णप्रवचनिकृतिर्कारिनीमन्त्रिरसा-

देकाकामावपि भुवि पुरा देवभेदज्ञो नो ।

चेतन्याद्यां प्रकटमधुना तद्दृश्यैवैवमात्रं

राधाभावमुतिमुपहितं नोमि कृष्णवचनं ॥

Rūpa Gōsvāmi's Kṛṣṇacā, l. c. Cait. Car. Adilīlā, 4th pari.

"Rādhā is but transformation of Kṛṣṇa's love, his hlādini power. Essentially

disciples made numerous converts in Orissa who now pass as Gauṛiyās, and further more created a religious ferment that gave rise to several subjects, such as Atibaṛis, Bindudhāris, Kabirājis, Kāḷindi Vaiṣṇavas, and others. All of them accept the dual type (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) as their fundamental doctrine.

This change in the popular religious feelings acted on the poets. The songs were influenced quickly as they needed little learning and represented the first ebullitions. The chief poets were affected more slowly, because all of them knew Sanskrit, and the Bhāgavata and Harivaṃṣa were silent about Rādhā. The earlier poets Dinakṛṣṇa, Upēndra Bhañja, and Bhaktacaraṇa dealt but little about her. In Dinakṛṣṇa's *Rasakallōja*, Rādhā is named only in three places.¹ Upēndra Bhañja rarely mentions her in his voluminous compositions. In *Mathurā-Maṅgaḷa* two cantos are devoted to Rādhā (28th and 29th); but otherwise she is mentioned in three places only. In Bhūpati Paṇḍita's *Prēmapañcāmṛta*, the divine importance of Rādhā had been fully established, but other Gōpis are still given some prominence. In the two latest poets, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā, and Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra, Rādhā-worship superseded even Kṛṣṇa, and the other Gōpis sank into insignificance. Their poems are full of her praises.

The other tendency in the selection of the subject-matter was towards fiction, purely imaginary stories as distinguished from the mythological. This fictional element was less strong, and appeared later both in Sanskrit and Vernacular. Imaginary tales were usually of two kinds, viz., a collection of short tales strung together by a slight connecting thread, or a continuous story with a hero and a heroine. In Sanskrit several examples of the first kind may be found, such as the *Pañcatantra* and its variant the *Hitōpadēṣa*, the *Bṛhatkathā* (as known in the version *Kathāsaritsāgara*), and *Daçakumāracarita*, with which may be compared the Buddhistic *Jātaka* stories and the Sanskrito-Buddhistic *Avadānakalpalatā*. In Oriyā such a type is wanting. The nearest approach to it is to be found in Dinakṛṣṇa's *Pratāpasindhu* which is a collection of maxims and short stories like the *Pañcatantra*. The other kind which is best exemplified in Sanskrit by Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* and Bāna's *Kādambarī*, found a more fruitful soil in Oriyā. Upēndra Bhañja composed some twenty romances, while the

one, (for enjoyment) they appeared before in two separate bodies. They two have now appeared in one named *Caitanya*. Him, so full of Rādhā's sentiments and brightness, and so filled with Kṛṣṇa's attributes, I salute."

¹ *Rasakallōja* 10th Ch. l. 10 (cf. ls. 1-16); 20th Ch. l. 18 (cf. 1-24); 31st Ch. l. 1, (cf. ls. 1-18 30th Ch.).

poems of Lōkanātha and the three early poems of Abhimanyu are purely fictional. Poems of similar nature are also mentioned in Hunter's list, such as Balabhadra Bhañja's Bhābabati, Haricandra Dēva's Liḷābati, Padmaḷābha Dēva's Prabhābati. Their contents are however yet unknown.

The framework of the romances is practically so uniform that it may be generalised by the following sketch. The story opens with the description of a beauteous girl attending on Pārvatī or Rādhā (Lakṣmī) in the heaven. Some prince (occasionally a Ṛṣi) sees her and falls in love with her who returns his love. For this Pārvatī or Rādhā curses her to take birth as woman; but on her entreaties changes the curse to human life with the lover as husband. The girl is born as a princess, and the lover as a prince. Their childhood and youth are then described. The one hears of the other, and falls in love. After some manœuvring they meet and fall more deeply in love. This gradually leads to marriage (occasionally Gāndharva marriage). A few months are spent in happiness, and then the lovers are separated by a *deus ex machina*. Each is obliged to live one year apart from the other. Several cantos then describe the griefs of the lovers and their passionate outbursts as one season passes and the other arrives. By grace of the goddess they are re-united and henceforth live a happy life. They become king and queen, and after death are taken back into the heavens.

The next head is **versification** which includes the prosody, the selection of words and their signification—in short the outer frame of poetry as distinguished from the inner spirit. An Oṛiyā poem is divided into parts which are named Chānda (canto); and the Chānda is divided into pādas (stanzas) that are made up of two to six lines. All the lines rhyme; blank verses are unknown. The pādas can often be scanned according to rules of Sanskrit prosody, but sometimes they are not. This arises from the fact that all Oṛiyā poetry, if not translations of Sanskrit religious works, are intended to be sung, and not simply to be read. Hence many pādas cannot be scanned, if simply read; while in singing there arises no difficulty, as the vowels may be shortened or lengthened according to the convenience of the singer. For this reason too, the Chāndas are much shorter than the cantos of Sanskrit classics, not generally containing more than a hundred pādas. Each Chānda is also set to a tune. These tunes are largely Sanskritic, but have also a fair number of local airs, as I have already pointed out under the head of songs.

As regards the selection and signification of words the Oṛiyā poets follow the rules of Sanskrit rhetoric as closely as the language permits.

Hence verbal formations and word jingles, which are reckoned as excellences in Sanskrit rhetorics, freely abound. The entire canto, or the entire poem begins every line with the one and same letter, as *ka*, *ba*, *ca*; or each stanza begins with the consecutive letters of the alphabet (*a* to *kṣa*); or they have lines without any vowel except *a* or without any conjunct consonants at all. Alliterations, and other kinds of repetitions of the same letters or group of letters (*yamakas* or *anuprāsas*) are lavishly used. Similes (*upamās*), metaphors (*rūpakas*), opposite meanings (*virōdhabhāsas*), double and triple meanings, allusions to and analogies from Sanskrit classics are scattered "thick as leaves in Vallombrosa." The Oriyā language being too simple and too undeveloped to bear so much ornamentation, the poets have borrowed profusely from the immense vocabulary of Sanskrit with its numberless synonyms, antonyms and compound formations. The wild luxuriance of these rhetorical forms in Oriyā poetry it is impossible to describe; but some idea may be formed by studying the *Koṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī* of Upendra Bhañja and the *Bidagdhaointāmaṇi* of Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra.

Many of these formations are real poetic excellences, and many a line show pretty conceits, surprising fancies, appropriate illustrations, or happy combinations of words. They generally indicate a fairly complete mastery over Sanskrit rules and vocabulary. One's admiration is further enhanced, when he takes into consideration the imperfections of the vernacular and the general ignorance of the mass. At the same time the inordinate use of unfamiliar words and word-combinations and the constant straining after mere verbal excellences have produced various defects, such as unintelligibility, artificiality, over-ornamentation, and unsuccessful formations. Hardly any poem can be understood without a *ṭikā* or commentary, and hence the lines lose the force and the vividness of impression that common familiar words would have conveyed. Then again the too exclusive attention to ornamentation of words—the mere husk and shell of poetry—has led to the neglect of the inner essence, and has made the poets careless about the natural development of plots, the evolution of characters, or the enframing of high thoughts.

Hence under the third head—the sentiment—the workmanship was in general crude, incoherent and not elevating. The ideal followed was that adopted in the later Sanskrit classics (*Naiṣadha*, *Çiçupālavadha*). This Sanskrit ideal was defective compared with modern standard. Humour was wanting entirely. Vigor and energy were absent in the male characters, and a low view of women was inculcated. The characters were not properly and consistently developed. The action of the

external events on human feelings and thoughts was not often painted in a careful or powerful fashion. On account of the low view of women, obscene descriptions crept in, descriptions which would not be tolerated in any modern works. All these defects were intensified in the Oṛiyā poems. Obscenities were multiplied. The hero becomes an unnatural man, selfish, exclusively bent on gratifying his sensual passions, and bursting into tears or passionate outbursts at slight obstacles. The heroine is painted with the same brush, impatient, without any self-restraint or self-sacrificing spirit so well-known in Indian wives and mothers, and as much inclined as the hero to gratify the physical desires. In truth the Oṛiyā poets busied themselves so much with polishing and decorating the outer frame, that they quite neglected to develop the inner spirit.

DINAKṚṢṆA DĀSA.

With these general remarks, I now proceed to discuss the poets individually. The earliest poet is Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa. Very little is known about him. According to traditions gathered at Puri, Dinakṛṣṇa is older than Upēndra Bhañja. The latter's Baidēhisabīlāsa is said to have been modelled after Rasakallōḷa; and when the similarity was pointed out to Upēndra by his father, he composed his well-known poem Lābaṇyabati. A couplet is repeated in which Dinakṛṣṇa questions as an elder poet, and Upēndra replies obediently as a younger poet. A pair of couplets are repeated in which Upēndra Bhañja refers with respect to Dīnakṛṣṇa.¹ A consideration of the style and the subject-matter lends support to this traditional priority of Dinakṛṣṇa. Upēndra Bhañja flourished about the end of the seventeenth century; Dinakṛṣṇa's date might therefore be taken as the third quarter of that century. He cannot be much older. For apart from tradition, his Rasakallōḷa refers to Rukmaṇi Cantisā which is evidently based on Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgabata—a work of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This fact points to a difference of at least one hundred years between Jagannātha Dāsa and the author of Rasakallōḷa.

१ उपद्रुम्न वीरवर डेकि वेनि बाबाकु ।
रवितळे कविपणे न मयर् काबाकु ॥
जयदेव दीनकृष्ण पादे मोर भरव ।
बाउ सनु कविकर माये बाम चरव ॥

“Birabara Upēndra, raising his arms, deems none a real poet under the sun. I pay my obeisance at the feet of Jayadēva and Dinakṛṣṇa, but put my left leg on the heads of all the other poets.”

According to Puri traditions, he was a Bharu-ā, an illegitimate class attending on dancing girls and playing on musical instruments in accompaniment to their dancing and singing. He led at first a struggling life, and later on became a Vaiṣṇava. He is said to have resided at Puri and died there. Corroboration of these facts is found in his works. His illegitimacy partially explains his great humility, and probably led him to select Vasiṣṭha as the speaker in his Pratāpasindhu. Vasiṣṭha was known to the author as the son of a prostitute.¹ His Vaiṣṇavite tendency and his residence at Puri his works fully show. For unknown reasons he was absent from Puri for some time, as a couple of stanzas² in the Rasakallōḷa would seem to indicate. He knew Jagannātha and his daily services intimately.³ Dinakṛṣṇa is said not to be his original name, but to have been given at the time of his initiation as a Vaiṣṇava.

Dinakṛṣṇa composed several works, of which I have seen in

¹ The poet remarks that every object in this world has some defect or other:—

निकलङ्क पद्म के पाद ऋषि (?) ।

कलङ्क पुषि सवुडारे ऋषि ॥ १०६ ॥

“Who can find out a nelumbium without stain? Blots are found in every object.”

Then he goes on illustrating this. After quoting several examples he says:—

वसिष्ठ ऋषिङ्क कलङ्क ऋषि ।

वेङ्कटापुत्र बोधि समसो ऋषि ॥ १०६ ॥ Pratāpasindhu MS., Fol. 14.

“(Even) Vasiṣṭha Ṛṣi has his blot. He is known to all as a prostitute’s son.”

² करिधिला आम, से सेचे निवास,

करिवाङ्क दीनकव्य ।

कि अभाग्यु तर्हि, न पारिला रदि,

प्रभु मोषिके सख्य ॥ ११ ॥

कर्मे थिला यादा, भोज देला तादा,

के तादा करिब आम ।

करसकरता, करवखदाता,

वेवे मोषिके प्रसन्न ॥ १० ॥ R. K., 24th Ch., p. 89.

“To reside in that *kṣētra* (land), Dinakṛṣṇa had wished; what bad fate is his—he could not stay there, the Lord not favouring. [26]. What was in his fate, he has to suffer. Who can do otherwise, if fate’s master, the giver of salvation, smileth not upon him? [27].”

³ Rasakallōḷa, 19th Ch., 14–24; Guṇḍicābijā, and others.

manuscript *Pratāpasindhu*, and in print *Rasakallōla*, *Guṇḍicābijē* and *Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā*.¹ *Guṇḍicābijē* describes the car festival of *Jagannātha*; *Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā* is a prayer to *Jagannātha* for deliverance. *Pratāpasindhu* is larger and occupies in manuscript 131 folios with three lines on each page. The poem purports to have been delivered by the sage *Vasiṣṭha* in answer to *Daçaratha*. It contains maxims mostly culled from Sanskrit, with illustrative examples and stories. Occasionally Sanskrit *çlōkas* are quoted and translated. The versification is simple and has no special merit. Among maxims a very low view of woman's reliability is prominent.

It is on *Rasakallōla* that *Dinakṛṣṇa*'s fame rests. The work is in 34 *Chāndas* with 20 to 99 stanzas in each. Its subject-matter is the early pastoral life of *Çri-Kṛṣṇa* and is based on the 10th *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*. The first *Chānda* is introductory; the 2nd to 10th deal with the birth and adolescence of *Kṛṣṇa*; 11th to 17th describe the various seasons beginning with winter and the amorous sports of *Çri-Kṛṣṇa* with the *Gōpis* in each season; 18th to 24th poetise the *Rasaliḷā* or the dance and dalliance of *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Gōpis* in the groves of *Bṛndāvana*; 25th to 29th narrate his march to *Mathurā* and the slaying of its demon king *Kaṃsa*; the last five cantos are taken up in describing the griefs of *Kṛṣṇa* and of the *Gōpis* on account of separation, and the embassy of *Urdhaba* to *Bṛndāvana* under orders of *Kṛṣṇa*. The plot is thus familiar to most and appeals strongly to the religious instinct of the highly conservative *Oṛiyās*.

In versification the peculiarity of *Rasakallōla* is that every line of a stanza begins with one and same letter *ka*—a very difficult task in the case of a whole poem. On the whole, however, the sentences are more intelligible than in many poems of *Upēndra Bhañja*. Good descriptions of natural sceneries, though of the conventional type, are not rare; while poetical passages reckoned excellences according to the rules of Sanscrit rhetorics, abound.² Some of the closing lines are personal,

¹ Hunter's list names nine more:—*Cakraharabijāsa*, *Madhusudanabijāsa*, *Madhabakara Gītā*, *Bāramāsa Kō-ijī*, *Jagamōhana*, *Sāmudrika*, *Guṇa Sāgara*, *Ujjvala-nilamanikārikā*, *Rādhā Kanaca* (?), *Dvādasakñjajaliḷā*, and *Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Baḷi*. I have seen in print *Bāramāsa Kō-ijī*; it is not *Dina Kṛṣṇa*'s. I have also seen in manuscript a *Guṇa Gnyāna Sāgara* of one *Bhābi-ā Dāsa*. Some of the works enumerated, such as the medical works, are not probably of *Dinakṛṣṇa*.

² For some of the rhetorically fine passages the reader may be referred to the description of the various seasons (11th, 12th, 15th and 17th *Chāndas*), and to the description of *Rādhā*'s beauty (10th *Chānda*). In mere rhetorical excellences, however, the author cannot vie with *Upēndra Bhañja* or *Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra*.

and are much soberer and often forcible. Two such passages which are free from obscenity are extracted to give an idea of his poetry.

1. कोटि ए कोटि कौटे मूं एक ।
 केते मोर बुद्धि केते विवेक । ३० ।
 केबवा लेखिव गगन तारा ।
 केबवा गणिव बरषाधारा ।
 के संख्या करिव सिन्धुलहरी ।
 के पारिव पयोनिधि पहरि ।
 केबवा एहा करि पारिव ।
 छया मद्धिमा कहि न पारिव । ३१ ॥

R. K. 5th Chānda, p. 16.

“In the midst of crores after crores of insects I am only one. How little is my intelligence, my power of moral discrimination. [30]. Who can write out the stars of the sky; who can count the raindrops; who can take stock of the sea waves; who can dare swim across the ocean? even this may be possible; but the glory of Kṛṣṇa none can describe. [31].”

2. कलि ये तुम्ह नाम कुसुम, यतन करि माळा सुसम
 ताहा मूखाइ नेवाकु केहि नोहिजे क्षम हे ।
 केवल माळाकार पराये मूर्द्धित न घेनिनि घोकाए
 के अछि नेव काहा करम एड़े उत्तम हे ।
 केहि नाहिं वेष्टित धम्मिल्लवन्त ये ।
 करिवाकु ए माळ कएठे लभित हे ।
 करुछि मने विचार एते, जगत याक अछन्ति येते
 सामवेदिङ्ग ब्रत वेग्न ए हेले सन्तत ये । ३७ ।

R. K. 16th Chānda, p. 63.

“(Oh Lord!) The name-flowers of thine I have strung with care into a lovely wreath, which none is so fit to take by paying its equivalent. Like the wreath-maker, I myself could not take even a part; who so fortunate, that would take it? None there is all round so braided-haired (*i.e.*, blessed), that can put this garland round his neck. Thus am I thinking in my mind,—the people of this world have constantly become habited like the Sāmabēdiats, (*i.e.* shavelings, and therefore unfit to put on the garland). [27].”

BHAKTACARAṆA DĀSA.

As Mathurāmangala appears to be a supplement of Rasakallōla that work will be taken up here, though strictly it might be somewhat later than Upēndra Bhañja's poems. The author calls himself Bhaktacaraṇa Dāsa. No traditions are available about him. He repeatedly calls himself a bairāgi.¹ He probably visited Puri, for he mentions the "Guṇḍicābijā" of Jagannātha (10th Chānda, stanza 6). The name Bhaktacaraṇa seems to be an adopted name after initiation into Vaiṣṇavism.

The Mathurāmangala is a poem in 30 Chāndas with 14 to 106 stanzas in each. The subject-matter is the exploits of Āri-Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. These exploits have been described in Rasakallōla, 25th to 33rd Chāndas, but is here amplified into 29 cantos. Hence this poem appears to be later, though from the prominence still given to Gōpi generally, it could not have been much later. Its date might be approximately put to the first quarter of the 18th century. In versification and sentiment the author appears to have closely imitated the Rasakallōla. The verses are simpler, and less loaded with Sanskrit words; but have on the whole much less poetical excellences than in Dinakṛṣṇa's poem. The author is rather peculiar in heaping similes to illustrate the same idea, an example of which is quoted below² :—

झष्य वोलन्ति मुख रमणीन्द ।
 कपूर समान कि भास्वर गन्ध गो ।
 पद्म समान काहिं हेव कुटज ।
 समान कला लोक सिना निर्झञ्ज । १० ।
 पाट टसर काहिं समान मूळ ।
 हीरा सङ्गे स्रटिक हेव कि तूळ ।
 पित्तल गोहे कळधउत सम ।
 चन्द्र पासणे काहिं रहिव तम ॥ ११ ॥
 सेहि प्रकारे केहि मधुरानारी ।
 से हेवे तुम्ह केडं गुणरे सरि ।

Math. Manj. 8th Chānda, p. 23.

"Kṛṣṇa said—"Hear, oh ye ladies! Can *bhāskara* (the ordinary camphor) smell as well as *Āri-karpura* (the essence of camphor); can

¹ Math. Manj. 3rd Ch. 26; 13th Ch. 16; 15th Ch. 22; 18th Ch. 16; 23rd Ch. 54; 29th Ch. 38.

² For another example of such heaping, see 9th Chānda 11-15, p. 26.

the wild flower bear comparison to the nelumbium? The man that puts them on the same level must be shameless. [10]. Can jute have the same value as silk; can glass be compared to diamond? Brass cannot be equal to silver; darkness cannot stay where the moon is. Similarly what ladies of Mathurā can equal ye (Gōpa girls)?"

BHŪPATI PAṆḌITA.

The early Oriyā poems about Kṛṣṇa may be completed with Bhūpati Paṇḍita's Prēmapañcāmṛta. In the last Adhyāya of that work the author gives an account of himself.¹ A Sārasvata Brāhmin from up-country he came to Orissa and attended the court of the king Divyasimha Dēva. His poetical talents so much pleased the king that he gave him land with cash. He resided at Rathipura Katakā. Caitanya Dāsa, a Vaiṣṇava at Purī was his great friend, and under his instructions he composed the poem. Its writing was finished on Monday evening, the çukla trayōdaçī of the month makara, 18th aṅka of the king Dibyasimha Dēva. According to Prof. Jacobi's Tables taken with Mādalaḥ Pāñji,² makara çukla trayōdaçī fell on Monday, the 3rd February, 1707 A.D. Bhūpati Paṇḍita is thus a contemporary of Upēndra Bhañja.

The Prēmapañcāmṛta is a religious poem in ten Adhyāyas, and has been printed. It describes the rasaliḥā of Çṛī-Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpīs, but the original story has been amplified by the description of an imaginary pilgrimage of Vasudēva (7th Adhy.) and by metaphysical disquisitions of the Caitanya's school. The lines are bald and generally unornamented. The versification is of the style adopted by Jagannātha Dāsa in his Bhāgabata. An extract is given here to show the author's conceptions about Rādhā:—

परम आत्मा भगवान् । राधिका जीव आत्मा जाय ॥ ३ ॥
 राधिका अंग्रे येते गोपी । से कृष्ण जीवन स्वरूपी ॥ ४ ॥
 परमे मिश्रि पारे जीव । आनकु अटे असम्भव ॥ ५ ॥
 जीव परम एक जाय । भोग संयोगे भिन्न भिन्न ॥ ६ ॥
 येसने वीज वेनिफाल । एक से नुहन्ति युगळ ॥ ७ ॥
 द्वि अर्द्ध एक पूर्ण होइ । एणु से एक अङ्ग दुइ ॥ ८ ॥
 ये पारे गोपी अङ्गे पश्रि । से पारे कृष्ण अङ्गे मिश्रि ॥ ९ ॥

2nd Adhyāya, p. 11.

¹ The passage (10th Adhyāya lines 194–238), though long is interesting, and is given *in extenso* in App. III.

² See App. IV. for "the later kings of Khōrdā" beginning with this Divyasimha Dēva.

“Bhagabāna is the *parama ātmā* (the Highest Being); Rādhikā is *Jiva ātmā* (the Individual Being). [3]. The Gōpīs in the Rādhikā’s portion, are but so much life of Kṛṣṇa. [4]. The Individual can be absorbed into the Highest (i.e. the Infinite); for others, this is impossible. [5]. Know that the Individual and the Infinite are one (in essence), and different only in enjoyment and union. [6]. Just as a seed is bilobed; but really single and not double; [7], both halves forming one whole, and hence one body divided into two. [8]. He who can get into the body of the Gōpīs, can get absorbed into the body of Kṛṣṇa. [9].”

UPĒNDRA BHAŪJA.

The fictional school begins with UPĒNDRA BHAŪJA. He is the most famous of Oṛiyā poets. His time can be ascertained approximately. In his *Rasalēkhā* he wrote—

दिश्य सिंहा गजपति षड् सप्त विंशति
शेषदिने शेष एव गीत ।

R. L. 22nd Chānda, l. 17, p. 96.

“This poem was finished on the last date of the 27th Aṅka of the *Gajapati* king *Divyasimha*.” *Divyasimha* began to rule in 1692-93,¹ and his 27th Aṅka or 21st year fell in 1713-4 A.D. The last date of the aṅka (*simha çukla ēkādaçi*) was 21st August, 1714 A.D., a Tuesday. As *Rasalēkhā* appears to have been one of his later poems, *Upēndra Bhaūja* may be said to have flourished in the beginning of the 18th century.

He belonged to the royal family of *Gumusara*. *Gumusara* is a petty hill state forming the north-westernmost corner of the District *Ganjām*, Presidency *Madras*. The surname *Bhaūja* was the patronymic title of the family. The author names his ancestors in *Rasapañcaka* last page as follows² :—

¹ For a discussion of his reign see App. IV. “The later kings of *Khōrdā*.”

² कञ्जेय बंभ, शौर प्रकाश । जने बुभुसरे जेजे जरेज ॥ १६ ॥
कुन्देन्दुकीर्ति, रघुरथ कान्ति । रवेन्दर रघुभञ्ज अपति ॥
केशानु वेञ्ज, ताङ्ग तनुञ्ज । कृतव प्रताप प्रतापभञ्ज ॥ १७ ॥
कनिष्ठ सुत, ताङ्ग सुधत । करि शोपौनाथ नाम विहित ॥
कवि अपवर, ताङ्ग कुमर । कवि धनञ्जय नाम ताङ्गर ॥ १८ ॥
काञ्चपौकान्त, ताङ्गर सुत । कृतञ्ज नीलकण्ठ भञ्जसुत ॥
कुमर अष्ट, ताङ्गर श्रेष्ठ । कविपदरे अति परिनिष्ठ ॥ १९ ॥

1. Raṇa Bhañja
|
son
2. Pratāpa Bhañja
|
youngest son
3. Gōpinātha
|
son
4. Dhanañjaya
|
son
5. Niḷakaṇṭha
married Kāsyapi
|
eldest son
6. Upēndra Bhañja.

The Gumusara Baṁsābaḷi does not mention Upēndra Bhañja, but names his ancestors up to Niḷakaṇṭha. In a colorless manner it narrates a series of intrigues and murders, revolts and civil wars, startling enough even for a melodrama.¹ Dhanañjaya, the grandfather of Upēndra, ruled long, and in his old age like the emperor Shāhjahān turned sensual. He married several wives who had numerous children. When the Rājā became too old, his queens with their sons began to quarrel amongst themselves. The old man, Dhanañjaya, was poisoned by his favourite queen Hāru Dē-i, and his death brought on a civil war. Upēndra's father, Niḷakaṇṭha, who was his son by the above Hāru Dē-i, succeeded in seizing the throne. But he could rule only for two years. He was attacked on both sides by the partisans of the eldest queen's infant grandson, and was driven out of the kingdom.

Upēndra Bhañja was the eldest son of this unfortunate Niḷakaṇṭha. In all probability he was old enough to have participated in the

“The family of sun (lotus' master) appearing, gradually became kings in Gumusara. [16]. With fame white like moon and *Kunda* flower, with glory bright, master of battles, appeared the King Raṇa Bhañja. Of him was born Pratāpa Bhañja, fiery in vigor, from deeds powerful. [17]. His youngest son, by name Gōpinātha, became King. His son was named Dhanañjaya, the poet King. [18]. His son was Niḷakaṇṭha Bhañja the good, the grateful, the husband of Kāsyapi. His eldest and best prince (am I), well-grounded in poetical powers. [19].”

Some of these successions are also mentioned in Lābaṇyabatī, 16th Chānda, stanzas 39-42, p. 65, and Baidēhisabiḷāsa 52nd Ch. lines 47-50, p. 536.

¹ The portion of the Baṁsābaḷi bearing on Upēndra's ancestors is quoted *in extenso* in App. V.

fratricidal struggle.¹ After expulsion Nijakaṅṭha settled, according to tradition, in the adjoining state of Nayāgara. In that state how long Upēndra resided is not known. He visited the Puruṣōttama Kṣētra apparently frequently, as he knew it intimately.² Outside Orissa he might have travelled, of which travel some faint indications are traceable in his poems. By religion he was a Vaiṣṇavite, leaning to Rāma-worship, as his numerous closing lines and the Baidēhisabiḷāsa the poem on the career of Rāma testify.

Upēndra Bhañja was a prolific author and composed some forty-three poems. The chronological sequence of these works cannot generally be ascertained. Probably most of the songs were among his earliest compositions, and Caupadibhūṣaṇa is referred to in the early contemporaneous work, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa. Baidēhisabiḷāsa, according to tradition preceded the Lābaṇyabati. The Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī seems to be a work of matured years. The Citrakābya was composed much later and in its introduction refers to a large number of works, thus establishing a broad line of demarcation in point of time.³

¹ The following stanza in Basikahārābaḷi (8th Ch. 25th stanza) might have some reference to his father's loss of the throne:—

राजाकु सेवार राज्य नष्ट । युवाकु सेवार पत्नीभष्ट ॥
कसे उपरम्, बीरवर भङ्ग, यद्युं वसि चाउ नादि कष्ट ॥ २५ ॥

“For a king to lose his kingdom, for a young man to lose his wife—says Upēndra Bhañja Birabara—no misfortune can be greater than these. [25].”

² Upēndra translated the Puruṣōttama Māhātmya, and composed the Basikahārābaḷi, a romance of that place. The Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī also begins with a description of Jagannātha's temple and festivals.

³ एक ए कवि विचारर चित्ते । कश्चि सू अनेक प्रकार जिते । ८ ।
अशेष अउमिअ अउपदि । तासा कवेति कश्चि सप्यादि । १० ।
माया दोषा पीकचेन्दु जपोर । इत्यादि कविम जचना नादि । ११ ।
रसकव्यविषय वेदे धन्य । चितोद तङ्ग किचि खेखे वेच । १२ ।
पुराव हाकि कल्पना माधुरि । चाव चिपसेवा सेममङ्गरी । १३ ।
रससेवा कामकळा रचित । मनोरमा प्रेमसुता सुमित । १४ ।
भाववती सुक्तावती प्रमाव । वरकलीळा ये ज्ञान्मभूषव । १५ ।
वदकतु कळाकउतुकर । कनियम चाय सुभद्रासार । १६ ।
वैदेहीर विळास खेचि वाय । प्रसिद अचना ह्यादर ज्ञान् । १७ ।
रामलीळाखत खेच रचित । प्रेमसुधामिधि यमके खित । १८ ।
रसिकहारावली नामे नीत । कुञ्जविचारादि ज्ञान्मरित । १९ ।
अळङ्कार रीति रसपद्यक । सावखवती रसिकतोषक । २० ।
पुषपोत्तम माहात्म्य रचन । नाना कोष ज्ये नीताभिधान । २१ ।

Thirty-two poems are herein named. In addition Hunter's list specifies the following:—Candrakalā, Candrarākhā, Iccābatī, Kaḷābatī, Rahāsalīlā, Rasamañjarī, Saṅgītakāumudī, Sasīrākhā, Sōbhābatī and Subarṇarākhā. The last I have seen, and in one passage it admits its posterity by referring to Rasikahārābañi and Prēnasudhānidhi.¹

All these works cannot be discussed in detail in this limited article, but their subject-matters may be classified in the following way:—

A. Songs:—

1. Cautisā (चउतिसा).
2. Caupadībhūṣaṇa (चउपदीभूषण).

हान्द कोडि तारा चन्द्रमा परि । सा नाम कोडिप्रज्ञाचन्द्रमरी । ११ ।
 चैल्लोचनोचिनी चादि ने नीत । निरिंत हान्द पोषि पाच सात । १२ ।

 एते प्रकारे करि हान्द नीत । विष कविले बळारसा चित्त । १७ ।

Citrakāvya MS. Folio 1.

"The poet thus thinks in his mind—many pieces did I publish in poetry. [9]. No end of *Cautisās* and *Caupadīs*, what more can I say on them? [10]. *Gāhā, dōhā, sōḍacēndu chupō-i*, and other poems that cannot be counted. [11]. Of works on *rasa* and on *Kṛṣṇa* recollecting, I name here some. [12]. Sifting the *Purāṇas*, such works of sweet imagination, as the fine *Citrālākhā*, the *Hēmamañjarī* [13]; the *Rasālākhā*, the well-composed *Kāmakaḷā*, the *Manḍramā*, and the well-versed *Prēmalaṭā* [14], the *Bhābābatī*, the well-exemplified *Muktābatī*, the *Barajalīlā*, the *Chāndabhāṣaṇa* [15], the *Ṣarartu*, the *ka*-initialled *Kajākautuka*, the *sa*-initialled *Subhadrasāra* [16], the *ba*-initialled *Baidhāsabiḷāsa*, the well-known twelve *chandas* without any consonant or vowels conjunctions [17], the *Rāmaliḷamṛta* full of many meanings, the *Prēmasudhānidhi* full of alliterations [18], the poem named *Rasikahārābañi*, the lives of *Syāma* as *Kuñjabihāra* and others [19], the *Rasapoñcaka* illustrating rules of rhetoric, the *Lābanyabatī* the delight of wits [20], the composition of the *Puruṣōttamamāhātmya*, the various dictionaries of words as the *Gitābhāḍhāna* [21], the *Kōṣībrahmāṇḍasundarī* like a moon among millions of poetical stars [22], the poems beginning with the *Trailōkyamōhinī*; some such five or seven poems have I composed [23]. Having composed poems of so many kinds, my thoughts strayed towards illustrated poetry [27]."

- ¹ पाच हान्द श्रेष चोरसा ए रस करिव रसिक बज ।
- चे जने प्रेसमुधामिधि रसिकचाराबळौर ए श्रेष । १८ ।
- सुवर्चरेचार बर्षेना नेतेक रसे एक तिनि नीत ।
- कचे उपरन्द् भञ्ज बीरेवर चनुभव र विहित । १९ ।

Sub. Rōk., 5th Chānda.

"This *rasa* comes to its end in five cantos; it will sway the wits. Oh men! Here is finished the *Prēmasudhānidhi*, and the *Rasikahārābañi*. [18]. All the *rasas* in the descriptions of the *Suvarṇarākhā* are to be found in the three poems; this is felt and known—so says Upēndra Bhāñja Birabara [19]."

3. Caupadicandra (चपदीचन्द्र).
4. Chapō-i (चपोर).
5. Gāhā (गाहा).
6. Dōhā (दोहा).

B. Mythological poems :—

7. Abanā Rasataranga (अवना रसतरङ्ग).
8. Brajalīla (ब्रजलीला).
9. Subhadrāsāra or Subhadrāpariṇaya (सुभद्रासार वा सुभद्रापरिणय).
10. Kaḷākautuka (कळाकौतुक).
11. Baidēhisabilāsa (बैदेहीसबिलास).
12. Rāmaliḷāmṛta (रामलीलामृत).
13. Kuñjabihāra (कुंजबिहार).
14. Puruṣōttama Māhātmya (पुरुषोत्तम माहात्म्य).
15. Bāhāsaliḷā (बाहासलीला).

C. Fictional poems :—

16. Citralēkhā (चित्रलेखा).
17. Hēmamañjari (हेममञ्जरी).
18. Rasalēkhā (रसलेखा).
19. Kāmakaḷā (कामकळा).
20. Manōramā (मनोरमा).
21. Prōmalatā (प्रेमलता).
22. Bhābabati (भाववती).
23. Muktābati (मुक्तावती).
24. Prōmasudhānidhi (प्रेमसुधाभिधि).
25. Rasikahārābali (रसिकहारारवली).
26. Lābanyabati (लावण्यवती).
27. Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundari (कोटिब्रह्माण्डसुन्दरी).
28. Trailōkyamōhini (त्रैलोक्यमोहिनी).
29. Candrakaḷā (चन्द्रकळा).
30. Candrarēkhā (चन्द्ररेखा).
31. Icbābati (इक्ष्वावती).
32. Kaḷābati (कळावती).
33. Sasirēkhā (सशीरेखा).
34. Sōbhābati (सोभावती).
35. Subarṇarēkhā (सुवर्णरेखा).

D. Rhetorical, etc. :—

36. Chāndabhūṣaṇa (चान्दभूषण).
37. Rasapañcaka (रसपञ्चक).
38. Citrakābya (चित्रकाव्य).
39. Rasamañjari (रसमञ्जरी).

40. *Saṅgitakaumudī* (सङ्गीतकौमुदी).
 41. *Gitābhidhāna* (गीताभिधान).
 42. *Ṣaṛartu* (षड्वर्तु).

It will be seen that 20 out of 42 or nearly half are romances. To Upēndra Bhañja belongs the credit of having been the first to shake off largely the predominating religious tendency. This comparative freedom seems to have arisen partly from his birth in a royal family and partly from his vicissitudes in life, now a prince and now an exile. His stories are no doubt confined to princes or high ministers, and thus belong to the primitive stage of story-telling. Yet they are preferable to the dreary repetitions of mythological absurdities.

As a master of rhetorical excellences he stands higher than all Oṛiyā poets except Abhimanyu. He knew intimately the Sanskrit rules of elegance, and was a successful follower of the standard set up in the later Sanskrit classics. He was an adept in all kinds of Oṛiyā verses, writing freely and fully. He was a master-hand in vocabulary and letter-selection. Sometimes he wrote poems without any admixture of vowels other than *a*, e.g., *Abanā Rasatarāṅga*; sometimes he limited the initial letters of each line to one letter only, such as *ba* in *Baidēhisa-biḷāsa*, *ka* in *Kalākantuka*, *sa* in *Subhadrāpariṇaya*. Sometimes he used *Jamakas* throughout a poem, as *Prēmasudhānidhi*; while *Kōṭi-brahmāṇḍasundarī* sparkles with numerous varieties of rhetorical gems. In spite of innumerable lines of unequal merits due to his prolificness and constant attempt to play on words, a large number of passages contain verbal excellences fit to stand the fierce light of modern criticism. By intermixing numberless unfamiliar Sanskrit words and allusions, the text has however been generally made unintelligible to the ordinary readers, and to most of his poems explanatory *ṭīkās* are absolutely necessary. Hence in spite of his rhetorical skill, his poems rarely move the heart, or add to one's knowledge about nature or the human mind.

On the question of sentiments he does not rise above his age. Wanting in energy and lifelikeness the heroes and heroines move like puppets. The low view of women common to the age and to the models followed still further degenerates in his poems; and obscene descriptions abound. Ethical doctrines are generally at a discount in royal families, and in Upēndra Bhañja's case the grandfather's sensuality appears to have had a still worse effect.

To summarise, Upēndra Bhañja is in Oṛiyā language, the most voluminous author, the earliest and most prominent fictional poet, the most obscene, the most unintelligible, and on the whole the best writer of rhetorical excellences. His most important works are first *Baidēhisa-*

biḷāsa on the career of Rāma up to Uttarākāṇḍa; ¹ second Lābanyabatī, narrating the story of the princess Lābanyabatī and the prince Candrabhānu; third Koṭibrahmāṇḍasundari, a romance with the princess of the above name as heroine; and fourth Rasapañcaka, illustrating by Oṛiyā songs the rhetorical rules about Nāyakas, Nāyikās and their loves, and following mainly the corresponding text of the Bengali *alamkara*, Sāhitya Darpaṇ. A passage from Baidēhisabiḷāsa is extracted lower down, but no single passage can give any reliable idea of the many-sided talents of this poet.

BISVANĀTHA KHUṬI-Ī.

Such a talented poet as Upēndra must influence later poetry. On the religious side his Baidēhisabiḷāsa found an imitator in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuṭi-ā. This author appears to have been a resident of Purī. His surname Khuṭi-ā is applied to a special class of sēbakas in the Jagannātha temple, and the poem begins with a brief description of Jagannātha's festivals. His date is not precisely known. In his introduction he refers to the king Divyasimha, who reigned from 1692-93 to 1719-20 A.D.² He also refers to Upēndra Bhañja's Caupadibhūṣaṇa,³ which is probably among Bhañja's earliest works. Approximately therefore the date of Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa may be put in the decade 1710-20 A.D.

The poem, as its name implies, is an adaptation of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, and differs from Baidēhisabiḷāsa in adding the Uttarākāṇḍa and in following more closely the story of the Sanskrit original. It is divided into generally very short cantos, and is therefore well adapted for singing. It is largely sung by dancing boys, and in old days was generally sung in the festival of Ṣrīrāma navamī, which occurs in

¹ Upēndra Bhañja did not poetise the Uttarākāṇḍa, because according to rules a poem should end happily and not in grief or death.

विभङ्ग रस बोद्धव्य न वर्ध्निष्ये रवे ।

बुधे बोद्धव्यनि रसा दीप शान्त नीवे ॥ ४९ ॥

Baid. Bil., 52nd Ch., p. 535.

"I have not described this (Uttarā-kāṇḍa), because then the enjoyment of the *rasas* will be broken. The learned have said that this is a fault in *chānda* poetry."

² "श्री दीवसिंह राजपति श्रीजगन्नाथ श्रीचरणे भजे" "I pay my obeisance to Śrī-Divyasiṃha Gajapati and to the auspicious feet of Śrī-Jagannātha." Ch. I, l. 5, Ādikāṇḍa. For Diya siṃha's reign, see App. IV, "The later kings of Khōrdā."

³ "राम वाचारी । भङ्गवत्पदौ भूषण नचरौ हने ।" Bic. Ram. Āraṇyaka, Kāṇḍa, Chānda 2nd's tune.

spring (Caitra). The Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa cannot bear comparison with the poem of Upēndra Bhañja in point of learning and rhetorical skill, but it is simpler, shorter, and more free from obscenity. To illustrate their differences, one passage on the Pampā tank is given below with the parallel passage from Baidēhisabilāsa.

प्रवेश राम लक्ष्मण पम्पासर तौर । देखन्ति निर्मल जल अति मगोहर । १ ।
 कमल कुमुद कोकनद गोळोत्पल । मधुपाने मत होइ सुम्बन्ति भसल । २ ।
 जलपाशे वेड़िहन्ति पुष्प तद्वचय । विरहिजनकु से कराउहन्ति भय । ३ ।
 देख देख लक्ष्मण ए सरोवर शोभा । एहा देखि केवख देव मोहिब जोभा । ४ ।
 विविध हंसमाण्णे दिग्द सुन्दर । डाऊक तितिर काक वके शोभाकर । ५ ।
 विकाशन्ति नव नव चूताङ्गर माने । प्रकटि वासन्ति वास सर्व सन्निधाने । ६ ।
 कामतूखिभर प्राय दिग्दन्ति अशोक । सोताङ्ग विच्छेद कराउहि वद्ध शोक । ७ ।
 पाटळी पाटळ कामानल प्राय दिग्द । केतकी कळिका मनसिजकुन्त कि से । ८ ।
 मल्लिका सौरभरे मधुकरनिकर । भुनि करि खोजुहन्ति सर्व दिगन्तर । ९ ।
 मदगन्ध सुशोतळ प्रसरे मरत । कोकिल भुनि करन्ति होइ महामत । १० ।

Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa Chānda, I.

“Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa enter on the bank of the Pampā tank, and see its clear charming water. [1]. Drunk with honey, the black-bees are kissing the nelumbiums, the white lotuses, the large red lotuses, and the blue water-lilies. [2]. Trees and flowers surround it on four sides, and are causing fear in the hearts of the love-sick. [3]. See! See! Lakṣmaṇa, the beauty of this tank. At this sight which god will not be tempted? [4]. Charming it looks with diverse geese, with the water hens and partridges, with the crows and the cranes. [5]. The mango flowers are newly blooming, and are spreading their mild odour unto all. [6]. The *asōka* flowers look like the arrows of cupid's bow, and are grieving me for this separation from Sitā. [7]. The Bignolias shine like love-fire, while the Pandanus buds seem like the darts of love-god. [8]. The fragrance of the Jasmynes is causing the bees to hum and to hunt about. [9]. The wind is spreading a cool intoxicating odour, the cuckoos are singing in full passion. [10].”

वाटे पम्पा सार सर । विराजित सारसर ।
 विराजित सारसर । वृषारि सर से । ४९ ।
 विधिरे हीन भमर । विलसुहन्ति भमर ।
 विलस यहि भमर । वाष्के भमर से । ५० ।

वारिरे आदरसरे । विमळ आदरसरे ।
 विवेक हंस मानस । बळि मानस ये । ५१ ।
 विध्वंस ताप स्प्रश । वड अतळ स्प्रश ।
 विनिद्र नीळ सारस । वड्ड रस से । ५२ ।
 वाष्कि टयार्ति कमळ । विघन तीरे कमळ ।
 विरचे भङ्गजु सुद । वड जुसुद ए । ५३ ।
 बुडि उठे चक्र चक्र । विहे गति यथा चक्र ।
 विनोदरे चक्रवाकी । विचक्रा कि से । ५४ ।

Baid. Bijā., Kīsk. Kāṇḍa, 26th Ch., pp. 209-10.

"In the way lies Pampā, the tank of Indra, the best of tanks, which is graced by the long-necked cranes, and where bloom the Nelumbiums. [49]. This tank is by nature free from eddies, is enlivened by the black bees, is so delightful that the immortals are deluded to desire it. [50]. Its water is preferably more lucid than even a clean mirror, and (so good that) the geese think it better than that of even the Mānasa tank (beyond the Himālayas). [51]. Its water is so cool as to destroy all touch of heat, is very deep with flowering blue water-lilies, and is in taste as sweet as honey. [52]. The thirsty deers desiring a drink get satisfaction at the bank of this tank. The many white lotuses in it give much delight to the bees. [53]. The red ducks in it dip and rise, and delighted, whirl round in circles with their females, reminding the motion of dust storms. [54]."¹

LŌKANĀTHA DĀSA.

On the fictional side, too, Upēndra Bhañja's romances stimulated others, among whom Lōkanātha Dāsa appears to have been one of the earliest. His works have not yet been printed. I have seen in manuscript his Sarbāngasundarī and Hunter's list credits him with three more, Citrōt-palā, Parimajā and Rasakalā. The manuscript of Sarbāngasundarī takes up 63 folios with 4 lines on each page. It contains 15 Chāndas ; apparently the last few Chāndas are missing. The story part resembles the general type of Upēndra Bhañja's romances, and the descriptions are also on the same line, though of course with much less poetical skill. The date is uncertain, probably the 2nd quarter of the 18th century.

¹ This short canto exemplifies the rhetorical excellence known as "the final alliteration" (*anta Jamakas*). The force and the jingle music of the *Jamakas*, it is impossible to show in the translation.

SADĀNANDA KAVISŪRYABRAHMĀ.

The last two poets are closely connected with each other, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā being the guru of Abhimanyu Sāmantasimbhāra. Sadānanda founded a little maṭh at Dikṣitaparā, Pargaṇā Asurēsvara, Thānā Sālēpura, District Outtaok. From its present Adhikāri most of the following informations have been gathered.¹ Sadānanda was born at Bhikāripura, Killā Nayāgara, in the family of an Ōtā Brāhmin. In spite of the attempts of his parents he was a great dunce in his boyhood. When he grew older he felt repentance at his ignorance and prayed to the Īiva Nakulēṣvara of Nayāgara. Through his favour he became suddenly inspired with poetical powers. Then he visited Parī, became a disciple of Gaṅgāmātā maṭh, and secured from the Rājā of Parī the title Kavisūryabrahmā. His original name was probably Sādhucaraṇa Dāsa, which was changed to Sadānanda Dāsa after initiation.² He next went out on pilgrimage visiting Nabadvip, Bṛndābana, and other sacred places, and brought therefrom a considerable number of Vaiṣṇavite works. On his return he settled at Bāli-ā (more correctly Gōlkuṇḍa) in Pargaṇā Baru-ā. There he became the guru of the young zemindar Abhimanyu and taught him to be a poet. This is acknowledged by Abhimanyu himself in his Prēmakaṇḍā.³ Later on however they quarrelled, and

¹ The present Adhikāri Paramānanda Dāsa traces his descent thus :—



² This is indicated in the following line—

श्रीगुरु श्री किशोरदास पद्मज पवार आश्रय करि ।
 मातङ्गकुलजन्म मुँ साधुचरन दास रवि अधिकारी के । ११ ।

Nāmacintāmapī 12th Chānda, p. 23.

“Taking refuge at the lotus feet of the guru, Īri-Kisōra Dāsa, and who was born of a line (hereditarily) sāktas, have I been adhikāri here (i. e., in Vaiṣṇasiam).”

³ गुरु कृष्ण वदन्त्यवदसेवाफलं ।
 कविसकल्पया जगन्निष्ठा वदन्त्यले के । १२ ।

Abhimanyu is said to have attempted the substitution of his idol for that of his guru. Disgusted (partly from jealousy too), Sadānanda removed his things to Dikṣitaparā, and founded the present math. This village is situated on the north of Kēndrāparā canal. The present Adhikāri puts his date roughly at 150 years old. The date seems approximately correct. At the time Prēmakaḷā was written (about 1777 A.D.), Sadānanda was the teacher of Abhimanyu and was probably 30 to 40 years old, nearer 40 than otherwise. Hence Sadānanda was some twenty years older than his pupil, and may be said to have flourished in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

No large work is attributed to Sadānanda. He composed numerous songs and several small pieces, all dealing with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The tradition is that the songs passing under the name of Aṣṭadurgānātha were really Sadānanda's; he passed them off as Āṭhgarā king's, probably for good consideration. The present Adhikāri has supplied me with the following list of his works :—

1. Laharī (लहरी).
2. Bhāuri (भँडरी).
3. Cāuri (चँडरि).
4. Tattvatarangini, Parts I-III (तत्त्वतरङ्गिणी).
5. Prēmatarangini (प्रेमतरङ्गिणी).
6. Nāmacintāmaṇi (नामचिन्तामणि).
7. Niṣṭhāniḷamaṇi (निष्ठानीलमणि).
8. Prēmakaḷāpatā (प्रेमकल्पलता).
9. Samudra (समुद्र).
10. Mōhanalatā (मोहनलता).
11. Bisvambharabihāra (बिस्वम्भरविहार).
12. Pātaradābāli (P) (पातरदाबली).
13. Caitanyabhāgabata (चैतन्यभाजवत).
14. Curi (P) Cintāmaṇi (चुरिचिन्तामणि).

I have seen only one work of his, Nāmacintāmaṇi (No. 6) and several songs. Caitanyabhāgabata (No. 13) if a poem, is probably an

चैतन्यचैतन्य कविद्वयद्वय ।

रूप फल प्राप्त कविजगन्मोक्ष । १० ।

MS. Prēma Kaḷā, 1st Ch. Folios 1-2,

“By attendance on the feet of the Guru, Kṛṣṇa and Vaiṣṇavas, the imaginative power of poetry took its birth in my heart. Through the favour of Ṡrīmata Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā I have attained the extreme of poetical path.”

The Premakaḷā was begun in the author's 20th year, as noted by him later on 1st Ch. 1. 111, Folio 4.

adaptation of the same work in Bengali by Bṛndābana Dās. The *Nāmacintamaṇi* is in 12 Chāndas and in print occupies 23 pages only. Besides praises to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, one Chānda (the 3rd) is entirely devoted to Caitanya and his principal disciples. Apparently Sadānanda was a Gauṛiyā Vaiṣṇava. Most extravagant are the praises of Rādhā, who should be named first and then Kṛṣṇa.¹ His songs are among the most popular and are exclusively devotional. But on the whole I think that he is more famous than his works justify. Probably this fame arose from his superior personality and from his extensive knowledge gathered in travel.

ABHIMANYU SĀMANTASIMHĀRA.

The pre-British poets conclude with Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra. He belonged to a zemindar family, whose descendants still survive. From one of them Babu Raghunātha Sāmantasimhāra a good deal of the undermentioned information has been obtained.²

The family was founded by one Kālu Simha. He and his brother Mahābāja Simha came from Jaypur (Rajputana) to Puri apparently on pilgrimage. They took service under the Rājā of Puri and came to be employed as guards of the king's bed-room (*palāṅkapaharā*). While in this trusted post they secured for themselves the grant of the zemindari of Parganā Baruṣ. On coming to take possession, they found one Ucita Bēhērā already in possession by virtue of an older sanad. Fighting ensued, and at last a compromise was arrived at by a division of the Parganā. The two brothers got seventy-one villages, which are now comprised in the Tāluku Sāntrāpura, Kēsapura, and Rādhāmōhana-prasāda. The two brothers lived together. When Mahābāja died, his

१ कपिपवन राधा वै पदे बोधे ह्यन्व नाम चाजे बोधि ।

वेदि चपि नृपपत्न्या दोष पाय कनि कपिव न बुधि । ३ ।

Nāma Cintāmaṇi, 5th Ch. p. 8.

"This is the saying of R̥ṣis—he who names Rādhā having named Kṛṣṇa first, gets then and there the sin of a Brāhmin-murder. Not forgetting this, watchfully repeat (her name)."

² My informant, a fine old man of sixty, died the year before last (1896). He traced his descent from Abhimanyu in this manner:—

Abhimanyu
|
Rāmakṛṣṇa
(son)
|
Raghunātha
(son)
(my informant).

son Jōdhi Simha separated taking as his share the Tāluk Sāntrapura. The descent from Kālu Simha is thus given:—

1. Kālu Simha.
|
2. Saratha Sāmantasimhāra
(son)
|
3. Alapi Sāmantasimhāra
(son)
|
4. Bandōji S.
(son)
|
5. Paramānanda S.
(son)
|
6. Khusāji S.
(son)
|
7. Indrajita S.
(son)
|
8. Abhimanyu S.
(eldest son)
The author.

Of his father and his zemindari, Abhimanyu has given a short description in his Prēmakaḷā.¹ They lived at Gōḷakuṇḍa which is now

¹ जम्बुद्वीप भरतखण्ड य सार मदी ।
 मदीदधि याजनय मध्य रज्य मर्दिने ॥ १०४ ॥
 सुविहारखान एवु धिवार वे देव ।
 मोळकुण्ड नामे ग्राम मर्दिने प्रकाय वे ॥ १०५ ॥
 प्राचीनदी वे ग्राम सीमा भेदि मदि ।
 विराट मोधन रधिवार खान वेदि वे ॥ १०६ ॥
 ए राखरे राजा मिशवंशी खेचीवर ।
 रज्जुजित सामन्तसिंहार नाम वर वे ॥ १०७ ॥
 ताहु खेळ खूत अभिमन्यु नाम मोर ।
 चाहुवर रीतिरे त सामन्तसिंहार ॥ १०८ ॥

MS. Prēmakaḷā, 1st Chānda. Folios 3-4.

“In Jambu Dvīpa Bharata Khaṇḍa, this country (Utkala) is the essence. Charming is the town Jājanagara on the seacoast of that country. In this land so well fitted for enjoyment, exists a village by name Gōḷakuṇḍa. By the boundary of this village flows the river Brāhmī; and its meadows are well suited for immense

situated on the left bank of the Brāhmini river, 20° 42' lat., and 86° 18' long. The Jājanagara referred to was the old name of modern Jājapura. The family quarters have now been removed to Bāli-ā, a few miles east. The family have lost the zemindari and now live upon 25 *bāṭis* (500 acres) lākhirāj land, with which Abhimanyu is said to have endowed the family idol Rādhāmōhana.

According to local traditions Abhimanyu was precocious in his development, and lisped in number from his very boyhood. In his ninth year he is credited with the composition of doggrels known as Hūgita, and in his tenth year with other songs, as Jēmā Gita, Bāgha Gita, Gōbrā-caṛṣi Gita. He then came under the influence of Sadānanda Kavi-sūryabrahmā and in his twentieth year began his first large poem Prēmakaḷā.¹ I have got a manuscript of this work. He then composed various poems as Sulakṣaṇā, Rasabati, Prēmācintāmaṇi and Prēmatarāṅgiṇi. I have got a manuscript copy of the last. His last work was Bidagdha-cintāmaṇi. He intended to finish it in 108 Chāndas with a description of the Rāsaliḷā, but when he had gone up to 96th Chānda, he felt a disgust for this life, turned an ascetic Vaiṣṇava, and abandoning family and home proceeded to Bṛndāvana. There he died in his 49th year. The Bidagdha-cintāmaṇi has been printed, and in its Preface, his death is said to have taken place on Jyēṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptami of sana 1213 (= 8th June, 1806 A.D., Tuesday). Abhimanyu was well read in Sanskrit classics and rhetorics, and knew Hindi and Mārāṭhi, the speeches of the then governing races. From his boyhood, he loved to associate with Paṇḍits and Sādhus and the accidental residence of Sadānanda helped him materially in developing his poetical powers. He is said to have built a temple to Rādhāmōhana Ṭhākura.

The manuscript Prēmakaḷā is a moderate-sized volume occupying 186 folios with four lines on each page. It is a romance in 64 Chāndas modelled after Upēndra Bhaṅja's stories. Though begun in the author's twentieth year, it displays considerable knowledge of Sanskrit rhetorics and indicated the future power of the poet. The manuscript Prēmatarāṅgiṇi is a small piece based on the Rāsapañcādhyāyī, whose ḷōkas are quoted and versified. Of the other poems two are love stories,

herds of cattle. The ruler of this land is a Mitravaṅṅi Kṣatriya, by name Indrajita Sāmantasimhāra. His eldest son am I, by name Abhimanyu, by surname Sāmantasimhāra."

¹ विंश वरष वयसि एषा आरभ्यन्ति ।

सुजनपदाभितरे मङ्गादीन कश्चि वे ॥ १११ ॥

Prēmakaḷā MS., 1st Ch., Folio 4.

"I began this at the age of twenty, and by attending on the feet of good men dropped my timidity."

Rasabati and Sulakṣṇā, the initial letters of each line of the latter being *sa*; while Prēmācintāmaṇi is said to be religious.

The last and the best of his poems is Bidagdhacintāmaṇi, based on the Sanskrit Bidagdhamādhava of Rūpa Gōsvāmi the well-known disciple of Caitanya. It deals with the life and love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; while the last four Chānda poetise the Caitanyite doctrines of *Prēma* and *Bhakti* (love and devotion). The poem is a store-house of rhetorical excellences, almost each Chānda exemplifying a different kind of verbal formations. It thus resembles Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundari of Upēndra Bhaṅja; but it is simpler, less loaded with Sanskrit learning and imageries, and therefore more effective. The author's religious feelings have made the poem less obscene and have induced him to put in graceful verses the rather abstruse doctrines of *Prēma* and *Bhakti*—a field which Upēndra Bhaṅja did not try. In learning and comprehensiveness he is undoubtedly, inferior to Upēndra; but it may be said for Bidagdhacintāmaṇi that no single Oṛiyā poem contains so many examples of rhetorical skill or abstract poetry as this work does.

MĀDALĀ PĀÑJI.

Having finished the pre-British period of Oṛiyā poetry, a few words may be added in the conclusion about Oṛiyā prose. Literary compositions in Oṛiyā prose are unknown. The Mādalā Pāñji and a few Bamsābaḷis are the only specimens of prose. These have no literary merits.¹ The Mādalā Pāñji is a sort of chronicle of the Jagannātha temple. Its contents are roughly divisible into three kinds:

(1) A short history of the kings of Orissa (Rājāmānaṅkara Rājyabhōga).

(2) A history of the erection of Jagannātha's temple, its modes of worship, and the duties of its sēbakas.

(3) An account of extraordinary events happening in the temple with the details of their costs, if any.

The historical value of Mādalā Pāñji has been very much overrated. The original informations were often not correctly entered. Then again the chronicle being on palm-leaves, it had to be recopied three or four times in a century, and in re-copying many mistakes crept in, particularly in figures. Lastly the *Sēbā* (worship) was closed several times on account of the Mahomedan raids, and many volumes must have been lost at the time. Hence the text is found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon, unless corroborated by other evidence. The later writers have also fallen into mistakes by following exclusively only

¹ The remarks by Mr. Beames on the literary value of the Mādalā Pāñji (Vol. II, p. 348) were passed admittedly without any knowledge of their contents.

one version of the royal genealogy, while there are five or six versions in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. The truth often lies in one or other version. Appendix IV. will give some idea of the difficulties in constructing a royal genealogy from these different versions.

At present the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* is kept in two sets, one by the *Sēbaka* entitled *Dēṇḷakarāṇa*, the other by the *Sēbaka* named *Tarḥa-u*. The *Dēṇḷakarāṇa* (*lit.* the writer of the temple) as his name implies, seems to have been the original keeper of the records, but a second was added apparently for check and for better preservation of the informations. It is not known when these records began to be kept. But from the fact that a large number of details dates from the time of *Anaṅga Bhima Dēva*, the system would appear to have been established by him. As a rule the later the accounts, the more reliable they are.

N.B.—Since writing this article, a kind letter of Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to his remarks on the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹ Dr. Fleet has analysed the earlier list of kings carefully and comes to the conclusion that the annal is “absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history.” (p. 335). I came nearly to the same conclusion when I was studying the original manuscript of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. In an article read before this Society, an abstract of which was published in the *Proceedings* for July 1892, I noticed the general unreliability of the historical portion of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, and remarked that at best it can be used only as a corroborative document. Dr. Fleet's analysis confirms me in that view.

On some of the points discussed in the very interesting article of Dr. Fleet, I venture to differ. Firstly, he thinks that in respect of most of the *Kēçari* kings it can only be said that “not one of them has any ring of antiquity in the sound of it; they may possibly be real names of later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series.” (p. 336). I know at least of one Orissan inscription not later than tenth century, which mentions *Kēçari* kings. It is the *Brahmēçvara* inscription of *Bhuvanēçvara*.² This inscription mentions *Udyōtaka Kēçari*, and of his ancestors *Janamējaya*, *Vicitravira*, *Caṇḍihara* and *Kōḷavati*. The names of both *Janamējaya* and *Kōḷavati* are to be found in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. The *Kēçari* kings need not therefore be considered as myths or later rulers, as suggested.

Secondly, Dr. Fleet has “no substantial doubt that the *Yavana* invasions which were repulsed, as the annals say, by *Vajradēva* and his

¹ “The Records of the *Sōmavaṅçi* kings of *Katak*.” *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., pp. 334–340.

² *Prinsep, Journ. As. Soc.* Vol. VII., p. 558 *et. seq.*; l. c. Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. pp. 88-9.

successors, and the successful invasion by the Yavanas, in the time of Çöbhanadēva, are (mixed up with the early Gupta rule) simply the raids into Orissa by the Mussulmans in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the ultimate conquest of the country by them in the sixteenth century A.D." (p. 339). After having so satisfactorily established the utter worthlessness of the earlier part of the annals, it is a pity that Dr. Fleet should make such an elaborate inference on one of the least authentic events of that earlier part. I am inclined to disbelieve the whole story of Raktavāhu the Yavana, as a legend without any historical value. If any identification be at all required, I would rather identify him with some Buddhist or Jaina chief of the South.

Lastly, Dr. Fleet thinks that Çivagupta and his descendants were kings of a dominion which included "probably the whole of Orissa," and who had their capitals at Kaṭaka (p. 327). This conclusion does not appear to be borne out by the facts. The epithet "Trikaṅgādhipati" is merely an honorific title, just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves "kings of Gauṛa and Karṇāṭa" without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word Kaṭaka should be taken as a common noun denoting "camp;" the old name of modern town Kaṭaka being "Bārāṇasi Kaṭaka."¹ Of the six copper-plates, five have, no doubt, been found near modern Kaṭaka; but this is probably due to the fact that the donees lived there or subsequently came to live there. Many Oriyā Brāhmins living near Kaṭaka and Puri still hold lands in the eastern part of Central Provinces, or in the northern part of Madras Presidency. The sixth copper-plate was found in Pāṭnā in the Central Provinces, and does not support the theory of Orissa kingship. The river Mahānadi has been mentioned in copper-plates E. and F., but that river flows as much through the Central Provinces as through Orissa. The villages in which the lands were granted cannot be traced in Orissa; while many of them have been specifically mentioned in the grants to have been in Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala. The kings also are specifically mentioned in the inscriptions as "Kōsalēndra." The inscriptions are not earlier than the 11th and belong more probably to the 12th Century A.D.; and at that time the Gaṅgavaṃṣa kings were ruling in Orissa, as a series of inscriptions have proved beyond doubt. All these facts and a careful reading of the grants lead me to the conclusion that Çivagupta and his descendants were really kings of Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala (identifiable with the N. E. part of Central Provinces),

¹ J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII., 1893, pp. 100-1; the other inscriptions in this article show how the word "kaṭaka" was used in old days; Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 134.

and that the lands in the plates B to F. were granted to Brāhmins who either resided at the time in Orissa or subsequently came to reside there.

APPENDIX III. BHŪPATI PAṆḌITA'S ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF.

ए पथे परम आनन्दे । कृष्णचरण अरविन्दे ॥
 एमन होइला मधुप । वैष्णव दास कवि भूप ।
 पश्चिमा विप्र सारस्वत । नाम ये भूपति पण्डित ॥
 श्रीगणपति गौड़ेश्वर । उत्कल देशर ठाकुर ॥
 ये नव कोटि कार्याटक । क्लवर देशर नायक ॥
 ए आदि लोक चतुर्दश । पुरित याहार सुयश ॥
 जगन्नाथश्च कृष्ण शिरे । एणु ए वड़ जगतरे ॥
 पूर्वे ए ओड़िशा राज्यर । श्री इन्द्रद्युम्न नृपवर ॥ २०० ॥
 ताहाङ्ग आक्षा परमाये । ब्रह्मा अइले ए भुवने ॥
 ब्रह्मा मानिले आक्षा यार । इतर जन केउं हार ॥
 एहाङ्ग शिरे साङ्गि देह । एटि प्रबद्धे विष्णुदेहि ॥
 ए वीरवर वइष्णव । नाम श्री दिव्यसिंह देव ॥
 कच्छे राजाङ्ग चूडामणि । सुन्दरपणे अये गणि ॥
 कन्दर्प सम गोहे रूपे । पृथिवी पूरित प्रतापे ॥
 पण्डित घामक विवेक । सङ्गीत विद्या सुरसिक ॥
 मदन शास्त्र अनुभव । श्रीकृष्णारस वाक्क कवि ॥
 प्रजापालन विप्रभक्त । दयाळु दाता परहित ॥
 एते कक्षये से राजन । ताहाङ्ग करि दरशन ॥ २१० ॥
 कीर्त्ति कवित्व वर्णिवार । शुण्ठि सन्तोष नृपवर ॥
 धनवसन भूमि दान । देले से होइ सुप्रसन्न ॥
 देखि अनुग्रह विशेष । क्हाड़ि अइलि गिज देश ॥
 ताहाङ्ग अमजल खाइ । सुखे ताहाङ्ग राज्ये थाइ ॥
 कठक नाम रथिपुर । नगर पश्चिमे मो घर ॥
 पश्चिम भाषारे कवित्व । वङ्गला भाषा बिरहित ॥
 उत्कल भाषा नवशिक्षा । मोहर वइष्णव दीक्षा ॥
 श्री ब्रज रानेन्दु कुमर । किशोर कृष्ण वेणुधर ॥

ताहाङ्गु शाखा भावे भणि । निम्नैळ प्रेमे मन रञ्जि ।
 श्री कृष्णचरणे विद्यास । नाम श्री चइतन्यदास ॥ २२० ॥
 महत्त शुद्ध वदव्याव । गोपीका भक्ति ताङ्ग भाव ।
 श्रीपुत्रभोक्तमरे घर । शुद्ध पश्चिम पादङ्गर ।
 पूर्व्वे से कपालभोचन । पश्चिमे सेकेन्दर ख्यान ।
 ए दुइ शिवङ्ग मध्यर । मठ चइतन्य दासङ्गर ।
 ताहाङ्गु सङ्गे मो पीरति । ताहाङ्गु इष्ट गोपीपति ।
 आञ्जा होइजा ताहाङ्गर । उत्कळ भाषा वाक्य कर ॥
 चौतिषा षडपदी गीत । बर्ष हो गोविन्द चरित ।
 ताहाङ्गु आञ्जा घेनि शिरे । मन श्रीकृष्ण चरखरे ।
 सुधासमुद्र पूरि थाइ । येण्ट पूराइ खग नेइ ।
 तद्व गोविन्द चरित । चौतिषा षडपदी गीत ।
 करइं वुद्धि अनुसारे । मुखाइं ताहाङ्गु क्वासुरे । २३० ।
 से पुबि ऊचन्ति प्रसन्न । खानन्दे दबन्ति आखिङ्गन ।
 ए रूपे कृपा ताहाङ्गर । एटि दुर्लभ नाम मोर ।
श्रीदिव्यसिंह राजाङ्गर । समस्त अठर अङ्गर ।
मकर मास शुक्लपक्ष । तिथि त्रयोदशी प्रत्यक्ष ।
गोधूळि सोमवार दिन । ए ग्रन्थ होइजा सम्पूर्ण ।
 ए दश अध्या पदयुक्त । दुइ सहस्र गव शत ।
 अधिक्क सप्त तिरिण्ण । ए प्रेम पञ्चामृत रस ।
 येवे तो ब्रह्मज्ञाने मन । ए ग्रन्थ करहे पठन ।

Prēmapañcāmṛta, 10th Adhyāya, pp. 122-23.

APPENDIX IV.

The Later Kings of Khōrdā.

Considerable confusion exists regarding the times of these kings, and the confusion has arisen partly from the peculiar nature of the Oṛiyā aṅka and partly from relying on one version alone of the Mādaḷā Pāñji. The Oṛiyā aṅka omits several years and begins in bhādra; but hitherto it has been taken as an ordinary year. The Mādaḷā Pāñji, furthermore, gives several versions of the royal genealogies. Of these one has been followed by Mr. Stirling, which will be called A;

another (to be called B) is followed in Bābu Bhabāni Charaṇ Bandyō-pādhyāya's *Puruṣōttamacandrikā* and adopted in Hunter's *Orissa* (Vol. II, App. VII, pp. 183–191); while a third which I shall call C is still unpublished. The C version is incomplete taking the genealogy up to Gōpīnātha Dēva only, but otherwise appears to have been generally more reliable.

I. DIVYASIMHA DĒVA.
(1692/93–1719/20 A.D.).

His time is important for Oṛiyā literature, as three poets,—Upēndra Bhañja, Bhūpati Paṇḍita and Bisvanātha Khuṇṭiā mention him. The king's initial year appears to be 1692–93 A.D., and for several reasons. Firstly, A puts it at 1692 A.D. Secondly, Bhūpati Paṇḍita's poem was finished in his 18th Aṅka, makara ṅkḷa trayōdaṇi, Monday. On calculating according to Prof. Jacobi's Tables, makara ṅkḷa trayōdaṇi fell on Monday in the year 1707 (3rd February). This being the king's 18th aṅka or 15th year, the first year falls in 1692–93. Thirdly, reasonings from Mahomedan chronicles support this date. During this reign Aurangzēb sent orders to break the temple and the image of Jagannātha:—

“He (Mir Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bilgrām) was a man held in great respect and had served under Nawāb Ikrām in Orissa. When Aurangzēb had sent orders to the Nawāb to destroy the temple of Jagannāth, Raja Durup Sing Deo who had the temple under him asked the Mir to introduce him to the Nawāb. The Raja promised to break up the temple and to send the big idol to the Emperor. He actually did break the statue of Rakas which stood over the entrance of the temple, and also two battlements over the door. The idol which was made of sandalwood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzēb at Bijapur where it was thrown by order on the steps of the mosque.”¹

¹ *Tabṣirat-ul-Nāzīrīn*, l. c. Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 112. The breaking of the temple is corroborated by *Mādaḷā Pīñji* (C version):—

“(ब०ङ्क) रिसभ दि १९ ने रहिन देवविभा एर दिन पत्नीसा अउरउ साबाह्क नवाव एकराम बाँ एहाङ्कडाव अरसा एहा भार सरमख बाँ यमाउसा रसङ्गे रमान कोळि अउपार मो १० डा वेनि । राया दिवसिंह देव वावसाणि चोरविसे देउळ सिंहादर मुमुठ भाङ्गिसे भीरमखपर चङ्ग नेसे काठर सजबाव प्रतिमाङ्क मुमुठ नेसे देउळ सिंहासन उपरङ्क नवाव भार मसा देउळ सिंहादर दखीच द्वार मुदावसा”

The event thus described took place on 19th *raava*, 7th Aṅka of the king Divyasimha Dēva, being 17th *May* in 1697 A.D.

Aurangzēb was at Bijapur in 1697 A.D., conducting the war against the Marhattas.¹ As quoted in the note 1 of page 381, the image was taken away in the 7th aṅka of the King Divyasimha Dēva. Hence his 7th Aṅka or 5th year fell in 1696/97 A.D., and his 1st year in 1692/93 A.D. According to C, Divyasimha was crowned on Bichā 23rd, equal to 22nd November 1692, (*vide* Prof. Jacobi's Tables).

According to C, Divyasimha Dēva ruled for 34 Aṅkas or 27y. 5m. 11d. That he reigned for more than 33 Aṅkas is corroborated by an Oṛiyā inscription found by me on the wheel at the top of Jagannātha temple. The Inscription contains the following entry among others:—

“*श्रीवसिंह देव माधाराजाक ३२२क मकर दि २८ न श्रीनीलचक्र नीचर होइ विजे होइ*” The blue wheel was made and put (on the top), on makara 28th, 33rd Aṅka of Śri-Dribasimha Dēva Māhārājā.

The 33rd Aṅka or 27th year takes us to 1718/19 A.D., and its makar 28th was 26th January in 1719 A.D., (*vide* Jacobi's Tables). Divyasimha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1719 A.D. According to C, he died next year on mṛṣa 31st (34th Aṅka), or 28th April 1720 A.D. (*vide* Jacobi).

II. HARĒKṚṢṆA DĒVA.

(1719/20–1724/25 A.D.)

Divyasimha was succeeded by his brother Harēkṛṣṇa, whose reign is put by A. and B. at 5 years and by C. at 7 Aṅkas or 4y. 10m. 20d, (3 put in C by mistake for 4). All the versions therefore agree. He died on mina 19th, 7th Aṅka (*vide* C.) which according to Jacobi's Tables would be 18th March in 1725 A.D. The father of Gadādhara Rāyaguru (the author of Sanskrit Ācārasāra) was guru of this king.

III. GŌPINĀTHA DĒVA.

(1724/25–1731/32 A.D.)

Harēkṛṣṇa was succeeded by his son Gōpinātha, with whose accession C. ends. Both A. and B. agree in putting his reign at 7 years. That he reigned for more than six years is corroborated by an account in the *Madaḷā Pāñji*. During this reign the accidental sitting of an owl on the Jagannātha's image necessitated an extraordinary purification with three baths. (The event took place on Makar kṛṣṇa trayōdaṣi, Monday, 8th Aṅka of Gōpinātha Dēva. Makara kṛṣṇa 13 fell on Monday in the year 1731 A.D. (25th January). Gōpinātha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1731 A.D.)

¹ Elphinstone's *Hist. Ind.*, p. 662 (Ed. 1889).

IV. RĀMACANDRA DĒVA II.

(1731/32—1742/43 A.D.)

This king was son of Gōpinātha. According to A., he reigned 16 years; according to B. 11 years. B's statement appears more reliable, because the reigns of this king and of his two successors amount to 66 years, and the next following king (Makunda Dēva) began to rule in 1797/98 A.D., as I shall show hereafter. Hence Rāmacandra's 1st year falls in 1731/32 (or 1797/98—66) exactly as calculated from his father's reign. But A's total 71 would put his 1st year further back to 1726/27 A.D., which does not agree with the calculations from the reigns of the preceding kings. Rāmacandra Dēva was unfortunate. He was defeated and taken as prisoner to Kāṭaka under orders of Shujā-ud-din, the Bengal Governor. At Kāṭaka he married a Mahomedan lady and died.

V. VIRAKIṢŌRA DĒVA.

(1742/43—1779/80 A.D.)

Virakiṣōra succeeded his grandfather as a child. According to A,¹ the Marhattas conquered Orissa and drove out the Mughals in his 5th Aṅka or 4th year. This dispossession of the Mughals took place towards the end of the rains in 1745 A.D.² The 4th year being 1745/46 A.D., the first year naturally falls in 1742/43 A.D. According to A. he ruled 43 years; and according to B. 37 years. For reasons stated under Rāmacandra Dēva and under the next kings I have accepted B's figures as more reliable. Virakiṣōra was reigning in 43rd Aṅka or 35th year as an Oṛiyā sale-deed testifies.³ The king's rule was nominal being disturbed by Mughals and Marhattas.

VI. DIVYASĪMHA DĒVA II.

(1779/80—1797/98 A.D.)

This king was grandson of Virakiṣōra. His reign is put by Mr. Stirling at 12, and by B. at 18 years. The former is wrong because A. which Stirling followed, really shows 18 and not 12; and because Stirling himself has translated an Oṛiyā sale-deed dated 17th Aṅka or

¹ “र राजाह्म चरुदरं चासि सुमल्लकु उदार देवे ।
कटक बमल कवे । सुमल्लवन्दि दचल कवे ।”

² Stewart's Hist. Beng. (1847), p. 293. “Ragojee accordingly encamped in Beerbhoom and reduced the province of Cuttack and most of Burdwan, by his detachments.”

³ Toynbee's Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.

14th year of this king.¹ He used to pay tribute to the Marhattas, and had little of royal power even in his own territory that corresponded with the present Khōrdā subdivision plus Parganā Lēmbāi.

VII. MAKUNDA DĒVA II.

(1797/98—1817 A.D.)

Stirling places the accession of this king in 1798 A.D., and as he was a contemporary of the king his opinion carries weight. This is borne out also by two facts. According to A. the British conquered Orissa in this king's 9th Anka, and captured and imprisoned the Rājā in his 10th Anka or 8th year. The British forces captured the Fort Bārabāṭi in Kaṭaka on 14th October 1803, while the Rājā himself was captured the next year in November 1804.² Hence the 1st year of the king falls in 1797-98 A.D. The Rājā was released subsequently. But in 1817 on account of the rebellion of Khōrdā pāiks he was recaptured and put into the prison at Kaṭaka. There he died on 30th November 1817 A.D.³ in his 24th Anka or 19th year.

APPENDIX V.

Gumusara royal Geneeology.

एहाङ्ग (वनमालि भङ्गकु) मारि एहाङ्ग भाइ गोपिनाथ भङ्ग रायत कले १५५८ सकाब्द शरिक्ति व २२ वं । १५७१ शकाब्दरे गोपिनाथपुर शासन कले । एहाङ्ग पुष्य वड़ धनञ्जय भङ्गे १ गोविन्द भङ्ग पाटरजा २ वनमत्र छोटरा ३ निधि भङ्ग सान्तसिंहारे ४ । ए चारि पुष्य ताङ्गर होइथिले । ताङ्ग भितर वड़ पुष्य धनञ्जय भङ्ग राजत कले । ए राजत कले ओ राजत करिवारे बाठी ए ह्यार टङ्गा जगाइ जगतौ गोटिए तीयार करिथिले । खटदोळी वाङ्गिया रतन जड़ित करि तीयार करिथिले । एहाङ्गर विशेष महादेइ नाचुळि करिथिले । ए वड़ भोगि । ए माइपि कुचमईन उष्यन्ति । ए राच दुइ घड़ि घाय सबचकुळि दुध योगया करन्ति । ए रजा धनञ्जयपुर शासन १५७८ शकाब्दरे कले । एहिपरि यश्रमानङ्ग करि राजत करिवारे ए राजत कले १६२३ शकाब्द शरिक्ति व ६५ वं । एचकु १६१६ शकाब्द शरिक्ति पेशकेशि काहाकु देवार न थिया । १६१७ शकाब्द शरिक्ति मुगजाइ नवाव खासिवारे एक बर्बकु ट ५००००० टा पाच ह्यार टङ्गा लेखाए पेशकेशि मूळ कले । से दिन ठार पेशकेशि देवार

¹ Toynbee's Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.

² Toynbee's Orissa, pp. 4-5; Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, p. 58.

³ Toynbee's Orissa, p. 21.

हेला । एहाङ्ग पुष्य राउतघर नाति वड़ गङ्गाधर पाट कुमारे । जुहु मुळार नाती
 हरिहररथ भङ्गे । एहाङ्ग पद हन्ताकारौ वड़जेना । धरा कोट घर नाति
 विष्णुनाथ मङ्गराने । वड़म्मा हाड़ देह पाट महादेइङ्ग पुष्य । गिलकगठ भङ्गे । १ ।
 विक्रम भङ्गे । २ । प्रताप भङ्गे । ३ । खयडपड़ाधर नाति गदाधर भङ्गे । १ । श्रान्त
 सिंंहारे । २ । खलिकोटघर नाति । गिरिधर भङ्गे । १ । सदाशिव भङ्गे । २ ।
 वाउरि भङ्गे । ३ । भमर वरे । १ । राउत घर नाति । अर्जुन भङ्गे । २ । एरूपे तेर
 पुष्य नाथुखी पुष्य पाषाण गोटी । एरूप अठर पुष्य । एहाङ्ग राजवरे ए गुमुशरजु
 अन्वत्यमा गोपनीय वेष्टरे आसि थिले । ताङ्ग तेजस राजा महापुरुष वीलि नाथि
 ताङ्गठारे भक्ति कले । ताङ्ग पचारिले आम्भ उताब गुमुशररे किये राजत्व करिव ।
 पचारिवाब तर्हिंकि से कहिले । तुम्भ पुष्यमानङ्गु राजत्व नाहिं । तर्हिं उत्ताब
 गोविन्द भङ्ग घाट रजाङ्ग पुष्य । रघुनाथ दक्षिणर ये । घन भङ्गे । चन्द्र श्रेखर
 श्रीचन्दने । जहु भमर वरे । ग्रामसुन्दर विधारे । मजुन्द भङ्गे राष्ठापितामे । एरूपे
 ताङ्गर छपुअङ्गु देखिले । एहाङ्गु देखि वोइले काहाठारे राजधिङ्ग नाहिं । धनिया
 उत्ताब गोविन्द भङ्ग घाट रजाङ्ग पुष्य धनिया हेव । एपरि से कहिवाब ताहा
 मनरे रखिथिले । धनझय भङ्ग राजभोग इच्छारे रहि भाइ गोविन्द भङ्ग घाट
 रजाङ्गु मुलुक वेमार समर्पण करि धान्ति । ए समयरे मुख्यागि महादेइ
 हाडुदेइङ्ग ठारे रजाङ्गर वड़ खेह थाए । से महादेइ पुष्य नीळकण्ठ भङ्गु
 साङ्गी देव वीलि कऊथान्ति । गङ्गाधर पाट कुमारङ्ग ठारे गोविन्द भङ्ग घाट
 रजाङ्गर छपुअ प्रीतिकरि धान्ति । हाडुदेइ ताहा शुधि रजाङ्ग ठारे विमन करि
 खच कहिले । गोविन्द भङ्ग घाट रजाङ्गु छपुअ समेतरे राव्यर अन्तर कराइ
 देले । से गोविन्द भङ्ग घाट रजा पाषाण पुष्यङ्गु घेनि ओडौश्या वाहारि गले । घन
 भङ्गे धराकोट जमिदारी स्थणरे रहिले । एउताब रजा वङ्गत काळ जीईंवाब
 हाडुदेइ विचारिले । एत वङ्गत काळ राजत्व कले पुष्य मोर रजा होइ न
 पारिजा । एमन्त दुर्वीचार करि चम्पा नागि हाते दुध सबचकुळी खाइवारे
 सेथिरे विष दिआइले पुष्य नीळकण्ठ भङ्गु वापङ्गु ए समयरे अपाय विचार
 कर वीलि कहि देले । नीळकण्ठ भङ्ग ताहा नाथि वापङ्गु माइले । वड़ भाइ पाट
 कुमारङ्गु राज साङ्गी वान्धिवि आस वीलिवाब से भयब कवाट किळि रहि घब
 न वाहारिले । ताङ्ग घर कवाट धिरि ताङ्गु धरि हाथि पकाइले । ताहाङ्ग पुष्य
 सत्रुजय भङ्ग पाषेरि धिरि पळाउथिले । दन्ता-दया वीलि वालेक काख
 विंधिवाब काख नाथिवारे पडिवाब वेढीकरि हाथी पकाइले । ए सत्रुजय भङ्ग

भार्या गर्भ होइथिले । ताकाङ्ग नेह वन्दि करि रखी नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे रासुत कले १६२५ शकाब्द शरिक्लि व २४ । ए भितरे धराकोटेरे थिवा घन भञ्जे सुखीले । तीनि पुरुष मारि नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे राधा हेजे वोजि । से खबर सुखी घन भञ्जे करडामाळकु मुत्र करि करडामाळरे प्रवेश हेजे । सेठारे रहि करडा माळुआ लोकङ्ग पठोआइ वन्दिरे थिवा सनुयय भञ्जइ भार्या मख्खादेइङ्ग आसिना माग्नि पर्व उच्छव मख्खरे कुनाङ्ग गङ्गाढ चोराइ घेनि गले । ताङ्ग नेह बारवारे रखाइले । सेठारे ताङ्गर रणभञ्जौ वोजिवार पुष्य गोटी-ए यन्म हेजे । से पुष्यङ्ग घन भञ्ज घेनि राजवंस पुष्य ए वोजि समस्त माळ कन्दङ्ग देखाइ ताङ्ग आयत्त करि लक्ष्मण तसकर घेनि नीलकण्ठ भञ्जइ उपरे फेवर जगाइले । ओङ्गीश्वारे थिवा घनभञ्जइ वापे गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजा ए दौगर लक्ष्मण धरि लुआगां गङ्ग जमिदारिकु आयत्त करि अमाइतङ्ग आयत्त करि विशेष लक्ष्मण धरि ए दिगढ घेर देजे । एपरि दुइ आङ्गरे घेर देखि नीलकण्ठ भञ्ज रहि न पारि राज्य छाडि वाहारि गजे । से वाहारि थिवाइ रणभञ्जङ्ग राजधानिरे वसाइ गोविन्द भञ्ज थाट रजा वेभारक होइथिले ए १६२६ शकाब्द शरिक्लि व ०४ र्थे ।

MS. Gumusara Bānsābāī.

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