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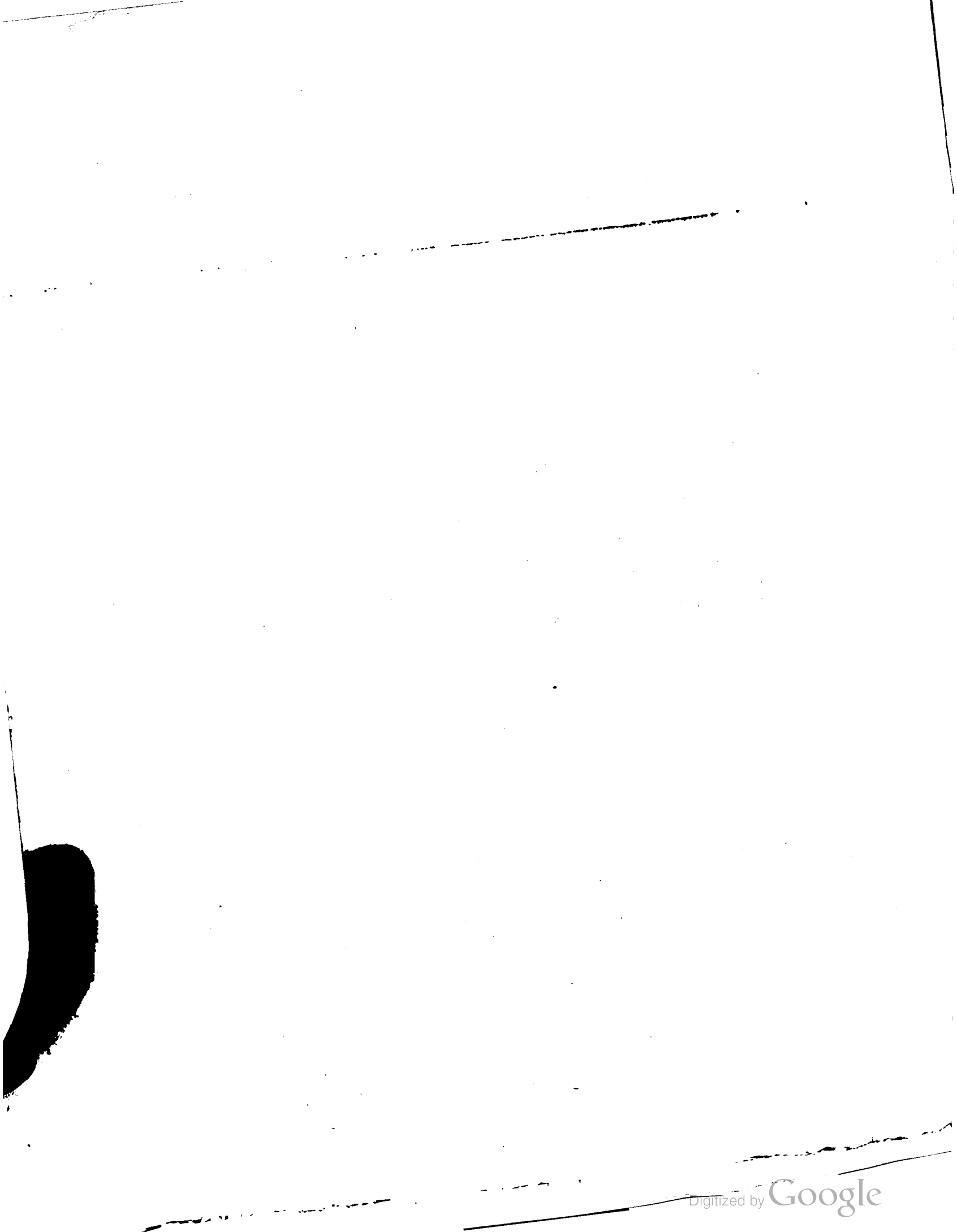


**X. ANALYTICAL ACCOUNT of the PANCH TANTRA, illustrated with occasional  
*Annotations.* By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON. Esq. M.R.A.S., Secretary**

## E R R A T A.

Page	Page
295, line 20, <i>after</i> difficult, add <i>to cura.</i>	333, note †, <i>after</i> the father of, add <i>or.</i>
313, line 13, <i>cancel</i> the comma <i>after</i> Nakschi.	334, line 6, <i>for</i> Lankra, read Sankra.
315, note †, <i>for</i> Barooch, read Baroach.	335, line 1, <i>for</i> Chishna, read Crlahna.
316, note *, <i>for</i> Barooch, read Baroach.	335, note †, <i>for</i> Lymurita, read Lymurica.
317, line 6, <i>instead of</i> from, read <i>for.</i>	336, line 26, a comma <i>to be placed after</i> Sun.
317, line 18, <i>for</i> that word is, read a word.	336, line 27, a period <i>to be placed after</i> doubt.
317, note **, <i>for</i> Silisi, read Siliti.	336, note †, <i>for</i> Tad-tar, read Tad-mor.
320, note †, <i>for</i> author, read compilers.	338, line 3, <i>for</i> Agizzi, read Azizzi.
322, line 3, <i>for</i> Vallus, read Valens.	338, note †, <i>after</i> Plate, add XII.
322, line 26, <i>for</i> Segestes, read Sigertis, <i>in this and</i> <i>every other place where it occurs.</i>	339, line 13, <i>for</i> supposed, read regretted.
327, line 25, <i>for</i> lived, read live.	341, line 18, <i>for</i> it was, read others were.
330, line 22, <i>after</i> no information, add <i>from them.</i>	341, note †, <i>for</i> Bhalla, read Bhala.
332, note *, <i>after</i> Plate, add XII.	Ditto, — <i>for</i> Renandot, read Renaudot, <i>in both</i> <i>instances.</i>
333, line 22, <i>for</i> Sigestides, read Sigertides.	

which they have exercised on the state of manners in Europe, will only be duly appreciated, when we shall be better acquainted with the extent of the obligations we owe them. By whatever channel they may have been conveyed to the West, the Oriental origin of most of the tales, which first



X. *ANALYTICAL ACCOUNT of the PANCHA TANTRA, illustrated with occasional Translations. By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Esq. M.R.A.S., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Read June 5, 1824.

“ As the active world is inferior to the rational soul, so Fiction gives to mankind what History denies, and in some measure satisfies the mind with shadows, when it cannot enjoy the substance.”—LORD BACON.

WHAT the profound observer, quoted above, pronounced generally of fiction, is peculiarly pertinent, when applied to the Hindus. The history of their progress, in the arts of civilized life, is so clouded with mythology, and overcast by time, that our efforts to penetrate the obscurity, have been hitherto of little avail. As the mind, therefore, has little substantial gratification to expect, from this branch of intellectual enjoyment, it may be permitted to indulge in the shadows, that are abundantly presented, and dwell with more interest, than the subject would otherwise excite, on the copious materials afforded by the mass of Hindu fable, within its reach.

The elucidation, which such an inquiry promises to afford of the past manners of the Hindus, before they were metamorphosed, and degraded by the influence of foreign subjugation, constitutes an advantage of more than imaginary value. We see what they were, more distinctly, than through the medium of any general description; and can trust to their own pictures of themselves, more confidently, than to any crude and imperfect exhibitions, delineated from present experience, or circumscribed research. In this point of view, therefore, Hindu fable becomes a valuable accession to real knowledge, and serviceably supplies that want of sober history, which all Oriental inquirers have such perpetual occasion to lament.

It is not only with respect to themselves, however, that the fictions of the Hindus are calculated to add to our stock of knowledge: and the influence, which they have exercised on the state of manners in Europe, will only be duly appreciated, when we shall be better acquainted with the extent of the obligations we owe them. By whatever channel they may have been conveyed to the West, the Oriental origin of most of the tales, which first

roused the inventive faculties of our ancestors, is universally admitted ; and the advocates of the Gothic or Arabic origin of romance, agree in referring its birth-place to the East.

It is now too late to inquire, whether we are to consider Persia as the birth-place of fictitious narrative : for, if such narrative was cultivated there, it must have been clad in the *Pahlevi* language ; and both body and dress are irrecoverably lost. We must, therefore, be content to admit the claims of the Hindus, amongst whom we may trace the original of much that has interested, and amused, our forefathers and ourselves.

The oldest collection of fables and tales, of the class here intended, is the work that passes by the title of the Fables of *Bidpai*, or *Pilpay*. The history of this work is too well known to require any elucidation. Mr. Wilkins, and Sir William Jones, brought to light its original, from amongst the hidden stores of Sanscrit literature ; and Mr. Colebrooke gave the text itself of the *Hitopadésa* to the public. The learning and industry of the Baron de Sacy have finally traced the work through all its stages ; and there are few subjects of investigation, the history of which has been more successfully ascertained, than the Bibliographical adventures of the salutary instructions of *Vishnúsarvá*, or *Fables of Pilpay*.

Although the stories of the *Hitopadésa* are undoubtedly identical with most of those, which are found in all the forms of *Pilpay's* fables, yet it has been clearly shown by Mr. Colebrooke, that it is not the source from which its successors have been directly derived. It is, in fact, itself but a scion of the same parent stock, and in common with the rest, originates, as it indeed admits, from an older collection, the *Pancha Tantra*. The text of this work is not very rare in India, and it were therefore to have been wished, that it had been selected for translation, in preference to the *Hitopadésa* ; but the opportunity has passed. The identity of the two works, for the greater part, renders the translation of both, a work of supererogation : and, fully as the topic has been developed, it is likely that a main defect will long continue to mangle it, at the very outset. The deficiency has, in some measure, been supplied by the sketch, given by Mr. Colebrooke, of the contents of the *Pancha Tantra* ; but, as his chief object was only to substantiate the greater affinity between it and the *Kalila Damana*, than between the Arabic work and the *Hitopadésa*, he has not prosecuted its details farther than was sufficient to effect his purpose. In the want, therefore, of a full analysis, and in



the little likelihood that exists, of a translation of the entire work being now published, it has been presumed that a more minute account of the *Pancha Tantra*, than has yet been given to the world, will not be an unacceptable communication to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

In offering a detail of the contents of the *Pancha Tantra*, it was of course desirable to collate them with those of the *Hitopadésa*, and *Kalila Damana*, which has been accordingly effected; and to relieve the dryness of analytical detail, as well as to convey an idea of the merits of the composition, it has been thought advisable to introduce translations of a number of the stories. Some affinities have also been pointed out between the narratives of the *Pancha Tantra*, and those met with in popular works in Europe; but the want of access to books has necessarily limited this part of the inquiry. Some illustrations of national or literary peculiarities have also been occasionally, but sparingly, added; lest the paper should be rendered too voluminous, and under the impression that many members of the Society are better able to appreciate the extent to which such illustrations may be needed, and better qualified to supply them.

The *Pancha Tantra* is so called from its being divided into five *Tantras*, or sections, and is referred to under that name, in the *Hitopadésa*. It is better known, however, in common speech, by the denomination of *Panchopakhyaṇa*, which may be rendered the "Five (collections of) Stories:" and under this appellation, the work may be met with, in most parts of India.

The ensuing analysis is founded upon an examination of three copies of the work; one of which was procured in Calcutta; the others, in Benares. These copies agree in all essential points, although they present, abundantly, the variations to be expected in compilations of such a character; where stanzas, and even stories, are often omitted or inserted, at the pleasure of the transcriber.

The invocation, with which, like all *Hindu* works, the *Pancha Tantra* commences, differs very importantly from that of the *Hitopadésa*. In the latter work, it is addressed to SIVA, in the former to SARASWATÍ. One manuscript, indeed, calls upon all the *Hindu Pantheon*, OR BRAHMÁ, RUDRA, KUMÁRA, HARI, INDRA, YAMA, &c. &c., the elements, the planets, the *Munis*, *Rishis*, and all the other objects of Hindu reverence, to be propitious to the reader; but this is a solitary reading, and a probable interpolation. The homage to SARASWATÍ is followed by a tribute of respect to the authors of ethical compositions, of whom are named, MENU, VÁCHA-

SPATI, UŚANAS (SUCRA), PARÁSARA, VYÁSA, and CHÁNAKYA.\* It is then stated, that VISHNÚ SARMÁ, having extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class, composed the *Nítí* † *Sástra*, in five Tantras, or chapters. We are then introduced to the frame work of the whole, the education of the King's sons by VISHNÚ-SARMÁ; on which occasion the apologues were composed. This is introduced in the *Hitópadeśa*, but with some variations; and, as it affords an example of the concurrences and disagreements of the two collections, I shall give it at length from the *Pancha Tantra*.

“ There is a city in the Southern country, named *Mihildrópyam*, the king of which, learned, munificent, distinguished among princes and scholars, was named AMARA SACTI. He had three sons, youths of no capacity, nor diligence: VASU SACTI, BHADRA SACTI, ‡ and ANANTA SACTI. Observing them averse from study, the king called his counsellors, and said to them, “ you are aware that my sons are little inclined to application, and incapable of reflection. When I contemplate them, my kingdom is full of thorns, and yields me no pleasure. It is said by the wise, ‘ Better is a son unborn; better is a dead son, than one who is a fool. The first may cause affliction for a little while, but a fool, as long as life endures.’ Again, ‘ of what use is a cow who has no milk with her calf; of what use is a son who has neither knowledge, nor virtue? Better it is, that a wife be barren, that she bear daughters or dead children, and that the family

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\* Authors of very different character. The first is the Legislator, whose code has been rendered into English by Sir William Jones. The works of VA'CHASPATÍ, the teacher of the Gods, and of SUCRA, the preceptor of the (*daityas*) Titans, have not, it is believed, been found on earth. \* PARA'S'ARA, the father of VYA'SA, is the reputed author of an institute of laws, and the chief interlocutor of the *Vishnu-Purána*. To CHA'NAKYA is ascribed a treatise on (*Nítí*) regal polity, which, though no longer met with, is cited by authors of some antiquity, as DANDI, in the *Dasa Kumára*. CHA'NAKYA was the minister of CHANDRAGUPTA, and the chief agent in his elevation to the throne of *Magad'ha*.

† Sir Wm. Jones translated the term *Nítí* by Ethics, and he has been followed by all *Sanscrit* scholars, in the interpretation. This is not, however, the precise import of the term. As applied to a class of writings, or division of science, it would be, more correctly, polity, the art of regal administration, both in peace and war, including the moral, as well as political, obligations of a sovereign.

‡ In some copies, UGRA-SACTI.—H.T.C.

\* VA'CHESPATÍ is the same with VAIHASPATÍ, as UŚANAS is identified with SUCRA. Institutes of law, ascribed to VAIHASPATÍ and to UŚANAS, are extant.—H.T.C.

become extinct, than that a son, endowed with your form, wealth, and family-credit, should want understanding.' If, therefore, by any means their minds can be roused, do you declare it." On this, a counsellor replied, "Prince, the study of grammar alone is the work of twelve years, how then is a knowledge of *Dharma*, *Ar̥ha*, *Kāma*, and *Mōksha*,\* to be speedily conveyed?" Another counsellor, named SUMATI, observed, "Prince, the powers of man are limited by his transitory existence; but to acquire a knowledge of language alone, demands much time. It is better that we think of some means of communicating the substance of each science, in a compendious form; as it is said, 'The *Sabda Śāstra* (Philology) is a boundless ocean: life is short, and the difficulties are many; the essence, therefore, is to be taken, as the swan extracts the milk from the water.' † There is a Brahman, named VISHNU SARMÁ, celebrated for his perfect acquisition of the sciences. To him entrust your sons, and he will render them 'well informed.'" On hearing this, the king sent for VISHNU SARMÁ, and addressed him, "Venerable *Brahman*, confer a favour upon me, by instructing these princes in polite literature, and rendering them superior to the youths, their companions; in recompense of which, I promise you lands of large extent." VISHNU SARMÁ replied, "Hear, O king, my words. I am not a retailer of knowledge for lands and wealth; but if I do not instruct your sons in the *Nīti Śāstra*, I will forego my own name. There is no need to say more. I do not utter this vaunt, through any desire of wealth; for wealth is useless to any one whose passions are mortified, and subdued: I wish but to gratify you, and to do the will of SARASWATÍ. Let it be written, therefore, that if, in six months from this day, I do not make the princes more proficient than many people, in various branches of knowledge, it shall not be allowed to me, a *Brahman*, to point out the way of God." The king, highly gratified by this assurance, delivered his sons to

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\* The four objects or occupations of human life: Duty, Wealth, Desire, and Final Liberation.

† This is a popular notion among the Hindus, originating, probably, in the colour of the bird.\*

\* Or rather, because the bird seems, as the Hindus apprehend, to extract his food, by suction, from solution in water, wherefore, a bird of this genus is considered to be an emblem of discrimination, as being capable of separating milk from water.—H. T. C.

him, and retired ; and VISHNU SARMA, taking the princes with him, repaired to his own house ; where, for their instruction, he composed these five chapters : *Mitra bhéda*, dissension of friends ; *Mitra prápti*, acquisition of friends ; *Kákólukíya*, inveterate enmity ; *Lábdha prasamana*, loss of advantage ; *Aparákshita cdritwa*, inconsiderateness. Reading these, the princes were, in six months, highly accomplished ; and the five Tantras became famous throughout the world. Whosoever reads this work, acquires the whole *Níti Sástra*, and will never be overthrown by INDRA himself."

The commencement of the *Pancha Tantra*, which is thus given, differs materially, in some respects, from the *Hitópadésa*, of which the *Mitralábha*, or acquisition of friends, constitutes the first, and the *Mitra bhéda*, or dissension of friends, the second book. The arrangement of the *Pancha Tantra* is, no doubt, the original, as the same is observed in the *Kalíla Damana* of ABDALLAH MOKAFFAH, exclusive of the avowedly additional prolegomena. It may here also be observed, that in the large collection of stories, made by *Sóma-déva* in the eleventh century, and usually known as the *Vríhat Kat'há*, we have a chapter appropriated to the same stories, that occur in this section of the *Pancha Tantra*, following nearly the same order. I shall, therefore, refer occasionally to this series, also in my remarks ; and shall here state, that it begins in the same manner as the *Pancha Tantra*, and its Arabic translation, with the journey of the merchant, and his abandonment of his ox, *Sanjívaka*, in the forests, on the borders of the *Yamuná*.

Many varieties of minor importance occur in this part of the story, not only as related in the *Hitópadésa*, but as told in different copies of the *Pancha Tantra*. They are, however, of no consequence. It is only worth while to observe, that the different copies of the latter agree in naming *Mihílárópya*,\* as not only the residence of AMARA SACTI, but as the city whence the merchant departs. One manuscript has a laboured description the splendour and strength of the town. Now, in general, in both the *Pancha Tantra* and the *Hitópadésa*, the places named are real ; † and there seems every reason, therefore, to conclude, that *Mihílárópya* was a city, in the south of

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\* In some copies the name is written Mahílárópya.—H. T. C.

† So Agnolo Firenzuolo, the Florentine translator, has laid the scenes of the several narratives in various real localities, transferred to Italy.

India, of some celebrity, when these stories were first composed. We need not be much at a loss for its identification, as the name approaches sufficiently to *Mihilapur*, *Meliapur*, or St. Thomé; where our own records indicate a city of some consequence, in the beginning of the Christian era, as the scene of the labours and martyrdom of St. Thomas, occurrences very far from invalidated by any arguments, yet adduced against the truth of the tradition. The *Hitopadésa* changes the residence of the King to *Pátaliputra*, on the Ganges; and although it leaves the merchant's residence in the south, it alters the name to *Suvernavati*, that is, the "Golden." Hamilton calls St. Thomé, *Mailapur*, "The City of the Peacock," and the import of *Maila*, in the Tamul language, is a Peacock, whilst *pur* is the ordinary Sanscrit addition, signifying town. There is no good authority, however, for supposing this to be the original designation of *Meliapur*, and it may be only a vernacular modification of the name, whilst *Mihildrópya* furnishes a much nearer approximation to the *Maliarpha* of Ptolemy, which has been hitherto supposed the same with *Meliapur*, or St. Thomé.

The name of the ox that falls, and is left behind, is in all the books, *Sanjívaka*, whence the Arabic *Shanzebeh*; those of the jackals, *Karataka* and *Damanaka*, altered to *Kalila* and *Damana*. The lion is uniformly termed in the Sanscrit *Pingalaka*; the Arabic leaves him unnamed.

The first story, in all the *Hindu* books is, "the monkey and the timber." It is the second, in the Arabic. The story of "the man, who could not avoid his destiny," related by the merchant's servant, is an addition; being, however, grafted upon a verse, in the original, which inculcates the irresistible force of fate. "What fate protects, is safe, though it be unwatched; and that which is guarded with the greatest precaution, if destiny defend it not, will surely be destroyed. One who is left without a guardian, in a forest, shall escape with life; whilst another perishes in the house, and in spite of every care."

There is a very great variety in the different manuscripts, in the passages that follow. The *Hitopadésa* has also the story of "the Dog and the Ass," which is not found in the *Pancha Tantra*, *Kalila-Damana*, or *Vrihat Kathá*: the next story, in all these three, being "the Fox and Drum," which the *Hitopadésa* omits.

The *Hitopadésa* has again the story of "the Cat and the Lion," in which it differs from all the rest; whilst the *Pancha Tantra* has the story of "Dantila, a merchant of *Varddhama*," which does not occur in the Arabic. The

merchant incurs the displeasure of the sweeper of the palace; who in revenge, mutters insinuations against his character, for the king to overhear. When questioned farther, he pretends not to know what he has uttered, and to have talked in his sleep: the insinuations, however, produce their effect. When the merchant has discovered the cause of his disgrace, and reconciled the menial *Górabha*, the latter takes an opportunity of venting an insinuation against the king himself, so wholly absurd, that the prince is convinced, his servant prattles unmeaningly, and he acknowledges the merchant's innocence. The object of this story is to shew, that the meanest individuals, about the person of a prince, are not to be offended with impunity.

The story of "the goblin, *Ghantakarna*," is peculiar to the *Hitópadesá*. That of "*Kandarpakétu*," agrees in the general course, although not in the first part, with the adventures of "*Déva Sarma*," in the *Pancha Tantra*, which latter is precisely followed in the story of the *Nasika*, or religious man, in the *Kalíla Damana*; and *Tahid*, in the *Anvari Soheili*. One of the incidents of this story has attracted extraordinary admiration, if we may judge by the endlessly varied copies, and modifications of it, which have appeared in the East, and in the West: the loss of her nose by the confidante, and its supposed recovery by the intriguante, for whom she had been substituted, affording a miraculous proof of the wife's innocence, imposing upon her husband, has been retold in a vast number of ways. It is repeated, with different degrees of modification, in the "Roman and Turkish Tales," in the "Decameron of Boccacio," "The *Novelle* of Malespini," "The *Cent Nouvelles*," "The *Cheveux Coupés*," a fablieau, by Guerin, in the "Contes of La Fontaine," in the "Women pleased, of Beaumont and Fletcher," and in "The Guardian of Massinger." The story itself, as told in the *Hitópadesá*, has been versified by Hoppner; and, as narrated in the *Anvari Soheili*, it has been rendered into English verse, by Atkinson.

The next story, in the *Pancha Tantra*, is omitted in all the works, derived from this original. It is, however, a well known story, being the same as *Malak* and *Shirin* in the Persian Tales, and the Labourer and Flying Car in the additional stories from the Arabian Nights. It is also narrated, with some variation, in the *Vrihat Kathá*. The Muhammedan contrivance of a box, and the personification of Muhammed, are rather clumsy substitutes for the fiction of the original, in which the adventurer, in love with a princess, personates *Vishnu*, and rides on a wooden representation of *Garúda*.

guided by a pin, and moving by magic, the prototype of the flying steed of Magellan; "the wondrous horse of brass, on which the Tartar king did ride," and other self-moving machines of celebrity, in oriental and chivalric romance.

The story of "the *Gópi* and her two lovers," is here peculiar to the *Hitopadésa*; but it is familiar to European story-telling. It is the third of the three fabliaux, *De la Mauvaise Femme*, and occurs in *Le Roman des Sept Sages*, and the *Novelle* of *Bandello*, *Boccacio*, *Sansovino*, and other similar collections.

The next story of "The Two Crows," is common to all the collections; as is that, interwoven with it, of "The Crane, or Swan, killed by the Crab." This portion of the original has been made great use of by the author of the *Bahar Danish*, who has compiled his story of "The Mouse and Prince of Ghilan," almost wholly of extracts from the *Pancha Tantra*. This portion of the latter work contains a quotation of some interest, in the literary history of the Hindus. It is a passage from the astronomical writings of *VARÁHAMIHIRA*, and occurs, without variation, in the two best manuscripts of the original. This citation is justly considered, by Mr. Colebrooke, as a proof of the astronomer's priority to the composition of the *Pancha Tantra*, and a satisfactory corroboration of other arguments, favourable to his existence, at the time usually assigned to him, in the fifth century of the Christian era.\*

A striking proof occurs here, also, of the more exact correspondence between the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila Damana*, than between the latter and *Hitopadésa*. In the story of "The Two Crows," the interwoven story in both the former works, is that of "The Crane, or Swan, killed by the Crab;" and it is not till the apologue of the Crows is closed, that the "Lion led into a Snare by the Hare," occurs. In the *Hitopadésa* the first is omitted, and the second put in its place; and instead of a Hare, the beguiler of the forest monarch, is an old Stag. The story of "The Crab and (*Vaca*) Crane," is not found in the *Hitopadésa* earlier than the last section, or *Sand'hi*, to which several of the fables, belonging to this part of the *Pancha Tantra*, are transferred.

The next story, "The Flea, the Bug, and the King," is omitted from the *Hitopadésa*. It occurs in the *Kalila Damana*, but not exactly in the same

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\* As. Res. IX. 364, and Hindu Algebra, Introd. Also Preface to Sanscrit Dictionary, xiv.  
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order. The adventures of the Jackall, who falls into the dyer's vat, are not given in the Arabic version. They are told in the *Hitopadésa*, but in a different section, that of *Vigraha*, or war. They are also copied in the *Bahar Danish*.

The next story of "The Lion with his three Ministers (the Tiger, Crow, and Jackall), and the Camel," whom they ensnare and destroy, holds the same place in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*. It is briefly told in the *Hitopadésa*, but in the *Sand'hi* section, or Chapter on Peace.

The ensuing story of the *Tittibha* occurs in all the three works, in the same place; but there is a great difference in its internal arrangements. In the *Hitopadésa*, it includes no other apologue whatever; in the *Kalila Damana*, only one, "The Tortoise and the Geese;" in the *Pancha Tantra*, it comprehends five: "The Tortoise and the Geese;" "The three Fishes;" "The Elephant, destroyed by the Sparrow, the Woodpecker, the Fly, and the Frog;" "The Swan, creeping Plant, and Fowler;" and "The Ram killed by the Lion." In the *Kalila Damana*, the first, as observed, occurs in the same place, the second somewhat earlier, and the other three are omitted.\*

In the *Hitopadésa*, the two first occur in the fourth section; the other three are wanting.

The story of the *Tittibha*, or *Titawé*, is one of the decisive proofs of the Indian origin of these fables. The personified ocean, or *Varuṇa*, and *Garuda*, the bird of *Vishṇu*, are inadequately represented by the *Vakil al Behr* and the *Anka*, the king and lord of the feathered race. But the name of the bird is alone sufficient. The *Titawé*, although it is found in the Arabic lexicons, and is said to be a species of the *Kátá*,† has very little appearance of an Arabic term; nor can it be resolved to any satisfactory root. It is, therefore, probably only a transcript of the Sanscrit *Tittibha*, Bengali *Tittibh*, and Hindi *Tit'hiri*: the names, throughout India, for a kind of Sand-

\* They appear to have been wanting in Mr. Sotheby's copy of the *Pancha Tantra*.—H.T.C.

† The *Kátá* is described as a bird frequenting watery places. Golius and Meninski explain (قطا) *Kátá*, avis columbæ similis magnitudine et formâ, quæ gregatim volat; et e longinquo aquam petere novit, vocem, kattá, edens, unde illi nomen. There are said also to be two kinds, one much larger than the other. Burckhardt, in his Travels in Syria, calls the *Katta* a species of partridge, and mentions their being met with in the mountains of Belba, Kerek, Djebel, and Thera, in such flocks, that the Arab boys often kill two or three at a time, by throwing a stick at them. The *Tittibha* is encountered in numerous flocks, but is in size unlike either a pigeon or a partridge, and is a very different bird.



piper,\* very numerous on the sandy banks and shores of rivers. The strutting gait of this bird is supposed, universally, to indicate his inordinate conceit; and thence the appropriate selection of him, in the story, as defying the sea. This characteristic is so commonly attributed to the *Tittibha*, that it is proverbially said to sleep on its back, with its legs upwards, to prevent the sky from falling.

This section of the *Hitopadésa*, or *Mitra Bhéda*, contains no more apologies, but follows that of The Birds and Sea, with the engagement between the Lion and the Bull, and the death of the latter. In the *Pancha Tantra*, the *Kalila Damana*, and *Vrihat Kat'hd*, the Jackalls converse together, during the contest, and narrate several stories. The first, in the former work, is that of the Lion tricked out of the Camel's flesh by the Jackall, which is not related in any of the rest, being very like that of The Lion, his Ministers, and the Camel, noticed above.

A small cluster of stories occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*, which are all omitted in the other works. They are peculiarly *Hindú*; and, as novelties affording some relief to the dry detail hitherto pursued, we shall translate them.

“ In *Ayód'hyá*, the capital of *Kós'alá*,† reigned a monarch of great splendour and power, named PURUSHÓTTAMA. On one occasion, the Governor of the Forests came and announced to him, that the woodland chiefs were all in a state of rebellion, instigated and headed by VINDHYAKA, the Raja of the *Vindhya* ‡ hills. The king sent his chief minister BALABHADRA, to quell the rebels.

“ When BALABHADRA was gone, there came to the capital, at the close of the rains, a *Sramañaka*,§ or mendicant of the *Baudd'ha* religion, who, by his skill in divination, his knowledge of hours, omens, aspects, and ascensions, his dexterity in solving numbers, answering questions, and detect-

\* The *Tatíhrá* or *Tatíhrí* (Sansk. *Tittibha*) is a Jacana, the *Parra Goensis* of Gmelin, or *Tringa Goensis* of Latham. See Am. Dict. p. 125, and Hunter's Hind. Dict. l. 514.—H.T.C.

† The province of Oude and its capital, the modern Faizabad, is usually identified with the ancient city, in popular belief.

‡ The authority of the *Kós'alá* monarch appears to have extended much beyond the limits of the modern province of Oude: an inscription found at *Ratnapur* in the *Chatis-ghar* district, dated *Saliváhana* 781, or A.D. 859, states that province to be dependent upon the sovereign of *Kós'alá*.

§ From subsequent passages, however, it appears that the usual confusion of *Baudd'ha* and *Jaina* occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*; and that, in fact, the latter alone is intended, whichever be named.

ing things covertly concealed, and his proficiency in all similar branches of knowledge, acquired such fame and influence, that it might be said he had purchased the country, and it was his own. The report of his reputation at last reached the king, who sent for him, and treating him with great civility, asked him whether it was true, that sages could tell the destinies of others. The mendicant replied, Your Majesty will know by the result. They then entered into conversation, in which he so entertained the king, that his daily society became indispensable.

“One day he absented himself from court ; and on the next, when he made his appearance, he accounted for his absence, by stating that he had been upon a visit to Paradise ; and that the deities had sent by him their compliments to the king. The king was simple enough to believe him, and was filled with astonishment and delight. His admiration of this marvellous faculty so engrossed his thoughts, that the duties of his state, and the pleasures of his palace, were equally neglected.

“Things were in this condition, when the valiant BALABHADRA, having reduced the forest chieftains to obedience, returned. To his surprise, he found the king in a close conference with a naked mendicant, instead of being, as usual, surrounded by his ministers. Having ascertained from the latter, the pretensions of the ascetic, he approached the monarch, and inquired, if what he had heard of the mendicant’s celestial visit, was truth. The king assured him that it was, and the ascetic offered to satisfy the general’s apparent scepticism, by departing for *Swarga* in his presence. With this intent, the king and his courtiers accompanied the *Sramanaka* to his cell, which he entered, and closed the door. After some delay, BALABHADRA inquired of the king when they were to see the mendicant again. He answered, ‘have patience ; the sage upon these occasions quits his earthly body, and assumes an ethereal person, with which alone he can approach INDRA’s heaven.’ ‘If this is the case,’ replied BALABHADRA, ‘bring wood and fire, and let us burn his cell.’ ‘Why so,’ asked the king. ‘So please your Majesty,’ answered the general, ‘by consuming the earthly body of the ascetic, we shall prevent his re-assuming it, and then your Majesty will always have an angelical personage in your company. A case of this kind is well known.

“ ‘In *Rājagriha* dwelt a *Bráhma*n named *Déva Sarmá*. He had no children, a subject of bitter affliction to his wife, who could not look upon a neighbour’s infant without tears. At last her husband desired her to desist

from farther lamentation, as by the efficacy of some mystic words, he had secured her having a son of eminent beauty, and auspicious destiny. Highly delighted with this prophecy (indications of the fulfilment of which soon began to appear), the *Bráhma*n's wife anticipated eagerly the period of her delivery. What therefore was her surprise, and the horror of her attendants, when the offspring, so anxiously sighed for, and impatiently expected proved to be a snake. The assistants exclaimed, let the monster be destroyed: but the parent, with maternal affection, interfered to preserve her progeny, and carefully protected and reared the snake.

“After a time, the nuptial festivals of a neighbour's son awoke the envy of *Déva Sarmá*'s wife, and she reproached her husband for not having thought of a suitable match for their child. He replied, I would do so, if I could get admittance to *Pátála*, and present my supplications to *VASUKI*.\* I do not think any other so great a fool, as to wed his daughter to a son like thine. Finding, however, his wife was sadly distressed, he proposed, in order to divert her thoughts, that they should travel; and equipping themselves plentifully for their journey, they set out. After some months, they arrived at a city, named *Bhattanagar*, where they were hospitably received and entertained, on the night of their arrival, by an acquaintance. In the morning the *Bráhma*n's friend asked him why he had come, and whither he was going. The *Bráhma*n told him he was in search of a wife for his son; on which the other offered him his own daughter, a girl of great beauty, and insisted on his taking her away with him. Accordingly, *Déva Sarmá* returned to his own city, with his destined daughter-in-law. When the people of the city saw her, they opened their eyes in admiration of her grace and loveliness, and asked her attendants, how they could think of sacrificing such a jewel of a girl to a serpent. Their words filled her servants with distress, and they were urgent with the damsel to effect her escape. She refused, saying, It must not be; there are three things, which are final from the first: The command of a king, the vow of an ascetic, and the gift of a maiden. That too which is previously resolved by destiny, cannot fail to be, as it happened to *Pushpaka*, and the Gods.

“The maiden's attendants now asked her, who *Pushpaka* was, and she thus proceeded:

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\* The serpent monarch of *Pátála*, the region under the earth, inhabited by the *Nágas*, or snakes.

“*Pushpaka* was the favourite parrot of INDRA, a bird of wonderful beauty, extraordinary abilities, and prodigious learning. One day he was perched on INDRA's hand, and was repeating the hymns of the *Védas*, when YAMA arrived. The parrot immediately flew away abruptly. The Deities afterwards asked him, why he had withdrawn; he replied, how could he face the destroyer of life. The Deities, in order to remove his fears, assured him that they would protect him; and, prevailing on him to accompany them, they returned to YAMA, and begged him, at their intercession, to abstain from ever taking away the life of the parrot. YAMA replied, that he knew nothing about the matter, and referred them to KÁLA (Time), to whom they accordingly repaired. Time referred them to Death, who, he said, was at hand; and they hastened to prefer their suit to him. They no sooner encountered the grisly terror, than the parrot fell dead. Exceedingly distressed and perplexed by this accident, they returned to YAMA, and inquired of him what it meant; he replied, that Fate had fixed the parrot's life, and that no care on their parts would have been of any avail.

“Therefore, I say, whatever is foredoomed by destiny, cannot fail to come to pass.

“In this manner she resisted their persuasions, and the marriage took place. She performed her duties diligently, feeding her serpent-husband during the day with milk, and keeping him in her chamber at night, in a spacious basket. One night she was alarmed by the appearance of a man in her chamber, and jumping up in terror, she ran to the door to make her escape. The person called to her to stop, and dismiss her fears, as he was her husband; and, to assure her, reassumed his ophitic form, and crawled into the basket, whence, immediately after, he again issued, in all the bloom and vigour of human adolescence, and glittering with gold and gems.

“In the morning, DÉVA SARMÁ, who had observed what was going forward, approached the basket, before his son was risen, and seizing the deserted skin of the snake, threw it into the fire; in consequence of which the youth was constrained to adhere to his natural figure, and continued ever after to constitute the pride of his parents, and the happiness of his family.’

“The king of *Ayódhyá* having heard this narrative from BĀLABHADRA, hesitated no longer to follow his advice. The mendicant's cell was therefore immediately set on fire, and he perished in the flames.”

The next story in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, is that of The Monkeys and Fire-fly; and the moral is stated precisely to the same effect in both, that it is absurd to try to bend a stubborn tree, or prove a sword upon a stone.

The story of DHARMA BUDDHI and DUSHTA BUDDHI, the honest man and the rogue, as narrated in the *Pancha Tantra*, is faithfully followed in the Arabic, with the exception of an interwoven story, omitted in the latter. It is the story of the Vaca, or Crane, who tempted the Ichneumon to destroy the Snake, and was afterwards destroyed by the same. The story occurs in the *Sand'hi* section of the *Hitopadésa*.

The witty story of The Rats who eat iron, and the Hawks that carry off children, is the next in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*. It is the last of the section in the latter; but we have a few more stories in the former work, as the story of The Two Parrots who learned respectively harsh and gentle phraseology, according to their natural dispositions, to prove that merits and defects are innate.

The next story agrees, in name, with the last in the *Kalila Damana*, being that of The King's Son and his Companions: the resemblance, however, proceeds no farther, the incidents being quite different, although some, if not all, of those in the Arabic tale, are to be found in other Sanscrit works. In the *Pancha Tantra*, a Prince, a Minister's, and a Merchant's Son, pass their days together in the woods and groves, hunting, riding on horses, or elephants, driving cars, and practising archery. Their fathers reproach them for their neglect of their several duties; and, in resentment, they determine to leave their home. They go to *Rohánáchald*, (Adam's Peak in Ceylon), where they find each a gem of great price; and to preserve it, on their way back, through the forests, where lay the *Phellis*, or Villages, of the *Bhillas*, they swallow the gems, and then convey them home in safety, although they narrowly escape being ripped open by the *Pallipati*, or chief of the foresters.

The Prince acquires a sovereignty of his own, and leaving to his two friends the direction of affairs, amuses himself in his palace, after his own fashion. He has a pet Monkey, as it is said "Parrots, Pheasants, Pigeons, Monkeys, and their like, are naturally the especial favourites of Kings." This Monkey he sets to watch him, as he sleeps in a pavillion, in his garden. A troublesome bee settles on the Prince's face, in spite of the Monkey's pains to drive him off, till the latter, highly incensed, snatches up his master's sword, and, making a blow at the bee, cuts off the Raja's head.

This apologue, therefore, is a very old acquaintance, the moral is the same : a sensible foe is preferable to a foolish friend.\* The death of SANJIVAKA, the grief of the Lion, and the councils of the Jackalls, close this, the first and longest division of the *Pancha Tantra*, in the same manner as the corresponding sections of the *Kalila Damana*, *Hitopadés'a*, and *Vrihat Kathá*. This first section, according to the original enumeration, comprehends thirty-one stories.†

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## SECTION SECOND.

### THE ACQUISITION OF FRIENDS.

THE *Mitra Prápti*,‡ or acquisition of friends, is the same as the *Mitra Lábha* of the *Hitopadés'a*, with the difference, only, of transposition. It is the same also as the seventh chapter of the *Kalila Damana* : the sixth being a probable addition of the translator, who, in his idea of poetical justice, has put *Damana* upon his trial, and condemned him to death ; occurrences not hinted at in the Hindu work. Neither have we the few narratives that occur in his section ; nor are the moral remarks, or the judicial proceedings, of a Hindu complexion.

The *Mitra Prápti* opens like the *Mitra Lábha*, with the description of the scene of action, placed by both in the South, with this variety, that the one states it to lie on the banks of the *Góddvari*, and the other, that it was not very far from the city *Pramadrópyam*. The Crow, or Raven, *Laghu-patanaka*, opens the business in all the copies. The fowler is very minutely described in the *Pancha Tantra*, as an inhabitant of the city, living by bird-catching, of an uncouth figure, with splay feet, and clumsy hands ; round as a ball ; sturdy, though advanced in years ; clad in red garments, with his hair bound into a knot on his head, carrying a net and staff, and followed by dogs : in short, he looked like Destiny with the fatal noose ;

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\* The form familiar to us is the story of the Gardener, the Bear, and the Fly, in which it occurs in the *Anvara Soheili*, and *Ayar Danish*.

† In Mr. Sotheby's copy, only twenty-six.—H.T.C.

‡ It is also read *Samprápti*, which has the same import.

like the personification of Sin ; like the heart of iniquity ; like the monitor of the wicked ; like the friend of Death." This description is reduced to " like fate," in the *Hitopadésa* ; and in the Arabic, to " ill looks, and the net and the staff."

The *Hitopadésa* is singular in the story told by *Chitragrīva*, of " The Traveller and the Tiger," to dissuade the Pigeons from descending on the grain. The *Pancha Tantra*, again, is alone in the story, told by the same, to recommend unanimity, of " the *Varúnda*," a bird with two necks, one of refusing to part with a share of nectar, the other swallowed poison, and the bird died.

The other circumstances of this story are continued, alike in all, to the formation of the friendship between the Rat, and the Crow ; but the discussion is much more protracted, and contains much more matter, peculiarly Hindú, in the *Pancha Tantra*, than in either of the other works. The Rat replies to the Crow's protestations, " I have no faith in your oaths ; as it is said, ' Put no faith in a foe, who even has vowed friendship to you : VRĪTRA was killed by INDRA, in spite of his reiterated oaths.'\* Again, ' An enemy of the Gods is not to be destroyed until he places trust in them. The embryo of DITI was destroyed by INDRA, only when she ceased to fear him.' "

In another passage we have allusions to some traditions, which are but little known.—

" He that observes, ' I might say, I abound with amiable qualities, and no one can be inclined to do me harm,' speaks that which is ridiculous. It is related that the valuable life of PÁN'INI (the grammarian) was destroyed by a lion ; and an elephant demolished the sage JAIMINI, though he composed the *Mīmánsá* ; an alligator killed the harmonious PINGALA (the first writer on Prosody), on the sea-shore. Of what estimation is genius, with irrational and ferocious brutes."

Although the arguments, on either side, are continued for several pages, they are not intermixed with any narrative illustration in the *Pancha Tantra*, or *Kalila-Damana*. On the contrary, the *Hitopadésa* inserts here

\* The story is narrated in several of the *Purán's*, and is alluded to in the *Rig-Veda*. *As. Res.* vol. viii, p. 387.

the stories of the Antelope and the Jackall ; and the Crow, the Cat, and the Vulture. Afterwards, the several works proceed in a similar manner, to the visit of the Rat and the Crow, to *Mant'hara*, the Tortoise ; to whom, and the Crow, *Hiranyaka*, the Rat, related his adventures.

The commencement of this story is the same in all, but the Arabic version here is singularly close. The *Hitopadésa* alone inserts the story of the young wife, who took her husband by the hair, and embraced him, to favour the retreat of her lover ; a story well known in Europe, from its version by Marguerite of Navarre, in her " *Stratagème d'une femme qui fit évader son galant, lorsque son mari, qui étoit borgne, croyoit le surprendre avec elle,*" and she borrowed it from the first story of the *Mauvaise Femme*. It was made a similar use of by the *Sieur D'Orville*, *Malespini*, *Bandello*, and other *raconteurs*. In place of this, the original, and the *Kalila Damana* have the story of the woman, who exchanged picked for unpicked *sesamum* seeds, including that of the " *Forester, Wild Boar, and Jackall,*" which occurs a little farther on, in the *Hitopadésa*. A long train of adventures, told of a merchant's son, follows this, in the *Pancha Tantra*, only to shew that a man must obtain the wealth that is designed for him by fate. The close of this story is followed by one, narrated by *Mant'hara*, of *SO'MILLAKA*, a weaver, who is taught by some Spirits, that wealth is to be enjoyed, not hoarded ; and this includes a story of the " *Bull and the Jackalls,*" to inculcate the folly of absurd expectations. These two last stories have, however, but little merit, and do not occur in the Arabic, any more than in the *Hitopadésa*. The latter story, with some variations, has given rise to an idiomatic compound in the Bengali language ; and *Bokándapratydsa*, indulgence in unreasonable expectation, comprises the pith of this story ; the *Boka*, or *Vaka*, a crane, being substituted for the Jackall of the original. A verse of interesting resemblance follows the stories. *Mant'hara* says to the Rat, " *Dismiss all anxiety regarding your lost wealth, as it is said, ' He, to whom the Swan owes her white feathers, the Parrot his green hue, and the Peacock his variegated plumage, He will provide me sustenance.'* "

The addition of the Antelope to the friendly society, occurs here, in the same manner, in all. The story of " the Elephant, liberated from his bonds by the Rat, of which we have a familiar version in the apologue of the Rat and the Lion, next occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*. In its place, in the



*Hitopadésa*, we have the double story of the Prince, the Banker's Son, and his Wife, and of the Elephant and Jackall. There is none in the *Kalila Damana*. The three works conclude with the same incident, the liberation of the Antelope from the hunter's snare, by the united efforts and devices of the Tortoise, the Crow, and the Rat.

This *Tantra* contains, in the original, eight stories. It is more amply illustrated in the *Hitopadésa*, than in either of the other two works.

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### SECTION THIRD.

#### INVETERATE ENMITY, OR WAR BETWEEN CROWS AND OWLS.

THE third section of the *Pancha Tantra*, corresponds with the eighth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*; and the third chapter of the *Hitopadésa*. In the last work, however, the belligerent powers are the peacocks and the geese. The choice of the *Pancha Tantra* is the genuine one, no doubt; not only from the character of the work itself, but its connection with a particular grammatical rule. The *Sútras* of PÁN'INI afford a precept for the use of a particular affix, to form derivatives from compound terms, when enmity is implied;\* and this rule is exemplified by the form *Kákólúkika*, in which *káka*, a crow, and *ulúka*, an owl, are compounded, to signify the natural antipathy that subsists between these birds. Now as language precedes grammar, this rule was invented to explain the purport of a word already in use; and as in all probability, this word expressed a popular notion of great antiquity, its established currency influenced the author of the fables to select the owl and the crow, for the purpose of his narrative. We can scarcely suppose, that it was an accidental choice, which afterwards gave rise to the popular expression, and the introduction of the compound term; and which, consequently, would make the *Pancha Tantra* take precedence in date of the *Sútras* of PÁN'INI. I may also add, that the substantive term *Kákólúkika*, which PÁN'INI's affix (*Bun*) could form, appears very rarely, if ever, in the *Pancha Tantra*. The form used by the author of that work is more usually the attributive, *Kákólúkitya*, which is formed by a different affix (*Ch'ha*).

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\* Pán. 4. 3. 125.

The introductory matter of this section, descriptive of the quarrel between the Crows and Owls, and the consultations of the monarch of the former, with his five ministers, correspond very closely in the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila Damana*; although they extend to a greater length in the former, and contain some matters curious in themselves, and reflecting light on several Hindú peculiarities: amongst these, the following enumeration of the officers of state, who are, or are not, to be relied upon with confidence, is quoted from the *Mahábhárat*, the *Sabhá Parva*, in which NÁREDA, it is said, communicated their names to YUD'HISHT'HÍRA. The full detail is, however, not given in that work, but the passage does occur, and the reference indicates, at any rate, the existence of the *Mahábhárat*, prior to the date of the *Pancha Tantra*.\*

The Officers to be distrusted, are eighteen.

1 Mantrí	The minister.
2 Puróhita	The royal chaplain, or priest.
3 Sénápati	The general.
4 Yuvarája	The young prince, associated in the empire, and designated as successor.
5 Dwárika	Warden, or chamberlain.
6 Antarva'nsika	The superintendant of the inner apartments.
7 Sannidhátryupadíšthá	A sort of master of the ceremonies.
8 Juyápaka	A master of requests.
9 As'wád'hyaksha	Master of the horse.
10 Gajád'hyaksha	Master of the elephants.
11 Kóshád'hyaksha	Superintendant of the treasury.
12 Balád'hyaksha	Ditto of the forces, or perhaps the stores.
13 Durgapála	The governor of the fort.
14 Karapála	The ruler of the prisons.
15 Símápála	The superintendant of the boundaries, or lord of the marches.
16 Parishada	A companion.
17 Prótkaíta bhrítya	A courtier.
18 Atavikádhyá	The forest chiefs, and others.

The fifteen, naturally attached to the monarch's cause, are

1 Jananí	The queen mother.
2 Déví	The queen.
3 Kanchukí	The confidential attendant.
4 Málíká	The chaplet weaver, or florist.
5 Sayyapála	The bed-maker.

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\* A similar list occurs in the *Bháraví Tantra*.

6 Sayyád'hyáksha	The superintendant of the beds.
7 Sámvatsarika	The astrologer, or time-keeper.
8 Bhishak	Physician.
9 Jalaváhaka	The cup, or water-bearer.
10 Tábúlaváhaka	The betel-bearer.
11 Áchárya	The preceptor.
12 Anga-rakshaka	The captain of the body guard.
13 Sthána-chintaka	Quartermaster.
14 Ch'hatrádhára	The umbrella-bearer.
15 Vilásinf	Female attendant and singer, &c.*

Besides these, spies were a very efficient part of the ancient Hindú regime. We have no particular enumeration of these, except its being observed, that for what is going on amongst his own party, the king's best spies are the physician, the astrologer, and the preceptor; and that men, who exhibit snakes and the like, are the best to observe the designs of the enemy.

We have then the cause of the enmity between these feathered tribes, referred to the successful interference of a crow, in preventing the owl being chosen king of the birds, narrated in a similar manner in the *Pancha Tantra*, and the Arabic copy; it is omitted in the *Hitópadesá*. That work, however, inserts two stories, those of the Birds and the Monkeys, and the Ass in a Tiger's skin, (the latter an apologue of very wide circulation); before the story, common to all three, of the Elephant and Hares, and the Reflection of the Moon.

The story of the Hare, the Sparrow, and the Cat, does not occur in the *Hitópadesá*, although much of the description of the hypocritical piety of the Cat is copied in the story of the Vulture and the Cat, in the first section of that work. Some of the comments, however, are spared. It may be observed, indeed, that a much more decisive vein of satire, levelled particularly at Princes and Devotees, runs through the *Pancha Tantra*, than either the *Kalíla Damana*, or *Hitópadesá*: thus the Hare observes, when he sees the Cat away, as it is said, "Trust not in low persons, who exercise austerities, for their own nefarious designs. Penitents are to be found at holy shrines, whose only virtue is in their vaunts."

The story of the Three Rogues, who persuade the *Bráhma*n that his

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\* It is by no means certain, that all these names are rightly interpreted, or even rightly extracted from the text; but the greater part do not admit of doubt.

goat is something else, and so induce him to leave it to them, is the next in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*: it occurs in the last section of the *Hitopadésa*.

An incident, rather than a story, next occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*, singly; that of a Snake killed by Ants. The device adopted by the king of the Crows, as narrated in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, reminds the reader of the story of Zopyrus; the councillor *Chiranjiva* being, at his own suggestion, stripped of his feathers, and smeared with blood, and left at the foot of the tree, in which state he is found by the Owls, and brought to their king. The discussions regarding his treatment, between the king and his ministers, are to the same purport in both works; but they are more detailed in the *Pancha Tantra*, and illustrated by very different stories.

The first minister, *Ractaksha*, who recommends the crow's being put to death, narrates, in order to shew that no confidence is to be placed in a reconciled foe, the story of the Snake and the *Bráhma*n's Son, comprising a brief apologue of the Swans and the strange bird. Neither of these is in the Arabic, or *Hitopadésa*; and they may be therefore translated:

“In a certain country dwelt a *Bráhma*n, who reaped no benefit from the cultivation of his grounds. As he was reposing one day in the hot season, under the shade of a tree, he dreamt that he beheld a large hooded snake, coiled upon an ant-hill, at a little distance; and waking from his dream, he concluded that the snake must be the tutelary deity of the spot, who was little pleased with him, as one from whom he had never received any veneration. The *Bráhma*n determined, therefore, to worship him; and boiling some milk, he placed it in a vessel, and carried it to the ant-hill, exclaiming as he laid the cup upon the ground, ‘Lord of the soil, I have hitherto been ignorant of thy place of residence, and, therefore, only have foreborne thy worship; forgive my negligence, and accept my oblation. So saying, he left the milk and went home.’

“When he visited the ant-hill on the morning following, he found in place of the milk, a *Dínár*,\* and this was repeated daily. At last, the *Bráhma*n hav-

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\* A gold coin. That there existed some connexion between this and the gold Denarius of the Romans, is not improbable, as has been shewn in another place. *As. Res. XV.* The indication of treasure by the presence of a snake, is a common superstition among the Hindús.

ing occasion to go to the village, appointed his son to present the oblation of milk in his absence. When the lad, upon the ensuing morning, found the *Dindr* as usual, it occurred to him, that the mound must be filled with coin ; and that it would be the most eligible plan to kill its serpent-owner, and seize at once upon the whole treasure. Arming himself, therefore, with a stick, he lay wait for the snake, as he was lapping the milk, and struck him on the head. The blow failed to kill the snake, and the animal, inflamed with wrath, bit the lad with his poisonous fangs, so that he immediately died. The body was burnt by his people, who were at hand, and saw what had chanced. The father returned on the day following, and when he had heard the cause of his son's death, was satisfied that the event was not unmerited ; declaring, that the vital elements will be ever snatched from those, who shew no tenderness to those living creatures, that repair to them for preservation, as happened to the Swans and their Lake. The persons present asked him to explain this allusion, and he thus replied :

“ ‘ In a certain country reigned CHITRARAT'HA, in one of whose gardens was an extensive lake, guarded by his troops. In this lake were golden swans, who moulted a feather once in every six months. A large bird, having joined them, was refused admission to their troop ; they claiming the exclusive occupation of the pool, by the fee of the moulted feather. After much discussion, the stranger bird applied to the king, and said, Sire, these swans have had the audacity to say, what have we to do with the king ? we will not allow any one to reside here : and it was to no purpose that I expostulated with them on the impropriety of such language, and threatened to bring it to your knowledge. The king, having heard this, commanded his servants to go and kill the birds, and bring them to him ; and they set off with this intent. When they approached the pool, an old swan, suspecting their purpose, persuaded the rest to fly away ; and thus, although they preserved their lives, they lost the residence, which they refused to share with a guest.’

“ Having related this tale, the *Bráhma*n proceeded to worship the snake. The serpent, however, could not be tempted forth, but shewing himself at the entrance of his hole, he thus spoke : ‘ Avarice brings thee hither, and banishes all sorrow for thy son's fate, but there cannot be any cordiality between thee and me :’ again, ‘ the insane presumption of youth, your son struck me ; I have bitten him, and killed him : how is it possible for me ever to forget his violence ? how is it possible that you should ever forget his death ? Take this jewel, therefore ; depart, and never more approach this

place.' Having thus spoken, and cast a gem of inestimable value to the *Brdhman*, he withdrew into his hole. The *Brdhman* took the jewel, but, considering its value much inferior to what he might have acquired by long assiduous homage, never ceased to lament the folly of his son."

The next story is also peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*, and indeed, so decidedly of a Hindú character, that we need not be surprised at its omission, from the Arabic translation at least. It may be called the Fowler and the Pigeons. The fowler, having caught the female dove, is overtaken by a violent storm, and repairs for shelter to the tree inhabited by the male. Moved by the councils of his captive mate, and his own estimate of the rites of hospitality, he not only gives the fowler shelter in the hollow trunk, but collects dry leaves, and makes him a fire, and casts himself into the flames, to furnish his guest a meal. The bird-catcher liberates the dove, and she also throws herself into the fire; on which she and her lord assume celestial forms, and are conveyed to heaven in divine cars, agreeably to the text, that says, 'A widow, who burns herself, secures for herself and her husband enjoyment in Paradise, for as many years as there are hairs on the human body, or thirty-five millions.\*' The fowler becomes an ascetic, and voluntarily perishes in a burning forest.

The next story of the Husband, and his Wife, and the Thief, is translated in the Arabic, but does not occur in the *Hitopadésa*. It has been imitated by the writers of Europe. The *Bráhma*n, the Thief, and the *Rákshasa*, the next story, is the same with "the Ascetic, the Thief, and the Evil Genius of the *Kalila Damana*.

The next story, of the Prince who had a snake in his bowels, is peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*. He is cured by his wife. The eleventh fable is the same with the Husband under the Bed, of the Arabic, which occurs also in the third section of the *Hitopadésa*. The next story, again, is the same in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, that of the Mouse turned to a young girl by a sage, and finally to a mouse again. The Arabic translator, by his alterations, has lost the point of the

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\* This text is attributed to *Angiras*, and forms part of the declaration or *Sankapa*, pronounced by the widow at the time of her ascending the pile.—As. Res. vol. iv, p. 210.

story. He makes the sun, &c. decline the marriage; but, in the Sanscrit, the lady makes objections to all the proposed bridegrooms, till she sees the rat, when her natural propensities induce her to solicit her adoptive father to give her to him in marriage.

The next story of "the Bird that voided gold with its dung," is peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*; so is that of "the Fox, who detects the presence of a Lion in a cavern:" neither tale has much point. The story of "the Snake and Frogs," is told in all three works; but in the *Pancha Tantra*, it is interrupted by the following: *viz.*

"The *Brdhman* and his Wife.

"There was a *Brdhman*, named *Mandvisha*, whose wife was a woman of loose character. She had a lover, to whom she was accustomed to carry delicacies and cates, which she prepared herself. Her husband, at last taking notice of this, inquired of her whither she took them, and to whom: she replied, I carry them as oblations to my tutelary goddess *Dévi*, whose temple, you know, is close at hand. Pretending to be satisfied with this reply, the husband allowed her to proceed, but continued to watch her. As she found that he observed her, she went to the temple, and performed the customary oblations, and entered the building. Her husband immediately set off by another path; and getting into the edifice by a different entrance, concealed himself behind the statue of the goddess. The wife, being afraid that her husband was still on the watch, determined to go through with the ceremony in earnest, and having presented the oblations, she thus prayed, "O! goddess, deign to inform me by what means my husband can be deprived of his eyesight." The husband, hearing this, disguised his voice, and answered, "Feed him daily with such cates as you have brought hither, and he will soon become blind." The wife returned home delighted, and put in practice the supposed instructions of the goddess. In a few days the *Bráhma*n began to complain of dimness of vision, and shortly afterwards pretended to lose his sight. The wife, attributing this to the favour of the goddess, entertained no doubt of the fact; and in the confidence of not being detected, invited her gallant to come fearlessly to the house. The husband, however, now thoroughly apprised of the truth, lost no time in punishing her misconduct. Surprising the guilty pair, he beat the adulterer with his staff, till he expired; and, cutting off his wife's nose, he turned her away."

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The remainder of this section, and the destruction of the Owls, by their more crafty enemies, corresponds in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*.

The third section comprises seventeen stories.

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#### SECTION FOURTH.

##### LOSS OF THAT WHICH HAS BEEN GAINED.

The fourth section of the *Pancha Tantra*, illustrative of the folly of losing what has once been acquired (*Labdha-prasamana*\*) corresponds with the ninth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*, which relates the story of "The Monkey and the Tortoise." The Arabic, or Pehlevi translator has, however, made rather short work with his original, and has turned the twelve tales of the latter into two.

The chief performers in this selection, and the circumstances, out of which the tales arise, are the same; only, instead of a Tortoise, the treacherous friend of the Monkey, is the *Makara*, a fabulous aquatic animal, which corresponds, in representation at least, with the Capricornus of the Greek Zodiac. The first story, narrated by the Monkey after his escape, is that of "The Snake and the Frogs." The former is introduced into his well, by the King of the latter, to revenge him on his rebellious subjects. This being done, however, he devours the king's subjects, and finally, the king himself. The moral is, "that hunger will be appeased, even in spite of crime."

The next story is the only one of the section, found in the Arabic, that of "The sick Lion, the Jackall, and the Ass."

The next story is that of "a Potter, who, having cut his forehead against some broken pots, is encountered, bleeding, by a Prince, and taken for a valiant warrior by him, in consequence of which, he is enrolled amongst his guards. When the mistake is discovered, the prince orders him to withdraw: and when the potter requests that he may be allowed to stay,

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\* It is also read *Labdha Pran'as'ana*, and *Labdha Pran'asa*, but the sense is the same.



repeats to him the next story, that of "the two young Lions, and the young Jackall, brought up with them, but who betrays his origin by his cowardice, and is advised by the old Lioness, his adoptive mother, to withdraw quietly, lest his foster brothers find him out and destroy him." The potter takes the hint, and walks quietly off.

The ensuing stories tend to the disparagement of the fair sex. The first is that of a *Bráhma*n, who quits his home and family, and relinquishes half his life, for the sake of a spouse, who, notwithstanding, deserts him for a lame beggar, and attempts his life: a story that is told also in the *Daśa Kumára*. The next is to shew that there is no pleasing women, without complying with all their caprices; as the minister VARARUCHI, to conciliate his wife, submitted to have his head shaved; and his royal master, NANDA, to gratify his queen, allowed her to put a bridle in his mouth, and mounting on his back, compel him to carry her about, neighing at the same time, like a horse.

The next story in this section, is an apologue of very familiar character. "A washerman, the owner of an ass, dresses him up with the skin of a tiger, to frighten away intruders from his field: after a time, the ass betrays himself by his braying, and gains a beating from the villagers." This is given in the *Hitopadésa*, in the third section.

The ninth tale is of a villager's wife, who is tempted to run away from her husband, and carry off his wealth. When she arrives, with her gallant, at a river, he persuades her to entrust him with the property, and her clothes, to convey them across; after which he is to return for her. This, however, he omits to do, and she is deserted. In this state she sees a Jackall approach with a piece of meat in its mouth. The Jackall, seeing a fish on the edge of the water, lays down the meat, to make the fish his prey: the fish escapes; and, in the mean time, a vulture carries off the meat. The deserted wife laughs at the incident, when the Jackall thus applies it to herself: "Your wisdom is double that of mine; for here you are, naked in the water, and have neither a husband nor a gallant."

The story of "the Sparrows and Monkey," is the same as that of "the Birds and Monkeys," in the beginning of the third section of the *Hitopadésa*.

The two next stories, which complete this section, are those of "the Jackall, who by his craft preserved the carcass of a dead Elephant from a Lion and a Tiger, and by his courage from another Jackall;" and "the Dog who

in a famine, left his own town for another, but was driven back by the dogs of the strange place, and was glad to seek his own home again.”

The *Makara* now retires, having previously been told of his wife's death, and the invasion of his abode by an enemy : circumstances, omitted in the Arabic translation, as well as the stories to which they give rise.

There are twelve stories in this section.

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## SECTION FIFTH.

### INCONSIDERATENESS.\*

The fifth *Tantra* corresponds in purport with the tenth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*, the Ascetic and the Weasel being intended to illustrate the folly of precipitancy. The Pehlevi, or Arabic translator, has, however, taken a similar liberty with his original, as in the preceding section, and has reduced again twelve stories to two. The tales in the original, therefore, are mostly novel, and not very prolix. It may be observed, by the way, that in the last two *Tantras* of the work, either the original compiler had exhausted his store, or less frequent additions have been made by subsequent hands ; as the reflections and citations, which are most disproportionately interspersed in the three first sections, become now much less copious : an obvious improvement in the interest, if not in the utility, of the collection.

VISHNÚ SARMÁ now remarked, “ a man should never attempt a business which he has imperfectly seen or understood, transacted or investigated, or he will meet with such mischance as befel the imprudent Barber.” The princes asking him, to what he alluded, he thus proceeded :

“ In the south there is a city named *Pátalipur*, in which MAÑIBHADRA, a banker, resided. Although attentive to his moral and religious duties, it was the will of fate, that he should lose his wealth, and be reduced to poverty. The insignificance, into which he consequently fell, preyed upon his spirits, and he indulged in such reflections as these :

“ It is justly said, that amiable feelings, purity of manners, moderation,

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\* *Aparíkshita-káritwa*, inconsiderate conduct ; acting without previous investigation.

ability, suavity, and respectability, are qualities that shine with little lustre in the person of a poor man. Dignity, pride, discernment, conceit, or intellect are all lost, when a man is poor; as the freshness of the dewy season is dissipated by the breeze of spring. The most brilliant talents will be of little benefit to their possessor, whose thoughts are all occupied in devising means for the support of his family, and when, for the exercise of lofty fancies, are substituted clothes, rice, oil, salt and ghee. Men without wealth are of no note amongst their fellows. They perish, as they are born, unheeded, like bubbles on the stream."

"Impelled by these considerations, he determined to abstain from food, and so terminate his life. For what, he exclaimed, is the use of a miserable existence? With this resolve, he fell asleep. In his sleep the *Padma-nidhi*\* appeared to him under the form of an old *Jaina* mendicant, and forbade him to despair. You have been, he said, a faithful worshipper of me, and I will not desert you. In the morning early, you shall see me again, as I now appear: do you then take a staff, and strike me on the head; on which I shall be changed immediately to a pile of gold. He then disappeared.

"When the merchant rose, in the morning, he recollected his vision, but could scarcely persuade himself, that it would so come to pass. He referred it to the subject of his previous thoughts; as it is said: To those who are in sickness, or in sorrow, whose minds are occupied with anxiety or desire, the object of their waking wishes is presented in their dreams.

"At this time, the barber, who had been sent for by the merchant's wife, to pare her nails, arrived, and whilst he was busy at his work, the seeming

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\* The *Nidhi* is properly a treasure; and is especially a kind of wealth appertaining to KURVĀRA, the God of Riches. The *nidhis*, or their superintendants at least, are personifications; and are, as such, worshipped (See *Mégha Duta*, in a note). The worship is of the *Tántrika* description. The *Sáradá Tilaka*, a celebrated authority of that school, contains the following directions for adoring the *Sánkha* and *Padma-nidhis*, in conjunction with LAKSHMÍ, the Goddess of Prosperity. "1. Let the votary worship the *Sánkha-nidhi*, and his spouse upon the right hand of the Goddess: him corpulent; and her full breasted: both adorned with pearls and rubies, both exhibiting gentle smiles upon their lotus-like countenances, locked in each others arms, and each holding a lotus and a shell, both scattering showers of pearls, and each bearing a conch upon the forehead. 2. Let him adore the *Padma nidhi*, placed with his wife upon the left hand of the Goddess: both of the colour of minium, each in the other's embrace, and either holding a red lotus and a blue one: both employed in raining jewels, and either wearing a lotus as a crest: the male *Padma nidhi* corpulent, the female slender."

mendicant appeared. MANIBHADRA immediately recognized the figure of his dream, and snatching up a stick, struck him on the head ; on which the figure changed to gold, and fell upon the floor. The banker took the gold to an inner apartment, desiring the barber not to mention to any one what he had witnessed. The barber promised secrecy, and went home, but could not help thinking of the occurrence. These naked mendicants, he muttered to himself, are all of one fraternity, and if one is changed into gold by a rap on the pate, why should not any other be changed in a similar manner ? I will therefore invite their principals to my house, and then with a few strokes of a cudgel, I shall surely get a quantity of the finest metal. These ideas he revolved in his mind the rest of that day, and all the night. When morning came, he went to the *Vihār*,\* and facing to the north, perambulated the *Jina*† three times. He then went on his knees, and holding up his hands with reverence, lifted up the edge of the curtain, repeating in a high tone this stanza, "Glory to those *Jainas* who possess the only true knowledge ; and are thus enabled to traverse the wild ocean of human passions." And again, "The tongue which glorifies, and the mind that is dedicated to *Jina*, are alone to be praised, with the hands that are busied in his adoration." Having uttered these, and similar invocations, he repaired to the chief of the convent, and kneeling at his feet, received his blessing. The barber then, in an insinuating tone, requested the favour of his coming, with his principal sages, to a slight recreation at his house. The principal replied, "How now, son ; what is it you say ? Are we *Brdhmans*, think you, to be at any one's beck and call ? No, no ; at the hour when we go forth to gather alms, we enter the mansions of those votaries only, who, we know, are of approved faith. Depart, therefore, nor reiterate thine offence." The Barber replied, "most venerable Lord, I shall obey, and do as you command, but I beg to mention, that I have a store of excellent cloths, for covers to our holy books ; and of the materials for writing, which will be fitly disposed of, when time may serve." So saying he went home, and provided some stout bludgeons, which he hid in a corner ; he then went back to the convent, and took his station at the gate ; and, as the different ascetics came forth, he addressed them as he had spoken to their principal. Tempted by the wrappers for their books, they all listened to him favour-

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\* The name of a *Bauddha* or *Jaina* convent.

† The deified sage who is the object of *Jaina* worship.

ably, and deserting their old acquaintances, followed the barber to his house ; as it is said : The naked ascetic, who has abandoned his home, and all his possessions, is still no stranger to the desire of worldly goods. When the Barber had introduced them into his house, he took up his staff, and struck them on the head, so that several were killed in an instant. The rest, with broken skulls, set up so loud a clamour, that the neighbourhood was alarmed, and the town guards\* flocked towards the spot, to see what was the matter. As they approached, they met the *Jaina* mendicants, fleeing with broken heads, and covered with blood, from the barber's house. Having learnt the cause of their dismay, they proceeded to lay hold of the barber, whom they bound and carried to the police. When questioned as to his conduct, he justified himself by the example of MANIBHADRA, but when MANIBHADRA, being sent for, and examined, revealed the exact nature of the occurrence, he was of course dismissed, whilst the barber was hanged, as a punishment for his violent and inconsiderate aggression.

“ When the barber was disposed of, the judges remarked, that he had deserved his fate, as it is well said, that which has not been tried, should not be attempted, and that which is done, ought first to be well considered, otherwise repentance will follow, as in the case of the *Bráhma*n and Ichneumon. MANIBHADRA asked how that was, and they replied.

“ There was a *Bráhma*n, named DÉVA SARMÁ, whose wife had one son ; she had also a favourite ichneumon,† that she brought up with the infant, and cherished like another child. At the same time, she was afraid that the animal would, some time or other, do the child a mischief, knowing its treacherous nature, as it is said, “ A son, though ill-tempered, ugly, stupid and wicked, is still the source of delight to a father's heart.” One day the mother going forth to fetch water, placed the child in the bed, and desired her husband to guard the infant, especially from the ichneumon. She then departed, and after a while, the *Bráhma*n himself was obliged to go forth to collect alms. When the house was thus deserted, a black snake came out of a hole, and crawled towards the bed where the infant lay ; the ichneumon, who saw him, impelled by his natural animosity, and by regard for his foster

\* The *Pura kóshtapála purusháh* : The men who guarded the avenues of the city. Possibly there may be some etymological connexion between *Kóshtapála* (Sanskrit), and *Kotwál* (Persian), an officer of police.

† *Nacula*: *Viverra mungo*, C.

brother, instantly attacked him, and, after a furious encounter, tore him to pieces. Pleased with his prowess, and the service he had rendered, he ran to meet his mistress on her return home, his jaws and face besmeared with blood. As soon as the *Bráhma*n's wife beheld him, she was convinced that he had killed her child, and in her rage and agitation, she threw the water jar at the ichneumon with all her force, and killed him on the spot. She then rushed into the house, where she found the child still asleep, and the body of a venomous snake torn in pieces at the foot of the bed. She then perceived the error she had committed, and beat her breast and face with grief, for the unmerited fate of her faithful little favourite. In this state her husband found her on his return. When he had told her the cause of his absenting himself, she reproached him bitterly for that greedy desire of profit, which had caused all the mischief, forgetting, she said, the saying, "Excessive cupidity is to be avoided, although all desire of profit be not relinquished. The wheel whirls round his head, who evinced inordinate avarice." The husband asked her how that happened, and she replied :

"There dwelt in a certain town four *Bráhmans*, all intimate friends, and equally poor. They consulted together what was to be done; for poverty, they agreed, was intolerable. Patrons, however well attended, are dissatisfied; friends and sons desert the poor; merit is of no avail, and misfortunes multiply. Wives of the best family abandon their husbands; friends transfer their attachment to more powerful individuals. Again, let a man be brave, handsome, eloquent, and learned, without wealth, he obtains not any enjoyment, and is as a dead man amongst the living. Better death, than poverty. Again, it is said, "Arise, my friend, for a moment, and remove the burden of indigence from my fate, that I may share with you the felicity which death affords. It is better, therefore, to go to the cemetery at once, and become a corpse, than live in poverty." The friends assented to this, and agreed, that every effort should be adopted to acquire wealth, as it is said, nothing is obtained by him who has not money. Let, therefore, the wise man attach himself to its acquirement. Wealth is acquirable by six means: begging, service, agriculture, science, usury, and trade: of which, trade is the best, as its profits are most independently realized; as it is observed: "The food obtained as alms may be carried off by crows; the favour of a prince or patron may be withdrawn; agriculture is laborious; and the respect to be paid to a preceptor in acquiring knowledge, is troublesome; usury brings poverty on other people; so that the

only method eligible, is trade. Money is made in trade, in seven ways : by defective weights and measures ; by false statements of price ; by the lapse of deposits ; by receiving the securities of friends ; by managing estates for others ; by dealing in perfumes ; and by exporting goods for sale. In the first case, it is pretended that the measure is full, when it is not. In the second, selling a thing for more than its worth, is the natural practice, even of barbarians. While a deposit is in his house, the merchant prays to the gods that the owner may die, when he will make them suitable offerings. When a trader sees an acquaintance coming to borrow, he pretends to lament his misfortune, but is inwardly delighted. In the management of estates is the reflection, I have got hold of lands full of treasure. Of all goods,\* perfumes are the best : gold is not to be compared to the article which is procured for one, and is parted with for a thousand. Exporting commodities is the proper business of persons already wealthy ; as it is said, ' Those who are wealthy are heard of from afar.' Riches are attracted by riches, as wild elephants are caught by tame ones. Capital is multiplied twice and thrice over, in repeatedly buying and selling, by those who have knowledge, and travel to other lands. The idle and weak alone, are afraid of foreign countries. ' Crows, deer, and dastards, die in their native place.'

Having thus reflected, the four friends determined to quit their home, and set off together on travel. The man, whose mind is intent on wealth, leaves his friend and family, his mother and his natal soil, and roams to foreign and ungenial lands, without a moment's hesitation. After some days, the *Bráhmans* arrived at *Avanti* (*Ujjayan*), where they bathed in the *Siprá*, and worshipped *Mahákdla* ;† after which they proceeded, and met with a *Yógi* named BHAIRAVÁNANDA, with whom they formed an acquaintance, and who invited them to his abode. He inquired of them the purpose of their journey. They said, they were pilgrims in search of magic power, repairing to the shrine where wealth or death awaited them ; as it is said ; ' The water that falls from Heaven, may sometimes flow in the realms below the earth. The force of fate is inconceivable, and man

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\* See remarks at the close of this Essay.

† One of the twelve great *Lingas*, and well known to have been especially worshipped at *Ujjayan*. This *Linga* was destroyed by *Altumák*, in 1231.

is weak against it. The objects of man may be apparently attained by mortal efficacy : but that is fate ; for when you speak of human qualities, you give that name to destiny ; at the same time, ease is not here the source of ease, nor can it be enjoyed without exertion. The destroyer of MADHU (VISHNU) seized LAKSHMI forcibly, and held her clasped in a firm embrace. Tell us, therefore, they continued, if you are acquainted with any drug of virtue, to carry us into secret chasms, and tame the imps of evil ; or efficacious in the rites of charnel grounds. You, they said, are an adept ; we are but novices, but we are resolute. None but the illustrious can satisfy the wishes of the worthy. The ocean alone supports the subterrestrial flame.'

The *Yógi*, finding them apt scholars, admitted their request, and gave them four magical balls, one a-piece, directing them to go to the northern side of the *Himáchala* mountains, where each, on the spot where the balls should spontaneously fall, would find a treasure. They accordingly went thither ; and one of the balls soon fell on the ground. The *Bráhma*n, to whom it belonged, with the assistance of the rest, dug up the soil, and there discovered a copper mine. He desired the rest to take as much as they liked, but they refused, determining to seek their fortunes farther. He replied, Go on, then, I shall return ; taking therefore as much of the metal as he could, he went back, and the rest proceeded.

The ball, belonging to another, soon fell, and he dug up the spot, which proved to contain a silver mine. Overjoyed, he exclaimed, " Let us go no farther, but take as much as we can, and then return." The other two, however, ridiculed his folly, and resolved to advance, hoping as they had at first met with copper, then silver, they should successively meet with metal still more valuable. So it proved, for the next ball that fell, indicated a vein of gold, with which the man to whom the ball belonged, entreated his companion to rest satisfied. The argument previously used, however, being justified by the discovery of gold, determined him to persevere, in the full confidence, that he should next come to a bed of diamonds. The discoverer of the gold mine declined accompanying him, and he went on alone ; the other promising to await his return.

The last *Bráhma*n proceeded through solitary paths, scorched by the rays of the sun, and faint with thirst, till at last he came to a place which was whirling round, and on it stood a man, whose body was covered with blood, and on whose head a wheel revolved. He approached, and asked him who



he was, and why the wheel was placed upon his head, and requested him also to shew him where any water was procurable; but he had scarcely spoken, when the wheel transferred itself from the crown of its late possessor to the head of the *Bráhma*n. He exclaimed, How! what is this? and the stranger replied, You have taken the wheel from my head, and you must keep it, till some one like yourself shall come hither, with that magic ball in his hand, and shall address to you similar questions to those you have asked of me. The *Bráhma*n inquired, how long a time he had passed in that plight. The stranger asked who was the present sovereign, to which the *Bráhma*n answered, VÍNA-VATSA.\* The man then said, When RÁMA reigned, I came hither, impelled by my poverty, and guided by the magic ball, as thou hast been: I found a man here with the wheel on his head, and asking him such questions as thou hast put, the wheel was fixed upon my head. I have been here ever since. And how did you get any thing to eat? inquired the *Bráhma*n. The other replied, This law was fixed by the God of wealth, who fears his treasure should be plundered. His fears are known to the *Siddhi Nágas*,† who send men hither: but when a mortal arrives, he loses the sensations of hunger and thirst, and is exempt from decay and death. He retains alone the consciousness of solitude and pain. But now excuse me, I am released, and shall return home. So saying, he departed.

The *Bráhma*n, who had found the gold mine, wondered why his companion

\* UDAYANA or VATSA, the King of *Kausambhí*, is probably intended here; he was celebrated for his skill on the *Vína*, or Lute. This prince is the hero of the first chapters of the *Vrihat-Kat'há*, which gives this account of his descent. He is the son of SAHASRA'NÍKA, the son of SATA'NÍKA, the son of JANAMÉJAYA, the son of PARIKSHIT, the son of ARJUNA. The genealogy of ARJUNA's descendants, which Dr. Buchanan Hamilton derives from the *Bhágavat*, has no prince of this name. The son of SAHAS'RA'NÍKA is termed A'SWAME'D'HAJA. The two works are also at variance, regarding the founder of *Kausambhí*, the *Vrihat Kat'há* ascribing it to SAHA'SRA'NÍKA, which is, so far, apparently most correct, that various works concur in styling VALSA king of *Kausambhí*, whilst the *Bhágavat*, however, calls the founder of that city CHAKRA, the fourth prince from SAHAS'RA'NÍKA. Hindu genealogies, Introduction 13, and table 9.

† The *Nágas* are the serpents, which inhabit the region under the earth. *Siddhi* means super-human power which may be obtained by their worship. Their being opposed to KUVÉ'RA, and desirous of encroaching on his wealth, although here stated in a popular form, is like many things in this work, no longer a familiar notion amongst the Hindus.

tarried so long, and becoming at last impatient, he set off in quest of him. Tracing his course by the impressions of his feet, he followed him to the spot, where he stood, and beheld him covered with blood, running down from his head, which was cut by the sharp edges of the wheel. To the inquiries of his friend, he replied, by telling him the property of the wheel; and what he had witnessed. On which the other reproached him, saying, Did I not tell you to stop? but your lack of sense could not allow you to take my advice. It is very justly observed, 'Better sense than science; unless it improve by knowledge.' Those who want common understanding will as surely perish, as did those who revived the Lion. The man with the wheel asked how that was, to which the other replied:

"There were four *Bráhmans* residing in the same village, all intimate friends. Three were men of great acquirements, but destitute of common sense. The fourth was an intelligent fellow, but equally destitute of learning. As they were poor, they determined at one of their meetings, to go to some country where learning was patronized, and where, they were satisfied, they should speedily be enriched with presents from the king. They accordingly set off, but when they had gone some way, the eldest cried out, 'It never occurred to me before, that our fourth friend here is illiterate. He is a man of sense to be sure, but that will not entitle him to any rewards from the king; we shall have, therefore, to relinquish to him a part of our earnings, and it would be fairer, I think, for him to remain at home.' The second agreed in this opinion, but the third opposed it, saying, 'we have always been friends and companions from infancy, and let him, therefore, participate in the wealth we shall acquire.' This sentiment prevailed, and they all went on in harmony.

"As they passed through a forest, they saw the scattered bones of a dead Lion. 'I have met,' said one, 'with an account of a method by which beings can be re-animated: what say you? shall we try the experiment, and employ the energies of science to restore life and shape to these bones?' They agreed. One undertook to put the bones together; the second to supply the skin, flesh, blood, &c., and the other to communicate life to the figure. When the two first had accomplished their tasks, the third was about to begin his; but the fourth stopped him; 'Consider what you are going to do,' he exclaimed, 'if you give life to the lion, the consequence will be that he will devour us.' 'Away, blockhead,' replied the sage, 'I am not to project things in vain.' 'Wait an instant, then,' replied the

man of sense, 'till I get up into this tree.' So saying, he climbed up into a tree at hand, and his learned associates accomplished their undertaking. A substantial living lion was formed, who fell upon the three philosophers, and destroyed them. When he was gone, the man of common sense descended from his hiding place, and reached home again in safety."

When he had finished, the man with the wheel exclaimed: "This is very unreasonable, that destiny should destroy men of great talents, and allow simpletons to escape; as it is said, 'See where *Satabudd'hi* (hundred-wit) is carried on the head, and there too is *Sahaśrabudd'hi* (thousand-wit), whilst I, who am *Eka-buddhi* (single-wit), still may gambol in the crystal stream.' 'How,' asked he of the gold mine, 'happened that?' The *Chakrad'hara*\* replied, 'In a certain reservoir were two fishes, one named *Satabudd'hi*, the other *Sahaśrabudd'hi*. They had a friend, a frog, named *E'kabudd'hi*, with whom they were in the habit of meeting and conversing at the edge of the water. When the usual party assembled, they saw several fishermen with their nets approach, and heard them say to one another, 'this pool is full of fish, the water is but shallow, we will come to-morrow morning and drag it.' They then went away. When they had departed, the frog said to his friends, 'What is to be done? had we not better make our escape?' at which *Sahaśrabudd'hi* laughed, and said, 'never fear, they have only talked of coming. Yet, if they should come, I will be answerable for your safety, as well as my own. I shall be a match for them, as I know all the courses of the water.' *Satabudd'hi* said, 'My friend here is very right; wherever there is a way for the breeze, for water or its tenants, or for the rays of the sun, the intellect of a sagacious person will penetrate. By following his counsel, your life would be in no peril, even had you approached the abodes of the manes. Stay where you are, even I will undertake your safety.' The frog said, 'I have, perhaps, but limited talent, a mere singleness of sense, but that tells me to flee; and therefore, whilst I can, I shall withdraw with my mate to another piece of water.' The frog left the pool that night. In the morning the fishermen arrived, and the lake was so beset with nets, that all the fish, turtles, crabs, and other tenants of the water were made prisoners, and amongst them *Satabudd'hi* and *Sahaśrabudd'hi*, in spite of their boasted cunning,

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\* From *Chakra*, a wheel, and *Dhara*, who bears; the use of this denominative may spare some repetition.

were caught and killed. The frog saw the fishermen on their return, and recognising *Satabudd'hi* on the head of one man, and *Sahasrabudd'hi* dragged along with cords by another, pointed them out to his mate, in the words which I cited."

The *Bráhma*n of the gold mine answered, This may be very true, but a friend's words are not to be despised, and you had better have listened to me, than followed the dictates of your own avarice and presumption. Well was it said, 'Bravo, uncle, you would sing your song, though I dissuaded you, and see what a splendid gem you have received as the recompense of your performance.' The *Chakradhara* asked, how was that? The other replied.

"In a certain village there was an Ass named *UDD'HÁTA*. During the day, he carried the bundles of a washerman. At night, he followed his own inclinations. During his nocturnal rambles, he formed an acquaintance with a Jackall, in whose company he broke into enclosures, and feasted on their contents. On one occasion, when in the middle of a cucumber field, the Ass, exulting with delight, said to the Jackall, 'Nephew, is not this a heavenly night; I feel so happy that I must sing a song. In what key will you prefer it.' The Jackall replied, 'What nonsense, when we are engaged in plundering, to think of such a thing. Silence becomes thieves and libertines, as it is said, 'Let the sick man and the lazy refrain from stealing and chattering, if they would escape with life.' If your song be ever so sweet, should the owner of the field hear, he will rise, and in his rage, bind and kill you: eat, therefore, and be silent.' The Ass replied, 'You can be no judge of the charms of music, as you have spent all your life in the woods. Observe, in the nights of autumn, in privacy with your love, the distant song of the singer drops like nectar into the ears.' The Jackall answered, 'may be so, but your voice is abominable, why should you let it lead you into trouble?' The Ass was highly affronted at this, and said; 'away, blockhead, do you question my musical proficiency? I know every branch of the science; for instance, there are seven notes, three scales, and twenty-one intervals, &c.\* The scientific combination of the parts of

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\* The entire enumeration in the text is 7 *swara*, 3 *gráma*, 21 *murch'hana*, 19 *tála*, 3 *mátrá*, 3 *laya*, 3 *st'hána*, 6 *yatis*, 9 *rasa*, 36 *varna*, 40 *bhás'há*, 150 *gítá*. See the author's remarks, at the close of this essay. Mr. Wilson reads *nara* for *rasa*, and three divisions of *yatis* in place of 6 *yatis*.—H.T.C.

music is particularly grateful in the autumnal season. There is no gift of the gods more precious than music. RÁVANA received the boon from the three eyed god (SIVA), delighted with the rattling of dry tendons. How then do you presume to question my powers, or to oppose their exercise? 'Very well,' replied the Jackall, 'let me get to the door of the garden, where I may see the gardener as he approaches, and then sing away as long as you please.' So it was settled; and the Jackall having provided for his own safety, the Ass opened his chaunt. The gardener was awakened by the noise, and rising immediately, repaired to the spot, armed with a stout stick, with which he fell upon the ass, knocked him down, and belaboured him till he was tired. He then brought a large clog, with a hole in it, which he fastened to his leg, and tied him to a post, after which he returned home, and went to sleep. The Ass came to himself, and forgot his tortures in the recollection of his home and companions. As it is said, 'On a dog, a mule, and an ass, a good beating leaves but a momentary impression.' Accordingly, springing up, he forced his way out of the inclosure, carrying the clog along with him. As he ran off, the Jackall met him, and said, 'Bravo, uncle,' &c."

The *Chukradhara* having heard this story, answered, What you observe is very just; but you should recollect, that a man who neither exercises his own judgment, nor follows a friend's advice, brings on his own ruin, as was the case with MANT'HARA, the weaver.

"There was a weaver named, MANT'HARA, all the wood work of whose loom was, on one occasion, broken. Taking his axe, he set off to cut fresh timber, and finding a large *Sisú*-tree, by the sea side, began to fell it. In the tree resided a spirit, who exclaimed on the first stroke of the axe, 'Hola, this tree is my dwelling, and I cannot quit it, as here I inhale the fresh breeze that is cooled by the ocean's spray.' The weaver replied, 'What am I to do? unless I get wood, my family must starve. Do you, therefore, look out for another house; quick, this I must have.' The spirit replied, 'You shall have any thing else you ask for; but not this tree.' The weaver then agreed to go home, and consult a friend and his wife, and return with his final determination.

"When the weaver returned home, he found there a very particular friend of his, the barber of the village, to whom he told what had occurred, and whom he consulted what he should request. The barber said: 'Ask to be made a king; then I will be your prime minister, and we shall enjoy our-

selves gloriously.' The weaver approved his notion ; but first, he added, he must consult his wife. To this, the barber strenuously objected. A wise man, he argued, would confer on women food, clothing, and appropriate ornaments, but would never let them share his councils, as BHÁRGAVA has stated, that where a woman, a rogue, or a child, had the management, the house was sure of going to ruin. A man would maintain his rank and respectability, as long as he associated with grave people, and entrusted no woman with his secrets. Women are engrossed with their own desigus, and purpose only their own pleasure. They love their own children even, no longer than they derive from them self-gratification.' The weaver admitted the justice of his friend's observations ; but *his* wife, he said, had no other thoughts, than for her husband's welfare, and he must take her advice. Accordingly he went to her, and related what had happened, what the barber had recommended, and asked her what she thought it would be most advantageous for him to solicit : she replied :

“ ‘ You should never listen, husband, to the advice of a barber ; as it is said, ‘ Husbands should never take counsel with courtezans, parasites, ‘ mean persons, barbers, gardeners, and beggars. Royalty is a very troublesome thing, and the cares of peace and war, aggression and negotiation, defence and administration, never allow its possessor a moment's enjoyment. He, who is wise, will ever shun the station of a king, for which his own relations, brothers and offspring, would be armed against his life. I should recommend you, therefore, to be contented with your station, and only to seek the means of more effectually earning your livelihood. Ask for an additional pair of hands, and another head, with which you may keep a loom going, both before and behind you. The profit of such a second loom will be quite sufficient to give you consequence and credit with your tribe, as we have already from those of the first, quite enough for our own expenditure.’ ”

“ This advice pleased the husband mightily ; he repaired forthwith to the tree, and requested the spirit, as the price of his forbearance, to give him another pair of arms, and an additional head. No sooner said than done ; and he immediately was possessed of two heads and four arms, with which he returned homewards, highly delighted. His new acquisitions, however, proved fatal ; for as soon as the villagers saw him, they exclaimed, ‘ a goblin ! a goblin ! ’ and falling on him with clubs, or pelting him with stones, speedily put a period to his existence. Therefore, I say, &c.’ ”

The *Chakradhara* continued: Every one who is tormented by the devil of improper expectations, naturally incurs ridicule, as it is said, 'He who forms extravagant hopes for the future, will be as much disappointed as the father of SÓMA SARMÁ.' How was that? asked the other *Bráhmaṇ*; and he with the wheel proceeded.

"There was an avaricious *Bráhmaṇ* named SÓMA SARMÁ, who had collected, during the day, as much meal, in alms, as filled an earthen jar. This jar he suspended to a peg, immediately at the foot of his bed, that he might not lose sight of it. During the night he lay awake some time, and reflected thus: That jar is full of meal. If a scarcity should take place, I shall sell it for a hundred pieces at least; with that sum I will buy a pair of goats; they will bear young, and I shall get enough by their sale to purchase a pair of cows. I shall sell their calves, and will purchase buffaloes; and with the produce of my herd, I shall be able to buy horses and mares. By the sale of their colts, I shall realize an immense sum; and with my money, I will build a stately mansion. As I shall then be a man of consequence, some wealthy person will solicit my acceptance of his daughter, with a suitable dowry. I shall have a son by her, whom I will call by my own name, SÓMA SARMÁ. When he is able to crawl, I shall take him with me on my horse, seating him before me. Accordingly, when SÓMA SARMÁ sees me, he will leave his mother's lap, and come creeping along, and some day or other he will approach the horses too near; when I shall be very angry, and shall desire his mother to take him away. She will be busy with her household duties, and will not hear my orders; on which I shall give her a kick with my foot. Thus saying, he put forth one of his feet with such violence, as to break the jar. The meal accordingly fell on the ground; where, mingling with the dust and dirt, it was completely spoiled: and so ended SÓMA SARMÁ's hopes.\*"

"There is a city in the north, named *Madhupur*, of which MADHUSÉNA was king. A daughter was born to him, who had three breasts. When the king heard this, he ordered the chief attendant to take away the infant, and expose her in the woods, so that the matter should remain unknown.

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\* A story of a monkey revenging himself on a king, who had caused a number of tame monkeys to be killed, and the marrow of their bones applied to relieve burns in his horses, scorched by the stables being burnt, here follows; and is succeeded by a tale of a monkey, a thief, and a goblin. Both are omitted, as deficient in interest; the entire fifth section being too long for insertion.

The attendant, however, recommended that, as the birth of such an infant was a very extraordinary event, it would be better to consult the *Bráhmans* what was to be done, so that the consequence might not be the loss of both worlds; as it is said, a wise man should always inquire the meaning of what he observes, like the *Bráhman*, who thus escaped the grasp of the goblin. The king asked how that was, to which the attendant replied :

“ CHANĀVARMĀ, a *Rákshasa*, haunted a certain wood, and one day laid hold of a *Bráhman*, who passed, leaping upon his shoulders, and ordering him, at the same time, to proceed. The *Bráhman*, overcome with terror, obeyed; but as he went along, he observed that the goblin's feet were particularly soft and tender, and inquired of him how this happened. The *Rákshasa* replied, I am under a vow never to walk, or touch the ground with my feet. After this, they came to a pool, where the *Rákshasa* said, Let me down, whilst I bathe, and perform my devotions; but beware how you leave the place till I come out of the water. The *Bráhman* obeyed; but when he had got rid of his load, he reflected, that now was his time to escape; for as the *Rákshasa* was incapacitated for walking, he would not be able to overtake the fugitive; accordingly, he took to his heels, and effected his retreat in safety: therefore I said, &c.”

The advice thus given by the attendant was followed by the *Rájá*; and having summoned the *Brdhmans*, he consulted them how he should act, to which they replied, “ It is said, Sire, that a daughter whose limbs are defective or excessive, will be the cause of death to her husband, and destruction of her own character: and a damsel with three breasts will inevitably be the source of evil to the parent, whose sight she may attract. Your Majesty should therefore take care to avoid seeing your daughter. Let any one, that will, marry her, stipulating that he leaves the country. In this way no offence will be offered to this world, or the next.” The *Rájá* approved of this plan, and ordered the drum to be beat, and proclamation to be made, that whoever would marry the princess, and remove with her to a distant country, should receive a hundred thousand rupees. Notwithstanding this offer, no person came forward; and the princess arrived at adolescence, without any one proposing to espouse her. At last, she found a husband.

In the city resided two paupers, who were friends; the one was blind, and the other hunch-backed; the latter, who was named MANTHARA, persuaded the former to marry the princess, with whom, and the money, they should remove to a distant place, and lead a life of ease: or if, by the evil nature



of the princess, he should die, there would at least be an end of his misery. The blind man, accordingly, accepted the terms of the proclamation ; and having married the princess, and received the dower, set off with her, and his friend, to a distant residence.

After passing some time contentedly, the blind man giving himself up to indolence, and hunch-back conducting their domestic arrangements, the evil influence of the princess's deformity began to operate, and she intrigued with hunch-back. This couple then soon began to plot the blind man's destruction. With this intent, hunch-back brought home one day a dead snake, of a venomous nature, which he gave to the princess, and desired her to mince it, and dress it with proper sauces, after which she should give it to her husband, telling him it was a dish of fish. MANTHARA then went away, and the princess, delighted, cut up the snake, and set it to boil : then, having other matters to look after, she called to her husband, and desired him to attend to the stirring of the nice mess of fish she was cooking for his dinner. He obeyed her, licking his lips at the intimation, and stirring the vessel as it boiled. In this manner, hanging over the caldron, the fumes of the venom drew the tears so copiously from his eyes, that they gradually dissolved the film which obscured his vision, and he was restored to sight. As he looked into the boiler, he saw immediately that he was cooking the fragments of a black snake. He at once concluded what his wife's design was ; but remained in doubt, who her accomplice could be. To ascertain this, he resolved to dissemble, and still affect his former blindness. Presently hunch-back returned, and the husband watching his conduct unobserved, was soon satisfied of the good understanding that subsisted between his treacherous friend, and faithless spouse. He approached them unperceived, and suddenly seizing hunch-back by the feet, being a man of great strength, he whirled him over his head, and dashed him against the breast of the wife with such violence, that his head drove her third breast through her body to her back, and both she, and her paramour, instantly perished : therefore I said, &c.

The *Bráhma*n who had found the gold mine then concluded, " It is well said, all prosperity proceeds from Fate ; but, in compliance with Destiny, prudence is not to be disregarded in the manner in which you neglected it, by not listening to my advice." He then left his friend to his fate, and returned to his own abode.

VISHNU SARMÁ having thus terminated these narratives, asked the princes,

what more it was necessary for him to say? The princes replied, most worthy preceptor, we have learnt from you all that is essential to the duties of a king. Then we have only to wish, answered VISHNU SARMA, that this *Sástra* may be considered as a mirror, reflecting light friendly to other sciences, and facilitating to those, who are acquainted with its contents, the acquirement of worldly wisdom.

When the king found his sons were instructed in this manner, in the course of six months, in the substance of all the *Sástras*, he was highly delighted with their improvement, and acknowledging that the sage had fulfilled his promise, loaded him with unprecedented wealth and favours.

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The course of the narrative has interrupted our comments: it is therefore necessary to revert to them, to indicate a very few analogies, which this section offers; and to notice one or two circumstances, which are interesting, as throwing light on a state of manners no longer known to the Hindus.

The first story, of the beggar turned to a lump of gold by a blow, occurs, with some variation, in the third section of the *Hitópadesá*. It may be also considered as connected with the tale of the dervise ABOUNADER, in the Oriental Tales. The chief peculiarity, however, of this story is its correct delineation of *Jain* customs; a thing very unusual in *Bráhmanical* books. The address of the barber, and the benediction of the Superior of the *Vihár*, are conformable to *Jain* usages. The whole is indeed a faithful picture: it is also unaccompanied by any sneer, or abuse; and the satire is rather levelled at the *Brdhmáns*. The accuracy of the description is an argument for some antiquity; as the more modern any work is, the more incorrect the description of the *Jainas* and *Baudd'has*, and the confounding of one with the other.

The second story is in both the *Hitópadesá*, and *Kalíla Damana*. It was an early favourite in Europe; and is found as a *Fabliau*; the dog being substituted for the weasel or *ichneumon*; an exchange in very good taste, when the scene is laid in Europe, but wholly foreign to the notions of the Hindus, amongst whom the dog has never been a domestic animal: whilst the *nëol* or *nakula*, the *viverra mungo*, on the contrary, has always been a pet. The most pleasing form of this celebrated tale is the ballad of *Bath Gellert*.

The passage of the third story, relative to the profits of trade, it is not very easy to render in a satisfactory manner, as the technical terms employed are no longer in use.

The *Góshtika karma* appears to imply the management of lands for others, by the expression illustrative of it; but the *Parichitta-gráhakágama* is by no means clear. One copy alone attempts to explain it. Parichittam ágachchantan gráhacam utcant'hayá vilócyá srésht'hí hrīdayé hrīshiyaté: The merchant is delighted at heart, when with affected sorrow he sees an acquaintance coming (as a borrower).

The musical pretensions of the ass, and the beating they procure for him, form a fable with which all children are familiar. The recapitulation of musical terms that occurs, is, however, rather curious, and exceeds the limits, to which SIR WILLIAM JONES and MR. PATERSON have carried their explanation of the musical language of the Hindus. The seven notes are common to the Hindu scale, and that of Europe. The *Grámas* are scales. Of these, the *Madhyama Gráma* is identified by MR. PATERSON with the major, and the *Gandhára* with the minor, mode. The *Múrch'hanas* he considers as the intervals of the scale. There are seven to each *gráma*, or twenty-one in all. *Tála* is the division of time; and the *Mátrás* and *Layas* refer to the same, no doubt. The first possibly implying the duration of the bars, the second that of the notes, and the third that of the rests, or pauses. Of the remaining members of the list, in their purely musical sense, I cannot here attempt an explanation.\*

The story of the weaver may remind us of the three wishes, to which, however, in point and humour, it is vastly inferior. That of SO'MA-SARMÁ is given in the *Kalíla Damana*, and *Hitópadesá*. It is in substance the same also as that of ALNASCHAR, in the Arabian Nights. As related in the *Ayúr Dánish* of ABULFAZAL, it is translated in the first volume of the Asiatic Miscellany.

The story comprised within the last, of the *Rákshasa* who got upon the *Bráhma*n's shoulders, contains the hint of the old man who proved so troublesome to Sinbad, in his fifth voyage; and who makes so prominent a figure also in the *Hindí* story of *Kámarúpa* and *Kámalatá*, translated by

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\* As relating to vocal music, several of the terms may here be understood in their ordinary sense: *mátrá* refers to syllabic length, or vowel sounds; *varnas* are consonants; *bhásá* signifies language; and *gíta* tune or song.—H.T.C.



Colonel FRANKLIN. The last story of the section is absurd enough ; but it has a curious bearing, although perhaps unintentionally. The malformation of the heroine might be thought a satire on a very popular legend of the south of India ; traces of which may be seen in their sculptures, particularly at *Madura*. According to that story, the daughter of one of the early *Pandyan* Kings was born with three breasts. She was an incarnation of DÉVÍ ; and the third breast disappeared, when she espoused ŚIVA himself, in the form of SUNDARÉS'WARA, the divinity that was ever afterwards the tutelary god of the *Pandyan* kingdom, and its capital, *Madura*. A modification of this legend is also met with in Ceylon ; the fair demon KURÁNÍ, having been born with three breasts, one of which disappeared on her espousal of VIJAYA, the prince who first led a colony to that Island.—*Davy's Ceylon*, 294.

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NOTE.

The *Hitopadésa* is not the only Sanscrit epitome of the *Panchópác'hydna*, or *Pancha Tantra*. Another abridgment of it, following the original much more closely, both in the matter, and in the arrangement of it, is the *Cat'hámrita-nidhi* (treasure of the nectar of tales), by ANANTA-BHAT'T'A, who describes himself in the introductory and concluding lines of the work, as son of NÁGADÉVA-BHAT'T'A, a *Brdhman* of the *Cánwa* branch. He professes to preserve in his epitome of the text, the whole of the narrative, or story, but to abbreviate the poetical illustrations. The performance appears, so far as I have compared it with the original, to conform with the author's professed design in that respect.—H.T.C.

XI. *INSCRIPTIONS UPON ROCKS, IN SOUTH BIHÁR, described by DR. BUCHANAN HAMILTON, and explained by HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq. Director.*

Read December 4, 1824.

DR. BUCHANAN HAMILTON, while engaged in statistical researches in the provinces subject to the government of Bengal, gave attention to the antiquities of the country, as to other scientific objects, which he had the opportunity of investigating. His reports, comprising the result of his inquiries, are deposited in the Library and Museum of the East India Company: and, at his instance, the Court of Directors have sanctioned a liberal communication of the information contained in them, to this Society. Among the antiquities collected by him, there are many *fac similes* of inscriptions. I purpose submitting to the Society explanations of such among them, as are interesting: and I now present the translation of one, which appears curious.

It is an inscription upon a rock, denominated, from an idol delineated on it, *Tárdchandi*, in the vicinity of *Sahasram*, in South *Bihár*; and contains the protest of a chieftain, named PRATÁPA DHAVALA DÉVA, bearing the title of *Ndyaca*, and that of *Rája* of *Japila*, against an usurpation of two villages, by certain *Bráhmanas* in his neighbourhood, under colour of a grant, surreptitiously obtained through corruption of his officers, from the *Rája* of *Gádhinagara* or *Canyacubja* (*Canoj*) who was the celebrated VIJAYA CHANDRA (JAYA-CHAND). Its date is 1229, *Samvat*, corresponding to A.D. 1173.

In Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's collection, there are copies of two other inscriptions upon rocks, in the neighbourhood, exhibiting the name of the same chieftain, in conjunction with many of his kindred in the one; and followed by a long series of his successors in the other. I observe little else interesting in them, besides the names and the dates.

The site of the principal inscription is thus described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. "In a narrow passage, which separates the northern end of the hills from the great mass, and through which the road leads from *Sahasram* to *Rautásghar*, is a place where *Tárdchandi* is worshipped. The image is

carved on a ledge of rock ; and is so small, and so besmeared with oil and red lead, that I am not sure of its form. It seems, however, to represent a woman sitting on a man's knee ; but not in the form usual in Bihár, which is called *Hara-gaurí*. Adjacent to the image, a cavity in the rock has been enlarged by one or two pillars in front, supporting a roof, so as to form a shed, to which the priest, and a man who sells offerings and refreshments for votaries and passengers, daily repair. A few persons assemble in the month of *Srávan*. But the chief profit arises from passengers ; who are very numerous : and all who can afford, give something. The priest is a *Sannyáśi*. Above the shed, the Moslems have erected a small mosque, in order to show the triumph of the faith : but it is quite neglected. The image is usually attributed to the *Chérós* : and many small heaps between the place and *Sahasram*, are said to be ruins of buildings erected by the same people. But a long inscription, carved on the rock within the shed, refers to VIJAYA CHANDRA, sovereign of *Canoj*."

That inscription was strangely misinterpreted by the *Pandita* attached to the survey on which Dr. Buchanan Hamilton was engaged. The *Pandita* supposed the chieftain, PRATÁPA DHAVALA, to premise an intention of commemorating his descendants ; and to proceed to the mention of VIJAYA CHANDRA, proprietor of *Canoj* ; and SATRUGHNA, son of the *Maháráj* : whence Dr. Hamilton inferred, that VIJAYA CHANDRA was son of PRATÁPA DHAVALA. Dr. Hamilton observes, indeed, that others gave a totally different interpretation : considering it as "an advertisement from PRATÁPA DHAVALA, that he will not obey an order for giving up two villages, which, he alleges, had been procured by corruption from the officers of VIJAYA CHANDRA, King of *Canoj*."

The oriental scholar, upon inspection of the fac simile, will have no difficulty in perceiving that the latter was the right interpretation ; and it is therefore needless to pursue remarks which were built upon the *Pandita's* grossly erroneous translation.

The style of the protest is singular ; and, on that account alone, I should have thought it very deserving of notice. It serves, however, at the same time to show, that the paramount dominion of *Canyacubja*, extended to the mountains of South *Bihár* : and it presents an instance of the characteristic turbulence of Indian feudatories.

The second inscription, bearing the name of the same chieftain, *Náyaca* PRATÁPA DHAVALA DÉVA, with the date 1219, (A.D. 1163.) Saturday 4.

*Jyaisht'ha badi*, and underneath the name of his brother, the prince TRIBHÚVANA DHAVALA, the prince's wife SULHI and another female SO'MALÍ, and two sons LACSHMYÁDITYA and PADMÁDITYA; exhibits a rude figure of a goddess *Tótalá dévi*, attributed to the family priest VIS'WARÚPA. On the other side of the figure, are the names of five daughters, and, at the foot of it, six sons of the *Náyaca*. These are VARCU, SATRUGHNA, BÍRABALA, SAHASA DHAVALA, YÁMI-CÁRTICÉYA and SANTA-YATNA DÉVA. Beneath are names of *Cáyast'has*, YAJNYADHARA, and VIDYÁDHARA, sons of CUSUMA-HÁRA; the treasurer DÉVARÁJA, and the door-keeper (*pratihára*) TISHALA.

The site of this inscription is described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton: 'Where the *Tutrahi*, a branch of the *Kudura* river, falls down the hills of *Tilot'hu*, is a holy place, sacred to the goddess *Tótalá*. The recess, into which this stream falls, is about half a mile deep; and terminates in a magnificent, abrupt rock, somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, and from 180 to 250 feet high. In the centre is a deep pool, at all times filled with water, and which receives the stream, that falls from a gap in this immense precipice. This gap may be 30 feet wide; and the perpendicular height there, 180 feet.

'The image is said to have been placed by the *Cherós*, about eighteen centuries ago; and, in fact, resembles one of the images very common in the works attributed to that people in *Bihár*. But this antiquity is by no means confirmed by the inscription, the date of which is evidently in *Samvat* 1389, or A.D. 1332.

'In another inscription it is said, that the family priest of a neighbouring prince, PRATA'PA DHAVALA, had, in A.D. 1158, made the image of the goddess: alluding evidently to a rude figure, carved on rock, and now totally neglected.

'The image now worshipped is, as usual, a slab carved in relief, and represents a female with many arms, killing a man springing from the neck of a buffalo.\* It is placed on the highest ledge of the sloping part of the rock, immediately under the waterfall. From two to three hundred votaries, at different times in the month of *Srávan*, go to the place, to pray.'

The third inscription is upon a rock at *Bandugháta*, on the *Sóne* river

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\* It figures *Mahishásura*, vulg. *Bhainsásur*, slain by *Bhaváni*.

opposite to *Japila*, which was the chieftain's principality. The date assigned to *Mahá-nripati* (i. e. Mahárájá) PRATÁPA DHAVALA, besides the number of 21 years (apparently the duration of his reign, as chief of *Japila*), is, in the *fac simile*, written 2219 *Samvat*; but the first digit being clearly wrong, it must be corrected to 1219, or 1229; most likely the latter. No date is assigned to his predecessor UDAYA DHAVALA; nor to the line of his successors, beginning with VICRAMA, who is perhaps the same with VARCU (the first among his sons, named in the second inscription,) and who appears from the epithet of *Vijayin*, "victorious," to have been the reigning prince, when his name was here set down. The rest must have been subsequently, from time to time, added; and the first among them is SAHASA DHAVALA, perhaps the fourth son of PRATÁPA DHAVALA, mentioned in the second inscription.

Above all this, there have been inscribed, at a much later period, other names, viz. 'Mahárájá NYUNAT RAÏ or NYUNTA RÁYA, who went to heaven (*surapura*, i. e. the city of the gods) in the year 1648 *Samvat*;' and 'Mahárájá PRATÁPA RÁYA, or PRATAPA RUDRA, who went to heaven in the year 1653 *Samvat*.'

In another part of the inscription, there occurs the name of *Mahárájá MĀNASINHA*, with the dates of 1652 and 1653 *Samvat*; and lower down, a string of three names, *Mahárájá CANSARÁJA*, PRATÁPA DHAVALA DÉVA, and MADANA SINHA. Between the two last, there is interposed the date of 1624 *Samvat*.

The name of PRATÁPA appears then to have been of frequent recurrence. The family, which yet possesses the principality of *Bilonja*, the representative of which, when visited by Dr. Hamilton, was *Rájá BHÚPANÁT'HA SÁ*, claims descent from PRATÁPA DHAVALA, chief of *Japila*.

*Japila* is a large estate, south of *Rautás* (*Róhitáswa*), in the district of *Rámaghar*. But the territories of the ancient chieftain seem to have extended beyond its present limits, and to have reached the vicinity of *Sahasram*.

These inscriptions have no other chronological value, but as they corroborate the date of one possessing more historical interest, noticed in the *Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. 9, p. 441). It records a grant of land, by the same *Rájá* of *Canyacubja*, VIJAYA CHANDRA; and, as usual, recites the names of his ancestors, tracing his genealogy through no



less than six generations. The original was said to have been transmitted to Great Britain by the late Sir John Murray M'Gregor; but I am unable to say where it has been deposited. It would be an acceptable communication, as serving to authenticate the history of a prince among the most conspicuous in the annals of his country; on which he inflicted the same calamity which Count Julian did on Spain, by assisting a Musleman conquest of it, in revenge for the abduction of his daughter.\* The analogy indeed is not quite complete; for it was *seduction* of a daughter which Count Julian sought to revenge.

Concerning the inscription at *Táráchandí*, of which a translation is here presented, it is to be remarked, that the denunciation or protest, which it records, is first expressed in verse,† and is then repeated in prose. This repetition has much assisted the decyphering of it, and the correction of some errors, either of the original, or of the copy. A few explanatory notes will be found annexed.

*Translation of the Inscription at Táráchandí.*

“ PRATÁPA DHAVALA, wholly divine (*déva*), possessor of happily risen and celebrated glory, addresses his own race. In these villages, contiguous to *Calahandí*,‡ that contemptible ill copper§ [grant], which has been obtained by fraud and bribery, from the thievish slaves of the sovereign of *Gádhinagara*,|| by priests sprung from *Suwalluhala*:¶ there is no ground of

\* See p. 147 of this volume.

† In two stanzas of *Vasanta-tilaca* metre.

‡ *Calahan'dí*; written *Calahandí*, with a long vowel, in the prose paraphrase.

§ The text exhibits, in two places, *cutámra*; which, I conjecture, should be *cu-támra*, from *cu* ill and *támra*, copper; alluding to a grant inscribed, as usual, upon copper. There may be an allusion to *Cutámra*, the name of a district in that vicinity.

|| *Gádhinagara*, the same with *Gádhapura*, is identified with *Canyacubja*.—See As. Res. ix. 441.

¶ *Suwalluhala*; written *Swallu haníya* in the prose paraphrase; it appears to be the designation of the *Bráhmanas*, who had obtained the grant of land in question.

faith to be put therein by the people around. Not a bit of land, so much as a needle's point might pierce, is theirs.

“ Samvat 1229. Jyésht'ha badi 3d Wednesday.

“ The feet of the sovereign of *Japila*, the great chieftain, the fortunate PRATÁPA DHAVALA DÉVA, declare the truth to his sons, grandsons, and other descendants sprung of his race : this ill copper\* [grant] of the villages of *Calaháñdi* and *Badayitá*, obtained by fraud and bribery, from the thievish slaves of the fortunate VIJAYA CHANDRA, the king, sovereign of *Canya-cubja*† by *Swalluhanya*‡ folks : no faith is to be put therein. Those priests are every way libertines. Not so much land, as might be pierced by a needle's point, is theirs. Knowing this, you will take the share of produce and other dues ; or destroy.”

“ [Signature] of the great *Rájaputra* (king's son), the fortunate SATRUGHNA.”

XII. COMMENTS ON AN INSCRIPTION UPON MARBLE, AT MADHUCARGHAR ;  
and three Grants Inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani, by MAJOR  
JAMES TOD.

Read June 19, 1824.

I have the honour to present to the Society, three copper-plates, and to submit translations of the inscriptions on two of them.\* They were obtained by me from the ancient city of *Avantí*, or *Ujain (Ujjayani)*, about twelve years ago.

At the same time I adjoin a translation of a third inscription relative to the same family (of which these plates are records), and which I was so fortunate as to discover in my last tour of Central India, in 1822.

These will be considered of consequence, as they at once fix the period of a celebrated dynasty, and an important era in the history and literature of India.

The dynasty, of which they are memorials, is the *Prámára*, vulgarly *Púár* or *Powár*, one of the most distinguished of the *Rája-cúla*, or Royal Races of India. It is one of the four tribes, to which I alluded in a former paper, claiming their origin from the personified element of fire, in common with the other races of *Agni-cúla* ; the *Cháhamána*, *Parihára*, and *Sólankí*.

I know of no tribe having a more wide range over the historical field of India, than that in question. It enjoyed more extensive dominion than any other of the race of *Agni* ; and had acquired it at a much earlier period : for, though four existed collaterally, as independent monarchs, yet the glory of the *Prámáras* was on the wane, when that of the *Sólankís*, the famed *Balhara (Ballabh-rāi)*, kings of *Narhwára*, was in the zenith ; to which the *Cháhamánas* were rapidly approximating ; and, in their success, extinguished the independence of the fourth, or *Parihára*, dynasty of *Mandówar*.

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\* See note A.

So extensive was the *Prámdra* sway, that the couplet, or “*Dóhá*,” in the Doric dialect of these parts, “*Pirthí! tain na Pówár ka*,” “Earth, thou art the *Powár*’s,” has little of the hyperbole, when restricted to the Indian world: and, though we cannot see the link of succession, it seems to have been the first tribe that succeeded to the extensive power which the *Yádavas* had so long maintained before them.

There are more ramifications (*Sác’hás*) of the *Prámára*, than of any of the “*Ch’hétís Rája-cúla*,” or thirty-six royal races, excepting the *Ch’hépan cúla Yádava*, or fifty-six tribes of the *Yádavas*, celebrated in the Sacred Books. The *Prámáras* enumerate no less than thirty-six.

On an inscription, in my possession, of the *Grahilóte* race, the eulogist does not limit their number; and says, in the usual figurative style, “*Apramáhá sác’há*” “of innumerable ramifications;” though the *Grahilótes* are in fact limited to twenty-four.

The names of all the thirty-six *Prámdra* tribes are not now to be collected. About one third may be given with tolerable certainty of being accurate; but only the names. They are few in numbers, and without power; and, but for the itinerant bard and genealogist, would cease to know themselves.

Many now extinct, or not known under their ancient appellations, are traced in books and inscriptions. By these I have rescued a few once celebrated names and tribes, which, I may say, had else perished: amongst others, that of *Lár*, a once powerful tribe, and said, by the only living bard I ever knew, who was acquainted with it, to be of *Prámdra* stock.

The *Cumdra-pála-charitra* (which I this day present to the Society) mentions the celebrated JAYA-SINHA of *Pattana* “having extirpated the remnant of the race of *Lár*,” from the peninsula of *Sauráshtra*, in which it was formerly all powerful. Doubtless this tribe furnished Ptolemy with the name, which he gives in his geography, of this peninsula, “*Larike*;” and he places a Byzantium near the very spot, the ancient *Ballabhí* (which I had the good fortune to discover), the capital of the *Ballabhí-ráús*, and the origin of their title. Their capital was afterwards transferred to “*Nehrúda* ;” which that great geographer, D’Anville, had “*fort à cœur de retrouver*,” and which I had the happiness to find still as a suburb to *Pattana Anurúdra*: evidently the corruption of the original name, *Analavá’a*; and which Abul Fazil had discovered in Akber’s reign.

For the existence of several tribes, extinct else in their martial capacity, search ought to be made amongst the mercantile races of *Rājast'hān*; almost all of whom are of *Rājaputra* origin; especially the numerous, or innumerable, classes of the *Jain* laity.

Amongst the eighty-four grand divisions\* of the *Vaiśya*, I find that of *Lār*: but I never had an opportunity to converse with one, to whom I could apply for information as to the period of their renouncing arms and becoming proselytes of the *Jains*.

*Silāra* is another branch. An inscription (in the 1st vol. As. Res.) of a prince of this tribe, gives his capital *Tagara*, his title *ARI-CĒSARI*, or the Lion of *Aria*,† which, with *Larike*, seems to have formed the ancient *Balhara* sovereignty; and of the former part of which *Aria-ke*, *Tagara*, and *Callian* (*Calyāna*), were the chief cities.

In another list, *Silura* is given as of *Prāmāra* race; probably another mode of writing *Silāra*; and both from *Lār*, with the distinctive prefix of *Sī* for *Su*, meaning excellent.

The *Dahya* and *Johya* ‡ were once celebrated on the *Setlej*, both now extinct. These may be the *Dahæ* of Alexander, and of the Parthian kings.§ *Sankla* is one of the few tribes, having still “a local habitation and a name;” its residence is in *Marwar*,|| at the bend of the *Lānt* river; and its reputation for bravery is still very great.

The *Kheir* and *Mori* branches were once renowned, *Kheirālū* ¶ and

\* Some of these have numerous shoots or families, (for tribes would be a misnomer). The *Oswāl* for instance, most of whom follow the tenets of the *Khartra gachha* sect of *Jains*, have near eighteen hundred of these subdivisions. My own learned friend and *Guru*, *Yatī GYA'NA CHANDRA*, was high in rank amongst the disciples of the Pontiff of the *Khartras*, had upwards of seventeen hundred names of families of his flock scattered over India, and piqued himself upon his catalogue; when a brother, from *Guzzerat*, added at once upwards of a hundred. He renounced thenceforth the task of tracing their affiliations.

† See note B.

‡ I believe I succeeded, just before I left India, in getting a work relative to this tribe, but too late to examine it: it shall be deposited with the Society.

§ “The Arsacian King, Bardanes, conquered all, to the Sind river, which divides the *Dahi* from the *Arii*.” Lewis' *Parthian Empire*, p. 249.

|| Maru or Marubhū.

¶ In *Guzzerat*.

*Chitóre*, their capitals. But what will excite some surprise, the celebrated *Hun* is enrolled as a branch of the *Prámáras*. That Europe only was deluged with this race, we knew well was not the case: Cosmos relates the White Huns, or Abtelites, being in India in the fifth century; and Dr. Wilkins made the world acquainted with the fact, that they had invaded Bengal, from the record of *Déb-pál-déb*,\* “who humbled the pride of the Huns,” to use the words of the translator of the inscription engraven on the pillar near *Buddal*.† My journey to Guzzerat led me to discover, that they were even yet not extinct: the name still lived; but it is “*vox et præterea nihil*,” confined to a few miserable families near the estuary of the *Mali* river, poor and degraded, and without any recollection of their origin. Various authorities acquaint us with the fact of Indo-Scythian tribes overrunning all these tracts; and their descendants are still there. The *Káthí* (the *Cathei*), still brave and independent, as when they opposed Alexander, and scarcely reconciled to the paternal government, which has made them turn their javelins‡ into plough-shares. They can be traced from the *Pancha-nada*, the *Sangama*, or junction, of the “Five streams” of the Indus, to their present abodes.

The *Prámára* genealogist enlists the *Káthí* into his catalogue; or rather, ambition has made these Scythians (the Sun still the great object of adoration) wish to get a niche in the Hindu pantheon; and which appears to have been a matter of no great difficulty, from the suspicious characters we find there.

Ptolemy gives a “*Regnum Parthorum*,” existing in the second century, embracing all these tracts from *Multán* to the gulph of *Cambay*; and to that the *Ráni*'s ancestors must have owed expulsion from *Ballabhi*, in the sixth century. But this is wandering from the subject.§

\* See note C.

† The translator's words are “Hoons of humbled pride.” *As. Res.* V. 1. p. 136—7.—H.T.C.

‡ The *Káthí* lance is made to dart, as well as for close action.

§ I attribute to this dynasty a series of coins of an interesting description, on which I shall hereafter offer some remarks. Legends, in rude Greek characters, mark these to be a branch of the Arsacian line. For they assume the same lofty titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΚΩΤΗΡΩΣ: on others, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ instead of *Soteros*; making it still more Parthian, the latter epithet being borne by the Bactrian princes, who never did assume this “of the great King of Kings”

The regal chair of the *Prámdras* was fixed in *Avantí*, long before the Christian era. VICRAMÁDITYA was not the first conspicuous monarch who wielded the sceptre in this ancient city; though he is a most important one, and might be placed as the fixed point, both in their geography\* and history.

CHANDRAGUPTA, who has generally been supposed to be the Sandracottus of Alexander and Seleucus, was of the *Prámára* tribe, and the branch Mori, not Maurya, as it has probably been interpolated, and which held *Chitracútá* (*Chítóre*), as a grand fief from *Avantí*, so late as the eighth century, when taken by a prince of the *Grahilóte* tribe; ancestor of the present *Ránd* of *Mewdr*.

CHANDRAGUPTA, in the *Puránas*, is placed as the descendant of *Sekesndg* of the *Tacshac* race (most probably the Tachari of higher Asia), which appears to have invaded India from the north, six or seven centuries before the Christian era.

The inscription, to which I alluded (in my paper on the *Cháhamánas*),† of a CHANDRAGUPTA, was dated Samvat 466, but I said it was doubtful whether of the *Vicrama* or *Viráta* era. It was given to me by the Hierarch of the *Khartrágachha*, the first of all the *Jain* sects; and is in a character disused in India, but which he and his librarian, and two of his chief disciples, can read. With it were other interesting inscriptions of the same kind, (but modified); and a key to the character I shall have the honour to present on some future occasion to the Society.

The *Viráta-Samvat* is that of MAHAVÍRA, the last of the twenty-four deified *Jinéswaras*; and was established four hundred and seventy-seven years anterior to that of *Vicramáditya*, and continued in use long after the latter: but when it began to be generally used is uncertain; and it consequently causes considerable doubt, when referring to *Jaina* dates. I am not sure that it is not still used in sacred matters.

Now it is related, that MAHAVÍRA expounded to CHANDRAGUPTA, the Lord of *Avantí*, his twelve dreams. This CHANDRAGUPTA, therefore, could not be the ally of Seleucus. But the same proper names recur at intervals in many genealogies.

Bayer, in his history of the Bactrian kingdom, and D'Anville, both

\* *Avantí* is the first meridian of the Hindu astronomers.

† See page 133 of this volume.

borrowing from the same source (Nicolas of Damascus),\* say, that Porus, king of Ogene, who enumerated six hundred kings, his dependants, sent an embassy to Augustus at Rome; thus making a proper name of the tribe *Pówár*: nor is it impossible, from the same mistake, the opponent of Alexander may have been designated; though *Paurha* † or *Paurush* (which means power, strength) was a common distinctive appellation of the *Yddavas*, who certainly were in the route of Alexander. It is to these authorities, and that of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I. to JEHÁNGÍR, that the Ráná's family is indebted for the honour of descent from Porus. One of the most considerable branches of his family is termed *Puráwat*, descendants of PURU, a son of UDAYA SINHA, from whom *Chitóre* was wrested by Akber. His stock must have been pretty numerous when Sir Thomas there saw young Kurrun (*Caran*), the heir apparent of *Udayapur*, in whose praise he is so lavish: "Here we have (says he in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury) the true descendant of Porus, a prince, in the midst of the Mogul dominions, and who has never been conquered." The latter point is correct: they had often been defeated; not a city left in the plains, not a house to shelter them; but to that period they never had been subdued.

Like the Carthaginian of old, swearing young Hannibal at the altar to eternal hatred to the Romans, so did the noble PRATÁPA SINHA, the opponent of AKBER, in his last moments, make his son AMARA swear, not hatred, but eternal war, and never to know the luxury of a roof over his head, until *Chitóre* should be regained. He even commanded the nobles to withdraw their allegiance, if this, his last command, was disobeyed, and to set up another branch of the family. Temporary success, and consequent repose, made AMARA forget the injunction; he erected a mansion ‡ on the banks of the *Paisholah* lake at *Udayapur*; and amongst its garniture, some splendid mirrors of European fabric from Surat. The nobles began to follow his example, though *Chitóre*, their ancient capital, was still in the hands of the foe. Recollecting the injunctions of PRATÁPA (a name they yet love to dwell on), the *Sakumbra* chief, the first of the nobles, convened his brethren; and in a body they expostulated with their prince, insisting that he should immediately relinquish the abode of luxury for the field. Not meeting with compliance, the chieftain seized the marble ornament

\* Eclaircissement, p. 177.

† See note D.

‡ Still pointed out.



which keeps down the carpet, and dashed it against the splendid mirror. Rage was unavailing; the patriot chief called for his prince's steed, and compelled him to mount. A flood of tears succeeded the indignity; which were allowed to flow without any signs of sympathy by the stern chief: when, suddenly, a nobler sentiment came to mind; he bowed and thanked the *Salúmbra* chief, and, drawing his sword, told him to lead the way. That very day, they stormed and took *Untáld*.\* I shall be excused the notice of this anecdote, as it shews the character of the people, and warrants the praise which the ambassador of England bestowed. Such men could not be conquered!

Yet, with every wish, I could never trace the connection of the *Ráná's* family to the Porus of Alexander; though his ancestor, when first attacked by the Muhammedans, had "eighty-four kings assembled within his walls, for the defence of *Chútóre*." The six hundred of the *Powdr* must have been a Hindu exaggeration.

The letter to Augustus was written in the Greek character; and Bayer's authority, Nicolas of Damascus,† says it was so, and he had seen it. Considerable traffic was carried on by them in those days; and Greek merchants were settled in various parts of the coasts. The personage in the suite of the ambassador, who voluntarily ended his days at Athens on the pyre, was most probably a *Jaina*.‡

ABUL FAZIL's sketch of the *Prdmára* dynasty, in the institutes of AKBER, is too imperfect to be of the slightest use; and is the worst of his many indifferent genealogies.

*Avantí* and *Dháránagari* were the chief seats of *Prdmára* power. It extended south, however, of the *Nermadd*; and comprehended all Central and Western India, or what is erroneously termed *Rajputánd*.

The Indus, and *Setlej* or *Garah*, were its western limits. Many of the traditionary couplets in India contain historical facts. That which records

\* A fortress about twenty miles east of the pass which conducts into the valley of *Udayapur*.

† *Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriana*, p. 109. "Tanto autem post Eucratidem tempore, cum ad Cæsarem Augustum a Pandione Poroque Indiæ regibus legati venirent, Nicolaus Damascenus, qui cum iis Antiochiæ ad Daphnem egit, testatur habuisse eos, epistolam Græcam in Diphthera Scriptam, quæ significavit, quod Porus sex centorum regum princeps cum scripserit."

‡ See Note E.

the extent of sway of the various *Prámdra* branches in the north-west regions of *Maru-s't'hali*\* is very correct. It contains the names of the chiefs who founded and ruled over its nine divisions,† or places of strength.

The descendants of some among them still occupy the same places : as the *Soda* prince of *Dhát* in the Desert, of which *Amaracut'a* is the capital. He has the title of *Ráná*. It was his ancestor who was killed by JELÁLUDDÍN, in his flight into India from the Great JANGÍZ.

*Arbuda* or *A' bú* is, however, the cradle where the *Prámdra* was at least regenerated. On this sacred mount I have seen the statues of the first and of the last of its independent princes.

That of the first, *A'rpál* (*A' dipála*), shooting at *Bhainsdsur* (*Mahishásura*), is a marble statue nearly four feet in height, standing on the edge of the *Mandúcana cund* or fountain. He has just shot his arrow, which has pierced three of those monsters, who are feigned to have drained the fountain of its waters. These are modern representations of the fabulous monsters, (the old having fallen down), and are poorly executed in black slate stone ; but the figure of *A'rpál*‡ is far superior to any thing they could execute in these days. A few indistinct words were engraven on the pedestal ; but no date. There cannot be a doubt, however, of its high antiquity. It was too sacred a relict to think of removing it from the spot whence it derived its chief value.

That of the last of the *Prámdras*, not 700 years old, represents DHÁRÁBARSA, the last independent prince of *A' bú*, supplicating the offended *Patálésvara* § to pardon his sacrilege, and restore his kingdom, which fell to KÚTEBU D DÍN. He was the last of his line, called Daraparissa by Ferishta :

\* Deserts : literally Region of Death. J. T.

*Maru* desert, and *s't'hali* dry land. *Maru* is derived from *mri* to die : a region where one dies H.T.C.

† 1 *Arbuda* or *Abú*.

2 *Parkar* in the desert.

3 *Jaléndra* or *Jalore*.

4 *Dhát* or *Amaracut'a*.

5 *Mandáwar* (near *Jódhpur*.)

6 *Púgal* (N. W. of *Bikanér*.)

7 *Khairádu* (in *Guzzarat*.)

8 *Dhár* and *Avantí*.

9 *Lódarwa* (ancient capital before *Jesalmér* was built.)

‡ *A'rpál* or *A'di-pála*, i. e. the first *Pála* : which may be further translated the first fostered, or first born.

§ The Lord of the infernal regions.

who makes honourable mention of him, for his noble resistance to the Imperial Legions. This branch of the *Prámdras*, probably held *A' bú* and its dependances as a fief of *Dhár*; and, as the latter lost importance, *A' bú* maintained itself independent, or in a state of vassalage, alternately to the Balhara (Ballabhi-rai) sovereigns, or to the kings of Dehli.

Thus JAIT and SULAKHA, the ancestors of DHÁRÁBARSA, were extricated from subservience to the Ballabhi-rai's, only to grace the array of PIRTHWÍ-RÁJA, who married the daughter of JAIT, and bestowed on him the office of *Prad' hdn*;\* and both lost their lives in his service. The death of SULAKHA† is mentioned in my former paper. The Black Castle of the *Prámdras*, built of immense blocks of granite, grey with lichen, perched on a pinnacle of this noble mountain, is a majestic ruin. The gateway (arched, if my memory does not betray me,) is yet nearly perfect, flanked by enormous massive towers. The Palmyra has taken root in its deserted court, and flutters its huge leaves, where all is silent, save the screams of the peacock.

As I passed through the portal, the devotion of SULAKHA was forcibly brought to mind; and I had but to ascend a few steps, and look from the ruined parapet, to view *Ar-pál*, the founder, shooting *Bhainsásur*. At the base of the western face of the stupendous Arabullah chain, I was so fortunate as to discover an ancient city of this race, called *Chandrávati*, which has long been the haunt of wild beasts. From its ready formed materials, *Ahmedabad* arose: which accounts for the Hindu style of architecture in this city. I have an inscription, 600 years old, which mentions *Chandrávati*; but it was of little interest, till I discovered the ruin itself, about fourteen miles east of *A' bú*. The town is mentioned in the *Bhíja Charitra*, as will be seen. It is in these stupendous ranges where search should be made for ancient remains. In such, now inhabited by wild beasts, I have discovered places once the abode of crowned heads.

There is little doubt that the *Prámdra* was the first race which succeeded to the great power possessed by the *Yádvavas*.

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\* Chief Minister.

† Orthography and pronunciation cannot be *strictly* attended to, when there is a variety of information which bears on family history: for the genealogists and poets, in the vernacular dialects, have no certain standard themselves, but shorten or lengthen names according to the metre, *Silakh*, *Sulakh*, or *Sulakhan*: for each and all are but corrupt contractions of the compound epithet *Sulacshana* "of good qualities."

Imperfectly as we can trace this extent of power, yet we can discover, in no other succeeding dynasty, the like. The sovereigns of *Nehrwala Pattan* were rich and powerful; and, for three reigns, their authority extended over eighteen different states, reduced by them to dependence. It was at this period El Edrisi visited that country, and he repeats what had already been told by the "travellers," of the ninth century, concerning the "Balhara" kings, though the dynasty had changed from the *Chaura* to *Solanki* tribes. The *Tüdr* dynasty, for near four hundred years (from the eighth to the twelfth century), exercised extensive sovereignty, in which they must have often clashed with the *Balharas*; whose power was at the full in the same period; and each rose on the downfall of the *Prámára*. It is a singular fact, that scions of old dynasties were forming new kingdoms in various parts of India, about the very time that the religion of Muhammed was moving eastward: for the arms of WÁLJD were simultaneously exhibited in *Khorasán*, on the waters of the Indus, and in Spain, towards the end of the first century of the Hejira; and about the same time, from A.D. 750 to 800, various new dynasties were planted: *Dehli* by a branch of the *Tuár* line; *Pattan* (*Nehrwala*) by the *Chauras*; *Chitóre* by the *Ránds*; and, not long after, *Canwajja* (*Canouj*), by the Rahtore. It is from the first century of *Vicramáditya*, to these new establishments, we are most in want of information: and all that we yet have to fill up these seven centuries, is little more than a string of names. Even such is seized with avidity, where nothing before was forthcoming. It is by neglecting nothing, however slight or isolated the fragment, we may fill up eventually some of these blanks: but to be of use, the search must be extensive. I have more than once found an old couplet, borne in the memory, serve as a clue to the establishment of a valuable and useful fact, which could not else have been applicable.

The bard CHAND describes the dynasties, enjoying sovereignty when he writes, as having originally emanated in grants from the *Prámára*, of whom their ancestors appear to have held in capite. It forms an episode in the relation of the battle between PRIT'HWIRÁJA and the monarch of *Canwajja*.

In the heat of action, after the Lord of Dehli had cut to pieces every thing which opposed him, he is encountered by the body guard of JAYA-CHAND, which consists of one thousand *Rájputs*, of whom a very animated description is afforded. Struck with their appearance, the *Cháhamána* sovereign asks 'who they are?' which serves as a theme for the bard, and yields us comparatively important historical information at the same time.

Like the knights of St. John at Jerusalem, these heroes were devoted to celibacy; and lived as ascetics in the depths of the forests where they had their establishments. Their garb is singular: for not only have they the plume of the peacock (*mór*), as an ornament on their helms; but their bucklers are described as bearing its impress burnished on them, and the housings of their steeds. The war shell, or conch, in those days always a part of a warrior's equipment; and from which, old poems mention their always blowing a blast, before combat, or after victory. The episode is very animated in the original; and I shall venture to submit an extract from my defective version, which may be listened to from curiosity.

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EXTRACT.

“Who are those, said PRITHÍ-RÁJ, in the guise of the recluse? Those, replied CHAND, enjoy the blessing of NÁRED! One thousand warriors of unspotted race served the prince of *Tailang*, equal to a million in arms. A thousand shells they sounded on the banks of Ocean, their abode. Like the thunderbolt is their soul: their devotion to the spirit alone, each the purest of the tribe of *Rájaputra*.

“When the *Prdmára* of *Tailang* took sanctuary with the creator, to the thirty-six tribes he made gifts of land. To *Kehar* he gave *Katair*; to *Rái Pahár*, the coasts of *Sind*: *Ráma Prdmár Tailang* made the grant; and to these, the forest lands. *Pattan* he gave to the *Chaurás*; *Sámbar* to the *Chóhdns*; and *Canwaj* to the *Khamdhaj*; *Már-dés* to the *Parihárs*; *Sora't'h* to the *Yádavas*; *Dakhin* to the *Jawala*; and *Kuch* to the *Chárans*.

“Twisted in their braided locks is the peacock's plume. Each sounded his shell. Earth trembled, the firmament rolled, dismay seized the three worlds, clouds of dust formed a canopy over the head of JAYACHAND. To each warrior of the shell, he gave a sword. A peal was rung, which shook *Suanéru* with affright: their station the person of their lord, this day they had to draw their swords in his defence. On one side they rehearse the praise of their prince; the leaders of *Dehli*, the renown of PRITHÍ-RÁJ.”

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It was for historical and geographical fragments like these, that I had read to me a great part of the works of the bard.

At the period when that distribution was made, the *Prámdra* well merited the title which CHAND bestows on him, of *Chakwa*, (*Chacravartí*) or paramount Lord ; for, not only was all that immense space, described in my former paper as *Hindust'han*, subject to him, but a great part of the *Dakhin*. The grant is mentioned as (*dána*) gift ; not specific enough for a grant on the tenure of service.

PRIT'HWIRÁJA made many conquests. He left the countries to the conquered, but exacted submissions, in treaties, in which subservience was the chief stipulation, such as mark the connexion with their descendants and the British government of India. Many of his hundred *Sáwants*, or leaders, were thus ; as the *Parihára* of Mandówar ; JAIT and SILAKH of *A' bú* ; the *Dahima* of Biana ; the *Ták* of Asér ; the *Yádava* of *Surdshtra*, even to the prince of *Gówal-cund*, or Golconda. It was a feudal association of the first magnitude, such as existed in the East from the days of Darius and his Satrapies, to the twenty-two Subahs of Akber. Alexander pursued the same system, and entered into their mode of accepting service and homage by delivering a banner to the conquered prince, returning his dominions for service. The kings of Dehli followed this course. The princes of *Mewar* did so. Each nation has its flag and armorial bearings ; the *Ránás*, a golden radiated sun on a crimson field ; *Ambere*, the *Pancharanga*, or five-coloured banner ; *Chandéru* had a lion (red), on a field argent ; and so on.

Richardson's\* ideas, that the grand outlines of the feudal system came from the East, might have been received with more attention had he been enabled to detail more of the minutiae of it.

But I must return to the subject of the *Prámáras*. Of the different works, or remnants of those which relate to this family, are the *Vicrama-charitra*, and *Vicrama-vilása* ; the *Vaitála panchavinsati*, familiarly known, and which is a mere collection of fables. The *Bhója-charitra* and *Bhója-prabandha*, as they now exist, are far from possessing much value ; yet, from the first of these, something may be gleaned, and it is of interest as recording the same names of princes, and in the same order of succession, as my inscriptions, on copper and marble. The few historical facts, separated from the chaff, are worthy of preservation from the testimony of their accuracy yielded by these less perishable records.

The *Bhója-charitra* (which, with the *Bhója-prabandha*, I present to the

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\* Dissertation prefixed to Persian Dictionary.

Society) is written in *Sanskrit* by RÁJA-VALLABHA the disciple of MAHÍ TILACA SÓRI, a priest of the *Dharma ghósha gach'ha*, belonging to the *Jaina* sect. He is also the author of the *Bhója-Prabandha*.\* When and where he wrote, though not specified, may be presumed to have been at *Dháránagarí*, while Rájá BHÓJA was still alive.\*

The first canto contains an account of the adoption of MUNJA, and the birth of BHÓJA; with the conversion of DHANA-PÁLA to the *Jaina* faith. DHANA-PÁLA was the son of the celebrated VARARUCHÍ, one of the distinguished wise men at BHÓJA's court, and was given for adoption, in consequence of a vow, to the *Jaina* priest, SIDDHA SÉNA A'CHÁRYA. VARARUCHÍ became a most distinguished character for wisdom: and is probably the *Dhanwantari*, one of the nine gems of *Dhár*. Rájá BHÓJA was himself in secret a proselyte† to the *Jaina* doctrines; as were many of the princes of that and the preceding age: particularly the dynasty of *Nehrwala*, which is mentioned by El Edrisi. The little, which we know of the *Parihára* dynasty, mentions its princes making profession of that religion: and certainly, in their ancient and now ruined capital *Mandódri*,‡ the few temples left by the Muhammedans are of *Jaina* structure.

SINDHU-RÁJA was Lord of *Dháránagarí*. He had no offspring. Accident led him to find the child MUNJA,§ whom he adopted.

Abul Fazil, who industriously made use of these historical fragments in his Institutes of Akbar, says, the foundling was discovered in a field of *Munja*, whence his name.¶

SINDHU had a son, after this, who was named SIND'HULA: but the great talents of the adopted child maintained the priority in the affections of SIND'HU. : It is necessary to repeat the story which determined SIND'HU to resign the sceptre of *Dhárá* and *Avantí* to MUNJA; because it introduces the name of his minister, who is mentioned in the most valuable of the inscriptions, that on marble, from the ancient fortress of *Madhucara-garh*.

\* See Note F.

† May not the fable of his metamorphosis, and resuming his shape, refer to his adoption of the *Jaina* doctrines?

‡ Four miles N. E. of *Jódhpur*, the present capital of *Marwár*.

§ See Note G.

¶ See Note H.

One day SIND'HU entered suddenly the apartments of MUNJA, for the purpose of communicating his intentions in his favour. The young princess of MUNJA was with him; but, hearing the king's approach, he hid her under the bed. Supposing they were alone, SIND'HU revealed his intentions. As soon as he retired, MUNJA shewed, says the author, "that want of feeling, without which no man can govern a kingdom," and effectually prevented her revealing the secret, by cutting off her head.\* The noise brought the old chief SIND'HU back, who was not only satisfied with his explanation, but determined to hasten his abdication. Communicating his intentions to his minister, RUDRÁDITYA,† he convened his chiefs and officers, declared his intentions, and proceeded to the coronation of MUNJA, whom he commanded them henceforth to acknowledge. SIND'HU retired to the *Dakhin*, recommending his son SINDHULA to the protection of MUNJA. An incident, not worth repeating, roused the jealousy of MUNJA, who blinded the son of his benefactor.

BHÓJA was the son of SIND'HULA, but the astrologers pronouncing that his horoscope indicated succession to the throne of *Dhárá*, a sufficient excuse was afforded to MUNJA, to add a murder to the list of his crimes. The execution of BHÓJA was commanded; but the person, who was entrusted with the decree, relenting on seeing the youth and beauty of the victim, revealed his orders, and concealed him. He, however, reported the deed as performed, to MUNJA; giving him a couplet written by BHÓJA, with his own blood.‡ Remorse succeeded to fear and jealousy, and he lamented, with unceasing grief, the deed he had commanded. But when the preservation of the young prince was disclosed, joy succeeded despair, generosity instead of resentment against the child's preserver; and he determined to make amends to the offspring of his benefactor. He forthwith abandoned the throne of *Dháránagarí* to BHÓJA, and, at the head of a large army, determined to conquer new possessions for himself in the

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\* See note I.

† Which name appears on the *Madhucara-garh* marble.—J.T.

RUDRÁDITYA was son of SIVA'DITYA the minister of RA'JÁ SIND'HU; and was appointed to succeed his father on the accession of MUNJA: who then delivered to him the seal of office. *Bh. Ch.* 1. 13. and 50.—H.T.C.

‡ It is preserved by Abul Fazil.



south; but upon coming to action with a prince there, he was defeated, and eventually made prisoner. He is stated to have lost the battle by a stratagem of his opponent, who strewed the ground with crow feet\* made of iron.

MUNJA, defeated, and a fugitive, took refuge in the house of a cowherd, whose dame was cursing her fate at the milk having curdled; and he announced himself by his misfortunes. "Silence your grief, woman, I was yesterday RÁJÁ MUNJA, Lord of 70,000 men; now compelled to ask assistance of one like you, and these milk-fed clowns," (meaning her husband and sons). But this indiscretion cost him his liberty. They seized the enemy of their prince, and conveyed him to prison; and captivity for life was the sentence pronounced on the ex-prince of *Dháránagarí*. Shut up in a tower, one female slave was all the courtly train he had.

BHÓJA was grateful enough to attempt his liberation: and contrived to have communicated to him his intentions, by a mine conducted to the foot of the tower. The female attendant saw his joy; and the affection he had for her made him impart to her the secret, and entreat her to be the partner of his flight. She promised.—The moment arrived.—The earth opened to his liberation at his feet below, but at the same moment his foes appeared, led by the female of whom he so imprudently made a confidante. These pulled him by the hair above, those below by the feet; and in this struggle, the unfortunate MUNJA desired he might be left to his fate and captivity. This generous effort of RÁJÁ BHÓJA increased the miseries of MUNJA. His enemy refined on cruelty, made him go the rounds of the city, and obtain his scanty pittance of food by begging from door to door. One day, having made his daily perambulation without obtaining even the humblest dole, he stood at the door of a baker's house, who recognized the fallen monarch, and wept at the sight. He commanded his wife to give him one of the cakes frying in butter, but the prudent wife broke it in two, and gave him but half. The famished prince greedily eyed the scanty gift, and, as it continued dripping, he thus apostrophized it: "Do you even shed tears at being thus broken by a woman's hand; so did it fare with RÁMA; so did it with BHARTRĪHARI; and so with RÁJÁ MUNJA."

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\* See note K.

Having thus, for some time, been made a public spectacle, his sorrows were ended by being nailed on a cross.

Such is the reported end of MUNJA.

In the *Cumára-Pála-Charitra* (of which I have made a similar use, as of the *Bhója-Charitra*), a work of some interest, written in the twelfth century, by SAILUG SÚRI A'CHÁRYA, on the dynasties of *Pattan Nehrwala*, I found an incident related, which is deserving of notice in the paucity of historical facts and dates. It is there related, that DURLABHA of *Pattan*, who had resigned his throne to his son BHÍMA, visited MUNJA, in his way to *Gaya*, to perform pilgrimage.

Now this was precisely twelve years after the conquest of Guzzerat, by MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, and the dethronement of its prince, CHÁÖND *Sólankí*. That event occurred in Samvat 1067, or A. D. 1011; to this add the year of DURLABHA's abdication;  $1011+12=1023$ , A. D. or Samvat 1079.

We shall see presently how this evidence is borne out by the inscriptions; though I have others of the *Sólankí* race, to have corrected these annals, if requisite.

Another synchronism is established by the same authority. The celebrated SIDDHA RÁYA JAYA SINHA of *Pattan* conquered the *Prámára* territories, took the capital, and their prince NARA-VARMA prisoner. This is the NARA-VARMA of our inscriptions, the son of UDAYÁDITYA, and grandson of BHÓJA. JAYA SINHA, one of the most celebrated and powerful princes since the time of VICRAMÁDITYA, ruled from *Samvat* 1150, to *Samvat* 1201. Our inscription recording the grant is by the son of NARA-VARMA dated 1191.\*

JAG-DÉÓ (YAJNYADÉVA) *Prámára* remained twelve years in the service of SIDDHA RÁYA. His name is proverbial throughout *Rájest'hdn* for fidelity and honour; and his offering of his own head at the shrine of the Indian Proserpine or Calligenia, is well known to every *Rájaput*.

I shall now place in one point of view, the three inscriptions and their corroborations, from the *Sólankí* history. I could easily add further proof, if it were requisite. But I shall reserve inscriptions of other dynasties, the *Cháhamána*, *Grahilote*, and *Yadu-Bhatti*, for a future

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\* The grant bears date of Samvat 1200, confirming a prior grant in 1191.—H.T.C.

paper, in which I shall endeavour to combine the various information of this period.

## AUTHORITIES.

Ujjayani Plates.	Madhucara-ghar marble.	Cumára-pála-charitra.	Bhója-charitra.	General Result.
			1. SINDHU	1. SINDHU
	SINDHULA	DURLABHA S.1079 abdicated <i>Pattan</i> , and visited MUNJA.	2. { MUNJA and SINDHULA	2. { MUNJA † and SINDHULA
	BHÓJA	.....	3. BHÓJA	3. BHO'JA
UDAYA' DITYA	UDAYA' DITYA	.....	.....	4. UDAYA'DITYA
NARA-VARMA died A. D. 1134, S. 1190.	NARA-VARMA A. D. 1108 Samvat 1164.	SIDDHA RA'YA JAYA SINHA reigned Samvat 1150 to 1201; took NARA-VARMA prisoner.	.....	5. NARA-VARMA
YAS'OVARMA,* 1191 Samvat.	.....	.....	.....	6. YAS'OVARMA

I have met with other grants of this family, in the centre of India, about the ancient city of *Bildspur*; but it would only lead to confusion, to mix them up with this.

It would be occupying too much time further to quote from these allegorical stories of the *Bhója-Charitra*, though from the fourth and the last cantos, † historical facts may be extracted. They are all mere vehicles for conveying some particular doctrines, or embodying moral truths under the guise peculiar to the Eastern taste of allegory.

The fourth canto rewarded my notice, by the mere mention of the old city of *Chandrávati*, then ruled by CHANDRAS'ÉNA, probably a branch of BHÓJA's family. The story is exactly in their taste.

A *Yógi*, one of the roaming tribe of Gymnosophists, with which India always abounded, though evidently more of the Epicurean than the Cynic, had previously been a thief, and had undergone the most disgraceful of all punishments, being exposed through the streets on an ass; by command

\* See Note L.

† See Note M.

‡ See Note N.

of the king, against whom he therefore vowed deadly revenge. He appears to have been a disciple of the sect, described by Gibbon,\* "who converted the study of philosophy into that of magic, attempted to explore the secrets of the invisible world, claimed familiar intercourse with demons and spirits, and pretended that they possessed the secret of disengaging the soul from its corporeal prison." The *Yógi* learned this art in that grand school for magic, *Cashmtra*. He could at pleasure effect this interchangeable metempsychosis. He commanded the soul of the ill-starred BHÓJA to limit its powers within the frame of a parrot, while he, so soon as he animated the frame of the prince of *Dhára*, issued his first mandate, to slay all the parrots in his dominions. The now feathered monarch took wing to the forests of *Chandravati*, and was caught by a *Palinda*.†

The *Bhilla* carried the bird, which retained the faculty of speech, to RÁJA CHANDRASÉNA; with whose daughter the parrot became a favourite. The captive related his metamorphosis, and by stratagem induced the *Yógi* king to come suitor for her hand: when he was slain, and BHÓJA resumed his shape and kingdom.

If any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled BHÓJA of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes; and finally, through the daughter of CHANDRASÉNA, obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom. BHÓJA lived in the very period of trouble, between MAHMÚD's invasion, and the final conquest of India by SHAHÁBUDDÍN.

The last story is of a similar nature, which serves to shew the *Jaina* cosmogony; a tirade on the Rights of Sanctuary, in a dialogue between a monkey and a lion, in which the long-armed beast delivers some wholesome maxims; and a story, which is meant to shew the superior intellect of the sage VARARUCHI. These are all episodes in the adventures of DÉVA-RÁJA, and VACH-RÁJA ‡ the sons of BHÓJA, who were banished at the early age of nine and seven, for being boisterous and noisy, and disturbing the old man's rest. Their first adventure is on the sea-coast, where they fall in with a merchant, and go to sea with him. Their vessel is held stationary on the

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\* Vol. I. p. 182.

† See Note O.

‡ See Note P.

ocean by magnetic or other attractive influence; and DÉVA-RÁJA descends into the deep to discover the cause, and finds a submarine temple, dedicated to 'ADINÁT'HA, and a second Circe, the priestess of worship.

With her he enters into conversation, and she relates a long story, of the first created A'DI NÁT'HA, the first Lord; of his two sons, BHARATA, who got the kingdom of *Bharata-Khañda* and capital *Ayódhya*, and BÁHUBALA, or "strong-armed," who wandered forth. With this the *Jaina* genealogies always commence.

For some improper familiarity, this Nereid consumes DÉVA-RÁJA to ashes; but somehow he gets translated to the abode of INDRA, who compassionately restores his shape, and sends him back to earth, and punishes the sea-nymph by giving her a terrestrial form. She finds her way to the *Prámára's* capital, and becomes the wife of BHÓJA: her name was BHÁN-UMATI; and on her account, afterwards, the sage VARARUCHI falls into disgrace.

The sons, after much wandering, find their way back to *Dhárá*. BHÓJA receives them with affection, and gives the elder the title of *Yuwardja*, a title bestowed on those princes, who are associated to the empire and designated as successors to the throne. This was very common in ancient, and far from uncommon in modern, times. Satiety, or any one in the range of the passions, might lead to it. The dangers, they said, to eternal welfare of sovereigns, made it a common thing with them, having tasted the pleasures and pains of empire, to abdicate and to compound with Heaven in time, by pilgrimage and alms. I have heard a prince (the *Ráná* of *Udayapur*), one of the best informed and best read, say of himself and all who wore the diadem, that they were "*Naraca-ca-putra*," children of hell, for let them do what they could, they sanctioned injustice and a dire host of evils. Sickness, accordingly, to an Asiatic prince, is a holiday to all those "who extend the palm."

I need add no more from the *Charitra*, and my imperfect analysis of its contents; and here I shall conclude my remarks on the *Prámáras*.

“ *Substance of an Inscription from Madhucara-ghar, in Haroutd.*

“ May the form of the blue-necked God take up his abode in my bosom ! and no other word pass my throat but ‘ blue-neck.’ \*

“ The rays emitted from the sparkling gems, in the diadems of the heads of the earth, of each mighty crown of his race, and the flash from the emeralds encircling their breasts, fall on the lotus feet of *Rájá SINDHULA*. His enemies, the mountain † lords, he reduced to dust.

“ Of his body was *BHÓJA*, who plundered the wives of his foe ; who, to his enemies, was like fire to a forest of dried leaves. After him was *Rájá UDAYÁDITYA* ; and when he set, ‡ *NARAVARMA* arose, who by the strength of his own arms filled his coffers with the riches of victory.

“ In the *Sástras*, the wisdom of the minister *RUDRÁDITYA* expanded like the full-blown flower : a name well known on the curtain of the earth.

“ From him was born the learned *MAHÁDÉVA* ; and from him *SRI’ HARA*, who increased the renown of his prince, and who constructed with fair wealth a temple to *SIVA*, adjoining that of his prince. By this have I gained the fruits of my present form, and, with great skill, made this edifice. Between the extremity of the *Dakhin* and *Udíchya dés*, § at the abode (*st’hán*) of *Barj*, || with my own fortune, on the eclipse of the sun, ¶ I have erected this temple at the expence of one lack and a quarter of Dirbs. \*\*

“ On the full moon of *Pausha*, Samvat 1164.” ††

\* *Nilakánt’ha*, one of the titles of *MAHÁDÉVA*.

† *Gir-’sa*, the chiefs of Hill tribes.

‡ This is a play upon the name : *Asta*, setting of a planet, contrasted with *Udaya*, rise of a planet.

§ The highland, or plateau, in Central India, seems to have borne this name.—J.T.

*Udíchya dés’a* signifies Northern region. ‘ Between the extremity of the *Dacshin’á* and *Udíchya-áés’a*,’ would signify midway between North and South. As an appellation, *Udíchya* is ‘ the country north and west of the river *Saraswali*,’ emphatically termed the Northern Region. Central India is *Madhya dés’a*, the Middle Region.—H.T.C.

|| The name *Madhu-kar-garh* may have been subsequently given to it.—J.T.

¶ It does not appear from any thing here said, how long before the date of the inscription this eclipse occurred ; a solar eclipse visible in India did happen in June 1108.—H.T.C.

\*\* A very common name for an ancient coin, value unknown.—J.T.

†† A.D. 1108.—J.T.

## NOTES

BY MR. COLEBROOKE.

(A.) THE translations presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, using an intermediate language, I have availed myself of the opportunity, which the original inscriptions on copper offered, for re-examining them; and translating them anew. (See following Essay.)

The copy, which Major Tod procured, of the inscription on marble at *Madhucara-ghar*, having been mislaid, there has been no opportunity of comparing with it the foregoing translation, made by him through the medium of the *Hindi* language, with the assistance of a learned native. It may be presumed, that the general scope of the inscription is correctly rendered.

(B.) *Aricésari*, in the inscription in question, is the name, not the title, of the prince: its etymology, as is intimated in Sir William Jones's translation of the inscription, is from *Ari*, foe; and *césari*, lion: a lion, among foes.

(C.) DÉVA-PÁLA-DÉVA is the prince, named in the grant engraved on copper, found in the ruins of *Mongtr*.—See As. Res. Vol. 1, p. 126. He is supposed to be the same with the *Sri* DÉVA-PÁLA, named in the inscription on the pillar at Buddal. (*Ib.* p. 134.) The tribes of *Lásata*, and *Bhóta*, as well as *Hun*, are mentioned among his subjects, with the tribes of *Gaura*, *Malava*, *Carnáta*, &c. He was therefore sovereign of Thibet and Bootan, as well as of Hindusthan, Bengal, and the Dekhin. It was probably in Thibet that he encountered the *Huns*, and reduced them to subjection.

(D.) *Paurhá*, from the Sanscrit *prauḍha*, signifies strong; *paurhḍhí*, strength. *Paurusha*, from *purusha*, man, is manliness.

(E.) Or perhaps an orthodox Hindu, following the precepts of the *Véda*, which sanctions religious suicide by cremation to accelerate the attainment of bliss. CUMÁRILA-BHATTA, the great champion of orthodoxy, and insti-

gator of an exterminating persecution of heretics (*Bauddhas and Jainas*), ended his own life by committing himself to the flames (Wilson's Sansc. Dict. Pref. p. xix.)

(F.) The epigraph of the *Bhója-prabandha*, according to most copies of it, names BALLÁLA, as the author. But, in some copies, the name of VALLABHA appears. Mr. Wilson considers both to have been by several centuries posterior to RÁJÁ BHÓJA. (Pref. to Sansc. Dict. p. viii.)

It is not altogether likely that the *Bhója-charitra* and *Bhója-prabandha* should have been works of the same author. The discrepancies are too great, to have come from the same pen.

According to the *Bhója-charitra*, MUNJA was a supposititious child, and older by five years than SINDHULA ; whose father SINDHU abdicated in favour of MUNJA, after disclosing to him his supposititious birth, and recommending SINDHULA to his kindness : regardless of which, MUNJA put out SINDHULA's eyes, and afterwards practised against the life of his son, BHÓJA. But the *Bhója-prabandha* makes MUNJA to have been younger brother of SINDHULA, who abdicated in his favour, recommending his son BHÓJA to his protection. They differ as widely in many other particulars ; scarcely agreeing in any point, besides the reason of MUNJA's jealousy of BHÓJA, which was an astrologer's prediction that the young prince was destined to reign, and for a very long period (55 years 7 months 3 days); the circumstance of BHÓJA's writing to the tyrant with his own blood ; and the subsequent repentance and abdication of MUNJA.

The astrologer's prediction is given in precisely the same words in both works. It is the foundation on which that duration is ordinarily assigned to the reign of BHÓJA : and not improbably the tale itself is grounded upon a true tradition, that eventually such was the duration of the reign of BHÓJA.

“ Fifty-five years, seven months, and three days, the southern tract, together with *Gau'da*, will be possessed by BHÓJA RÁJA.”\*

The number is erroneously given by Col. Wilford, quoting Col. Mackenzie, for the tradition concerning it, prevalent in the Dekhin. (As. Res ix. 157.)

(G.) Upon a hunting excursion, as SINDHU was taking a solitary walk on the banks of a river, he found an infant lying in a clump of (*Munja*) grass.

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\* *Bhója charitra*, l. 88. *Bhója-prabandha*, 6.



Pleased with the child's beauty, he took him to his wife, RETNÁVALÍ; who was no less surprised; and with his sanction, she gave out that a child was born of a concealed pregnancy; and, her bosom becoming by force of sentiment filled with milk, she suckled the infant: and he passed for the king's own son. *Bh. Ch. 1. 14-22.*

(H.) Saccharum Munja; a sort of grass, from the fibres of which, cordage is made: and especially the Brahmenical string, or triple thread worn by *Brdhmens.*

The *Bhója-charitra* assigns the same reason: viz. that the child was found in a clump of *Munja* grass. *Bh. Ch. 1. 24.*

He was not regularly adopted, but taken as a supposititious child. *Ib.*

(I.) When the king had left the apartment, MUNJA bethought himself that "a secret is not safe, which has been heard by six ears:" and dragging the woman from under the bed, cut off her head with his scimitar. The king, hearing the noise, returned; and seeing what had passed, reflected, that "he, who wants sensibility, will guard the prosperity of a realm; and not else." *Bh. Ch. 1. 44-46.*

(K.) *Gòcshura.* Caltrops. *Tribulus lanuginosus.* In India, as in ancient Europe, the implement of war, and the plant from which the idea of it was taken, bear the same name.

(L.) Add his sons: LACSHMÍ VARMA (Samvat 1200), and JAYA VARMA.

(M.) MUNJA appears to have been reigning in *Samvat 1050*: being named by the author of a poem, bearing that date. (See Preface to the Dictionary of *Amera*, p. 3)

(N.) The *Bhója-charitra* is a poem comprising nearly sixteen hundred stanzas (exactly 1592), distributed in five cantos (*prastáva*). BHÓJA's transformation concludes the third canto: his restoration to his human body is told in the fourth.

(O.) Barbarian: speaking none but a barbaric dialect. *Am. Còsh. 2. 10. 21.* In the sequel the same individual is called a *Bhilla.* *Bh. Ch. 599* and 607.

(P.) Written *Vach'ha-rája*, in the Society's copy of the *Bhója-charitra.* Probably the name should be *Vatsa-rája.*

XIII. *THREE GRANTS OF LAND, inscribed on Copper, found at UJJAYANI, and presented by MAJOR JAMES TOD, to the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Translated by HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq.*

Read December 4, 1824.

THE translations, which accompanied the *Sanscrit* inscriptions on copper presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, I have thought it right to re-examine the originals, at the same time that I undertook the decyphering of a third inscription, likewise presented by Major Tod, but unaccompanied by a translation.

Neither of the three inscriptions in question is complete. They had originally consisted of a pair of plates in each instance: as is evident, both from the contents, and from the very appearance; for they exhibit holes, through which rings were no doubt passed to hold the plates together. In one instance, it is the last of the pair, which has been preserved. In the two others, the first of each remains, and the last has been lost. Enough, however, subsists, in these fragments of inscriptions, to render them useful historical documents; as is amply shown in the very interesting comments on them which Major Tod has communicated.

I now lay before the Society a transcript of the contents of each plate, as read by me; and copies, *fac-simile*, of the originals. My own translations follow; and notes will be found annexed.

On collating the *fac-simile* with the transcript, the learned reader will observe that errors (for engravers are not less apt, than ordinary copyists, to commit blunders) have been in several places corrected. Where the mistake and requisite correction seem quite obvious, I have in general thought it needless to add a remark. But, wherever it has appeared necessary to give a reason for an emendation, an explanatory note is subjoined.

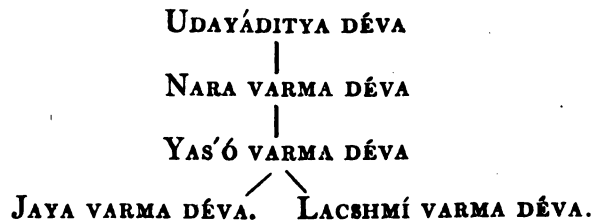
All these inscriptions are grants of land, recorded upon copper, conformably with the usage of the Hindus, and the direction of the law, which

enjoins, that such grants should either be written upon silk, or inscribed upon copper.\*

One of these grants or patents, records a donation of land made by the reigning sovereign of *Dhárá*, on the anniversary of the death of his father and predecessor, in 1191 of the *Samvat* era; confirmed by the prince his son, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, in *Srávaṇa* 1200 *Samvat*. It appears from calculation that a lunar eclipse did occur at the time; viz. on the 16th of July A.D. 1144, about 9½ P.M. apparent time, at *Ujjayani*.

This date, so authenticated, becomes a fixed point, whence the period, in which the dynasty of sovereigns of *Dhárá* flourished, may be satisfactorily computed. The series of four princes, whose names are found in these patents, two of them anterior to A.D. 1134 (1190 *Samvat*), and two of them subsequent to that date, (for the anniversary of NARA VARMA'S funeral rites in 1191, determines his demise in 1190 *Samvat*;) may be taken to extend from the latter part of the eleventh century of the christian era to near the close of the twelfth. It is carried retrospectively, through a line of three more princes, to SINDHU grandfather of *Rājá BHÓJA*, by the marble at *Madhucara-ghar*, and other evidence; as shown by Major Tod.

The earliest of the three patents inscribed upon copper, which were procured by Major Tod at *Ujjayani*, bears the date of 3d *Mágha sudi* 1192 *Samvat*, answering to January A.D. 1137. It has the signature of YAS'Ó-VARMA DÉVA, who, in the preceding year, 1191 *Samvat*, had made a donation of land on the anniversary of the demise of his father NARA VARMA DÉVA, which was confirmed (apparently in YAS'ÓVARMA'S life-time), by his son LACSHMÍ VARMA DÉVA, in 1200 *Samvat*: as above noticed. The latest of the three grants is by his successor JAYA VARMA DÉVA, and, being incomplete, exhibits no date. Both these patents agree in deducing the line of succession from UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA, predecessor of NARA VARMA. There is consequently this series perfectly authenticated:



\* Digest of Hindu Law, 2. 278. As. Res. 2. 50.

## No. I.

*A Grant of Land inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.*

'Om! Well be it! Auspicious victory and elevation.<sup>(1)</sup>

Victorious is he, whose hair is the etherial expanse;<sup>(2)</sup> who, for creation, supports with his head that lunar line<sup>(3)</sup> which is a type of the germ in the seed of the universe.

May the matted locks of love's foe,<sup>(4)</sup> reddened by the lightning's ring that flashes at the period of the world's end, spread for you nightless<sup>(5)</sup> prosperity.

The great prince,<sup>(6)</sup> resplendent with the decoration of five great titles<sup>(7)</sup> with which he is thoroughly and excellently embued and possessed, the fortunate LACSHMÍ VARMA DÉVA, son<sup>(8)</sup> of his Majesty,<sup>(9)</sup> the great king, sovereign,<sup>(9)</sup> and supreme lord, the fortunate YAŚÓ VARMA DÉVA, son<sup>(8)</sup> of<sup>(9)</sup> NARA VARMA DÉVA, son<sup>(8)</sup> of<sup>(9)</sup> UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA, acquaints the *Pa't'acila*<sup>(10)</sup> and people, *Bráhmañas* and others, inhabiting *Ba'däuda-gráma*<sup>(11)</sup>, dependant on *Surásan'i*, and *U'havan'aca-gráma*<sup>(12)</sup> appertaining to *Téptá-suvarna-prásádicá*,<sup>(13)</sup> both situated in the twelve great districts<sup>(14)</sup> held by royal patent; be it known unto you: Whereas, at the fortunate *Dhára*,<sup>(15)</sup> the great king, sovereign, supreme lord, the fortunate YAŚÓ VARMA DÉVA, upon the anniversary<sup>(16)</sup> of the great king, the fortunate NARA VARMA DÉVA, which took place on the 8th of *Cártica sudi*, years eleven hundred and ninety-one elapsed since *Vicrama*, having bathed with waters of holy places, having satisfied gods, saints, men and ancestors with oblations,<sup>(17)</sup> having worshipped the holy BHAWÁNÍPATI,<sup>(18)</sup> having sacrificed to fire offerings of *samí*, sacrificial grass, sesamum and boiled rice,<sup>(19)</sup> having presented an *arghya*<sup>(20)</sup> to the sun, having thrice perambulated *Capilá*,<sup>(21)</sup> seeing the vanity of the world, deeming life a tremulous drop of water on the leaf of a lotus, and reckoning wealth despicable:—As it is said:

This sovereignty of the earth totters with the stormy blast;<sup>(22)</sup> the enjoyment of a realm is sweet but for an instant; the breath of man is like a drop on the tip of a blade of grass: virtue is the greatest friend in the journey of the other world.—

Considering this, did grant by patent, preceded by gift of water,<sup>(23)</sup> for as long as the sun and moon shall endure, unto the *A'vasat'hica*<sup>(24)</sup> the fortunate VANA PÁLA, son of the fortunate VIS'WARÚPA, grandson of the fortunate MAHIRA<sup>(25)</sup> SWÁMI, a venerable *Bráhmaña* of *Car'náta* in the south, who studies two *védas*<sup>(26)</sup> and appertains to the *As'waldyana*<sup>(27)</sup> *śác'há*,

sprung from the race of BHÁRADWÁJA,<sup>(28)</sup> and tracing a triple line of descent, *Bháradvája*, *A'ngirasa*, and *Várhaspatya*,<sup>(29)</sup> settled at *Adrélavaddhávarest'hána*,<sup>(30)</sup> the aforesaid *Badáüda-gráma* and *U'lhavañaca gráma*, with their trees, fields and habitations,<sup>(31)</sup> together with hidden treasure, and deposits, and adorned with ponds, wells and lakes.

On the 15th of *Srávaña sudi* in the year 1200, at the time of an eclipse of the moon,<sup>(32)</sup> for our father's welfare, we have again granted those two villages by patent with the previous gift of water;<sup>(23)</sup> therefore all inhabitants of both villages, as well the *Pat'acila*<sup>(10)</sup> and other people, as husbandmen, being strictly observant of his commands, must pay unto him all dues as they arise, tax, money-rent, share of produce,<sup>(33)</sup> and the rest.

Considering the fruit of this meritorious act as common, future princes, sprung of our race, and others, should respect and maintain this virtuous donation accordingly.<sup>(34)</sup>

By many kings, SAGARA as well as others, the earth has been possessed. Whose-soever has been the land, his has then been the fruit.<sup>(35)</sup>

He, who resumes land, whether given by himself, or granted by others, is regenerated a worm in ordure, for 60,000 years.<sup>(36)</sup>

RÁMABHADRA again and again exhorts all these future rulers of the earth: this universal bridge of virtue.....<sup>(37)</sup>

(The remainder, upon another plate, is wanting.)

No. 2.

*A Grant of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.*

'Om! Well be it! Auspicious victory and elevation!

Virtuous is he, whose hair is the etherial expanse;<sup>(2)</sup> who, for creation, supports with his head that lunar line<sup>(3)</sup> which is a type of the germ contained in the seed of the universe.

May the matted locks of love's foe,<sup>(4)</sup> reddened by the lightning's ring, that flashes at the period of the world's end, spread for you nightless<sup>(5)</sup> prosperity.<sup>(38)</sup>

From his abode at the auspicious *Bardhamánapura*, his Majesty,<sup>(9)</sup> the great king, sovereign,<sup>(9)</sup> and supreme lord, the fortunate JAYA VARMA DÉVA, whom victory attends, son<sup>(8)</sup> of<sup>(9)</sup> YAS'Ó VARMA DÉVA, son<sup>(8)</sup> of<sup>(9)</sup> NARA VARMA DÉVA, son<sup>(8)</sup> of<sup>(9)</sup> UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA, acquaints all king's officers, *Bráhmañas* and others, and the *Pat'acila*<sup>(10)</sup> and people, &c. inhabiting the

village of *Máyamó'daca* which appertains to the thirty-six villages of *Vat'a* :<sup>(39)</sup> Be it known unto you : Whereas we, sojourning at *Chandrapurí*, having bathed, having worshipped the holy, beneficent and adorable BHAWÁNÍPATI :—<sup>(18)</sup>

Considering the world's vanity :

for

This sovereignty of the earth totters with the stormy blast ; <sup>(22)</sup> the enjoyment of a realm is sweet but for an instant ; the breath of man is like a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass : virtue is the greatest friend in the journey of the other world.—

Having gained prosperity, which is the receptacle of the skips and bounds <sup>(40)</sup> of a revolving world, whoever give not donations, repentance is their chief reward.—

Reflecting on the perishable nature of the world, preferring unseen (spiritual) fruit, [do grant] to be fully possessed, so long as moon and sun, sea and earth, endure [unto.....sprung from the race] of *Bháradvája* <sup>(41)</sup> .....settled at *Adriya-lambi-dávarí-sí'hána*, situated within the southern region, at *Rája brahma purí*.....

(The remainder, inscribed on a separate plate, is wanting.)

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No. 3.

*A Grant of Land inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.*

(The beginning, inscribed upon another plate, is wanting.)

In respect of two portions <sup>(42)</sup> of *Bráhmaña's* allowance, by exchange for two portions allotted to the attendant of the temple and the reader, to be held as assigned for the anniversary of the auspicious MÓMALA DÉVÍ ; <sup>(43)</sup> and in respect of seventeen *nivartanas* <sup>(45)</sup> of land, with eleven ploughs <sup>(45)</sup> of land, assigned to both persons in a partition of *Vícaricá gráma* ; the whole of the aforesaid little *Vaingaṅapadru-gráma*, also a moiety of *Viccaricá gráma* <sup>(44)</sup> within the proper bounds, extending to the grass and pasture, with trees, fields and habitations, with money-rent, and share of produce,<sup>(38)</sup> with superior taxes, and including all dues ; for increase of merit and fame of my mother, of my father, and of myself, are granted by patent, with the previous gift of water.<sup>(28)</sup> Aware of this, and obedient to his commands,

they must pay all due share of produce, <sup>(33)</sup> taxes, money-rent, &c. to them both.

Considering the fruit of this meritorious act as common, future princes, sprung of our race, and others, should respect and maintain this virtuous donation, as by us given.<sup>(34)</sup>

And it is said,—By many Kings, SAGARA as well as others, the earth has been possessed. Whose-soever has been the land, his has then been the fruit.<sup>(35)</sup>

The gifts, which have been here granted by former princes, producing virtue, wealth and fame, are unsullied reflections. What honest man would resume them ?

This donation ought to be approved by those who exemplify the hereditary liberality of our race, and by others. The flash of lightning from *Lacshmi* swoln with the rain-drop,<sup>(46)</sup> is gift; and the fruit is preservation of another's fame.

RÁMABHADRA again and again exhorts all those future rulers of the earth : this universal bridge of virtue for princes is to be preserved by you from time to time.<sup>(37)</sup>

Considering therefore prosperity to be a quivering drop of water on the leaf of a lotus ; and the life of man is such ; and all this is many ways<sup>(47)</sup> exemplified ; men therefore should not abridge the fame of others.

Samvat 1192, 3d of *Mágha sudi* (light half) ; witness the venerable *Puróhita*, VÁMANA ; the venerable *Swámi*, PURUSHÓTTAMA ; the prime minister and king's son, DÉVADHARA ; and others.

Auspiciousness and great prosperity.

R.

This is the sign-manual of the fortunate YAS'ÓVARMA DÉVA.

*Adhi.*

*Sri.*

## NOTES.

(1) Both this and the following inscription begin alike, and contain several other parallel passages. There are gross errors in both ; but one has helped to correct the other.

(2) *Vyómacéśa*, a title of *S'iva*, whose hair is the atmosphere.

(3) The crescent, which is *S'iva's* crest.

(4) *Smarárdti*, a title of *S'iva*. He is represented with his hair clotted and matted in a long braid rolled round his head, in the manner in which ascetics wear their's. Hair in that state has a tawny hue.

(5) Nightless, endless : eternal.

(6) *Mahá-cumára* : a royal youth, a young prince.

(7) I am not entirely confident of the meaning of this passage.

(8) *Pádánud'hydta*, an ordinary periphrasis for son and successor : literally, " whose feet are meditated, *i. e.* revered, by ....."

(9) The additions are those usually borne by sovereign princes among the *Hindus*. *Bha't'áraca* answers to the title of majesty. *Ad'hirája* is a sovereign or superior prince. *S'ri*, signifying fortunate or auspicious, is prefixed to every name.

*Varman* is the customary designation of a *Rájaputra* ; as *S'arman* is of a *Bráhmaṇa*. The term enters into composition in the names of many of this family.

(10) *Pat'tacila* is probably the *Pat'tail* of the moderns. The term occurs again lower down ; and also in the next grant (No. 2).

(11) Pronounce *Baräud-grám*. *Surdsaní* appears to be the district, or province, in which it is situated.

(12) Perhaps *Ughavan* rather than *Ut'havan*.

(13) This seems to be the name of a district.

(14) An apanage, comprising twelve great districts. *Mahá-dvadáśacamaṇḍala*, seems to have been held by this prince, under a royal grant from his father. He did not become his successor : for *JAYA VARMA* is, in another inscription, named immediately after *YAS'Ó VARMA* ; and was reigning sovereign.

(15) *Dhárá* was the capital of this dynasty.

(16) Anniversary of the death. It appears, therefore, that *NARA VARMA* died in 1190 *Samvat*.



(17) The allusion is to the five great sacraments, which a Hindu is bound to perform.—See *Menu*, iii, 67.

(18) *Bhawánpati* is a title of *S'iva*, husband of *Bhawáni*. In the following inscription, the name again occurs in a similar manner, with the further designation of *Varávara-guru*.

(19) The *áhuti*, or burnt-offering; consisting of boiled rice, with *tila* (*Sesamum orientale*), *cuśa* (*Poa cynosuroides*), and *śamī* (*Adenanthera*, or *Prosopis aculeata*).

(20) An *arghya* is a libation or oblation, in a conch, or vessel of a particular form, approaching to that of a boat.—*As. Rés.* vii, 291.

(21) *Capilá* probably is fire, personified as a female goddess.

(22) *Abhra* is a cloud; and *Váta*, wind: whence *Vátdbhra*, a windy cloud. Or *abhra* may signify the ethereal fluid (*ácśa*). The stanza is repeated in the next inscription.

(23) A requisite formality in a donation of land.—See *Digest of Hindu Law*, ii, 276. *Treatises on Law of Inheritance*, p. 258.

(24) Erroneously written *A'vast'hica* in the text. Its derivation is from *A'vasat'ha*, a house: and it bears reference to the householder's consecrated fire (*gárhapatya*). HELÁYUD'HA, author of the *Bráhmaña-sarvasva*, has, in the epigraph of his work, the title of *A'vasat'hica-mahá-d'harmád'hyacsha*.

(25) This probably should be *Mihira*, which is a name of the sun.

(26) *Dvivid* is one who studies two *védas*; as *Trivid*, one who studies three.

(27) The text exhibits *A'śláyana*; doubtless for *A'śwaláyana*, by which name one of the *S'ác'hás* of the *véda* is distinguished. A'S'WALÁYANA is author of a collection of aphorisms on religious rites (*Calpa sūtra*).

(28) *Gótra*, descent from an ancient sage (*Rishi*), whence the family name is derived. There are four such great families of *Bráhmañas*; comprehending numerous divisions.

(29) *Pravara*, lineage traced to more of the ancient sages. The distinction between *Gótra* and *Pravara* is not very clear. MÁDHAVA on the *Mīmánsá*, 2. 1, 9, names these very three families as constituting a *Gótra*; and gives it as an example of *Pravara*.

(30) This, which seems to be the name of a country, is differently written in the next inscription. Perhaps it may be a branch of the *gótra*, or family, from which the donatory derived his descent.

(31) *Mála*, signifies field; and *Cula*, abode. The passage may admit a different interpretation.

*Māla* implies, (as I learn from Major Tod), according to the acception of the country, land not artificially irrigated, but watered only by rain and dew.

(32) An eclipse of the moon appears, from calculation, to have taken place at the time here assigned to it: *viz.* 16th July 1144; as in the preceding year, 28th July 1143.—*Art de vérifier les Dates*, i, 73.

(33) *Hirañya*, gold: rent in money.

*Bhāga bhōga*; in another place, *bhāgābhōga*: share of produce, rent in kind.

(34) This stanza, a little varied, recurs in the third grant (No. 3).

(35) This also recurs in the same (No. 3); and is likewise found in a grant translated by Sir William Jones.—*As. Res.* vol. i, p. 365, st. 1.

(36) A quotation.—See *Digest of Hindu Law*, ii, 281, and *As. Res.* ii, 53. Also, i, 366; and viii, 419.

(37) The remainder of the stanza (which may be easily supplied from the other inscriptions: See the next grant; and *As. Res.* vol. i. p. 365, st. 3, and vol. iii. p. 53, and vol. viii. p. 419) was probably followed in the second plate, by further quotations, deprecating the resumption of the gift by future sovereigns: and to which was subjoined the sign manual, with the names of attesting officers; as in the accompanying grant by YAS'Ō VARMA (No. 3).

The bridge of virtue, which signifies “the maxim of duty,” bears an allusion to RĀMA's bridge, to cross the sea to *Lancā*.

(38) These two stanzas occur also in the preceding inscription.

(39) *Vat a-c'hédaca-shat-trīnsati*; thirty-six villages of *Vat a*: for it should probably be read *C'hétaca* (which signifies a village) instead of *C'hédaca*.

(40) *Valgāgra-d'hārā-d'hārā*: an allusion is probably intended to *D'hārā*, the seat of government of this dynasty. *Valga* signifies a leap; and *d'hāra*, a horse's pace.

(41) The grantee was either the same person, or one of the same family, as in the preceding grant; for the designations are identical, so far as this reaches.

(42) For want of the first plate of this patent, the beginning of the second is very obscure; and perhaps not rightly intelligible, without divining what has gone before. I have endeavoured to make sense of it, but am far from confident of having succeeded.

(43) MŌMALA DÉVĪ was not improbably the name of YAS'Ō VARMA's mother;

and the anniversary is that of her obsequies: as in the preceding patent for a grant on the anniversary of the obsequies of YASÓ VARMA'S father. Else it may be the annual festival of an idol of that name.

(44) The name is written *Vicaricagrāma* in one place; and *Viccaricagrāma* in another.

Major Tod observes that the ancient name of *Burhānpura* is *Cari-grāma*.

(45) *Nivartana* is a land-measure containing 400 square poles of 10 cubits each, according to the *Līlāvātī*.—See *Algebra of the Hindus*.

(46) I have here hazarded a conjectural emendation; being unable to make sense of the text, as it stands. Perhaps the transcriber had erroneously written *tundalā* for *tundilā*; and the engraver, by mistake, transformed it into the unmeaning *vāndalā*, which the text exhibits. *Lacshmi* is here characterized as the thunder-cloud pregnant with fertilizing rain.

(47) *Chanudhā*, in the text, is an evident mistake; it should undoubtedly be *bahudhā*. Several other gross errors in this inscription have been corrected; too obviously necessary to require special notice: as a short vowel for a long one, and *vice versā*.

XIV. *SOME ACCOUNT OF A SECRET ASSOCIATION IN CHINA, entitled the TRIAD SOCIETY. By the late DR. MILNE, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College. Communicated by the REV. ROBERT MORRISON, D.D., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.*

Read February 5, 1825.

THE writer of this paper is fully sensible how difficult it is to discover that which is studiously concealed, under the sanction of oaths, curses, and the (supposed) impending vengeance of the gods; and how liable one is, even after the utmost care, to be mistaken in tracing the progress of any set of principles and schemes, which the fortunes or lives of the parties who have adopted them are concerned to hide, to varnish, to distort, and to misrepresent. He therefore offers the following remarks, not as the result of firm and unhesitating conviction, but as having a good deal of probability to support them, and as containing the substance of the best information procurable in his situation. He begs then to say a few words on the name, objects, government, initiatory ceremonies, secret signs, and seal of the said association, and to conclude with a few miscellaneous remarks.

First, *the Name.*

The name is not expressed on the seal, and hence it is difficult to ascertain it with certainty. It seems, however, to be the \* *San hō hwuy*, i. e. "The Society of the Three united, or the Triad Society." The three referred to in this name are † *T'heen, te, jin*, i. e. "Heaven, Earth, and Man," which are the three great powers in nature, according to the Chinese doctrine of the universe. In the earlier part of the reign of his late Chinese majesty, ‡ *Kea King*, the same society existed, but under a different denomination. It was then called the § *T'heen te hwuy*, i. e. "The Cœlesto-terrestrial Society," or "The Society that unites Heaven and Earth." It spread itself rapidly through the provinces, had nearly upset the government, and

\* For the Chinese characters, see Plate I, No. 1.

† See plate, No. 3.

‡ See plate, No. 2.

§ See plate, No. 4.

its machinations were not entirely defeated till about the eighth year of the said Emperor's reign, when the chiefs were seized and put to death; and it was (in the usual bombast of Chinese reports) officially stated to his majesty, "that there was not so much as one member of that rebellious fraternity left under the wide extent of the heavens." The fact, however, was just the contrary, for they still existed, and operated, though more secretly; and it is said, that a few years after they assumed the name of the "Triad Society," in order to cover their purposes. But the name, by which they chiefly distinguish themselves, is \* *Hung kea*, i. e. the "Flood Family."

There are other associations formed both in China and in the Chinese colonies that are settled abroad, as the † *T'heen how hwuy*, i. e. the "Queen of Heaven's Company, or Society;" called also, the ‡ *Neang na hwuy*, or "Her Ladyship's Society;" meaning the "queen of heaven, the mother and nurse of all things." These associations are rather for commercial and idolatrous purposes, than for the overthrow of social order; though it is said, that the members of the "Queen of Heaven's Society," settled in Bengal and other parts, unite in house-breaking, &c.

#### Secondly, *Object.*

The object of this society at first does not appear to have been peculiarly hurtful; but, as numbers increased, the object degenerated from mere mutual assistance, to theft, robbery, the overthrow of regular government, and an aim at political power. In foreign colonies, the objects of this association are plunder, and mutual defence. The idle, gambling, opium-smoking Chinese (particularly of the lower classes), frequently belong to this fraternity. What they obtain by theft or plunder is divided in shares, according to the rank which the members hold in the society. They engage to defend each other against attacks from police officers; to hide each others crimes; to assist detected members to make their escape from the hands of justice. A Chinese tailor in Malacca, named *Tsau foo*, who committed murder, in the close of 1818, shortly after the transfer of the colony, and made his escape from the hands of justice, was a chief man in this society; and, it is believed, had a considerable number of persons under his direction, both on

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\* See plate, No. 5.

† See plate, No. 6.

‡ See plate, No. 7.

the land and at sea. There cannot be a doubt but his escape was partly owing to the assistance of his fellow-members, as a rigorous search was made for him by the police. In places where most of the members are young, if one takes a dislike to any man who is not a member, the others are sure to mark that man as the butt of their scorn and ridicule. If any one feels injured, the others take part in his quarrels, and assist him in seeking revenge. Where their party is very strong, persons are glad to give them sums of money annually, that they may spare their property, or protect it from other banditti, which they uniformly do when confided in, and will speedily recover stolen goods. In such places as Java, Sincapore, Malacca, and Penang, when a Chinese stranger arrives to reside for any length of time, he is generally glad to give a trifle of money to this brotherhood to be freed from their annoyance.

The *professed* design, however, of the *San hò hwuy* is benevolence, as the following motto will shew :

\* Yew fùh tung heang  
Yew hò tung tang.

The blessing, reciprocally share ;  
The woe, reciprocally bear.

They assist each other, in whatever country, whenever they can make themselves known to each other by the signs.

### Thirdly, *Government.*

The government (if it be proper to dignify the management of so worthless a combination by such an epithet) of the *San-hò hwuy*, is vested in three persons, who are all denominated † *Ko*, "Elder brothers," a name given by way of courtesy to friends; in the same manner as Free-Masons style each other brothers and brethren, and as certain religious societies call their members brethren, and say "Brother" so and so. They distinguish between the ruling brethren thus:—‡ *Yih ko*; *Urh ko*; *San ko*: i. e. "Brother first; Brother second; Brother third." There may be others who take part in the management, where the society's members are numerous. The members generally are called § *Heung té*, i. e. "Brethren."

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\* See plate, No. 8. † See plate, No. 9. ‡ See plate, No. 10. § See plate, No. 11.

Of the laws, discipline, and interior management of the *San-hò-hwuy*, the writer of this has not been able to obtain any information. There is said to be a MS. book, containing the society's regulations, written on *cloth*, for the sake of preserving the writing long in a legible state. Should a detection be made, the cloth MS. may, for the time, be thrown into a well or pond, from which it can afterwards at convenience be taken out; and in case of the person, in whose care it is, being pursued by the police, and obliged to swim across a river, &c. he carries the MS. with him; and as the ink appears to possess a peculiar quality, the impression in either case is quite legible. As they cannot print their regulations, this seems well calculated to preserve them from oblivion.

The heads of this fraternity, as in all other similar associations, have a larger share of all the booty that is procured, than the other members.

#### Fourthly, *Initiatory Ceremonies.*

Of these but a very imperfect idea can be obtained. The initiation takes place commonly at night, in a very retired or secret chamber. There is an idol there, to which offerings are presented, and before which the oath of secrecy is taken. The Chinese say there are \* *San shih lüh s'he*, i. e. "thirty-six oaths" taken on the occasion; but it is probable that, instead of being distinct oaths, these are different particulars of one oath, very likely the *imprecations* contained in it, against persons who shall disclose the nature and objects of the society.

A small sum of money is given by the initiated to support the general expense. There is likewise a ceremony which they call † *Kwo Keaou*, i. e. "crossing the bridge." This bridge is formed of swords, either laid between two tables (an end resting on each), or else set up on the hilts, and meeting at the point; or held up in the hands of two ranks of members, with the points meeting, in form of an arch. The persons who receive the oath, take it under this bridge, which is called—"passing, or crossing the bridge." The *yih ko*, or chief ruling brother, sits at the head of this steel bridge (or each with a drawn sword), reads the articles of the oath, to every one of which an affirmative response is given by the new member, after

\* See Plate I, No. 12.

† See Plate I, No. 13.

which he cuts off the head of a cock, which is the usual form of a Chinese oath, intimating—"thus let perish all who divulge the secret." But it is said the grand ceremony can only be performed where there is a considerable number of members present. They worship Heaven and Earth on those occasions, and sometimes, when the place is sufficiently secluded, perform the initiatory rites in the open air.

#### Fifthly, *Secret Signs.*

Some of the marks by which the members of the *San hō hwuy* make themselves known to each other, are those that follow:—Mystic numbers; the chief of which is the number *three*. They derive their preference for this probably from the name of their society, "the Triad Society." In conformity with this preference they adopt *odd* rather than *even* numbers, when it can be done. They say *three*, *three times ten*, *three hundred*, *three thousand*, *three myriads*, rather than *two*, *four times ten*, &c.

The word \* *Hung*, above-mentioned, contains the number *three hundred and twenty-one*, and is often used by them for particular purposes. They separate its component parts thus: † *san—pāh—urh-shih—yih*. The character *San* is properly a form of † *shwuy* (*water*), as used in composition, and should have this sound; but in the analysis of any Chinese character, of which this form of *shwuy* constitutes the dexter component, the teacher says to his pupil, § *san-teen shwuy*, *i. e.* put "three points water at the side," or "the three point form of *shwuy*." But when used by the *san hō hwuy*, the word *san* (or *three*) alone is employed; the other parts being out of place for them. || *Pā*, or *eight*, much resembles in sound ¶ *pih* (*an hundred*), and in a rapid conversation is scarcely distinguishable from it. \*\* *Urh-shih* is the united or mercantile form of †† *urh shih*, or "two tens" run together for the sake of expedition in business. †† *Yih* is the common form of one. Now hearing the component parts of *Hung* gone over in this manner, it seems to the uninitiated to mean §§ *san pih urh shih yih*, "*three hundred and twenty-one*." What the members themselves mean by it, it is impossible

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\* See Plate I, No. 14. † See Plate I, No. 15. ‡ See Plate I, No. 16. § See Plate I, No. 17.

|| See Plate I, No. 18. ¶ See Plate I, No. 19. \*\* See Plate I, No. 20.

†† See Plate I, No. 21. ‡‡ See Plate I, No. 22. §§ See Plate I, No. 23.



to discover. In *writing*, it is as above analyzed; or in uttering the *sound* of the components, they equally understand each other's meaning.

*Certain motions of the fingers* constitute a second class of *signs*; e. g. using *three* of the fingers in taking up any thing. If a member happens to be in company, and wishes to discover whether there be a brother present, he takes up his *tea-cup* or its *cover* (Chinese tea-cups have always a cover), with the *thumb*, the *fore*, and *middle fingers*, or with the *fore*, *middle*, and *third* fingers, and which, if perceived by an initiated person, is answered by a corresponding sign. It does not, however, follow from this that every Chinese who uses three fingers, in taking up, or holding, his tea-cup, is a member of the *san hō hwuy*, for many of them do it from mere habit. But there is a *certain way* of doing it by the initiated, which they themselves only know. In lifting any thing that requires both hands, they use three fingers of each hand.

They also have recourse to *odes and pieces of poetry*, as secret marks.— (See below, under Particular 6th, “Explanation of Characters within the first Octangular lines.”)

#### Sixth, the Seal.

The seal is a *quincangular* figure: this, as above noticed, is one of the Society's mystical numbers. From the manner in which some characters on the seal were written, it is not improbable that some of them have been erroneously explained. The following is submitted as the best explanation of them which the writer's present circumstances enable him to furnish.\*

#### *Explanation of the Characters at the five corners, in the outer, or quincangular lines.*

1. *Tóo*, the earth planet, *i. e. Saturn*; which, according to the Chinese, especially regards and influences the *centre* of the earth; also one of the five elements.

2. *Müh*, the wood planet, *i. e. Jupiter*, or that planet which reigns in the eastern part of the heavens.

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\* For an engraving of the seal, see Plate II, No. 1.

3. *Shwuy*, the water planet, *i. e.* *Mercury*, to which the dominion of the northern hemisphere is confided.

4. *Kin*, the metal planet, *i. e.* *Venus*, to which the care of the west is confided.

5. *Ho*, the fire planet, *i. e.* *Mars*, to which the southern hemisphere is assigned.

*N.B.* The reasons (or some of the reasons) why these planets are placed at the corners of this *seal*, may be, because they are the basis of Chinese astrological science, and because they are considered the extreme points of all created things.

*Explanation of the five Characters which are directly under the Planets.*

6. *Hung*, a flood or deluge of waters. One of the secret designations of this fraternity is *Hung kea*, literally, "*the flood family*;" intended, perhaps, to intimate the extent and effectiveness of their operations, that, as a flood, they spread and carry every thing before them.

7. *Haou*, a leader; a chief or brave man.

8. *Han*, the name of an ancient dynasty; but, in certain connections, signifying a bold and daring man, which is most probably the sense here.

9. *Ying*, a hero.

10. *Kea*, a stand; but metaphorically used to denote a person of importance to the state, or to society, as we use tropes, and say, "such man is a pillar," "the stay of his country."

*N.B.* Though this be the ordinary meaning of these words, it is possible that they may be used by the fraternity in a mystical and occult sense.

*Explanation of the other Characters within the same lines.*

11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. *Ying, heung, hwuy, hō, twan, yuen, she.*

18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. *Heung, te, fun, kae, yih, show, she.*

"The hero band in full assembly meet;

"Each man a verse, to make the ode complete."

This is a very probable sense of the words as they are placed, especially as it is known to be a frequent practice of this fraternity to converse together in poetry; and in order to elude suspicion while in company with others,

one man takes but a line, or half a line, which by itself is utterly unintelligible to persons not initiated, but which, being understood by a brother member, is responded to by him in another line or half a line, and, by thus passing on through several persons, an ode may be completed, though not perceived by any but the parties themselves.

25, 26, 27. *K'ee te tuy.* These three words are inexplicable in the order in which they stand. *K'ee* signifies to tie, to bind, and often used to signify the formation of a secret association. *Te* (if we be right in the character) signifies a brother, or younger brother, and the sense thus far would be—“to form a brotherhood.” *Tuy*, is a pair of any thing, or two things equal to each other. But it is probable that these words have a reference to other words on the seal, the connection of which seems difficult to discover.

*Explanation of Words within the first octangular lines.*

28, 29, 30, 31. *Heing te tung chin,*

32, 33, 34, 35. *K'ó yeu haou tow ;*

36, 37, 38, 39. *Kaou k'e fun pae ;*

40, 41, 42, 43. *Wan koo yeu chuen.*

Which may be thus rendered :—

The Brethren all in battle join,  
Each ready with a chosen sign ;  
An ancient brook with parting streams,  
Still flowing down from long-past times.

In support of this version it might be urged, that the fraternity have certain secret signs or marks, by which they make their ideas known to each other, and in the tumult which they excite, these signs are made use of to encourage each other in the work of destruction ; and that they consider their society as of very ancient origin, and as spreading through the world from age to age.

But the words may be read in lines of eight or seven syllables, and might begin at the 32d, thus :—

K'ó yew haou t'ow kaou k'e fun,  
Kaou ke fun pae wan koo yew.

*N.B.* This last line shifts back to 36 for its first syllable.

In fact, there appears scarcely to be a limit to the mutations of these numbers ; for, like the changes of the *pǎ kwa* (Chinese table of diagrams), they may contain an infinitude of senses and modifications, with which, however, the initiated alone are familiar.

*Explanation of Characters within the second octangular lines.*

44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50. These characters, as they stand, seem to make no intelligible sense, and from the circumstance of their being written with two kinds of ink, black and red, renders it highly probable that they are constructed for the purpose of local concealment ; they are perhaps the names, real or assumed, of the officers of the brotherhood ; that half of the characters in *red* ink, which seems printed, may be permanent, and have some general reference to the designs of the society, and to the other characters on the seal ; while the *yellow* part (on the original blue silk seal), which is evidently *written* with a pencil, may, joined to the printed half, constitute the names or epithets of the officers in some particular place. In another place, where persons of different designations are chosen to be officers, the yellow part would be different. This conjecture is confirmed by the opinion of several learned Chinese, who have seen and examined the seal.

51, 52, 53, 54. These characters have, no doubt, a reference to the ultimate view of the brotherhood, *viz.* universal extension and dominion. 51 is an inverted form of 53 ; and 53 is an abbreviated form of \* *wan*, a myriad. 52 (in the quinquangular lines) signifies "*Heaven*," and 54, "*Earth*." And the position of 54 and 53, both looking towards the straight line on which the words "*Heaven*" and "*Earth*" are written, may mystically signify the bringing of myriads of nations under the society's influence.

*Explanation of Characters within the square lines.*

55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60. *Chung e foo, wo chüh tung, i. e.* "*Let the faithful and righteous unite so as to form a whole*" (*i. e.* an universal empire). This seems the plain sense of the words, according to this arrangement of them ;

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\* See Plate II, No. 2.

but it is impossible to ascertain whether something else may not be intended, as they are susceptible of as many meanings as arrangements. This version, however, agrees with the general views of this dangerous fraternity.

*Characters within the oblong square.*

61, 62. *Yun shing* ; supposed to be the name of the *chief* of the fraternity, some think the *founder*, but, the character being *written*, and in *yellow* ink, it is more likely to be the chief for the time being, at whose death the blank space in seals subsequently issued could be filled up with the name of his successors ; whereas the name of the founder, never changing, would be more likely to be printed, in some permanent form.

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MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

If any weight be due to the scattered hints that have been given above, there will appear to be a striking resemblance in some points between the *San hō hwuy*, and the *Society of Free-Masons*. The writer would not be understood, by so saying, to trace this resemblance in any of the *dangerous* principles of the *San hō hwuy*, for he believes that the Society of British Free-masons (and of others he knows nothing) constitutes a highly respectable body of men, whose principles and conduct are friendly to social order, regular government, and the peace of society. The points of resemblance, then, between the two societies, appear to the writer to be the following :—

1. In their pretensions to great antiquity, the *San hō hwuy* profess to carry their origin back to the remotest antiquity. \* *Tsze yeu chung Kwo*, *i. e.* “from the first settlement of China;” and their former name, *viz.*—“*Cælesto-terrestrial Society*,” may indicate that the body took its rise from the creation of heaven and earth ; and it is known that some Free-masons affirm that their society “had a being ever since symmetry and harmony began,” though others are more moderate in their pretensions to antiquity.

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\* See Plate II, No. 3.

2. In making benevolence and mutual assistance their professed object, and in affording mutual assistance to each other, in whatever country, when the signs are once given. Notwithstanding the dangerous nature of the *San hō hwuy*, the members swear, at their initiation, to be filial and fraternal and benevolent, which corresponds to the engagement of the Free-masons, to philanthropy and the social virtues.

3. In the ceremonies of initiation, e. g. the oath, and the solemnity of its administration, in the *arch of steel* and *bridge of swords*. These are so singularly striking, that they merit the attention of those especially who think Free-masonry a beneficial institution, or who deem its history worthy of investigation.

4. May not the three ruling brethren of the *San hō hwuy* be considered as having a resemblance to the three masonic orders of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master?

5. The signs, particularly "*the motions with the fingers*," in as far as they are known or conjectured, seem to have some resemblance.

6. Some have affirmed that the grand secret of Free-masonry consists in the words "Liberty and Equality;" and if so, certainly the term \* *Heung Te*, (i. e. "brethren") of the *San hō hwuy* may, without the least force, be explained as implying exactly the same ideas.

Whether there exist any thing in the shape of "Lodges" in the *San hō hwuy*, or not, the writer has no means of ascertaining; but he believes the Chinese law is so rigorous against this body, as to admit of none.† Nor does there appear to be a partiality among the members for the *masonic employment*. Building does not appear to be an object with them, at least not in as far as can be discovered.

\* See Plate II, No. 4.

† To belong to this Society is, in China, a *capital* crime.

The late Dr. Milne sent these notices of this Triad Society to China, for further investigation, in July, 1821, and died on the 2d of June, 1822: and hence the paper was left in its present unfinished state.—*Note by Dr. Morrison.*

XV. *A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SAUDS.* BY WILLIAM HENRY TRANT,  
Esq., M.P.

Read February 5, 1825.

IN March 1816, I went with two other gentlemen from *Fatahghar*, on the invitation of the principal persons of the *Saud* sect, to witness an assemblage of them, for the purpose of religious worship, in the city of *Farrukhábád*, the general meeting of the sect for that year being there.

The assembly took place within the court-yard of a large house, where the number of men, women, and children was considerable.

We were received with great attention; and chairs were placed for us in front of the hall. After some time, when the place was quite full of people, the ceremony commenced, which consisted simply in the chaunting of a hymn; this being the only mode of public worship used by the *Sauds*.

At subsequent periods I made particular enquiries relative to the religious opinions and practices of this sect, and I was frequently visited by BHAWÁNÍ DÁS, the principal person of the sect in the city of *Farrukhábád*.

The following is the substance of the account given by BHAWÁNÍ DÁS of the origin of this sect.

“ About the year 1600 of the era of VICRAMÁDITYA, corresponding with A.D. 1544, a person named BÍRBHÁN, inhabitant of *Bújastár*, near *Narnoul*, in the province of *Delhi*, received a miraculous communication from UDAYA DÁS, teaching him the particulars of the religion now professed by the *Sauds*. UDAYA DÁS, at the same time, gave to BÍRBHÁN marks by which he might know him on his re-appearance.

- “ 1. That whatever he foretold, should happen.
- “ 2. That no shadow should be cast from his figure.
- “ 3. That he would tell him his thoughts.
- “ 4. That he would be suspended between heaven and earth.
- “ 5. That he would bring the dead to life.”

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BHÁWANI DÁS gave me a copy of the *Pothí*, or religious book of the *Sauds*, written in a kind of verse in the *T'henth Hindí* \* dialect; and he fully explained to me the leading points of their religion. That book I have now the honour to present to the Royal Asiatic Society.

The *Sauds* utterly reject and abhor all kinds of idolatry; and the Ganges is considered by them not to be a sacred object; although the converts are made chiefly, if not entirely, from among the Hindus, whom they resemble in outward appearance.

Their name for God is *Satcara*; and *Saud*, the appellation of the sect, means, they say, "servant of God."† They are pure Deists, and their form of worship is most simple, as I have already stated. The *Sauds* resemble the Quakers, or Society of Friends, in England, in their customs, in a remarkable degree.

Ornaments and gay apparel of every kind are strictly prohibited. Their dress is always white. They never make any obeisance or salutation. They will not take an oath; and they are exempted in the courts of justice; their asseveration, like that of the Quakers, being considered equivalent.

The *Sauds* profess to abstain from all luxuries; such as tobacco, betel, opium, and wine. They never have exhibitions of dancing. All violence to man or beast is forbidden; but, in self-defence, resistance is allowable. Industry is strongly enjoined.

The *Sauds*, like the Quakers, take great care of their poor and infirm people. To receive assistance out of the sect or tribe would be reckoned disgraceful, and render the offender liable to excommunication.

All parade of worship is forbidden. Private prayer is commended. Alms should be unostentatious: they are not to be given that they should be seen of men. The due regulation of the tongue is a principal duty.

The chief seats of the *Saud* sect are *Delhi*, *Agra*, *Jayapur*, and *Farruk-hábád*; but there are several of the sect scattered over other parts of the country. An annual meeting takes place at one or other of the cities above-mentioned, at which the concerns of the sect are settled. In *Farruk-hábád*, the number was about three thousand.

\* Genuine or pure *Hindí*, unmixed with Persian or Arabic. The mixed dialect is *Hindústání*—H.T.C.

† Probably the word may be *Sádhi* (Sanskrit, *Sádhu*), signifying pious.—H.T.C.



The magistrate of *Farrukhábád* informed me, that he had found the *Sauds* an orderly and well-conducted people; they are chiefly engaged in trade.

BHÁWANÍ DÁS was anxious to become acquainted with the Christian religion, and I gave him some copies of the New Testament in Persian and Hindustání, which he afterwards told me he had read, and shown to his people, and much approved.

I had no copy of the Old Testament in any language which he understood well: but as he expressed a strong desire to know the account of the creation as given in it, I explained it to him from an Arabic version, of which language he knew a little. I promised to procure him a Persian or Hindustání Old Testament, if possible.

XVI. *EXTRACTS FROM PEKING GAZETTES.* Translated by JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., M.R.A.S. Communicated by SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART., V.P. R.A.S.

Read March 19, 1825.

No. 1. *Extract from the Peking Gazette, dated 5th day of 4th moon, of the 4th year of TAOU KWANG (3d May, 1824).*

*Tseang-yew-tëen* (Governor of Chih-le province), Pëen tsow,\* *i. e.* shortly addresses his Imperial Majesty on the subject of the tribute bearer from the † *Mëen-tëen* † nation, now on his way from Peking back to his native country. I deputed civil and military officers to escort him safely and diligently. Now the magistrate of *Tsze-chow* district reports that the said envoy proceeds very well and peaceably on his journey; and that on the 13th of the 3d moon (11th April) he had been escorted as far as *Gan-yang-hëen* in *Ho-nan* province, where he had been transferred to the care of the local officers, to continue his progress. It is right that I present this short address on the subject.

*Vermilion reply*: "We know it." *Khin tsze.*

\* For the Chinese characters, see Plate III, No. 1. † See Plate III, No. 2.

‡ On examining the site of this *Mëen-tëen* nation, on a very valuable map belonging to the East-India Company, and copied with great exactness from the actual surveys of the missionaries, it is found exactly to correspond to the eastern part of the Burman empire, being placed on the frontier of *Yun nan* province, between 22° and 25° latitude. Close to this, on the same map, is the name § *Ah-wa* (Ava). The following rivers pass from *Yun nan* province into the Burman territory, *viz.* || *Lung-chuen keang*, Dragon-stream river; ¶ *Pin-lang keang*, Betel-nut river. Somewhat to the northward of these, is, \*\* *Kin-sha keang*, Golden sand river. To the northward of *Mëen-tëen*, towards Thibet, and the Berhampooter river (which latter is written by the Chinese, *A-loo-tsang-poo*, and exactly answers, in *their* way of spelling, to *E-re-chom-boo*, the Thibetian name, according to Turner) the map contains †† *Noo-e*, which either means "the angry, or savage foreigners;" or is used merely to express a foreign sound.

§ See Plate III, No. 3. || See Plate III, No. 4. ¶ See Plate III, No. 5.

\*\* See Plate III, No. 6. †† See Plate III, No. 7.

*Erection of Military Posts on the Frontier of YUN-NAN (dated 4th year,  
6th moon, 4th day).*

Ming-shan, Viceroy of Yun-nan and Kwei-chow provinces, entreats the Imperial attention to the subject of this address. I, your slave, have received a communication from the military commander, *Ah-tsing-ah*, stating, that "in the first year, and the third moon, he was indebted to the Imperial goodness for his present appointment of general of *Tāng yuě chin*, and that having been introduced to your Majesty's presence, he reached his station in the 8th moon of the same year. Three years having nearly elapsed, it is right that he solicit to be again introduced."\* In the 6th year of Kea-king (1801) the Imperial decree signified, that for the future, the precise period of presenting military officers need not be rigidly observed: that any such persons as were not immediately engaged in the performance of important duties, might proceed in turn to Peking to be introduced." This is respectfully preserved on record. The station *Tang yuě*,† being on the very frontier itself, is of great consequence. Watch-towers and lines of communication are now forming: and it would be inexpedient to entrust the command to an inexperienced person; therefore it is right to petition the Imperial goodness to defer the period of this General's presentation until the work in which he is engaged be completed. For this purpose the present address is humbly offered up.

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No. 2. *From the Peking Gazette, of the 4th year of Taou-kwang, dated  
3d moon, 20th day.*

*Depreciation of the metal Currency in Füh-këen province, in consequence of  
over coinage.*

Chaou-shin-chin, Viceroy of Füh-këen and of Che-keang provinces, with his colleagues, kneels and presents this report concerning the depreciation

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\* Such is the old established rule; but having been found inconvenient, it is sometimes relaxed. The Viceroy of Shen-se and Kan-süh has proposed lately to the Emperor, to confine it to the provinces close to the capital, and excuse the distant ones.

† *Tang yuě chin*. In the Company's large MS. map it is placed on the borders of the Burmese empire, between Betel-nut and Dragon-stream rivers.

of the current Tchen\* (base-metal coin) in comparison with silver, to the great loss of the provincial treasury; requesting the Imperial assent to a temporary suspension of the coinage, with a view to prevent needless waste, and equalize or bring to a par the market prices of gold and silver.

In the mint of Füh-këen province, named Paon-fuh-keu, the average coinage of ten days has been 1,200 strings of Tchent† (each string containing 1,000, or ten divisions of 100 each), and therefore the total coinage of one year has averaged 43,200‡ strings (or 43,200,000 Tchen), the use of which has been to pay the militia of the province. In order to procure the copper and lead required for coinage, officers have been regularly deputed to Yun-nan and Hoo-pih provinces; and it has been calculated that the expences of transmission and coinage together with other charges, added to the cost of the metal, have amounted, on an average, to  $1,261^{\text{T m c c}}$  in every 1,000 Tchen. The present market value of standard silver in exchange for coin at the capital, is 1 Tael weight for 1,240 or 1,250 Tchen: and it is the same throughout the province. This being added to the above, the total disadvantage amounts to more than  $500^{\text{m c c}}$  in each Tael, and the annual loss to more than 20,000 Taels value.

The province of Füh-këen being on the borders of the sea, its distance from some other provinces is great; and the merchants, who resort hither with their goods, finding it inconvenient to carry back such a weight of Tchen, exchange it for silver, as a more portable remittance, by which means silver and coin have become very disproportioned in their relative values, the former rising, and the latter falling, to an unusual degree.

It has always been the rule to pay the militia in Tchen, at the rate of 1,000 for a Tael of silver: but now a Tael of silver in the market being worth 1,240 or 1,250 Tchen, they experience serious loss from this when they exchange their Tchen for silver, with a view to the more ready transmission of their pay to a distance."

After some other details of less interest, the Viceroy and his colleagues

\* Tsien, pronounced Tchen, to the northward, and called by Europeans at Canton, cash.

† See Plate III, No. 8.

‡ Taking the Tchen at their proper value, the annual addition to the circulation in this province would be about £14,400, and of the whole empire, taking it at fifteen provinces, £216,000. It was probably the great bulk of the coin, in proportion to its value, which induced the necessity of provincial mints.

propose, that "from the summer half-year of the 4th of Taou kwang, the mint should be shut, and all further coinage suspended: the soldiers receiving their pay in silver, until the relative values of silver and currency approach nearer to a par." The Emperor returns for answer—"The address has been recorded." And a later gazette conveys his assent to the measure.\*

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*Description of the Coins of the Ta-tsing, or reigning Dynasty of China.*

I.

SHUN-CHE,† A.D. 1643. The founder of the present Manchow Tartar dynasty, by driving out the *Ming*, or Chinese dynasty. He compelled the Chinese to shave their heads, and wear long tails, like the Tartars. Reigned eighteen years. The other two characters, *Tung-paou*,‡ denote that the coin is current throughout the empire. The reverse of the coin bears the Tartar character.

II.

KANG-HE,§ A.D. 1661. The second Emperor of the present dynasty. Reigned sixty-one years. He has been very much praised by the Jesuit missionaries, to whom he showed great favours.

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\* The *Yuen* dynasty or Mongol conquerors of China, established a paper money for the pay of their troops (a fact which is noticed by Marco Polo); but, ignorant of the truth, that the circulation cannot absorb, or take up, more than a limited quantity, without a depreciation of its value, they continued their extravagant issues of paper, until it became nearly worthless; notwithstanding their absurd attempts to keep up its credit, by forbidding the use of *any* medium of exchange but this. The final expulsion of the Mongol Tartars may be attributed in some measure to the ruin induced by the above cause. In an interesting memoir on this subject (a copy of which was obligingly transmitted by its author to the Translator of the foregoing), M. Klaproth very truly observes, that the Manchow Tartars, the *last* conquerors of China, have never attempted to put paper money in circulation; adding, "car ces barbares ignorent encore le principe fondamental de toute bonne administration financière, savoir, que *plus un pays a de dettes, plus il est riche et heureux.*"

† See Plate III, No. 9.

‡ See Plate III, No. 10.

§ See Plate III, No. 11.

## III.

YUNG-CHING,\* A.D. 1722. The third Emperor. Reigned thirteen years.

## IV.

KĒEN LUNG,† A.D. 1735. The fourth Emperor. Reigned sixty years. The Chinese Empire was never so large as in this reign. KĒEN-LUNG expanded it to its greatest size, as Trajan did the Roman empire by violating the wise precept of Augustus, in adding the province of Dacia. KĒEN-LUNG sent the embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, a tribe whom he afterwards restored to their native country, from their exile in the Russian territories. Lord Macartney's embassy was to this Emperor.

## V.

KEA-KING,‡ A.D. 1795. The fifth Emperor. Reigned twenty-five years. Lord Amherst's embassy.

## VI.

TAOU-KWANG,§ A.D. 1820. The reigning Emperor.

\* See Plate III, No. 12.

‡ See Plate III, No. 14.

† See Plate III, No. 13.

§ See Plate III, No. 15.

XVII. *MEMOIR ON BUNDELKHUND. By CAPTAIN JAMES FRANKLIN, of the Bengal Cavalry, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 21, 1825.

BUNDÉLKHUND,\* as its name implies, is the tract or country of the *Bundélas*; and comprises all the territory, which the *Rájás* of that dynasty occupied, in the zenith of their power. Thus, the aggregate of the present states of *Téhrí*,† *Jhánsí*, *Dattiya* and *Simpt'hr*,‡ and as far as the *Désán* river, might be termed Bundelkhund Proper: but, the tract lying eastward of that river being also under the dominion of *Rájás* of Bundela extraction, who are the descendants of *Rájá CHHATRASÁL*, custom appears to have reconciled the term as applicable to the whole extent of territory occupied by the united dynasties. Following this rule, therefore, the boundaries of Bundelkhund may be stated as follows:—on the north, the river Jumna (*Yamundá*); on the south, parts of Berár and Málwá (*Málava*); on the east, Baghélkhund; and on the west, Sindia's possessions. It extends from  $77^{\circ} 48'$  to  $81^{\circ} 33'$  east longitude; and from  $24^{\circ} 3'$  to  $26^{\circ} 26'$  north latitude, being 165 British miles in length by 232 in breadth, and containing 23,817 square miles, with a population of 2,400,000 persons.

Under the Muhammedan government, Bundelkhund formed parts of the Subahs of Agrá, Alláhábád and Málwá: but this arrangement became nugatory on the fall of the Muhammedan empire, and at present the geographical division consists merely in distinguishing the territory in possession of the British government from that of the Bundéla chieftains.

The British possessions extend along the line of the Jumna river, from the zilá of Alláhábád to that of Etawa (*Atava*); and from the Jumna southward to the frontier of the native states: they contain 4,685 square miles,

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\* It has not been always practicable to reduce names of places and of persons in this essay to an uniform system of orthography.—*Ed.*

† Written *Teary* and *Tehree*.—*Maps, Hamilton's Gazetteer, &c.*

‡ *Simpter*, *Simtheer*.—*Maps, Gazetteer, &c.*

including the pergunah of *Kunch*, and have a population estimated at 700,000 inhabitants.

This tract being divided into two nearly equal parts by the *Kén*\* river, the divisions are termed eastern and western districts; and they are again divided in the usual manner into pergunahs, and t'hánas, for the facility of collecting the revenue, and regulating the police.

The states of the native chiefs, or *Rájás* of Bundelkhund, occupy the remainder of the tract; and are each under the dominion of its own chief, who enjoys the protection of the British government; and is thus secured from foreign encroachment. They contain about 19,000 square miles, and 1,700,000 inhabitants.

These petty states are numerous; and some of them are extensive: but, in order to present them in a clear light, and shew the nature of the tenure by which they are holden, it will be necessary first to take a general view of the history of the whole province.

The *Chandéla* race or dynasty is the most ancient of which there is any existing account; and even this information, limited as it is, is too much blended with fable to offer any clear or distinct data. The *Chóhán-rása*,† a poetical chronicle of the exploits of *Rájá PRIT'HIRÁJ* of Delhi, gives a short account of them; and describes the boundaries of their possessions to be *Sirswághar* on the west, the *Püár* (*Pramára*) states on the south-west, *Góndwáná* on the south, the *Soorgi* (*Súrji* or *Súryá*?) territory on the east, and the *Jumna* river on the north; and, following this description, their territory must have been very extensive. Their magnificence indeed is apparent at the present day, by the numerous remains of stupendous edifices, and other ruins, which are to be found in several parts of the province; the style of architecture of which is so superior to that of a later period, that these ruins, and the inscriptions which are frequently connected with them, are not only objects of interest and curiosity, but they might be investigated with hope of eliciting further information.

From the *Chóhán-rása* it appears that Chunder Brim (*CHANDRA VARMA*) was the first of this dynasty; and, on the authority of an ancient inscription, still extant in one of the old Hindu temples of Kajrau,‡ he is stated to have been contemporary with the author of the Hindu *Sambat*. The fanciful

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\* Cane, Keane — *Maps, &c.*

† See page 146, &c. of this volume.

‡ Kujrou.



story of the moon (*Chandra*) appearing in human shape to a Bráhma's daughter on the banks of the Kén river, and the result of that interview, the birth of CHANDRA VARMA, explains that his origin is from the lunar line. And another part of the fiction ascribes to him the foundation of *Mahóba*,\* and also of the fort of Calinjar (*Calanjara*);† but the Bráhmans ascribe a much earlier date to the construction of that celebrated fortress.

The author of the *Chóhán-rása* quotes a list of twenty names as the successors of CHANDRA VARMA.

It is to be regretted that there are few historical data regarding any of those personages: all that is known respecting them is from the poetical chronicle abovementioned; and from it we gather, that the first on the list was the founder of *Bártghar*, and the second of *Sirsudghar*; the ruins of which fortress are still to be seen on the banks of the *Poháwaj*‡ river. Keerut Brim (KIRTI VARMA), the nineteenth on the list, extended his territory on the side of Góndwáná, and *Parmál Déö* (PRAMÁL DÉVA), the last in it, is stated to have occasioned the downfall of their power, by his folly and mal-administration.

The perversion of mind and intellect, in the instance of PARMÁL DEÖ, which is said to have occasioned the ruin of this dynasty, is fancifully typified according to the taste of the times, by the author of the *Chóhán-rása*, under the fiction of INDRA and his ministering courtesan; but it may also be gathered from the same author, that the immediate cause of quarrel between *Parmál Déö* and his formidable opponent *Rájá Pirt'hiráj*, arose out of a chivalrous exploit of the latter, in carrying off PADMÁVATÍ, the daughter of PADMA SÉN, *Rájá* of *Sanand Sikhar*. A party of the retinue of the *Chóhán* chief, on its return to Delhi, passing through *Parmál Déö's* territory, was opposed by that chief; and the haughty *Rájá* of Delhi, indignant at the insult, resolved to avenge himself by attacking *Mahóba*. This event is stated to have occurred in 1140 H. S., or about 1088 A. D.; and although *Parmál Déö* was permitted to retain *Mahóba*, he was evidently reduced to a tributary condition.

This overthrow, and the invasion of MAHMÚD of *Ghizni*, which followed shortly afterwards, appear to have annihilated the power of this dynasty; and although the fortress of Calinjar withstood repeated sieges afterwards,

\* Mahobad, *Maps, &c.*

† Callinger, Kallinger, Calanjara.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer, Maps, &c.*

‡ Pohouj.

the whole country was eventually subjected to Muhammedan sway, and finally to that of *Rájd* CRHATRASÁL.

The events which followed the overthrow of the *Chandéla* dynasty are very imperfectly known; but from the local annals of the province, it would appear, that various adventurers exalted themselves upon its ruins, and this state of confusion and anarchy in all probability prevailed without any party obtaining decided ascendancy during the long interval between the invasions of Mahmúd and Timur; but about the period of the latter, a tribe of warlike *Rájpút* adventurers from *Góharbháni*, under the conduct of a chief named *Déwáddá Bír*, ravaged the district of *Cándr*, on the right bank of the *Jumna* river, and fixed themselves at *Mao Mahóní*.\* This chief was the founder of the *Bundela* dynasty. *Mao Mahóní*, *Cálpí*, *Cánc*, *Cándr*, and *Bijáwar* were his conquests; and his power is stated to have been princely, so much so, that in imitation of other great powers, he was enabled to assume and support the family appellative of *Bundéla*, and thus gave name to his dynasty and dominion.

The *Bundélas* are of the solar line, and trace their origin from *RAMCHANDRA* through his great descendant *Lavan Cása*, who established his authority in the province of *Benares*; and their genealogical line is traced through seven princes bearing the title of *Cásíswara*, Lord of *Cásí*, or sovereign of *Benares*; seventeen bearing the family appellative *Góharwar*, and thirty bearing that of *Bundela*.

The conquests of *Déwáddá Bír*, and the dominion which he established, suffered no diminution during the rule of his successor, *ARJUNA PÁLA*; and *SUHÁN PÁLA*, the third in descent, increased it by the addition of *Corár*, which he wrested from a colony of *Cungháris*, who had settled there. But nothing worthy of notice seems to have occurred after this period, until the succession of *MÉNDINÍ MALLA*, about the latter end of the reign of *IBRAHIM II.*, or the commencement of that of *BABER*.

*MÉNDINÍ MALLA*, the eighth in descent from *DÉVÁDÁ*, appears to have been of an enterprising character, and is mentioned by *FERISHTA* in his history. His principal conquests were from the *Púdrs*, which unfortunate race, having been driven out of *Malwa*, had settled in the mountainous parts which bordered on the *Bundela* possessions. The aggressions against this race did not terminate with *MÉNDINÍ MALLA*; they were resumed by his grandson, *PRETÁP HRAD*, whose territory eventually became so extensive, as to induce

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\* *Mow.*

him to change the seat of his government, and build a city, named *Oorcha*, (*Arijaya*, \* or *Uchcha*) which he made the capital of his dominions.

*Oorcha* was built in 1587 H. S., or 1531 A. D., soon after the accession of the Emperor HAMAYÚN to the throne of Delhi, and is situated on the left bank of the *Bétwá* or *Bétwantí* river in lat. 25° 21' 15" N., and long. 78° 38' 0" E. FERISHTA, the historian, in speaking of the Bundela chieftains, usually denominates them 'Oorcha Rájput's.'

MADHUCAR SAH, grandson of PRETÁP HRAD, is the next chief deserving of notice; he lived in the reign of the Emperor AKBAR, and by prudently professing obedience to the Muhammedan government, which was at that period in the zenith of its power, he remained secure in his possessions, and transmitted them to his eldest son, RÁM SÁH; but a decree of the Emperor JEHANGÍR is said to have changed the order of succession in favour of his second son, BIRSINGH DÉO, (*Bétra sinha déva*), because that chief had rendered himself useful to court intrigues by the assassination of the celebrated ABULFAZL, on his return from the Dekhan.

The *Bundelas*, however, are loud in their praises of BIRSINGH DÉO, and vestiges of his munificence, in the construction of artificial reservoirs of water and temples, are conspicuous to the present day; they certainly have been highly beneficial to cultivation in this barren country, which in a great measure owes its produce to the irrigation which these artificial lakes afford.

BIRSINGH DÉO was succeeded by his eldest son, JAJHÁR SINGH, of whom there is an interesting account in Colonel Dow's history of the reign of SHÁH JEHÁN, which coincides in every particular with the Bundéla records. The story is too long to repeat in this place; but his revolt from the Muhammedan government occasioned the invasion of his territory, which terminated with his expulsion and flight into Gondwáná, whence he never returned.

The power of the Bundéla dynasty was broken by this catastrophe, and *Oorcha* and its dependencies, after this period, were occupied by Muhammedan t'hanahs for the space of six years. But though their power was broken, the spirit of the Bundélas was unsubdued, and the incessant struggles of the chiefs, amongst whom CHAMPAT RAO, the father of RÁJÁ CHHA-

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\* Hamilton's Gazetteer. *Oorchar*, *Ouncha*, Hamilton's Hind. *Uchcha* ?

TRASAL, was most conspicuous, at length, compelled the Muhammedan government to withdraw its t'hanahs; and PEHÁR SINGH, the third son of the late *Rájá BIRSINGH DÉO* was installed in the possessions of his ancestors.

From this period the *Rájás* of Bundelkhund became feudatories of the Muhammedan government, furnishing their quotas of troops for the service of the empire, and attending in person when required; and their bravery and warlike character frequently proved of great use: thus, for instance, *INDRA MANI* in the reign of *AURUNGZEB* took part in the war against *Shah SHUJA*, and was present at the battle of *Kórá Jehánábád*. *AVADATTA SINGH*, in the reign of *BEHADUR SHAH*, assisted in the war against the Sikhs; and, for his conduct in the siege of *Fatehghar*, was honoured with the insignia of the *Máhi Murátib* as a mark of distinction. *SÁWANT SINGH* (*Sámanta Sinha*) in like manner, in the reign of *SHÁH ÁALAM*, was honoured with the title of *MAHÉNDRA* for services at *Jhansi*, which title is still retained by the head of the family to the present day. But after the accession of *HATTI SINGH* (*Hastí Sinha*), the successor of *Sámanta*, family quarrels, and the pretensions of *PAJAN SINGH* introduced a state of anarchy and confusion, which still further weakened their power, until the accession of *BIKRAMAJÍT*; (*Vicramáditya*) whose good sense and judicious conduct not only stayed the progress of decay, but eventually secured the stability of his possessions by an alliance with the British government. His earliest measures were to resist and overcome the pretensions and aggressions of *PAJAN SINGH*, which he fully effected; and, on the occupation of Bundelkhund by the British, he immediately connected his interest with theirs. Circumstances, however, dependant on political considerations, prevented the fulfilment of his wishes at that time: but, subsequently, in 1812, being alarmed at the progress of *Sindia's* encroachments, he renewed his solicitations for British protection; and that government, convinced of the expediency of the measure, concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with him, by virtue of which his territories are protected from foreign invasion.

*BIKRAMAJÍT* resigned his power during his lifetime to his son, *D'HARM PÁL*, and the seat of government is removed from *Oorcha* to *Tehrí*. The dependencies of *Tehrí* now constitute the whole of the possessions of the *Bundela* chief; but the principalities of *Jhánsí*, *Dattiya*, and *Simp't'hir* have all emanated from the parent state, which was governed by the former *Rájás* of this dynasty.

The above sketches relate to the history of the tract situated west of the

*Désán* river, or Bundelkhund Proper; and it now remains to describe the rise and progress of another government, which at a later period was established by RÁJÁ CHHATRASÁL over the country situated east of that river; and, in order to trace the origin of this power, it will be necessary to refer back to that period of Bundéla history when the Muhammedan government established its t'hanahs in *Oorcha*.

During the interval between the flight of JAJHÁR SINGH into Gondwana and the instalment of PEHÁR SINGH in the government of *Oorcha*, viz. from A. D. to 1638 to 1640, all the Bundéla possessions remained in the hands of the Muhammedan government, a circumstance which roused the patriotic feelings of the Bundéla chieftains to a very high pitch, and gave rise to a series of intrepid and daring exploits almost bordering on the romance. CHAMPAT RAO, the father of RÁJÁ CHHATRASÁL, obtained the greatest celebrity on this occasion; and when at length his successful struggles had forced the Muhammedans to withdraw their t'hanahs, he retired to his native village of *Mahéwa*; there, however, his restless spirit was incapable of remaining in repose; and he was soon engaged in other enterprises. His attachment to PEHÁR SINGH, as the rightful representative of his family, whose cause he had so materially advanced, prevented him from committing depredations on his territory; and he therefore crossed the *Désán* river, and settled at Mao, from whence he began his inroads upon travellers and carriers, and rapidly accumulated the means of future aggrandizement. Meantime his son, CHHATRASÁL, entered into the service of BEHADUR KHAN, governor of the Dekhan in the reign of the Emperor AURUNGZEB. But some cause or other induced him to change it for that of the *Mahrattas*, which was then a rising power, under the famous SIVAJÍ, in which employment he is said to have performed some useful services: and he returned to his country with reputation and credit.

At this period the state of Bundelkhund was as follows: the tract west of the *Désán* river, or Bundelkhund Proper, was occupied by the *Oorcha* Bundélas, who were firmly fixed in their possessions by their allegiance to the Muhammedan Empire; but the country east of that river was disunited and divided amongst various powers. It was possessed partly by the Muhammedans, partly by the Soorgee (*Surji* or *Suryi*?) and *Raghuwansi* tribes, partly by the Gonds, and by numerous other adventurers, who had established themselves on the ruins of the Chandelas.

CHHATRASÁL, on his return, finding circumstances favourable to his

ambitious views, commenced by reducing the petty states, and gradually established himself at *Punna* with the assumed title of *Rájá*. His next attempt was on the *Soorgee Rájá*, who held possessions in the vicinity of *Terowa* and *Gárat*, and he reduced him by means of the treachery of his own Dewan. He now became so formidable that repeated attempts were made by the Muhammedan governor of Alláhábád to reduce his power, all of which he contrived to defeat, and finally he gave the Muhammedans a signal overthrow in the hills near *Punna*, and immediately appropriated their districts of *Calpt*, *Rahat*, and *Parwadri*. The Muhammedan government was now effectually roused by his ambitious views, and AHMED KHAN BUNGISH, the Pathán chief of Furukhabad, was sent against him with a force too powerful for him to resist. He was accordingly defeated in his turn and deprived of almost all his possessions.

In this dilemma he applied to the Peshwa, SEWAI BAJIRÁÖ, for assistance, offering large sums of money, and a promise of a third part of his territory at his death, on condition, that his sons should be maintained in possession of the remainder; and, his offer being accepted, a body of Mahratta troops was dispatched to his aid, by whose means his opponents were defeated, and the Muhammedan government was at that period too much distracted with other matters to renew its attack. CHHATRASÁL, therefore, peaceably governed his extensive possessions during the remainder of his life, and bequeathed them in three divisions, as follow: a share of forty-five lacs of rupees to his eldest son, HRĪDAYA SAH; a share of thirty-six lacs of rupees to his youngest son, JAGAT RAJ, and the remaining share of thirty six lacs of rupees to the Peshwa.

By this arrangement the Peshwa became possessor of a large portion of Bundelkhund, which was the earliest territorial acquisition of the Mahrattas in Hindustan, and which, in after times, was transferred to the British. The other portions, after a long series of domestic troubles and civil wars, were parcelled out into a multitude of divisions, which eventually gave rise to the numerous petty states now existing; but in order to exhibit their origin, it will be necessary to follow the history of each of the parties concerned in the tripartite division.

After the death of RÁJÁ CHHATRASÁL, his sons, HRĪDAYA SAH and JAGAT RAJ, endeavoured to evade the performance of their father's will with respect to the Peshwa; and a Mahratta force, under *Mulhar Rao Holkar*, being sent against them, they were compelled to execute the conditions of it; and

the Mahrattas, leaving them in possession of their respective shares, withdrew across the *Desán* river into the territories of the Oorcha Bundelas, where they conquered that portion of territory which is at present held by the Subadar of *Jhánst*.

The division bequeathed to the *Péshwa* comprised all the territory now in possession of NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ, and also the district of *Ságar*, which has latterly fallen under British dominion. These lands were, in the first instance, committed to the charge of CÁSI PANDIT, a commander in the Mahratta army, who had performed some good service in the expedition under *Mulhar Rao*; from him they passed in succession to his son, GÓVIND PANDIT, who was slain at *Shdh durra*,\* whilst escorting supplies to the Mahratta camp during the Abdalli invasion; and in consequence of this event they were confirmed in hereditary succession in the same family, with a reduction of tribute from five lacs of rupees to three. From GÓVIND PANDIT they passed to his two sons, BALAJÍ and GANGÁD'HAR, who ruled conjointly. They next passed to APA SAHEB, the son of BALAJÍ; and after his death they descended to NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ, the son of GANGÁD'HAR, who is the present possessor.

*Ságar* was never more than a nominal possession of NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ. The widow of APA SAHIB resided there; and the district, under the management of BINÁYAK RÁÖ, latterly shook off all dependance on the chief of *Jdlohn*,† and finally conducted himself in a manner so decidedly hostile to the British during the Pindari campaign, that his territory and town were occupied by British troops, and he and the princess placed in the capacity of pensioners of the British government.

The share allotted to Rájá HRĪDAYA SAH, the eldest son of CHHATRASÁL, was estimated to produce an annual revenue of forty-five lacs of rupees per annum, and included the metropolis of *Panna*. This portion seems to have undergone no diminution during the life of HRĪDAYA SAH; on the contrary, it was augmented by the capture, or rather by the surrender, of *Callinger* (*Calanjara*). This celebrated fortress, which (considering the means and resources of the native powers of India, and its natural strength), might, in their eyes, be considered impregnable, was the only possession remaining to the Muhammedans in Bundelkhand; but, owing to the disorders of the

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\* Shadqorra.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer*.

† Jaloqan.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer*.

times, the troops which garrisoned it, being kept in arrears, mutinied for want of pay, and sold their charge to *Rájá HRĪDAYA SAH*.

*Rájá HRĪDAYA SAH* was succeeded by his son, *SABHÁ SINH*, during whose time also this portion seems to have suffered no diminution. He left three sons, *AMÁN SINH*, *HINDUPATI*, and *KHÉT SINH*; of whom *HINDUPATI* acquired the ascendancy and succession, by killing his elder brother in battle near *Durgádl*, and by the seizure and confinement of his younger brother, *KHÉT SINH*.

During the lifetime of *Rájá HINDUPATI*, the affairs of his country were prosperous and flourishing. He encouraged commerce, and is said to have derived considerable revenue from the diamond mines of *Panna*; and *Chatterpore (Chhatrapúr)*, under his auspices, became an opulent town and a great mart for commerce. He left three sons, *SERNAID SINH*, the eldest, (issue of a second marriage), and *ANIRUDDHA SINH* and *DHÓCAL SINH* (issue of his chief *Ráni*). This circumstance is of importance amongst the *Rajpúts* in cases of succession; and accordingly he nominated by will *ANIRUDDHA SINH* to be his successor; and during his minority, he appointed his Dewan, *BÉNÍ HUZÚRÍ*, and *KHEMJÍ CHÓBÉ*, *Kiládar* of *Callinger*, to the office of guardians and managers: and to *SERNAID SINH* he gave *Rájagar* and its dependencies, as a provision for him, independent of his brother.

The jealousy, which arose between the guardians, each aiming at the sole management, induced *KHEMJÍ CHÓBÉ* to support with all his influence the claim set up by *SERNAID SINH* to the succession; and hence they became declared enemies. A desperate battle was fought between them, without either party gaining the ascendancy; and their resources being exhausted, they suspended hostilities: and on the death of *ANIRUDDHA SINH*, which happened shortly afterwards, they found their interest in agreeing to elevate his brother, *DHÓCAL SINH*, who being a minor, they were thereby enabled to retain the whole authority in their own hands: the *Chóbé* possessing the fort of *Callinger*, with the country around it, and *BÉNÍ HUZÚRÍ* the remainder of the territory.

*SERNAID SINH*, being disappointed in his hope of establishing his claim through the means of *KHEMJÍ CHÓBÉ*, applied to *NÚNÍ ARJUN SINH*, the guardian of the minor *Rájá* of *Bándá*; and the result of this application, as will be shewn in the sequel, proved fatal to the interests of his family, without advancing his own. Here it is necessary to take up the history of *Rájá JAGAT RÁJ*, the second son of the late *Rájá CHHATRASÁL*.



The share of *Rájá* JAGAT RÁJ was estimated to produce an annual revenue of thirty-six lacs of rupees, and included the large towns of *Bándá* and *Jétpur*.\* JAGAT RÁJ preserved his portion entire until his death; but leaving a numerous issue, the lands were afterwards parcelled out amongst them; and they were said to have been designed by him in his lifetime to be distributed as under: to his eldest son, KIRTI SINH, he designed *Bándá* and *Chircári*; to his second son, PEHÁR SINH, *Jétpur*; and, to his natural son, BIRSINH DÉVA, *Bijáwer* or *Católa*. KIRTI SINH dying before his father, and leaving two sons, named GÚMÁN SINH and KÚMÁN SINH, JAGAT RÁJ at his death bequeathed *Bándá* and *Chircári* to them. From this origin arose the states of *Bándá*, *Chircári*, *Jétpur*, and *Bijáwer*.

PEHÁR SINH, who received *Jétpur* according to his father's will, availing himself of the absence of his nephew, appears to have set up a claim to the whole of the territory; with the exception of *Católa*; and the parties were consequently soon in arms against each other. BÉNI HUZÚRÍ, the guardian of the minor *Rájá* of *Panna*, involved the affairs of that branch of the family in this transaction, by espousing the part of PEHÁR SINH; and GUMÁN SINH and KUMÁN SINH, unable to withstand the united forces of *Panna*, *Jétpur*, and *Bejáwer*, applied for aid to SINDIA, who sent a body of Mahrattas, under KHANDARÁÖ APA and APA NÁYAK, to their assistance.

The fortune of the war now turned in favour of the nephews. *Panna* was closely besieged, and BÉNI HUZÚRÍ obliged to fly: and had not the Bundéla chieftains, at this critical moment, perceived the common danger they were in, from the introduction of foreign troops into their territory, the conquest of it might then have easily been effected. But in this instance they appear to have had some foresight: they suspended their mutual animosities, and united against the common danger; and, by pecuniary concessions, they finally got rid of the Mahratta troops; and settled their own disputes by mutually consenting to abide by the original design of partition said to have been contemplated by *Rájá* JAGAT RÁJ.

PEHÁR SINH retained *Jétpur*, and was succeeded by his son GAJ SINH; KÚMÁN SINH received *Chircári*, and was succeeded by his son, BIJAYA BEHADUR. But *Bándá*, which was the portion of GÚMÁN SINH, soon acquired

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\* *Jeitpoor*, Maps. *Jyhtpoor*, Hamilton's Hind. *Já-púr?* or *Jyéth-púr?*

an ascendancy, that was paramount in Bundelkhand, until the invasion of the Mahrattas under ALI BEHADUR.

Three intriguing ministers, named RAÖ SABDAL SINH, KHÉM-RÁY (*Cshémara-ráya*) DICSHIT, and NÚNÍ ARJUN SINH, were the confidants and managers of Rájá GÚMÁN SINH; and at his death he bequeathed his possessions to an adopted son, named MADHUCAR SAH, under their guardianship. MADHUCAR SAH died shortly afterwards, and BHACTI BALLI, the son of DHARKH SINH, the son of KÍRTI SINH, the son of JAGAT RÁJ, was installed in succession to him.

The guardians, however, became jealous of each other after this transaction; and NÚNÍ ARJUN SINH caused SABDAL SINH to be assassinated, and imprisoned KHÉM-RÁY. The latter, however, effecting his escape, fled to *Chircári*; and incited Rájá KÚMÁN SINH to espouse his cause, and march against *Bándá*, in which expedition KÚMÁN SINH was slain in battle near *Móhda*,\* and KHÉM-RÁY was again taken prisoner.

NÚNÍ ARJUN SINH, after this success, invested *Chircári*; and everything but the fort surrendered to him. He next marched towards *Chhatrapúr*, which then belonged to the Rájá of *Panna*; and here he artfully espoused the cause of SERNAID SINH, in support of his claim to the succession of *Panna*. A desperate battle was fought in consequence by the rival Dewáns BÉNÍ HUZÚRÍ and NÚNÍ ARJUN SINH, in which the former was slain, and the states of *Panna* and *Bándá* fell into the hands of the latter, over which he reigned as guardian to Rájá BHACTI BALLI.

The cause of SERNAID SINH having served the purpose for which it had been espoused, was now abandoned altogether, and he retired to *Ráj Nagar*; whilst DHÓCAL SINH, the deposed Rájá of *Panna*, became a dependant upon the bounty of the Kiládar of *Callinjer*, who assigned him some lands, which he enjoyed during his life, and bequeathed them and his state of dependence on the Kiládar to his illegitimate son KISHÓR SINH, who, in aftertimes, by British benevolence, was reinstated as the representative of the *Panna* branch of the family, and became the Rájá of *Panna*.

Such was the distracted state of the country, when ALI BEHADUR formed the design of conquering it; to which he was incited by an artful chief named HIMMAT BEHADUR, whose life he had saved from the vengeance of MÁDHÚJÍ SINDIA. HIMMAT BEHADUR, in consideration of a *Jáidád*, or

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\* Mohda.—*Maps*.

assignment on territory, promised all his influence and power in aiding the conquest; and by his means *Rájá* BIJAYA BEHÁDUR, then smarting under the effects of NÚNI ARJUN SINH's invasion of *Chircári*, was induced to favour the design; and ALI BEHÁDUR accordingly entered Bundelkhand with a powerful army. The first efforts of the Mahrattas were decisive; they were opposed by NÚNI ARJUN SINH, and a bloody battle was fought between them near the fortress of *Ajayghar*, in which the guardian was slain, and the minor *Rájá* BHACTI BALLI became the prisoner of the conqueror.

It does not appear, however, that he was ever able to effect a complete conquest of that country. After three years of harassing warfare, he prepared to consolidate his conquests by the capture of *Callinger*: but this was an undertaking far beyond his means and capacity; the siege was almost immediately converted into a blockade; and ten years of fruitless endeavour had passed away, when he died, without the attainment of his object.

On the death of ALI BEHÁDUR, which happened in 1801-2, HIMMAT BEHÁDUR avowed his intentions of maintaining the government for the Newáb's eldest son, SHAMSHÍR BEHÁDUR, who was at *Púnd* with his mother; and, during his absence, the younger son ZULFICÁR ALI, being then in camp, was elevated, as a temporary measure, under the guardianship of a near relative, named GHANI BEHÁDUR. In the mean time, however, affairs at *Púnd* had taken a very serious turn. The *Péshwa* had been driven to *Bassin* by the rebellion of JESWUNT RAO HOLCAR, and the other Mahratta chieftains; where he concluded that Treaty with the British Government, which is known under the name of the treaty of *Bassin*, the stipulations of which occasioned the war of 1803-4 between the British Government and the Mahratta confederates.

One of the hostile plans of the confederates was to invade the British dominions by the way of Bundelkhand; and SHAMSHÍR BEHÁDUR, being then at *Púnd*, was chosen as a fit instrument for their plans. He was confirmed in the succession of his late father's rights, and despatched to his government; and in the meantime letters were written to HIMMAT BEHÁDUR and the other adherents of ALI BEHÁDUR, requiring them to aid in the furtherance of the proposed plan of rendering Bundelkhand the nucleus of the invasion of the British territories which were contiguous to it.

HIMMAT BEHÁDUR, foreseeing in the success of the plan of the confederates the downfall of his own authority, or perhaps thinking he might be able to make better terms with the English, resolved on abandoning the

Mahratta interests, and accordingly made overtures to the British Government to assist in transferring the country to them ; and the circumstance of the proposed plan of the confederate Mahrattas indispensably requiring that Bundelkhund should be occupied by British troops, as a measure of defence, the proposal of HIMMAT BEHÁDUR was accepted ; and this is the origin of the first occupation of Bundelkhund by British troops.

Shortly after this transaction, the *Péshwa* proposed that the district of Savanore, and other lands, which had been assigned by him to the British instead of subsidy, should be restored to him ; and in lieu thereof, and also as an equivalent for a regiment of cavalry, and other matters stipulated in the supplemental articles of the treaty of Bassin, a portion of territory in Bundelkhund to be selected from the conquests of ALI BEHÁDUR, and amounting to 36,16,000 rupees per annum, should be ceded to the Honourable Company ; and this proposal being acceded to, the British thereby acquired a large portion of the province.

It would require a detail of events, too lengthened for the limits of this paper, to describe the course of policy, or the system of measures, which at length tranquillized this distracted country, and introduced order and peaceable habits amongst a race of men, who for years had experienced nothing but the comfortless effects of anarchy and civil war : suffice it to say, that the author of this paper having conducted a survey throughout the whole of their territories, has witnessed the happy results of the system which was pursued, and can feel a pleasure in recording them.

In 1817 the *Péshwa*, by treaty, ceded to the Honourable East-India Company all his rights, interests or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary, in the province of Bundelkhund, including *Ságar*, *Jhánsí*, and the lands held by NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ ; and agreed to relinquish all connexion with the chiefs in that quarter.

Thus terminated the authority of the *Péshwa* in Bundelkhund ; and the only advantage which the British Government took of this cession in their favour, was to require from NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ the cession of a small portion of his territory, with a view to complete the frontier line ; and in return he was constituted hereditary ruler of the remainder of his territory, and released from the payment of tribute. The *Subdár* of *Jhánsí* was confirmed in all his possessions as heretofore ; but the chief of *Ságar*, by open acts of hostility, compelled the government to displace him, and occupy his territory : the revenue of which, however, is applied partly in payment of a

pension to him and the widow of APA SÁHEB, whose manager he was; and the residue, after deducting the expenses of collection and government, and the lawful demand of tribute as settled by the former government, is paid to NÁNÁ GÓVIND RÁÖ.

This transaction completed the settlement of the affairs of the province; since which, with the exception of the affair of *Garácód*,\* there has been no disturbance.

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RIVERS.

The *Kén*† river belongs properly to Bundelkhand; it rises in latitude 23° 53' N., longitude 80° 8' E., from a range of hills near the village of *Mohár*. Its infant course is northerly, through the *Bandar* hills, which it pierces, and forms a cataract near *Pipariya*. Its direction then changes to west, flowing parallel to the range of mountains, until it is joined by the *Patná*, *Bearmá*,‡ *Sonár*, and *Mírhasiya* rivers; when the united streams are precipitated over a cataract near the village of *Singhóra*, and foam in a deep narrow channel worn in the rocks, in forcing their way through the *Panna* and *Bindhyúchal* ranges of mountains to the plains below. The course then continues northerly, and after receiving the *Bárdá*, the *U'rmál*, the *Cóyal*, the *Chandráwal*, and other minor streams, it falls into the *Jamuná* at *Chilátárá*, after a course of 230 miles. The bed of the river is too rocky for all the efforts of art or labour ever to render it navigable. It is, however, well stocked with a great variety of fish; and the pebbles, which are found in its bed, are so exquisitely beautiful, as to be in great request for ornaments.

The *Désán* is the next great river which peculiarly belongs to Bundelkhand. It rises from the *Vindhya* chain of mountains; and pursuing its course northerly between *Ságar* and *Rahátghar*, and viâ *D'hámani* and *Jerár*, receives its tributary streams, the *Cátené*, the *U'r*, the *Saprár*, and *Lakhairí* rivers; after which it falls into the *Bétwantí* or *Bétwá* river near *Chandwár*, after a course of 220 miles. This river is more rocky than the *Kén*, and is equally well stocked with fish.

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\* Gurra Kota.—*Maps, and Hamilton's Hind.*

† Caonas of Pliny.—*Rennel, Hamilton's Hind.* i. 296.

‡ Bearmah.—*Maps.*

The *Bétwantí* or *Bétwá* (*Vétava*) river belongs partly to Malwa and partly to Bundelkhand. It rises near *Bhópál*; and pursuing a north-east course, pierces the *Bindhydchal* mountains, about ten miles south of *Chandré*; and after receiving its tributary streams, the *U'r*, the *Jámná*, the *Désán*, and *Birmá* rivers, it falls into the *Jamuna* near *Amirpur*, after a course of 330 miles.

The *Póhdwaj*, the *Ranj*, and *Paisuni* rivers, exclusively belonging to Bundelkhand, are minor streams. The latter is sacred amongst the Hindus; and its cataract near *Jórai*, as well as its romantic course to the plains below, is exceedingly interesting, and particularly so to the Sanscrit student, who may here fancy himself on classic ground.

There is no cut or canal, nor are any of the rivers navigable, throughout the whole of Bundelkhand: except that, in the rainy season, when the river is swollen, boats lightly laden may proceed up the *Kén* river, as far as *Bándá*; but in the dry season the above remark is without any exception.

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#### LAKES, RESERVOIRS.

There are numerous reservoirs of water, which have been artificially constructed: of these the principal, east of the *Désán* river, are at *Jutpur*, *Mahóba*, and *Ghórdá*. But the great field for these stupendous works is west of that river. The former *Rájs* of the *Bundéla* dynasty expended vast sums of money on works of this nature; and the lakes of *Berwá-Ságar*, *Arjál*, *Bír-Ságar*, *Nandana-wárá*, *Bómóri*, *Jhatárá*, *Gúrá*, *Bhánd*, and many others, are striking proofs of this fact. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the immense piles of masonry, which in some cases have been heaped up to stay the current of the stream, and force its waters to expand; or of the extreme simplicity by which the same object has been effected in others: the lakes of *Nandan-wárá* and of *Arjál* are instances illustrative of both these remarks.

The great object of these reservoirs was irrigation; and their waters in some instances are diffused, by means of small drains, to lands which are many miles distant. The general sterility of the soil required these aids; and without them, nearly the whole tract would have remained an unprofitable waste.

## MOUNTAINS, HILLS, &amp;c.

The mountains of Bundelkhund run in continuous ranges parallel to each other, each successively supporting a table land, one above the other, and hence they are called *gháts*.

The first of these ranges is called the *Bindhyáchal* mountains. They commence at *Késóghar*, five miles north of *Séunda* on the *Sindh* river, and making a circuitous sweep by *Narawár*, *Chandri*, *Hirapur*, *Rájghar*, *Ajeyghar*, and *Calanjara*, they cease, near *Barghar*, to belong to Bundelkhund, and continue their course, by *Bindhyavásini* and *Tárá*, until they approach the Ganges at *Surájghara*, and again at *Rájmahl*.

Nothing can be more striking, as a topographical feature, than the plains of Bundelkhund, which resemble a vast bay of the ocean formed by these natural barriers, crowned with the fortresses above mentioned; and what is somewhat remarkable, the progressive elevation of the soil from the bed of the Jumna, is towards the apex of this bay: hence the diminished altitude of the range at that point, being scarcely 300 feet above the surface, whilst at *Calyanghar* the same range is 800 feet. The most elevated summit does not exceed 2,000 feet above the level of the sea.

Another remarkable feature is the picturesque appearance of numerous isolated hills; which seem to stand alone, and entirely unconnected with any other mountains: but this appearance is deceptive; they are portions of ranges which alternately disappear and emerge, sometimes in the form of isolations, and sometimes in continuous ranges; and it is also worthy of remark, that they all radiate from the apex of the bay, as if from a common centre, and diverge from it like the sticks of a fan.

The second range is called the *Panná* range, which runs parallel to that of *Bindhydchal*, preserving a distance of about ten miles from summit to summit.

The third range is called the *Bandair* range; and in topographical feature it resembles an acute spherical triangle, the apex of which is near *Nágaund*, the area being table land, and the sides of the triangle having their abrupt faces outwards. This range gives rise to the *Kén* and *Patni* rivers. It is the most elevated portion of the province; and its contour describes in miniature the greater curves of the lower ranges, as if it was the nucleus on which they were formed.

The *Kaimúr* hills do not belong to Bundelkhand, but they run parallel to the other ranges, and therefore may not improperly be mentioned here. In *Baghélkhand* they are called *Kaimúr* hills; in Berar the *T'hamian* hills; and afterwards the *Vindhya*\* mountains.

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FORESTS, JUNGLES, &c.

There are no forests in Bundelkhand, nor any timber which could be turned to use on an enlarged scale; the jungle of the low lands, of which, indeed, there is too much, particularly in the native states, consists generally of the wild jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*), and wild carandas (*Carissa C.*), with a considerable proportion of gigantic swallow-wort (*Asclepias gigantea*), and other brushwood, which is convertible into no other use than to burn as manure or fuel: but the jungle of the hills is more useful. The bamboo is plentiful; the teak is here and there found of a small size; and, generally speaking, almost every kind of timber common to India is found, of a diminutive growth. Perhaps the most valuable productions of these hills, after their diamonds, iron, and bamboos, are drugs, gums, the chironjia nut, and catechu extract, the produce of the mimosa catechu, which grows here in great abundance.

The preparation of catechu, from its great simplicity, deserves to be noticed. At the season when the sap flows most copiously, a few *Gónds* take up their temporary residence in some solitary glen, where the khair tree (*khadira*) abounds. All the implements they require are a hatchet, a few earthen pots, and the convenience of water. The tree, after being felled, is barked and chipped whilst the sap is flowing; and in the mean time the earthen pots, half filled with water, are ranged in rows over fires; the chips, as soon as cut, are thrown into the water, and boiled until the inspissated juice acquires a proper consistency; the liquor is then strained, and suffered to cool; and it soon coagulates into a mass, which is the catechu, the quality of which depends very much upon the freshness of the tree from which it is obtained.

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\* This is the same name with the *Bindhyáchal* or *Bindáchal* before mentioned. *Vindhya* is the tropical zone of mountains across India. This mountainous tract comprises several ranges nearly parallel. Those which face the north and south are particularly known by the general appellation. The intermediate have discriminative denominations.—ED.



## MINES, MINERALS, AND MANUFACTURES.

The diamond mines of Bundelkhund have long been famous; they are situated on the table land between the first and second ranges of hills near *Panná*, and extend from the *Kén* river eastward as far as the *Chilá nadi*; and it is perhaps worthy of note, that beyond these limits no diamonds are found. They are the exclusive property of the *Rájá* of *Panná*; but adventurers may dig for them if they chuse to pay the expenses, and a tax of one-fourth of the produce to the *Rájá*. The mines, however, are so much exhausted, that this privilege is rarely accepted, and is oftener attended with disappointment than gain. The diamonds are found in a red gravelly soil, at various depths below the surface, from three to fifteen feet, but generally at three or four feet, and they are separated from the soil by washing and sifting it; the diamond is of the table or flat kind, and is rarely found perfect.

The iron mines are contiguous to the former, the *Kén* river being the line of separation between them; they are said to be inexhaustible, though at present they are but partially worked by a few adventurers, who pay a certain sum, varying from four to seven rupees a season, for each furnace. The other expenses consist in digging the ore, which is obtained close to the surface, and in the preparation of charcoal; and so simple is the first process, that the metal in its earliest stage can be purchased at the mines for one rupee twelve anas per maund. When taken from the mines, it undergoes a second and sometimes a third refinement, under more skilful hands, in which state it usually comes to market.

The miners are generally of the *Gónd*, or other hill tribes, who prefer a wretched subsistence in these barren regions to the plains below; and in times of scarcity, numerous robberies are committed by them. If, therefore, a small capital were judiciously employed in working these mines, and means of constant employment afforded to these people, great beneficial results might be expected in a philanthropic point of view; and in this light it might be worthy the attention of the British government, as the produce would serve to supply their magazines and arsenals.

The manufactures peculiar to Bundelkhund are a coarse kind of cloth, which is stained red by a colour extracted from the root of the *Morinda citrifolia*, or *aal* plant, much cultivated in some parts of the province. *Gdrautá* and *Kótrá* are the chief places of this manufacture, but *Cálpá* is the usual

mart. *Cálpí* is also famous for its sugar-candy and paper; and *Jhánsi* may be particularized for its carpet manufactory. A coarse kind of sacking is also made in great abundance along the banks of the *Bétwá* river, and at *Chhattrapúr*, which supplies wrappers for the bales of merchandise passing to and from the *Dekhan*.

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SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, MODE OF HUSBANDRY.

The soil of Bundelkhand exhibits every variety, from the rich black loamy soil to sterile *kankar*, or Calc-tuff. The valleys and low lands are generally of the former kind; and if properly irrigated, it is as productive as any in Hindustan. It produces the sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, the *aal* plant, wheat, barley, holcus sorghum, holcus spicatus, and every species of the pulse and lentil tribe. In the more sterile parts are grown several species of grain of the millet kind, panic and paspalum: but even these inferior kinds are not attainable by the lower orders in times of scarcity, and the fruit of the *mahiá* tree (*Bassia latifolia*), on such occasions, may be ranged amongst the necessaries of life. Thousands of human beings are supported by the produce of this tree; and in extraordinary times of dearth and scarcity, the pounded bark of the *katbal* tree is often mixed with the fruit of the *mahiá*; but it is a melancholy reflexion, that those poor wretches, who are reduced to the necessity of using the bark of the *katbal* tree, are observed soon afterwards to fall victims to its effects.

The mode of husbandry varies in no respect from other parts of the country. They plough with oxen, and tread out their corn with the same animal; and if there is anything remarkable, it is that the simple Chinese wheel, set in motion by oxen, and admirably adapted to raise water which is near the surface, is employed in some parts to irrigate the lands.

The waste lands of Bundelkhand afford matter for observation, and thousands of acres, particularly in the native states, which now lay waste, and covered with jungle, might by ordinary means and management be brought into cultivation. The method is simply to root up the jungle and burn it on the spot as manure; but there is either a want of capital, or a want of confidence between the governing and the governed, which retards this desirable improvement; and these vast wastes continue to remain, to the disgrace and prejudice of their owners.

Buffaloes and oxen in this country, as in most parts of India, are the chief domestic animals: the former are in request as beasts of burden, and the latter for every purpose of husbandry. The best breed of oxen is in the pergunahs of *Chandlâ-Bichdwan*. The sheep are small, but the goats are superior; the term *Jumna-pâri* (or across the Jumna), is applied to denote their superiority.

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REMARKABLE BUILDINGS, RUINS, NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

There are no very remarkable buildings now extant; but there are several ruins, which mark the site of buildings that must have been magnificent in their time: for instance, at *Mâhbâ*, at *Cajrau* near *Râjnagar*, at *Mâlhan* above the hills near *Jôdhpur* (*Yuddhapura*), at *Sirswâghar* near *Sâliya* on the *Pohâwaj* river, and in many other places. These vestiges, and the numerous inscriptions which are to be found in many parts of the country, have all a reference to its ancient history.

Amongst the natural curiosities may be reckoned the subterraneous cavern called *Gôpit-gôdâvali*, near *Chitracota*; another cavern, called *Biya Cûnd*, in the hills near *Bijâwar*; the cataracts of *Bédhak*, near *Calyanghar*; of the *Paisunî* river, near *Jorai*; of the *Bhâgî* river, south of *Calinjer*; and of the *Rânj* river, south of *Ajayghar*: but perhaps the greatest objects of curiosity are the forts of *Calinjer* and *Ajayghar*.

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INHABITANTS AND RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

I shall conclude this paper with a short account of the inhabitants and religious establishments, commencing with that class, who, from the respectability of their origin, are still considered as chiefs, and are seldom found in a capacity inferior to that of a zemindar. Of these, 1st, some descendants of the *Yaduwansi Ahîrs*, who in very early times had possessions above the hills, near *Jodhpur* and *Shâhwâgar*, a few of whom are still to be found in the country. 2d. The descendants of the *Chandela* race. 3d. The *Raghuwansi* tribe, of *Baraundâ*, east of *Calinjer*, who still enjoy property and power. 4th. The *Bundéla* race, who are always in the capacity of chiefs, and who never cultivate the soil. 5th. The *Pûâr* tribe, who were originally expelled

from *Malwa*, and have small possessions tributary to *Jhānsi*, at the foot of the hills south of *Nerwār*. 6th. A tribe calling themselves *Dhandélas*, who came from *Shdhghar*, and occupy a small tract of country tributary to *Jhānsi*, above the hills south of *Nerwār*. 7th. The *Gújer* tribe of *Samphír*. The *Mahratta* Pandits of *Jaldwan*; and, 9th, The *Chóbés*, who were lately expelled from *Calinjér*.

Of the inferior tribes, the following are the most common: *Lód*, *Cúrmi*, *Cúli*, *Canghán*, *Ahr* (*Abhíra*) and *Chamár* (*Charmacdra*). The native chieftains seem to find these castes more tractable, and accordingly they are found in every capacity, from the zemindar to the lowest tiller of the soil; but there is another caste which inhabits *Banphari*, a small tract in the pergunah of *Chandlá*, who are called *Bandfers*, and are the descendants of *ALLA* and *UDAL*, two famous champions of the period of *PARMÁL DÉÖ*. They seem to preserve a portion of the rough character of their ancestors; and are often discovered in groups with their spears planted around them, chanting verses in praise of their exploits. Formerly they were desperate thieves, and used to go armed to their daily occupations; but latterly they have become more tractable.

The *Bundélas* have been generally allowed to be a brave race of men; and there is something rudely haughty about them to the present day. They are certainly attached to the soil they inherit, and have a term, *Bhúmi-yádi*, which may be translated patriotism, and which they use to express their exertions in behalf of their country.

The principal Hindu religious establishment is at *Chitracote* on the *Paisuni* river, where *RÁMA CHANDRA* is said to have rested on his way to *Lancá*. There are also some *Jain* temples at *Senáwal* and *Kandalpur* for the worship of *Buddha* (*Jina*). But the most singular religious establishment is at *Pamná*, and was founded by an enthusiast named *Jí Sáheb*, who emigrated from the *Panjáb* in the time of *Rájá CHHATRASÁL*.

This man assumed the appellative of *Prdnandt,h*, or Lord of Life, and declared himself to be the promised *Imám* *MEHEDI*, mentioned in the *Koran*. His first attempts to set up his new religion were in the *Panjáb*, that fertile spot for religious innovation. Afterwards he removed to *Delhi*; and finally, to avoid the persecution of the *Muhammedans*, he fled into *Bundelkhand*, where he found protection under the rising power of *Rájá CHHATRASÁL*.

None but converts to his religion are allowed to read his book, which is

entitled *Kúlzam* ; but having procured some extracts from it, and other information concerning it, I ascertained that his principal arguments for the necessity of this new religion are founded on the discrepancy which exists between the practice of Muhammedans and the precepts of the Koran ; and he professes to promulgate in his book the remaining 30,000 words, which Muhammed, on the occasion of his miraculous ascent into heaven, was told should be reserved for the coming of *Imám MEHEDI*.

The followers of this sect are called *Dhamians* ; and their dress is after the Hindu fashion, to favour their interpretation of that passage of the Koran, which says that *Imám MEHEDI* will appear in disguise. They are to be found in the *Panjáb*, in *Gujerat*, *Delhi*, *Luknow*, *Benares*, *Muthra*, *Faizabad*, and *Nagpur* ; but *Panná* is their Mecca. Latterly they are said to have made some progress ; but their whole number does not exceed 1500, of which about twenty are employed at their place of worship at *Panná*, and the remainder are engaged in trade. The present establishment was endowed by *Rájá HINDUPATI* with a small portion of the diamond mines, which affords subsistence to the devotees employed in their temple, and at the shrine of their founder at *Panná*.

XVIII. *OBSERVATIONS ON THE LEPROSY OF THE ARABUM, OR ELEPHANTIASIS OF THE GREEKS, as it appears in India.* By WHITELAW AINSLIE, M.D. M.R.A.S.

Read June 4, 1825.

IT is, I presume, a truth pretty well established, that all such cutaneous affections as are not ushered in by particular febrile symptoms, are more common and more inveterate in hot than in temperate climates: but, with the exception of Doctors Hillary and Towne, I am not aware that any author on tropical diseases has bestowed much attention on maladies of this description, though some of them are singular in their character, and most of them very untractable.

Travel writers, foreign as well as English, have been more liberal of their observations. Pocock \* mentions those of Damascus; Volney † notices the cuticular complaints of Egypt; Stedman, ‡ in his work on Surinam, is equally considerate; Browne, § in his travels in Africa, makes particular mention of the *Boras* (Leuce) and *Dzudham* (Elephantiasis), both in Egypt and Syria: he indeed says that the leprosy is more rarely to be met with in the first than the last named country, which it might not perhaps be difficult to find a reason for; and, in support of his assertion, we may cite Savary, who, in his "Letters on Egypt," informs us that he never, while there, || saw one unfortunate leper; though, by his "Letters on Greece," it would appear that he found several in the islands of the Archipelago (pages 110, 111). Galen, ¶ however, gives us a very different account of that land in his days. "In Alexandria quidem Elephas morbo plurimi corripuntur propter victus modum, et regionis fervorem." It is, notwithstanding,

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\* See Pocock's Travels, vol. ii. page 122.

† See Volney's Travels in Egypt, vol. i. page 248.

‡ See Stedman's Surinam, vol. ii. page 285.

§ See Browne's Travels in Africa, page 332.

|| On the other hand, Pliny tells us that Elephantiasis was common in Egypt.—Nat. Hist. lib. xxvi. chap. 1.

¶ Vide Op. Galen, class vii. page 107, F.

strange, that neither Strabo nor Herodotus, so far as I can learn, makes the least mention of it. Niebuhr,\* in his "Travels in Arabia," speaks of the *Bohak* (Alphos), *Baras* (Leuce), and *Dzudham* (Elephantiasis), as all common amongst the Arabs. On Ceylon† such affections are but too frequent. In the Island of Candia, leprosy was observed by Sonnini;‡ who seemed to think that it was the only contagious disease which the inhabitants had, and that it was originally brought to them from Asia. In the more remote parts of that quarter of the world, in China,§ in Sumatra,|| all along the shores of the Malaya peninsula, the most piteous wretches are often seen, covered with scurf, or deprived of their fingers and toes; and on the different islands,¶ which constitute the Indian Archipelago, similar sufferers are perhaps still more common.

I shall now proceed to give some account of Elephantiasis, as it appears in our Eastern dominions.

Sauvages has given perhaps the best nosological definition of the disorder: "Facies deformis tuberibus callosis, ozœna, raucedo, cutis Elephantina, crassa, unctuosa, in extremis artubus anæsthesia."

This, it will be seen, differs from Cullen's description in two essential points: the latter author having omitted ozœna, which is a never-failing symptom of the disease in its advanced stages; and moreover calls it *morbus contagiosus*, of which there are great doubts, notwithstanding the assertions of the learned Darwin; indeed, for my own part, after the most minute inquiry, I am led to conclude that it is not a contagious disease; and should be further inclined to believe, with due deference to the high authority just mentioned, as well as to *Pierre Campet*,\*\* *Aretæus*,†† and *Dr. Towne*,‡‡ that

\* See Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. page 278.

† See Marshall's Medical Topography of Ceylon, page 43.

‡ See Sonnini's Travels in Greece, page 396.

§ See Dr. John Clarke's Observations on the Diseases of long Voyages, vol. i. page 128.

|| See Marsden's Sumatra, page 151.

¶ Leprosy is so frequent in those islands, that the Dutch were obliged, and we afterwards followed their example, to allot a small island for the exclusive use of the unhappy sufferers; it is called Lepers Island, and is near that of *Saparoa*, under the government of Amboyna. For the frequency of the disorder in those islands, the reader is referred to Mr. Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. i. page 34.

\*\* See *Maladies graves de la Zone Torride*, page 290.

†† Vide *Aretæus*, lib. ii. cap. xii.

‡‡ See *Towne's Treatise on West-India Diseases*, page 190.

the supposition of its ever having been so, must originally have proceeded from the desire every one naturally evinces to shun all such as are afflicted with this frightful and loathsome distemper. The most intelligent Tamool doctors, with whom I have conversed on the subject, informed me, that what they call *Kústam* (*Cusht'ha*) (*Lepra Arabum*) cannot be caught by infection during the common intercourse of life; but that it might perhaps be given by introducing leprous blood, or ichor, into a sane habit, by means of inoculation; and this appears to be a rational enough conclusion, when we reflect that the complaint is not, like *Pruritus*, confined to the skin, but seems to be connected with a degeneracy of the whole fluids. I cannot find any well authenticated fact of an Indian having caught the disease, by associating with those who had it; nor, of three Europeans whom I have known to die of Elephantiasis, did either the wives or servants, who had lived with them for several years, become infected.

There is every reason to believe, however, that this species of leprosy is hereditary: it is certainly so far so, that children born after the malady has commenced on either of the parents, are liable to be attacked by it. The Hindu medical men have no doubt that the *Cusht'ha* descends in this way; but at the same time they tell us, that some of the children may escape it altogether, while others, though they may have remained quite healthy for a number of years, will at length fall victims to the disease: they have also made the same observations in this instance, which we have done with regard to other hereditary evils in Europe; that is, that one generation may escape the constitutional infirmity, and the next in descent suffer from it. Some authors,\* who have noticed the affection as it appears in other parts of the world, have told us, that men labouring under it are very salacious; I cannot learn, however, that any such peculiarity attaches to the lepra in Hindust'han: on the contrary, it has been questioned† whether the miserable objects afflicted by it are capable of sexual intercourse: but there appears to be no good reason for supposing that they are

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\* Such as Hillary in his *Diseases of Barbadoes*, pages 325, 326; Sonnini in his *Travels through Egypt*; Bancroft in his *Natural History of Guiana*, page 385, &c.; MM. Vidal and Johannis in their account of the disorder at Martigues. See a treatise on the supposed hereditary nature of diseases, by J. Adams, M.D. page 91.

† Dr. Adams, in his work on *Morbid Poisons*, speaks particularly of a wasting of the genitals in Elephantiasis, as he found it at Madeira.



not, at least during the early stages of the disorder, before the numbness of the extremities has proceeded to its greatest height, or the general debility becomes excessive. Nay, do we not every day see children, the professed offspring of a leprous parent, whose legitimacy we have no right to doubt?

Perhaps there is no class of human infirmities into which greater confusion has crept, than into that of cutaneous diseases; the ancients themselves appear to have adopted names in the most vague and indefinite manner; and the Arabian writers, their translators, and commentators, have unfortunately been little more distinct; this much, however, is certain, that the *Lepra Arabum* is the *Elephantiasis* of the Greeks; the *Elephantia* of Haly Abbas; the *Juzdm*, also *Ddul'ásád* of the modern Arabs; the *Khórah* of the Persians; the *Ara mauny wanny* of the Cingalese: by the Hindoos it has got various appellations, *Jagáru*, *Bar'd ázár*, &c. In Dakhíni it is often termed *Ruggit Pitthie*; it is the *Untat* نت, and *Keddl* كدال of the Malays; the *Tubug*, also *Cheureuh* of the Javanese; the *Ma-fung* of the Chinese; the *Nambí* of the Sumatrans, and the *Kústam* of the Tamools. The Sanscrit name of it is *Kusht'ha* (कुष्ठ) whence Hindi, *Kór'*.

Dr. Hillary, in his work already cited (pp. 322, 335), makes an erroneous distinction betwixt the malady now under consideration, and what he calls "*the leprosy of the joints*;" for the latter is nothing else than an advanced stage of the former, and is termed by Dr. Towne, in his diseases of the West-Indies, "the joint evil." Dr. Hillary further supposes, that the leprosy of the joints is no where noticed by the Greek physicians, and only by *Haly Abbas* amongst those of Arabia; a mistake, which, after having made, however, he seems inclined to correct, by adding, "without indeed they meant that sort of leprosy in which they mention the falling off of the limbs."

Aretæus\* of Cappadocia, who wrote in Greek, has given us, under the title of *Elephantiasis*, perhaps the most perfect picture of this distemper that has ever appeared; and takes particular notice of the falling off of the fingers and joints of the feet; he farther adds, perhaps a little extravagantly,

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\* A knowledge of the exact period at which Aretæus lived appears to be one of the desiderata in medical history. Le Clerc, in his "Histoire de la Médecine," says it is probable that he may have been contemporary with Galen; but this is merely conjecture: and of the two (Galen and Aretæus) so much is only correctly known, that they lived during the long interval betwixt Pliny and Paul Eginatus, and Aetius.—See Hist. de la Médecine, pages 516, 517.

that, before death ensues, the leper is sometimes actually torn limb \* from limb. The medical men of his day and country not unfrequently called the affection *Leonia*, from the circumstance of its distorting the human countenance, and giving it somewhat the appearance of that of a lion when enraged; others again, the same writer observes, bestowed on it the appellation of *Satyriasis*, from the shameless lasciviousness that attends it.

Modern French writers have named this leprosy "*Le mal rouge*," and it may be found described under that name by Pierre Campet, in his "*Maladies graves de la Zone Torride*" (p. 290). But, although he gives upon the whole a tolerably good account of it, he does not bestow on it its proper name of Elephantiasis; that he thinks fit to reserve, like Dr. Thomas,† and some others, for what we term the *Barbadoes* or *Cochin leg*, which is the *Elephas* of Haly Abbas, and the *Elephantia* of Avicenna. Modern Arab ‡ physicians call it *Dâi'l-fil* داع الفيل. It is the *A'nay taal* of the Tamools: the *Yëanügay-käloo* of the Gentoos; in Dakhin it is *Hati ka päön* هتي کا پارن in Sanscrit गजपाद *Gaja-pāda* (Elephant's leg); and in Cin-galese, *Goney Parangy*.

Dr. Adams seems to be of opinion, that the Greek authors were not only totally unacquainted with the leprosy, distinguished by the tumefaction on the limb, and which afterwards got the name of Elephantia, from some of the Arab authors; but that the Latins§ themselves were practically ignorant both of this and the true Elephantiasis of the Greeks. In this last inference, however, which is perhaps drawn from Lucretius,|| I presume that the Doctor has made a slight mistake, of which the reader may satisfy himself by turning to Pliny's¶ Natural History, where he will find that the genuine Elephantiasis was well known in Italy, but not before the time of Pompey the Great; yet it would not appear to have been of long continuance in

\* Vide Aretæus, lib. ii. cap. xiii.

† See his *Modern Practice of Physic*, vol. ii. page 188.

‡ It would appear that *Abubékér Mohamed Rhazes* has, of all the Arab writers, given the best account of this disease: he lived and practised in Persia upwards of eight hundred years ago, and has made an exact distinction betwixt *Elephas* and the true Elephantiasis.—See *Histoire de la Médecine*, by Le Clerc, page 771.

§ See Adams on *Morbid Poisons*, page 289.

|| See Lucretius, lib. v.

¶ See Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxvi. cap. i.

that country, in which I believe it is at present no where to be found; at all events very rarely.

We have to regret that the very able writer cited above (Adams), who has allotted several pages of his valuable work to leprous impurities, did not do something more than he has done to remedy the want of arrangement, which has been so long complained of in this class of diseases: for, notwithstanding his great research, and evident conviction of what was wanting, he seems finally to have taken without distrust the nomenclature such as he found it, however vague and indiscriminate; and, after detailing with a master's hand many of the most marked symptoms of the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, under its proper name, he adds: "But when I use the single term Elephantiasis, my wish is, to confine it to the modern disease, the Barbadoes leg:" in this way the old confusion is carried on; and to two complaints, very opposite in their nature, is given the same appellation.

There are no less than three names bestowed by the Tamool doctors on the Elephantiasis of the Greeks: *Kústam*, *Cárin Kústam*, and *Përi Vishadi*; the first signifies in their language the disease that cuts short; the second has the word *Cárin* prefixed, to denote the black or rather purple colour of the tubercles, and of the countenance and skin altogether, of such as labour under this dreadful affliction. The third and last name, *Përi Vishadi*, or great disease, is a term used by the Brahmins, and others of high rank, merely from delicacy, to avoid pronouncing the word *Kústám*, which when spoken never fails to excite a degree of disgust.

The leprosy of the Arabians, by which I must be understood to mean the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Indian peninsula, and spares no caste nor sect, though it is certainly more commonly found amongst the poor than the rich, owing no doubt to their manner of living, and consequent languid circulation. It is not often, as I have already remarked, that it shews itself before the age of puberty; but when it does, it seems to repress in a wonderful degree the growth of the body. Boys or girls so disordered never attain to any graceful stature, but soon become meagre, shrivelled, and miserable; their voices are shrill as well as nasal, and continue so. With coming years they evince little sexual desire, and that hair which usually covers the chin of boys, and pubes, after a certain period, either never appears at all, or is of a very delicate texture, and but thinly scattered. When the disease begins at this early stage of life, the mind as well as body seems to suffer in the general wreck. Such

lepers are poor in spirit, drooping and listless : they are rarely seen to smile, and have not unfrequently a weakness of intellect approaching to idiotism. But the malady commonly begins its depredations about the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, seldom later than forty ; and the following are the symptoms, so far as I have been able to observe, which mark its first approach, progress, and termination.

The unhappy person fated to perish by this slow but relentless affliction, first perceives an unusual dryness and slight roughness of skin in his hands, feet, arms, and legs, which, even after violent exercise, do not transmit the perspiration readily ; he begins to fall off a little in his appetite, and to be much troubled with flatulence and other signs of indigestion, but he is as yet not ill enough to be alarmed, and pursues his customary occupation ; his sleep, soon after this, in place of being refreshing to him as it used to be, is disturbed by wild dreams, and he frequently during the night starts up in a fright, with a palpitating heart and sense of suffocation. About six weeks or two months from the time of his first being taken ill, his colour begins to change ; if he was a rather fair man, he grows at least two shades darker, and his features lose much of their natural aspect, becoming somehow tumid and less agreeable than formerly. The dryness and roughness of skin increase, and about the end of the third month he complains of a strange numbness in his hands and feet, which he can allow to be pinched without feeling pain ; his pulse, which was most likely always feeble, will, if felt, be found to be extremely languid, small, nay at times scarcely to be perceived. The aridity and unevenness of skin now extend further, reaching as high as the middle of the arm and leg ; indeed, the cuticle over the whole body seems rigid, harsh, and to have entirely lost that smooth and healthy look which it had before the lepra made its primary attack. About this period many dark coloured spots and purple tubercles usually appear on the ancles and wrists, and partially on the legs and arms ; they are in shape not unlike segments of ripe currants, but flatter at top, and of a singular shining and oily aspect ; they are not attended however with any pain, neither are they particularly itchy,\* which in truth they could not well be, when we consider that they are subsequent to the want of feeling

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\* Dr. Thomas Heberden, in his paper on this leprosy, says, I think erroneously, that the tubercles are attended with great heat and itching.—See *Medical Transactions of the College of London*, vol. i.

which I have above described. Some of the tubercles occasionally disappear suddenly, and return again, without evident cause; others generate a small quantity of ichorous matter, which drying, occasions a trifling scurfy desquamation. At this stage of the malady I have met with one or two cases in which glandular swellings at the upper and inner part of the thigh made their appearance, similar to those mentioned by Dr. Adams;\* but, as far as I can learn, this is by no means so constant a symptom of the disease in India as it seems to be in Madeira. The leprosy advancing, the tubercles increase in size and number, and seizing on the face, render the infected person a most unsightly object. It must here be remarked, that up to this period the breast, abdomen, and back either remain tolerably smooth, or the tubercles are comparatively much fewer upon them; they are moreover smaller in size, nor ever on those parts do they occasion much white desquamation, the natural consequence of their greater vitality. About the end of the first year every symptom is much aggravated: the dryness and rigidity of skin becomes universal, is distressing in the greatest degree; the numbness has extended to above the knee, and is so great, that the poor sufferer may, through inadvertency, burn his hands or feet to the bone without perceiving it: the surface of the whole frame assumes a bright yet unctuous appearance; when narrowly examined, it looks wrinkled longitudinally, and not unfrequently feels, in those parts where feeling remains, as if stung with nettles, rising up into wide spreading irregular bumps, which come and go. The skin about the wrists and ancles, where the tubercles have scaled off, has a scurfy appearance, and here and there a raw excoriation may be perceived, the consequence, perhaps, rather of chafing than ulceration. The countenance alters still more; the cheeks grow bloated and puffy, and are studded, if I may so say, with irregular dark protuberances; the muscles of the forehead enlarged, seem as if pushed downwards; the eyebrows, thickened and swollen, hang over the eyes, which being in every instance inflamed and rheumy, and having been made to look rounder by the pressure from the neighbouring parts, resemble those of some wild animal; the lobes of the ears are rough, knotty, and misshapen; the tongue is foul, and is in some cases blistered with tubercles, which bleed; the breath is foetid; the voice sounds unpleasant; the urine is plentiful, and generally turbid, having a most

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\* See Adams on Morbid Poisons, page 273.

unnatural odour; the bowels irregular; the hairs of the head gradually fall off; the parts of generation shrink; the nails break and waste away; the fingers and toes seem as if they were withered, the former bending inwards as if cramped, and the heels and soles of the feet are disfigured by deep fissures. The disease gradually going on, and the humours of the body becoming, from the impeded transpiration and general stagnation, daily more corrupt; the voice, which was but six months before only unpleasant, owing perhaps to tubercles on the uvula and palate, has now a most discordant, nasal, and unnatural sound; the *alæ nasi* are swelled and scabrous, and the bones themselves of that organ are in certain cases flattened, and twisted in some degree to one side, giving to the countenance a distorted look. A most offensive ichor now distils from the nose; neither rest nor food tend to refreshen or invigorate, and all carnal appetite, in place of being increased, as some authors\* imagined, entirely dies away.

In this condition, with many of the grand functions which support life deranged, it may easily be imagined that existence must be a state of misery; and the conviction that there is no hope whatever of recovery, makes the wretched leper still more an object of pity.

In the advanced state to which I have brought, in description, the *Lepra Arabum*, as it appears in India, the malady will sometimes continue for several years, apparently having come to an ultimate stand; but, alas! with declining years is sure to come progressive misery: every symptom is finally rendered worse; the already ugly become loathsome; on the most trifling motion the respiration is hurried, and the dyspepsia is most tormenting, owing in all probability to the perspiration being obstructed over so great a part of the surface of the body, and the certain accumulation of morbid humours: when any exertion is used sufficient to excite diaphoresis, the only parts that perspire are the neck and a little round the waist; the face, legs, arms, and thighs are thereby merely rendered clammy, and the tubercles on them turgid. At this time a feverish attack comes on regularly every evening, which may be discovered by the increased heat of the axilla, and the eyes assume that dim but brassy appearance, so properly noticed by Aretæus;† pulsation is no longer felt any where, but

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\* See Sonnini's *Travels through Egypt*, page 559. See also Aretæus, by Moffat, page 278; also Hillary's *Diseases of Barbadoes*, page 322—326.

† See Aretæus, page 283.

by pressure over the heart itself; the whole frame is emaciated, the face is frightful to behold, the voice sounds hollow as if from the tomb: the hands and feet now, from long want of due nourishment, begin to give way; partially blistered-looking ulcerations taking place over their joints, they gradually drop off, and so add helplessness to misery and long-protracted calamity. Soon after this stage, comes the last closing scene; worn out by lingering and hopeless wretchedness, dead almost to every feeling of body as well as mind, the poor leper hastens to his grave: yet, cadaverous as he is, he is not deserted in his expiring moments, but finds a humane and charitable support from the more prosperous of his race. If a Pariah, he is taken care of by those of the same rank till death comes to his relief: if a Hindu or Muhammedan, he is cherished by the individual benevolence of his sect or caste; and having been conveyed to the vicinity of some pagoda or mosque, breathes out his dying prayer on what he conceives to be sacred ground!

I have been informed by my much respected friend Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, that the *Lepra Arabum* is supposed by the Hindus of Upper India to be inflicted as a punishment for sins committed in this world, and that any person dying of it is liable to a return of the disease in his next birth; an evil that may be averted by voluntary death, by which means former crimes are expiated: the sufferer is born again, clean, and no longer subject\* to the same disorder.

I have so far taken a view of the malady as it appears unchecked by any medicine whatever; it however will be found to vary according to existing circumstances, to the peculiar constitution of the leper, and as it may or may not meet with any other disorder in the habit. In poor people, who are badly fed, who do not keep themselves perfectly clean, who may be perhaps during the first stages of the complaint harassed with labour, and perhaps unavoidably exposed to the vicissitudes of heat and cold—in such, in fact, whose circulation must from a combination of debilitating causes, become every day more languid, the lepra will soonest reach to its greatest height; but amongst the more affluent, whose means enable them to take greater care of themselves in regard to diet and non-exposure to excessive heat, it will prove more tardy in its progress, owing to the better preserved

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\* See Ward's *Hindoo Mythology*, vol. ii. book 4. chap. ii. sect. 29.

vigour of constitution; nor has it on those last-mentioned individuals by any means so unsightly an appearance; for though there are present, in every instance, the affection of the nose, the altered voice, the clouded colour, and that constant characterizing symptom the want of feeling in the extremities, yet in such cases the joints sometimes do not fall off, at all events not till a very late period of the malady; and the skin on the legs and arms does not put on the scurfy look in so great a degree, but, though rough, furrowed, and shining, is kept comparatively smooth by frequent bathings, and the external use of cocoa-nut oil.

Mr. Robinson, in a valuable paper on Elephantiasis as it appears in Hindusthan, and which may be found in the *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*, Vol. X., has described two varieties of the disease, which he thinks are often confounded under the same name. The one he calls *Elephantiasis Anæsthetos*, the other *Elephantiasis Tuberculata*: the first, as the name implies, marked by a want of feeling in the extremities; the second, by tubercles. I cannot say that I ever was led to believe that there were two distinct varieties, though the malady no doubt assumes varying appearances in different individuals, the natural consequence of age, peculiarity of habit, mode of living, &c. &c.; and this much I can affirm, that I never met with a single case of the genuine disease, which was not equally distinguished by want of feeling in the hands and feet, and by tubercles.

In the first volume of the *Edinburgh Medical Transactions* may be seen a paper on this *Lepra* by Mr. Playfair, in which he particularly notices the virtues of the *madder* powder,\* as a remedy for it.

I have already expressed a doubt whether this lamentable disorder ought to be considered as contagious; and I at the same time assigned my reasons for believing it to be hereditary: there is, however, another question which naturally offers itself regarding it, and that is, whether it may occur independently of constitutional predisposition. I confess that I am inclined to be of opinion, that in most regions of the *Torrid Zone* it may be brought on by a particular combination of causes, which I shall soon mention, operating on a habit distinguished by certain peculiarities. Such instances, however, amongst Europeans, we may safely suppose are extremely rare; and I cannot here omit noticing a singular fact, connected with leprosy; it

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\* Powder of the bark of the root of the *Asclepias Gigantea*.



is this, that in every case of it I have known, in an European habit, the affected person was a German, a Dane, or a Swede, but never an Englishman: now as we learn from various accounts, that this horrid scourge is still occasionally met with in the northern\* parts of Europe, though long banished from Britain and Ireland, it becomes a query, whether those men may not have brought the seeds of the disease with them from their native country.

To ascertain the true cause or causes of this leprosy would be no easy task; and I fear, as happens in the instances of many other affections to which the human frame is subject, that here little more is in our power than to offer a probable conjecture. Dr. T. Heberdén, in his account of the malady, distinguishes it into two species, according to its manner of attack, viz. that by *fluxion*, and that by *congestion*. The first he thinks is often the attendant of crapula, or surfeits from some gross food, whereby the latent mischief may be called into action; violent† agitation of mind is supposed to be a not unfrequent cause of the disorder; and, in the female sex, a suddenly suppressed menstrual discharge by bathing the legs in cold water at an improper time. Aretæus‡ calls it, according to the theory of the age in which he lived, a refrigeration of the innate heat, or rather a congelation similar to the conversion of water into snow, and perhaps this comes as near the truth as any thing that has been said on the subject in these more enlightened days.

Some time towards the end of the year 1811, I requested Mr. Charles Stewart, a medical officer then under my superintendance, and stationed at Tranquebar, in the vicinity of which town the leprosy of the Arabians is very common, minutely to examine as many persons labouring under the disease as he could collect together, and to report to me accordingly. Mr. Stewart obeyed my instructions; and the following are the general conclusions which I drew from that gentleman's observations on fifty lepers, male and female:—

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\* It would appear by some late accounts, that the *Lepra Arabum* is very common in Iceland and Norway, in which first-mentioned country it is mentioned under the name of *Skyrbjugur*. See an excellent description of it, as it appears in those parts of the world, in a letter from Chevalier Bach to Dr. Trail, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. i. page 713.

† See Edinb. Practice of Medicine, vol. iv. page 511.

‡ See Aretæus, page 279.

1st. That women are less liable to suffer from Elephantiasis than men.

2d. That the disease is most certainly hereditary.

3d. That its being in any degree contagious is extremely problematical.

4th. That every leper, suffering from an advanced stage of the malady, doubts whether he is capable of propagating his species.

5th. That a fish diet is found to render every symptom worse.

6th and lastly. That poor living, want of cleanliness, mendicant misery, and exposure to cold and damp, are but the too constant attendants of this dreadful affliction.

Lorry, in speaking of leprosy, says, "Universum totius corporis cancrum est ut omnes medici veteres eam vocant," and seems to have believed it to be occasioned by black bile. The same author informs us, that, on opening the body of a soldier who died of the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, the liver\* was found enlarged and indurated. Schilling† imagined, that the malady might be caught by sleeping in the same bed with an infected person; also from the fetid odour of the ulcers. He prescribed for it the decoction of a plant common in the marshes near Surinam, and there called *Tondia*: it is of the genus *Paullinia*. The *Lepra Arabum* is well described by Alibert in his work on cutaneous disorders (page 46), under the name of "*La Lèpre Tuberculeuse*:" he is of opinion that it is an affection of the lymphatic system, and tells us that it is sometimes to be met with at Paris. As to the mode of treatment, he speaks in rather desponding terms, and appears chiefly to have trusted to wine, decoction of bark, and aromatic fomentations.

Most authors agree that improper food, and especially rotten or decayed fish, is an exciting cause of the disease; and we know that Sir William Jones‡ informs us, that the Hindu doctors commonly ascribe it to drinking copiously of milk after eating fish. On the other hand, we learn from an account of the *Lepra* as it shows itself at the Isle of France,§ that it is to be cured by the use of turtle. That the complaint could ever be brought on by the over use of maize or millet, as Cassal supposed, is highly improbable; but such a notion it would appear prevails in the Asturias:¶ that

\* See Alibert on Diseases of the Skin, page 94.

† See same work, page 90.

‡ See his works, vol. i. page 556.

§ See Edinburgh Medical Journal, October 1823.

¶ See Alibert, page 88.

the use of pork, when the hog had been improperly fed, may do mischief on such occasions, I can more easily conceive, nay, know to be a fact.

As far as regards the more remote causes of the leprosy of the Arabians, it may, I think, be safely admitted, that hereditary taint is a prime agent, accompanied by an extremely languid circulation, and a somehow defective\* condition of the skin, which prevents a free transmission of the cutaneous discharge, thereby retaining in the habit what under other circumstances would have passed away: some or all of such peculiarities being present, the disease may perhaps be produced by one or more of the following exciting causes, creating in the body a viscid, acrid, and morbid humour: unwholesome food, such as decayed salt fish, taken at the same meal with buffalo milk; the flesh of swine or fowls, which had been permitted to feed promiscuously on musty grains and certain acrid vegetables;† irregular living; fear; grief; surfeits of various kinds, particularly of glutinous fish after long and painful fasting; alternate exposure to heat and cold; night damps; want of cleanliness; the use of impure water; and mendicant poverty.

In proceeding to notice the treatment best suited for this lamentable affection, it grieves me to say, that Elephantiasis has ever been considered as one of the most difficult of all those disorders to which the human frame is liable. Aretæus, of old, tells us, in the beginning of the chapter in which he treats of this malady, "It is necessary that remedies should be more powerful than diseases, in order to overcome them; but what cure can be devised sufficient to encounter so dreadful an evil as the present." Dr. Turner,‡ in his work on diseases of the skin, declares that the Elephantiasis of the Greeks is a most dreadful malady, if at all curable. Dr. Heberden himself observes, that excepting in one patient, he never saw or heard of a confirmed case of it terminating favourably. Nay,

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\* Dr. Quincy supposed the cause of leprosy to be some original malconformation, in the necessity of one secreting organ doing the office of another to which it is not naturally fitted.—See his *Medico-Physical Essays*, Essay VI., on Leprosy.

† Amongst the great variety of vegetables taken as food by the Hindus, some of those picked up by the road side and eaten by the poor are of a deleterious nature, such as the *Toombay keeray* (Tam.) *Phlomis Indica*.

‡ He defines it as contagious, and calls it a cancerous *câcheria* of the whole habit, arising from some fault in the liver or spleen, and consequent *atrabilis* or adust humour.—See his work, pages 3 and 4, second edition.

Dr. Towne\* in his treatise on the disorders of the West-Indies, frankly acknowledges that he had never performed a perfect cure of what he called "the joint evil."

I have already observed how certainly the *Kustam* of the Tamooles has been ascertained to be hereditary; a fact which must tend most effectually to damp our hopes, when called upon to treat any case of it springing from that source. When this leprosy descends from parent to child, it appears earlier in life than in other attacks; when the malady is either acquired, or perhaps when the taint has been less powerful, it does not shew itself till a much later period; and it is in those last-mentioned instances that our chance of affording relief is the best, as the habit must be then stronger, and the patient more manageable.

In this, as in all other hereditary complaints, much good may be done by avoiding what has been termed exciting causes; a caution which cannot be too forcibly inculcated, to those who may have reason to dread a visit from this distemper. The ancient Greek physicians were in the habit of ordering bleeding at the beginning of this disease, and giving freely as a drink a decoction of the *Hiera picra*. Aretæus as well as Galen† recommended viper's flesh, with the exception of the head and tail of the animal; the latter prescribed, at the same time, emetics of the white hellebore, and purgatives of the black; sea bathing, the tepid bath, and a generous use of rich wine, he considered as powerful assistants; and advised that the diet should be of easy concoction, and such as produced good juices: he moreover enjoined exercise, and, unlike the medical men of the present day, allowed his patients to eat fish and pork.

The modern Arabian physicians seem to trust chiefly to mercury for the cure of the *Juzâm*, which the reader may assure himself of by looking into a work entitled *Almaghni fi shereh al mi'jaz*, written by SEDID ADDIN GAZERANG; also, *Shereh úsbáb va úlmat* (a celebrated treatise on the causes, signs, and remedies of diseases) of NEJB ADDIN MODIN AL SAMARCANDI, by NAFIS BEN AVIZ, dedicated to Sultan ULUGH BEG GURGÁN.

Dr. Hillary was of opinion, that all preparations of mercury except the *mercurius calcinatus*,‡ given in small doses as an alterative, with antimonials,

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\* See his work, page 191. See also Hoffmann, part v. cap. v.

† Vide Op. Galeni, class vii. page 107, F.

‡ See his Diseases of Barbadoes.

aggravated and increased this disease; he gave at the same time a decoction of sarsaparilla. Dr. Towne found that antimonial preparations afforded the greatest relief, and that mercury in any shape rendered every symptom worse. Pierre Campet,\* in his "*Maladies graves des pays chauds*," observes that Dr. Joseph Flores had announced a wonderful specific in cases of this leprosy, and which at Mexico, Malaga, and Cadiz had met with the greatest success; it was the small lizards, called in the French Encyclopedia *Anolis de terre, ou Gobe-mouches*; after having cut off the tail and head of the little animal, and taken out the intestines, it is cut into small pieces, and eaten fasting, while the parts are warm and yet palpitating: he further adds, that at Guatemala, and in Mexico, not more than five or six lizards had been required to cure the disease at the rate of a lizard a day, but that many more became necessary to produce the same effect in Europe. It would appear however, by Dr. Pearson's† account, that these animals,‡ by trials made with them by Carminati and others, have no positive medicinal effect in such complaints. Dr. Quincy§ thought that mercurials were undoubtedly beneficial in this, as well as in all other disorders proceeding from sharp saline humours retained in the body. Dr. Hugh-Smith,|| on the other hand, appears to have disapproved altogether of the use of mercury in this complaint, preferring pure antimonials, with the use of the *Decoctum Ulmi* as a diet drink, in the quantity of four or five ounces twice daily. Dr. Good¶ tells us that a free use of sarsaparilla, mezerion, and guaiacum has been found beneficial, and that even the *Lobelia* has had its advocates. Dr. T. Heberden, who had frequently occasion to treat this malady at Madeira, mentions a case of it in which a perfect cure was performed, by means of an electuary composed of powdered bark, with a third part of sassafras root, inspissated with syrup; of this, the quantity of a large nutmeg was ordered twice daily, the patient having his legs bathed in an embrocation consisting of an ounce of lixivium of tartar and two drams of spirit of sal

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\* See the work, pages 299, 300.

† See his Synopsis of Materia Medica, page 41.

‡ For a particular account of the use of lizards in leprosy affections, the reader is referred to the London Medical Review, vol. iii. pages 205, 206, where will be found observations by M. Demourande of Cadiz, and M. Delarche of Madras.

§ See his Medico-Physical Essays, Essay vi.

|| See his Formulæ Medicamentorum concinnatæ.

¶ See his Study of Medicine, vol. ii. page 859.

ammoniac, intermixed with half a pint of proof spirit. I cannot say, however, that I experienced any good whatever in prescribing the bark in affections of this nature in India; on the contrary, it appeared to heat and irritate.

In every attempt I made to combat the Elephantiasis of the Greeks on the Coromandel coast, the first thing I did, previously to ordering any medicine whatever, was to bring the general health of the patient into a better state, by nourishing diet, and due attention to exercise and cleanliness; the necessity of attention to this caution must be evident, seeing that the disorder is so frequently found amongst the mendicant poor, whose reduced habits are but ill suited to stand the operation of any powerful medicine.\*

The corrosive sublimate has been given by some medical practitioners in this affection, in small doses, in conjunction with the muriatic acid and antimonial wine;† but this is a prescription I cannot recommend from my own experience.

In whatever form mercury is prescribed, great care must be taken not to push it so fast, or so far, as to bring on a weakening *ptyalism*, which cannot fail to be productive of infinite mischief; it will be necessary, however, to touch the mouth, and keep it so for some weeks. Warm bathing is frequently to be had recourse to (let the plan pursued be what it may); and when we have done our utmost by the use of mercury in one shape or other, to overcome the disorder, we must continue to support the frame by giving generous wine or other cordial.

The mineral acids are unquestionably of great service. The *tinctura guaiaci ammoniata*, as a stimulating sudorific, has been supposed to possess considerable virtues in such affections, in doses of one to two fluid drams. Of the *tinctura gambogiae ammoniata* I have had no experience; it has been ordered to the quantity of a tea-spoonful or two, night and morning. The *vinum antimonii compositum* of the *Pharmacopeia Chirurgica* is a valuable medicine in this, as well as other cutaneous complaints.‡

From what I have said under the head of the exciting causes of this malady, it need scarcely be observed, that the diet ought to be generous.§

Hindu medical writers reckon no less than eighteen different kinds of *Kústam* or *Lepra*, the two worst are called in Tamool, *Vén kústam* or scaly

\* See Note A.

† See Note B.

‡ See Note C.

§ See Note D.

leprosy, and *Carin kústam*, or black leprosy; the first corresponding with the *Lepra Græcorum*, the last with the *Lepra Arabum*. These, AGASTYA, in his celebrated work entitled *Vaidya Acerum*, and also in his *Pérnúl*, informs us, descend from father to son, and may, he adds, be hastened by the following causes:—

1. By drinking milk\* after eating glutinous fish to excess.
2. By eating food which is of a windy nature.
3. By eating (when urged to it by great hunger) victuals of a disagreeable taste or odour.
4. By worms in the body.
5. By eating too much *yellow* (seed of the *sesamum orientale*).
6. By checking vomiting, so retaining in the body what ought to have been ejected.
7. By habitual costiveness, by which means morbid humours are pent up.
8. By the union of a morbid, gastric (hypochondriacal) humour and vitiated bile.
9. By a viscid acrid humour in the blood (serum).

Certain varieties of *kústam* (leprosy), he is of opinion, are occasioned by the bites of different noxious animals of the beetle kind.

Others again, the same author tells us, are brought on by the bites of snakes and venomous lizards.

There are a great many medicines in use amongst the Hindu practitioners, which are supposed to possess virtues in leprosy affections. They have for ages past considered the white oxide of arsenic as a powerful remedy in the *Kush't'ha* (Sans.), and as such it may be found noticed by ATHAR ALI KHAN, of Delhi, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. page 153. I have had occasion to prescribe this medicine in several cases, but I am sorry to say not with any marked good effect; and I perceive that Dr. Bateman† had no better success in administering the same remedy for the malady in question.

The root of the plant called by the Tamools *Eraporel* (*mimosa scandens*), is ordered for this leprosy in the form of decoction, to the quantity of half an ounce, twice daily. An extract prepared from the leaves and tender

\* I perceive this cause of the disorder is noticed by Sir William Jones.—See his works, vol. i. page 556.

† See Bateman's *Practical Synopsis of Diseases of the Skin*, page 311, note.



shoots of the plant called *Mārudāni* (Tam.) *Lawsonia Spinosa*, is also sometimes given, to the extent of half a spoonful, twice daily.

The kernel of the nut called in Tamool *Niredimūtú*, is, with other medicines, prescribed in the form of electuary, to the quantity of half a teaspoonful, twice daily; I believe the plant to be a species of *Jatropha*. Different preparations of mercury are recommended by the Tamool physicians in leprous cases, as may be seen by turning to the *Materia Medica* of *Hindustán* (pages 106, 107). In the Tamool *sástram* entitled *Pérnúl*, written by AGASTYA, will be found a prescription which has great repute in lower India in cutaneous affections; it is a distilled oil prepared from a combination of nineteen different plants, chiefly aromatic; it is given in the quantity of two gold fanams weight, twice daily, in conjunction with a little sulphur: the same oil is also recommended as an external application for the ulcerated joints. But of all the alterative and deobstruent remedies employed by the native practitioners of India in this complaint, none is of equal repute with the concrete milky juice of the plant called by the Tamools *Yercam* (*Asclepias Gigantea*); it exudes from the leaves and tender shoots on being pricked, and has at first somewhat the appearance of cream; but on drying becomes a little darker coloured, and has a rather nauseous and acrid taste: the dose is about a quarter of a gold pagoda weight, given twice daily, together with a little sulphur, and continued for some weeks. The plant is termed, in Sanscrit, *Arca*, also *Vásuca*, and *Pratápassa*.\* In the Canarese language it is *Yécádd*; in Hindustáni it is named *Madár*; † in Dukhíni, *Akré*; in Javanese, *Wádúri*; and in Arabic, *Usher*, according to Avicenna (233), though it would appear that in Arabia Felix, the *Asclepias Gigantea* ‡ has got the appellation of *Oshar*, which, however, may be a corruption of the same word. In the *Materia Medica* of Hindustan, above cited, which I published at Madras in 1813, will be found (page 128) some account of the *ycrcam* plant (*asclepias gigantea*), and its use amongst the Hindu doctors; also some notice of what has been by some considered as a variety of the same plant, and termed in Tamool *Vallerkú*; but I have since had reason to believe that this last is of a

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\* The *Arca* or *Vásuca* is the rosy variety; the *Pratápassa* or *Alarca*, is the white sort.—H.T.C.

† From the Sanscrit, *Mandára*.—H.T.C.

‡ The reader will find farther notice of this plant in Springel's "*Rei Herbariæ*," vol. i. pages 252, 253; also in "*Abu Hanifa abud Serap*," cap. 50; also in "*Alpinus' Egypt*."



different genus altogether, and what was named by the late excellent Dr. Klein, of Tranquebar, *Exacum Hyssopifolium*, and is in all probability that which is said to be often confounded with the true *asclepias gigantea*, in the upper provinces of India, and there called *Akand*.\* I have said, that the dried milky juice of the *asclepias gigantea* was considered in southern India as powerfully alterative; and late accounts, which I have received from that country, tend the more to convince me of it: I should therefore venture a query, whether, as such, it might not be tried in cancer, that most intractable of all maladies. The bark of the root of the *asclepias gigantea*, as it appears in the bazaars of lower India, is of a pale colour, and has a bitter, and somewhat nauseous and pungent taste: the natives consider it as alterative; also as a gentle stimulant, taken in decoction to the quantity of two table-spoonfuls twice daily: and Rheede, in his *Hortus Malabaricus*,† where the plant is mentioned under the appellation of *Ericu*, says, that a decoction of its root is given in intermittent fever, and in those swellings of the limbs which women sometimes have after confinement. The powder of the bark of the root of the *asclepias gigantea*, called in Bengal *madár* powder, has been highly extolled of late as a valuable remedy in lues venerea, leprosy, and cutaneous diseases in general. Mr. Playfair, in a paper already mentioned, and which may be seen in the first volume of the Edinburgh Medical Transactions, goes so far as to say that it is one of the most useful medicines hitherto derived from the vegetable kingdom; and it would seem, by an excellent paper‡ on "*Elephantiasis as it appears in Hindustan*," by Mr. Robinson, that he also bears witness to its powerful effects as a deobstruent and sudorific, in almost all cutaneous eruptions; the dose of this powder is from three grains to ten.

Dr. Good, in his Study of Medicine,§ notices two other species of Elephantiasis: one common in some parts of Italy, and termed *Elephantiasis Italica*; the other as occurring occasionally in Spain, which he calls *Elephantiasis Asturiensis*; but, as I have already observed, respecting Mr. Robin-

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\* In the *Hortus Bengalensis*, published by Dr. Carey, from Dr. Roxburgh's MS., *Akand* is given as the *Hindí* name of *asclepias gigantea*.

† See *Hortus Malabaricus*, part ii. page 55.

‡ See *Medico Chirurgical Transactions*, vol. x. See also Dr. James Johnston's most valuable work on the influence of tropical climates, page 268.

§ See work, vol. ii. page 856.

son's *Elephantiasis Tuberculata*, and *Elephantiasis Anaisthetos*, I consider them as the same disease in every instance, only differing a little in the symptoms in different habits, owing to age, mode of living, peculiar state of the body, &c.

The appearances of the body on dissection do not throw much light on the peculiar nature of the malady, further than that I have observed in such cases the heart to be usually small, and the arterial system altogether shrunk and collapsed: the liver I have in one or two instances found indurated, and the gall bladder for the most part distended with viscid and very dark coloured bile; the contents of the abdomen had, generally speaking, an unusually pale and wasted appearance; the bones, when laid bare, were dry and brittle; the testicles, in one or two instances, were almost entirely obliterated; and, on opening the head, it has appeared to me that there was a more than ordinary determination of the blood to the membranes of the brain.

Besides the *Lepra Arabum*, there are several other cutaneous or leprous disorders but too common in India. The *Lepra Græcorum* is much less frequent, however, than that which we have made the subject of this paper: the Hindus of Lower India term it *Venkústam*, also *Shevutay cuday mayghum*, from a notion that it is occasioned by the bite of a small red reptile with numerous legs; it is often to be seen in the Malay countries, and there has the name of *Sakit Bercúdis*, or scaly disease.

The *Elephas*, or Barbadoes leg, I have already had occasion to mention.

The *Leuce* of the Greeks (*Λευκη*) is the *Vallay kústam* of the Tamools, and the white *Baras* or *Beres Abéz* of the Arabians; in *Dukhni* it is *Sufaid khóre*; and in Tellinghoo, *Tella kústam*. Haly Abbas has exactly described this affection in his *Theoria* (cap. xvi. lib. 8). It is but a trifling evil compared with the *Elephantiasis* of the Greeks; and does not appear to have called forth much attention amongst modern medical writers. Celsus\* has placed it under the same head with *Alphos* and *Melas*, considering the three affections as different species of *vítligo*: though certainly the *Leuce* bears no resemblance whatever to the other two, which are nothing more than slight and innocent desquamations of the scarf skin; the one called *alphos*, from its white colour, the second *melas*, from its black. The first of

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\* Vide Celsus, lib. v. cap. xxviii.

these two is the *Vallay Taymble* of the Tamools; the *Aldzah* or *White Bohdk* of the Arabians, and the *Sufaid Saim* of the Muhammedans of India. The last, the *melas*, is the *Carin Taymble* of the Tamools, the *Kala saim* of the Muhammedans of India, and the black *Bohdk* of the Arabians.

What are called *Albinos*, or white Indians, are often met with in the more inland tracts of the Peninsula. It is no place here to enter minutely into the singular affection which distinguishes those miserable beings. *M. Blumenbach*, of Gottingen, *M. Ruzzi*, a surgeon of Milan, and *Saussure*, in his "Voyages dans les Alpes," have given us much curious information regarding them: in Tamool they are named *Ven Pandoo*; in Tellinghoo, *Tella Pandoo*; and by the Muhammedans of Lower India, *Góra lóke*. Their colour is that of a dead European of a very fair complexion. They are almost blind till brought into some dark or shady place, so painfully susceptible are they of the common light of day. Their constitutions are extremely delicate; they are for the most part timid and irresolute; and are seldom known to live to an advanced age: the females rarely bear children; but, when they do, their offspring is of the natural colour of the tribe to which they belong.

XIX. *EUGRAPHIA SINENSIS; OR, THE ART OF WRITING THE CHINESE CHARACTER WITH CORRECTNESS: contained in Ninety-two Rules and Examples. To which are prefixed, SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHINESE WRITING. By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., M.R.A.S., F.R.S., &c.*

Read June 18, 1825.

ON THE CHINESE WRITING.

THE graphic beauty of a written language, which approaches so near to the hieroglyphic as the Chinese, where many of the characters are intended as pictures of the idea to be conveyed, where the variety of the lines, or strokes, is so great, and their combinations are so numerous, must be allowed at once to exceed, and to be more difficult of attainment than, that of the alphabetic writing of Europe. The number of the simple characters, or elements, of which all the compounds of the language are formed, greatly exceeds that of any one alphabet; but, when compounded, their relative juxtaposition and arrangement, the shortening of some strokes and the lengthening of others, is of course subject to some general rules; which, from the very nature of the subject, must be more numerous and complicated, than the mere joining together of our European letters. The advantage of simplicity (and a very great advantage it is) constitutes the chief merit of alphabetic writing; that of variety and graphic beauty may fairly be claimed by the Chinese.

It must be observed, however, that there are two forms, under which the character generally appears: of these, the *Sung pan*,\* in which books are commonly printed, being stiff and inelegant, lays claim only to correctness; the other, viz. the *Keae shoo*,† in which all papers of consequence are written, and which occasionally is also used in print, combines both correctness and beauty;‡ it is at once the most elegant, the most useful, and

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\* See Plate IV, No. I.

† See Plate IV, No. II.

‡ There are several other forms, and among the rest the seal character, which is somewhat analogous to our black letter; and which being hardly ever used, does not deserve much attention from Europeans.

the most studied form of the Chinese character. To attain skill in writing it, is more or less the aim of every educated Chinese; and to impart that skill, is the object of the work, whose rules I have translated, and given its examples, in the following pages.

Of the two points, correctness and elegance, the first only is absolutely required of students, at their public examination;\* though, of course, if the latter exist, it is held to be an additional recommendation. If graphic skill be ever held cheap in China,† it is only in the possession of him who can lay no claim to the higher attainments of solid erudition. It will always procure as much consideration as it is worth; and that it is worth a great deal, when combined with learning and critical accuracy, is proved by the care with which it is studied.

Having derived some advantage, in writing the character correctly, from an observance of the rules that follow, I concluded that they might prove equally useful to such Englishmen, or others, as studied the language, of which the written character must be allowed to form an important department. It is well known, that the Chinese themselves write with a hair pencil, but partly with a view to make it more difficult for them to forge such papers, and partly because it is a readier method. The British Factory at Canton, in their correspondence with the local government, are accustomed to have their letters, &c. in the native language, written with a pen, on English paper; though it certainly is not possible with our pens exactly to imitate the pencil strokes of the Chinese; yet by dint of practice much may be done with it, even in point of neatness and beauty: the form of the character, and its proportions, may be most accurately preserved; and there is no reason whatever why, in point of correctness, the writing of the pen should not be fully equal to that of the pencil.

The rules and examples that follow include every possible class of written character; and indeed, some few of them are little more than mere repetitions of the same general directions, though, as they were made for the instruction of the Chinese themselves, I have thought it right to omit none,

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\* To prove how much stress is laid on this, the Chinese have a common story of some candidate, who having written the character for a horse, with a horizontal line at the bottom, instead of with four points, was rejected altogether, being told "it was impossible for a horse to walk, without its legs."

† See Chinese Moral Maxims, page 175.

in my translation. It may be as well to notice, in this place, two or three leading precepts, which, as they apply to the writing of every character in the language, are more especially to be kept in mind.

First, it is a rule both in printing and writing, that each character should occupy about the same space in the page, or be nearly of the same size as the rest, whether it consist of only one or two strokes, or of a great number.

Secondly, it follows from the above, that where the strokes are few, they must be thickened and enlarged in proportion; and that where they are many, they must be proportionably diminished, and written close to one another.

Thirdly, in forming a character, it is proper to commence at the top, towards the left hand; thus, in writing *Lin*,\* it is right to begin with the horizontal stroke in the left portion, then to bring down the perpendicular across it, next the left oblique stroke, and lastly the right: this being done, the right hand portion of the character is completed in the same manner. The remembrance of a few such rules greatly simplifies the subject, and, joined to regular practice, renders the acquisition of a sufficient portion of skill, for every useful purpose, by no means a difficult undertaking.

But it is not alone for the purpose of learning to write, that Chinese writing is to be studied; without some practice in this way, it is impossible to fix many characters in the memory, and no man can properly be considered to learn the language, who does not devote a portion of his time to this important branch of the subject.

No reasonable person, at the present day, will deny the necessity that there is, for some few, at least, of our countrymen being possessed of a competent and practical knowledge of the Chinese language. He who ever carries his thoughts back to the past, will allow how ill we should have fared without it, on many critical discussions with a people, of all others the most extravagant in their assumptions, and the most difficult to manage; and he who can look beyond the present day to the future, may not only foresee (as long as our government neglects to make some sort of provision against such contingencies) the possibility of discussions still more embarrassing, and more difficult, than have ever yet occurred at Canton; but

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\* See Plate IV, No. III.

when he takes into consideration the extension of our Indian frontier to the northward and eastward, may easily anticipate the chance of our being, some day, unavoidably placed, with respect to the Chinese empire, in relations of a far more weighty and important nature, than such as are simply commercial.

The Chinese, themselves, are cunning enough to know, that "knowledge is power;" and, though they have, of late years, gradually relaxed in their vigilance, and may at length be considered to have relinquished the point,\* the jealousy with which they, not very long ago, regarded the attainment of their language by Europeans, sufficiently shewed the importance that they attached to it, and the consequences that they foreboded, from such knowledge, to their selfish interests.

Every step that renders us independent on native aid, in acquiring and making use of the language, may be considered as something gained: not to mention, that such aid is hardly procurable by the student in Europe. The Chinese might, at a future period, revise and greatly increase the penalties against such of their people, as give instruction to Europeans, at Canton; and the very occasions, on which the use of the language was most required, would be those on which the assistance of natives was most likely to be cut off. Besides, as experience has shewn that the local government, notwithstanding its pretended pride and indifference, has condescended to employ spies upon our actions and intentions, these persons, being necessarily acquainted, in some measure, with our counsels, would be the most convenient that it could select for the purpose.

The assiduous labours of our countrymen, during the last ten or twenty years (I, of course, especially allude to the valuable dictionaries of Dr. Morrison), have done nearly all that was required towards this desirable independence on native aid. Something, however, seemed still wanting, which might make us acquainted with the general rules by which the Chinese are guided, in writing the great variety of their characters: and the object of the present compilation, imperfect as it is, has been to supply, in some measure, the defect.

*Macao, 5th July, 1824.*

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\* It was insisted upon by the British Factory, in the discussions of 1814, and at length yielded to them.

All characters are composed of the six following kinds of strokes, or lines,\* *viz.* :—

<i>Hung</i>	.....	Horizontal.
<i>Shoo</i>	.....	Perpendicular.
<i>Peě</i>	.....	Left oblique.
<i>Nă</i>	.....	Right oblique.
<i>Kow</i>	.....	Hooked, or bent.
<i>Teën</i>	.....	A point, or dot.

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THE NINETY-TWO RULES FOR WRITING THE CHINESE CHARACTERS WITH  
CORRECTNESS.†

1. The upper part should cover in what is below.
2. The horizontal stroke below should be rather extended, as a foundation for what is above.
3. In these, the left-hand portion should be elevated, and the right depressed.
4. In these, the left-hand portion should be small, the right full and extended.
5. In these, which are compared with something carried on a pole, the horizontal stroke in the middle should be long.
6. Let the perpendicular, in these, be drawn down perfectly straight through the middle.
7. The 20th of the 214 Chinese keys, or radicals, should not be much deflected nor short, in these.
8. Let the 20th radical in these be neither too upright nor too long.
9. The horizontal line in these must be short, the oblique long.
10. The horizontal lines must be long, the oblique short.
11. The horizontal strokes short, the perpendicular long, and the oblique at full length.
12. The horizontal lines in the 75th radical, at the lower part of these characters, must be long, the perpendicular short, and the two oblique contracted into points.

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\* See Plate IV, No. IV.

† For the Chinese examples, see Plate IV. to XI, No. 1 to 92.



13. The transverse stroke long, the upright short.
  14. The transverse short, the upright long.
  15. When there is an horizontal stroke at the top and bottom, the upper one should be short, and the lower one long.
  16. When there are perpendicular lines at the left and right, the left should be short, and the right full and extended.
  17. When there is an oblique stroke to the left, and a perpendicular to the right, the former should be contracted, and the latter brought down.
  18. When there are perpendicular strokes to the left, and oblique ones to the right, the former should be short, and the latter free and extended.
  19. When there are several dots, their relative size and position should be varied, to prevent uniformity.
  20. Where horizontal strokes are repeated, they must be of different lengths, like scales, or feathers, to prevent stiffness of appearance.
  21. Both sides being nearly equal, they must be even at the top and bottom.
  22. Where a character is compounded of three simple parts, placed sideways, the middle one should be narrow and upright.
- Note.*—As every character ought to approach, more or less, to a squarish form, it follows, that where the component parts are placed sideways, each should be narrow and long, as in this example; but, where they are placed one above the other, each should be broad and short, as in the next example.
23. The two separate parts must be broad and flat, that the whole may approach to a squarish form.
  24. Where a character is composed of three, placed one above the other, let some of the horizontal strokes be short, and some moderately long.
  25. Where the left-hand portion is small, it should be even with the top of the character.
  26. Where the right-hand portion is small, it should be even with the bottom of the character.
  27. Where four characters are repeated on the outside of another, the whole should have a square form.
  28. Where four characters are repeated on the inside of another, they must be written very close together.
  29. Here the long strokes should not be horizontal, but written with an inclination.

30. The long lines should be horizontal, and the perpendicular without any inclination.
31. The oblique stroke should not be too much elongated.
32. The long oblique in these should be nearly straight, with a certain appearance of strength; that is, as if drawn with a firm steady hand.
33. Let the hooked stroke below be sufficiently bent.
34. Here the bent stroke should include, and, as it were, embrace the character at the side.
35. The lower strokes must be placed centrally under those above.
36. The hooked strokes in the left-hand portion must be contracted.
37. The point of the hooked stroke should be directed towards the middle of the four dots.
38. These should be even at the top.
39. These should be even at the bottom.
40. Where there are many right oblique strokes, some must be at full length, and some contracted.
41. Some of the hooks in the component parts must be suppressed, and some indicated.
42. The hook in the upper portion should be slightly, and in the lower, more strongly indicated.
43. The hooked stroke at the top should be contracted, and the one below extended.
44. The upper part of these characters should be broader than the under.
45. The under part in these should be broader than the upper.
46. Let the left-hand portion yield in size to the right.
47. Let the right-hand portion yield in size to the left.
48. Let the two sides be large, and the middle small.
49. In these the middle portion should be fully written.
50. The middle portion in these should be small.
51. The hooked stroke in these must be bent, and with an appearance of strength, as if drawn with a firm hand.
52. The bent stroke must be round and flowing.
53. The oblique stroke to the left must not be too thin and elongated.
54. The two left oblique strokes must not be parallel to each other.
55. When there are three oblique strokes together, let the top of each proceed from the middle of the one immediately above it.

56. In writing the contracted form of the 85th radical, the lowest dot should be drawn up in a point towards the highest.

57. The 25th radical in these characters must be upright, and placed immediately under what is above.

58. The 32d radical in these must be erect, and the perpendicular stroke in a line with the perpendicular stroke below.

59. Where characters consist of a great number of small uneven parts, care must be taken lest they become confused.

60. Where the strokes are thickly placed, more care is required in writing them.

61. The descending stroke must be thick at top, and diminish towards the bottom.

62. The descending stroke should be of nearly equal thickness throughout.

63. Though the lines of these be inclined, "the heart of each character must be central."

64. The lines should all be straight and strong.

65. The body of these characters should be of a long shape, and the strokes rather slender.

66. These should be of a dwarfish shape, and the strokes rather thick, partly because there are few of them.

67. The oblique strokes which cover in what is below must balance each other.

68. The foregoing rule also applies when they are in the middle of the character.

69. Though the lines in these should be thick, let them not be clumsy.

70. Though in these the strokes should be rather long, let them not be meagre.

71. Where there are but few of them, the lines should be thick.

72. Where there are many strokes, let them be small, and equally blended.

73. Where the same character is thrice repeated in a compound, each must be nearly of a size with the rest.

74. Where the strokes, from their number and form, are involved, care must be taken lest they become confused.

75. The horizontal line below must meet, and be carried a little beyond, the descending stroke to the right.

76. Let the hook below be strongly indicated.

77. When a character is compounded with the 162d radical, the upper part of it should be written larger than the lower.

78. Where the oblique strokes are short, and the horizontal long, the oblique stroke on the right must be contracted.

79. In these, let the upright lines to the left be short, those to the right long.

80. Let the perpendicular stroke to the left of these be extended a little beyond the others.

81. The hook in the upper part of these should be turned inwards.

82. These characters require skill and care in writing them.

83. Examples for writing such characters as are compounded of the 26th radical.

84. Examples of such as have the 163d radical on the right.

85. Examples of such as have the 170th radical on the left.

86 to 92. Examples of characters compounded with various radicals, &c.

XX. *AN ACCOUNT OF GREEK, PARTHIAN, AND HINDU MEDALS, found in India.* By MAJOR JAMES TOD, M.R.A.S.

Read June 18, 1825.

I HAVE the honour to present to the Society fac-simile engravings of two medals, which fill up a chasm in the Numismatic series of the Greek Kings of Bactria, *viz.* APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ

is the epigraphe of the medal of APOLLODOTUS. The figure is very properly that of Apollo, armed with a dart or spear inverted, in the left hand; denoting clemency after victory. Towards his right hand, is a monogram, indicating the date, which would appear to be the Bactrian era, composed of the letters OEA.

On the reverse, is a figure which appears to represent a portable sacrificial tripod, or altar, having around it an inscription in the ancient Zend, or Pehlavi character, as in the Sassanian medals of Sapor, and the inscriptions\* of Nakschi, Rustam, and Kermansha.

The other medal is of a name better known to history—MENANDER. It bears the effigies of the prince, the head covered with a helmet; the epigraphe—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ..... ΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Though the two first letters of Menander are wanting, not a doubt can exist of its being his coin. I will leave to others to conjecture what were the letters, now indistinct, which filled up the space between *Basileōs* and *Menandrou*.

The reverse bears a winged figure,† having a palm branch in the left hand, and in the right a wreath. Around is the same Zend character, as in that of Apollodotus, and the monogram‡ composed of two letters, IΔ.

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\* See De Sacy. Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse.

† This winged figure is Victory.—N.

‡ No. 323 of Miannet.

The *Zend* characters, common to both these medals, afford a proof, which may be considered as decisive, that both these princes held Bactria, or Balk'h, as the seat of empire; for, though the discovery of these coins gives validity to the reported extent of conquest of these princes, yet, had they held the seat of government within the Indus, they would have adopted the ancient *Nágarí* character on the reverse, not that of Parthia.

I shall now state how, and where I found these coins, and describe the method I adopted in my search, which, if persevered in by others, may lead to more discoveries of this nature. For the last twelve years of my residence in India (amongst Mahrattas and Rajputs), the collecting of coins, as an auxiliary to history, was one of my pursuits: and in the rainy season I had a person employed at *Mat'hurá* and other old cities, to collect all that were brought to light by the action of the water, while tearing up old foundations, and levelling mouldering walls. In this manner, I accumulated about 20,000 coins, of all denominations; among which, there may not be above 100 calculated to excite interest, and perhaps not above one-third of that number to be considered of value: but, among them, there is an APOLLODOTUS and a MENANDER, besides some rare medals of a Parthian dynasty, probably yet unknown to history.

By the acquisition of this coin of APOLLODOTUS, I made a double discovery, namely, of the coin itself, and of an ancient capital city.

Conversing with the principal disciple of a celebrated *Jain* priest of Gwalior, about ancient cities, he related to me an anecdote of a poor man, about thirty-five years ago, having discovered, amidst the few fragments left of *Súrapura*, on the *Yamuná*, a bit of (what he deemed) glass: shewing it to a silversmith, he sold it for one rupee; the purchaser carried his prize to Agra, and sold it for 5,000, for it was a diamond. The finder naturally wished to have a portion of the profit, and, on refusal, waylaid and slew the silversmith. The assassin was carried to Agra to be tried, and thus the name of *Súrapura* became known beyond its immediate vicinity. This was a sufficient inducement to me to dispatch one of my coin-hunters, and I was rewarded by APOLLODOTUS and several Parthian coins.

The remains of *Súrapura* are close to the sacred place of pilgrimage, called by us "Betaisor," on the *Yamuná*, between Agra and Etawah. Tradition tell us, that it was an ancient city, and most probably was founded by SURAS'ÉNA, the grandfather of CRÍSHNA, and consequently the capital of the Suraseni of the historians of Alexander, which name they very appro-

priately assigned to the kingdom of *Mat'hurá*. Arrian mentions two capital cities on the *Yamuná*, "Methoras and Clisobaras." We easily recognize the first; yet, much as the Greeks disfigured proper names, we can hardly twist the latter into *Súrapura*. Amongst the ruins of ancient *Mat'hurd*, I obtained two other medals of APOLLODOTUS, one of which, very indistinct, I gave to Major Miles, who, I believe, has since presented it to the Literary Society of Bombay.

At *Mat'hurá*, where I obtained a few good medals, after many years' search, I found MENANDER.

The illustrious names of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, are a sufficient theme to fill many pages of the journals of the Society, and would require more classical historic knowledge than the nature of my pursuits and occupations could afford me a chance of acquiring, in order to illustrate their history. Nevertheless, as I possess some knowledge of the geography of their conquests, and have not come altogether unprepared for the task, I shall trust to the indulgence of the Society, in the attempt I am about to make.

Had not APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER despised the narrow limits of the kingdom usurped by Theodotus, I should never have ventured west of the Indus, in search of the princes of Bactria; but as both of them contemned the Indus as the boundary of their sovereignty, and invaded the sons of PURU in *Sauráshtra*, on the Indian shore, and on the *Yamuná*, where they left these memorials of their conquests, they placed themselves within the sphere of my pursuits.

It was from a passage in Dr. Vincent's "Translation of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea," that I discovered APOLLODOTUS appertained to the Bactrian dynasty. Moreover, Sainte Croix, in his "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre," takes notice\* of the conquests of MENANDER; from both I had references to other authorities, which I had no access to in India.

"Our author (Arrian†)," says Dr. Vincent, "redeems his error,‡ by the

\* Page 726.

† Supposed to have written his book during the reign of Aurelian. He resided at Barugaza, or Barooch, in a commercial capacity.

‡ The error alluded to by Dr. Vincent is of a geographical nature, in Alexander's departure from India.

preservation of a circumstance which fell under his own observation, which is, that *coins with the Greek inscriptions of Menander and Apollodotus, who reigned in this country after Alexander, were still current in Barugasa.\**

This APOLLODOTUS is hard to discover, even by the scrutinizing accuracy of the learned Bayer; but MENANDER he has introduced into the catalogue of his Bactrian kings, and with a most peculiar distinction, that he had extended his sovereignty down the Indus, and over the Delta of the Patālène.†

## BACTRIA.

On the division of the provinces, by the successors of Alexander, of the enormous empire he so rapidly acquired, those between the Caspian Sea and the Indus formed several extensive Satrapies.‡ Of the various authorities who treat of this partition, none agree with each other in the names of the governors to whom the allotments fell, for they were repeatedly changed by those who were the real masters of those provinces. In that portion of the empire held by Antipater, according to Arrian, Stasanor had Bactria and Sogdia; Philip had Parthia, which included Hyrcania; and the tracts east of Bactriana, almost to the Indus, were held by Pithon: while the Hindu princes, Taxiles, Porus, and Sandrocottus, exercised their sway on each side, and within the Indus. It is immaterial to notice the fluctuating alterations in this arrangement, down to the extinction of the Macedonian kingdom, and the partition of Asia amongst the officers of Alexander.

Twenty-five years after the death of Alexander, Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, having made himself master of Syria, and assumed the regal title, brought all the provinces, up to the Indus, under subjection, and nominated governors. He even designed reconquering those held by the native Hindu princes; but troubles in the West, added to the bold attitude of Sandrocottus, at the head of 600,000 men, compelled him to enter into

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\* The Greeks have well preserved the ancient name of Barooch, if classically written—*Bhrigu-gacha*, the residence of the sage *Bhrigu*. The site of his hermitage, tradition has placed at some distance from the present city.

† *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, vol. ii. page 401. *Vincent's Navigation of the Ancients*.

‡ Parthia, including Hyrcania, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Arachosia.



terms with him ; and, for the price of 500 elephants, to leave him in undisturbed possession, and even to recognize his sovereignty.

The other provinces, first mentioned, remained attached to the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, until the third prince in descent from the founder ; when Bactria, from a dependency of the Seleucidæ, was erected into a kingdom, by the revolt of Theodotus, the governor from Antiochus\* Theos, while this monarch was engaged in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt.

That event occurred in the 58th† year of the Seleucidæ, the first of the Bactrian era, and 256 years before Christ. This minor Greek monarchy lasted 122 years, when it was overthrown by an irruption of the same Getic, Jit, or Scythic tribes,‡ which destroyed Cyrus and his host. They were the people of that country where Alexander was wounded§, and where he built the most northern of his Alexandrias, on the site of Cyropolis ; a spot, perhaps, now answering to *Kojend*, on the Jaxartes, which river is the Sirr, or Sihun, of the Persians ; also called Araxes and Orxantes,|| by the Greek geographers ; most probably the Arverna of the Hindu Purans, the Silis of the “ Carte des marches d’Alexandre :”¶ that word is of Sanscrit origin, implying a mountain\*\* stream, from having its fountains in the grand range of the *Himdlaya*.

It is scarcely feasible to assign precise limits to the Bactrian kingdom, for Bactria itself was soon overstept ; and what might be termed the Bactrian kingdom at the period of the revolt, comprehended Sogdia as well as the province of Bactria, which had the Oxus, or Jihün,†† as its northern boundary. The kingdom of Theodotus, therefore, included all Trans-oxiana, or the Do-âb of the Oxus and Jaxartes, or Mawer-ul-Nehr of the Persians ; and to the south, the Parapamisan range. To the west it was kept in check by its alternate rival and ally, the Arsacidæ of Parthia ;

\* Anc. Univ. Hist., vol. iii. page 846.

† *Historiæ Regni Græcorum Bactriani*, page 38.—*Bayer*.

‡ The Asi, or Aspîi, the Tochari, and Getic Sacæ.

§ Arrian, chap. iii.

|| Arrian, book iii, quoting Aristobolus.

¶ St. Croix.

\*\* *Silisi*, a mountain stream ; from *Sil*, a rock. Hence *Saila*, the personified appellation of *Hemâchal* : whence *Sailâ*, his daughter, one of the names of the river goddess, *Gangâ*.

†† One of the rivers of Paradise, according to Marco Polo.—*See Marsden's Edition*.

but to the east its frontier cannot be fixed, for we are left in doubt whether PITHON declared himself independent, or whether the provinces he held gradually merged into Bactria: the latter is probable; while there are circumstances which render the other opinion plausible; so that we should not allot to Bactria all the medals of Greek princes we may discover in the highlands of Central Asia. Six kings are quite enough for the 122 years that dynasty endured; but, on these points, the dates contained in the monograms must be consulted.

It is probable that the Greeks took the word *Bactra*, which was the name of the capital of the country, from *Balk'h*; they also called this town *Zariaspa*,\* probably signifying, in the original language, a settlement of the *Asii*, a Scythic tribe,† of an extensive Scythic race. For *Aspi*, *Aspasiæ*, the *Aswa*, or *Haya*, of the ancient Hindus, have perhaps the same derivation. *Aswa* is a very common termination of the names of the early Hindu princes, especially those of the lunar line, one of whom, prior to the *Mahabhrata*, is stated, in the genealogy of the Puráns, to have erected a sovereignty near the Indus, built its ancient capital *Campinagara*, and to have left a numerous progeny. His name was *Bájáswa*; and of his issue was the celebrated *Draupadi*, who became the wife, in common, of the five *Pandū* brothers. This savours strongly of the Scythic, and is entirely repugnant to existing Hindu manners. Doubtless, at that period the similarity was great, or it might be more just to surmise, that the difference of many of the races between the east and west of the Indus, was originally slight.

*Balk'h*, or *Bactria*, is of very remote antiquity; it is mentioned as the birth-place of *Zerdusht*, or Zoroaster, and was the residence of Cyrus the Great. As the oldest city in the world, it was distinguished by the title of *Am-ul Belad*, "the mother of towns." This ancient metropolis is now reduced to insignificance. Its ruins still cover a great extent, and are surrounded with a wall: but only one corner is inhabited.

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\* Perhaps from *Scher*, a city, and the race *Aspa*, or *Aswa*.

† *Asi*, is a sword; *Aswa*, *Aspa*, a horse, in Sanscrit and Persian; what more proper name for Scythic warlike tribes, almost all horsemen? Most probably from one or the other of these words originated the term *Asia*, not from the wife of Prometheus, as Diodorus asserts, though *Isa*, a goddess, might afford a claim. The Scythic tribe, which invaded Scandinavia, was known to the prior inhabitants under the name *Asi*.

The country of Bactria has always been extolled, both by ancient and modern travellers, as highly fertile\* and productive; and, to its natural riches, is properly ascribed the power which the revolted princes so rapidly acquired.

That portion of the kingdom of Cabul, which embraces the provinces of Balk'h and Khorassan, according to the boundaries assigned by the best authorities,† with the tract north of the Oxus to the Sirr,‡ forming a part of the modern kingdom of Bokhara, in Turkistan§, constituted the kingdom of Theodotus.

The more celebrated, and far more extended dynasty of the Parthian Arsacidæ, which first contributed to aggrandize, and afterwards curtailed the Bactrian power, rose into eminence about the same period.

The first Arsaces was a Bactrian by birth, and with his brother Tiridates had opposed the ambitious designs of Theodotus; but being unsuccessful, fled to the governor of Parthia,|| by whom being treated with indignity, he raised troops, expelled him, and following the example of Theodotus, declared himself independent. Three years after he was succeeded by his brother Tiridates, who bears on his medals the title of "Arsaces¶ the Great, King of Kings." That he was much indebted to the Greeks of Bactria, we may judge from the epithet his medals and those of his successor bear, of *Philhellenos*. His friendship for the Greeks can only be understood towards the Bactrian Greeks; for he had scarcely been two years on the throne, when Seleucus\*\* *Callinicus*, having made peace with the Egyptian monarch, left Syria with a large army to recover Parthia; and the "Great King" was obliged to fly to his Scythic brethren, the Getic Sacæ of the Jaxartes; till a rupture between the brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, gave

\* "Elle est vaste, et produit de tout, excepté des olives."—*Strabon*, liv. xi.

† See map to Elphinstone's Cabul.

‡ For more minute boundaries, *Strabo* may be consulted.

§ Or *Tocharistan*, the abode of the Tachari, one of the races mentioned by *Strabo*, as aiding to overturn the Bactrian kingdom. In Tachari we find the origin of the word Turk: the Usbeck Tartars, or Turks, are still in the old abodes of the Tachari; the name is also found, by the Chinese and Tartar historians, in the words Tak-i-uk.—See *De Guignes*.

|| *Lewis*, Parthian Empire. Ancient authorities differ in the name of this governor on the part of Antiochus Theos: by one he is named Agathocles, and by another Phericles.

¶ See *Vaillant*.

\*\* *Lewis*, Parthian Empire, quoting *Justin*, lib. xxvii. and xli.

him an opportunity to re-enter Parthia. Seleucus, having prevailed over his rival, resumed his Parthian expedition; but the second Theodotus, who had succeeded to the Bactrian throne, formed a close alliance with Tiridates, and sent him a large body of Bactrian troops, by whose aid Tiridates defeated, and made captive, the Assyrian monarch. The day, on which this battle was fought, became the anniversary\* of the foundation of Parthian liberty. This alliance† sealed the independence of both states; and, to this opportune succour, afforded by Theodotus, we may ascribe the epithet we have mentioned, as freely retained by the successive Arsacidæ, from a grateful recollection.

It is somewhat singular, that, while there is an abundance of medals of the first Arsacidæ, we should have so few of the Bactrian princes, and none of the founders; and that of two so conspicuous, as APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, those under our consideration, the only memorials of them should have been found upon the *Yamuná*, which is a decided proof of the extent of their conquests, and influence.

The names of nine princes have been, by various authorities, brought forwards, as appertaining to Bactria; but not only is the order of their succession liable to doubt, but some are asserted, by good authority, never to have reigned in Bactria at all, but to have belonged to a collateral dynasty, within the Indus; and of these, Bayer pronounces APOLLODOTUS to be one.

To illustrate the subject, I shall here insert his catalogue of princes:—

1. Theodotus I.
2. Theodotus II.
3. Euthydemus.
4. Menander; Rex Indiæ et Bactrianæ.
5. Eucratides I.
6. Eucratides II.

To these have been added,

7. Apollodotus.
8. Demetrius.
9. Heliocles.

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\* Lewis, Parthian Empire, page 14.

† This alliance is ascribed, by the author of the *Anc. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iii. page 846, to Theodotus I., but erroneously: he, to his death, remained jealous of the Parthian.

These three last names were well known to Bayer, who has, however, rejected them (for reasons which he assigns) as kings of Bactria. Heliocles, it is true, he does not mention by name distinctly, perhaps as some ground existed for believing that Demetrius and Heliocles were the same person.

The Chevalier Sestini, in his work on Coins,\* introduces APOLLODOTUS between Euthydemus and MENANDER, and Heliocles after the latter. He gives a medal of the latter prince, a description of which will be found in Mionnet,† where also a medal of Euthydemus is engraved.

Another valuable acquisition to the very few existing medals of these princes has been in that of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, described in a treatise entitled "Supplément à la suite des Médailles des Rois de la Bactriane."‡ Both father and son have the same type on the reverse, *viz.* Hercules with the club and the lion's skin.

The ancient authorities on the succession of these princes are so little satisfactory, that the writers, who have followed them, have come to very different conclusions, not only in the order of succession, but in the relationship of those princes. Thus, one§ makes Euthydemus the brother of Theodotus, whose sceptre he usurped; while another,|| quoting Polybius, calls him a nobleman of Bactria. But this is of little importance; Demetrius was the son of Euthydemus, and, by marrying the daughter of Antiochus the Great, secured the crown of Bactria to his father, against any further attempt from Syria. A more important question is, whether Demetrius ever reigned in Bactria. It is certain, he did not succeed his father, and the majority of opinions is against that point, though the compilers of the Ancient Universal History say, "MENANDER was succeeded by his nephew Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, in whose name he had governed, that prince being very young, at his father's death." They further say,

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\* *Classes Générales Géographiæ Numismaticæ*, by the Chevalier Sestini, who was kind enough to present it to me at Florence.

† *Description de Médailles Antiques*. It contains the description of the only two Bactrian medals yet found, Euthydemus and Eucratides, besides Heliocles, of "an uncertain epoch."—Vol. v. page 704.

‡ This was obligingly given to me by the Chevalier Sestini, but I have not been so fortunate as to meet with the account of those prior to Demetrius, by the same author. The Supplement is printed at St. Petersburg.

§ *Anc. Univ. Hist., History of Bactria*, vol. iii. page 846.

|| Lewis, *Parthian Empire*, page 21.

“ that he added to the empire, and left Bactria, in a flourishing condition, to his son Eucratides.”\* Bayer combats this opinion, which was held by J. Vallus and others ; and says, “ I shall prove from Strabo and Plutarch, that Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, neither succeeded MENANDER, nor was king of Bactria :” † and he seems to be supported in this notion by others. ‡

The time, allotted by Bayer to the reign of Eucratides I., is sufficiently long to admit of an additional prince, being thirty-five years from his assuming the government. It is here that Heliocles has his place assigned by Sestini ; and hence the identity conjectured of this prince and Demetrius. The reason given of his unfitness § to succeed his father Euthydemus, as being too young, falls to the ground, when it is considered that he was old enough to form a treaty with Antiochus.

The author of the description of the medal of Demetrius, || quoting Strabo, says that, along with MENANDER, he had conquered even to the Hypanis, and that he founded a city, called after his father, Euthydemia, near the Indus. Respecting the extent of the conquests, as far as the Hypanis, a very judicious note appended to the French translation of Strabo may be referred to. ¶ Bayer has also commented on this passage of Strabo, and it will enable us to proceed at once to the consideration of the medal of MENANDER. The passage in question is as follows:\*\* “ Some of these princes subjugated more nations even than Alexander, especially MENANDER, who, having passed the Hypanis, †† advanced towards the east as far as the Isamus ; but if it was to him that the Greeks were chiefly indebted for their conquests, the obligation was in part due to Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. Thus they subjugated the Patalene ; then spreading over the coast, they conquered the kingdom of Tessarioustus, and that of Segestes. These same Greeks carried their victorious arms as far as the countries of the Syri †† and Phauni.”

\* Anc. Univ. Hist., vol. iii. page 846.

† Hist. Reg. Gr. Bactr., page 74.

‡ Note 1. Demetrius, le fils d'Euthydemus, ne paraît point avoir jamais porté la couronne, &c. &c.—Strabon, liv. xi. sec. iv.

§ Anc. Univ. Hist.

|| Supplement, page 4 and 5, quoting Strabo.

¶ Page 75.

\*\* Strabon, liv. xi.

†† The Hyphasis, the Sutledge of modern geography, one of the five eastern arms of the Indus.

‡‡ Or Suroi, as Bayer, more nearly approximating to the original Συροι, writes it.

This passage would serve to furnish a comment on what little has been handed down to us of the actions of MENANDER and APOLLODOTUS, who both followed the same track of conquest. But if APOLLODOTUS belonged to Bactria at all, he must precede MENANDER.

The claim, however, of MENANDER to participate in the honours of Indian sovereignty, has been questioned, and his career confined to the states dependant on the "Mother of Cities;"\* while the obscurity in which the name of APOLLODOTUS was enveloped, originated in an error of Trogus Pompeius, which was adopted by Justin and Strabo. These writers confound the king APOLLODOTUS with APOLLODORUS, the historian of Bactria. The mistake would not have been cleared up, but for the incidental mention of APOLLODOTUS, by Arrian.

To the learned Bayer the merit must be ascribed of having discovered and rectified this error. He observes,† "The preface of Trogus Pompeius, where reference is made to Eucratides, the Bactrian, thus says: *To India also are added the exploits carried on by the kings APOLLODORUS and MENANDER.* Johannes Valens is offended with these words, remarking, that it is a most erroneous passage, for APOLLODORUS was not a king of the Bactrians, but an historian who had committed to writing, according to Strabo, the exploits of the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians."

"Neither has Trogus (he continues) handed down, nor do we require it to be granted, *that APOLLODORUS was king of the Bactrians; but it is evident that he was king of India, or some other part;* and Strabo distinguishes the Greek kings of India from the Bactrians, when he thus speaks:—"APOLLODORUS, therefore, who wrote the Parthian History, making mention of the Greeks who caused the revolt of Bactria from the Syrian kings, says, *they held all the nations between the Hydaspes and Hypanis in subjection, to the number of nine; and that they had five thousand cities, of which none was less than Cos, in Merope;*" and, immediately after, he brings forward the passage already given, from the Periplus,‡ "Even to this day, ancient drachmæ make their appearance in Barugazâ, inscribed with Grecian letters, the legends of those who reigned after Alexander, viz. APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER."

"But there must have been another besides, either before APOLLODOTUS

\* Balk'h, or Bactra. † Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., sec. xxxiii. page 77. ‡ Bayer, page 79.

or after him, in order that we may place the commencement of the Indian kingdom equal to the beginning of the reign of THEODOTUS. Besides, it may be collected from obscure fragments of ancient authorities, that many *Greek kingdoms arose together, and existed for some time among the Indians*; nor do I doubt that the Siriptolemœus, or Siripolemius, of Claudius Ptolemy,\* was of the number; for the latter part of the word is Greek; but (Σίρι) *Siri* is the Indian *Sri*."

One of the best grounds for assenting to the opinion of the Puránas having been remodelled at a comparatively modern period, is the mention, in them, of these very *Yavan* or *Greek kings*; while, at the same time, it proves that such a recasting (composition we cannot call it) took place at a time, when these events were fresh in the memory, and, perhaps, even while some descendants of these princes still existed. Arrian composed his *History of the Navigation and Commerce of the Red Sea*, in the second century, and he mentions those princes. Ptolemy wrote his *Geography* about the same period, and the authors, or renovators, of the Puranas, in the beginning of the sixth century. To colour this anachronism, and render it palatable to their votaries, the spirit of prophecy was assumed; and, of the dynasties which were to reign in time to come, these Yavans, or Ionians, are not only mentioned, but *Balich Dés*, or Bactria, is specifically assigned to them; and, what is a curious and valuable fact, the precise number of princes of this dynasty is named:—"For eight generations, the *Yavan*; † for twenty, the *Turshka*; ‡ for thirteen, the

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\* In the same section, Bayer, quoting from Ptolemy (the geographer), "There were many kings of India: Ozene of Tiastanus; Baithana, the seat of Siriptolemœus:" doubtless *Ujjayan*; and Pattan, on the Godáveri river; "Karoura, the palace of Kerobothus; Modoura, the palace of Pandion; and Arthoura, the palace of Sornus:" the first most probably the abode of the *Curu-putras*, or *sons of Curu*; the second, clearly *Ma'hurá*, held by the Pandu princes, the descendants of Puru, which they actually did in Alexander's time, and for eight centuries before. *Arthoura*, the abode of Sornus, may be *Arore*, on the Indus, the *capital* of *Sehris*, also a generic appellation of the sons of Sehl, another of the heroes of the great war.

† Thus the Greeks are termed.

‡ The Scythic race of the Oxus and Jaxartes; the *Turshka* and *Tukyac* of the Hindu; *Tachari*, or *Tochari* of the Greeks; and *Tagitai* or *Chagitai* of Turkisthan, and the *Tartar* historians of Tocharestan, the *Saca-dwipa* of the Puránas, the country of the *Sacæ* or *Sac'hæ*, the *racæ*: of which the Parthians were, the *Sacæ* of the province of *Aria*; hence the titular appellation of all its princes, *Arsaces*: and from *Saca-dwipa*, which D'Anville properly places about the fountains of the Oxus, the Greeks composed the word *Scythia*.



*Gor-ind*;\* for eleven, the *Maunas* ;† in *Balich Dés*, thirteen generations ; *Pushpamitra Dumitra*, after the descendants of *Agraj*, seven generations." I give the passage as a guide to others ; whether *Dumitra* is Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, we have nothing but the analogy of the names, and the introduction of *Balich* in the same passage, for support to our conjecture. *Agraj*, the Hindu prince, after whom, it appears, this dynasty of seven princes reigned, may be the *Aggrames* of Quintus Curtius, *the Prince of the Gangarides and Prasii*, the report of whose immense armies was the barrier to the further advance, beyond the *Setlej*, of the arms of Alexander. With every probability, we may consider the ancient city of AGRA as the residence of *Aggrames* ;‡ and, as a proof of its great antiquity, and at the same time as throwing some new light on another interesting series of medals of a Parthian dynasty, to which we are strangers, I present drawings of a few of those medals, out of a considerable number, which were discovered in an earthen vessel, found in its ruins some years ago, in the course of my researches.

There are remains of another *Agra*, or *Aggaroa*, fifteen miles to the north-east of Hansi Hissar, of which tradition says, that it occupies the site of an old capital. It would have been precisely in the line of march of Alexander into India. This *Aggaroa* is in the tract termed *Heriana*, the cradle of the *Agarwál* race ; who, though now only traders, claim a princely origin. Quintus Curtius mentions *Aggrames* not being of gentle blood ; nor is it improbable that this prince, whose sons were merchants, was the formidable opponent, of whose power such exaggerated accounts reached Alexander's army, as to cause them to murmur against the king's further progress into the plains of Hindust'han.

There is very good ground for believing that APOLLODOTUS, or MENANDER, or both, penetrated beyond the altars of Alexander on the banks of the *Setlej*, the Hyphasis of his historians ; and here I must again refer to the quotation, already given from Strabo.§

Among the princes, who had carried their arms into the interior of India,

\* *Gör-ind*, the lords of *Gor*. *Ind*, a contraction of *Indra*, in poetical composition, very commonly applied to a prince.

† *Maunas*, perhaps the *Macwana* tribe, still found in the *Sauráshtra* peninsula.

‡ *Agra-gráma* (town), *ísa* (lord).

§ See page 23, Strabo, lib. xi.

the geographer especially mentions Menander and Demetrius; and though it is not asserted by him that they were contemporary, it is by no means improbable. "Having passed the Hypanis (he says), they advanced towards the east, even to the *Isamus*."

Several authors, and amongst them Bayer, have put a construction on this passage which entirely fetters the meaning of the original, this being descriptive of the wide sweep of the Bactrian arms. They have corrected the reading, by substituting *Imaus* for *Isamus*. These are Bayer's comments: \* "They advanced as far as the Imaus, where are the sources of the Ganges, in order to reduce the tracts which had been in the possession of Sandrocottus." Would this be advancing from the Hyphasis to the east, either in the common sense, or according to Hindu geographical acceptance of the east country? The misnomer has been noticed, in a note of the French translation of Strabo; † and the opinion here expressed would remove all difficulties, if it were admitted that "L'Isamus serait un fleuve nommé aujourd'hui *Zemna*;" but this is advanced on authority ‡ in the interpretation of which the commentators do not coincide. They are inclined to conclude, from a subsequent passage, § that it is the river Hydaspes which is meant, a construction that cannot be supported, as it would imply absolute retrogression, and a westerly, instead of an easterly, movement from the Hyphasis. The *Yamunâ* would well answer our purpose; but I know of no authority which recognizes *Isamus* as one of its many appellations. In the ancient cities that were on its banks, were found almost all the Greek and Parthian medals I obtained. Wilford had conjectured the *Isamus* to be the small stream which flows into the Ganges, called the *Isa*, which would so far apply, as it pointed to an eastern progress of the Greek arms; for, although small, it had geographical importance, as we learn from the bard Chand, being the boundary of the Hindu kingdoms of Dehli and Canouj, seven centuries ago. It might be so in the days of Alexander and Menander, when the sons of *Puru* and *Curu* reigned, and when "the palace of Pandion (Pandus) || was at Madoura (Mat'hura)."

Strabo proceeds: "They subjugated the Patalene, then spread over the coast, and conquered the kingdom of Tessarioustus and that of Sigestis."

\* Hist. Reg. Gr. Bact., page 81.

† Strabo, note 2d, liv. xi., tom. iv.

‡ Mannert Geog.

§ Strabon, liv. xv.

|| Bayer, quoting from Ptolemy.

This is the route of conquest by which they were made known to the author of the Periplus, who has handed down to posterity the names and exploits of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER. Their coins were current at Baroach in the second century, within the confines of these conquests, according to my interpretation of what follows :

“ They subjected (Strabo says) the Patalene.” This tract was supposed to have occupied the Delta of the Indus ; but more recent geography limits it to a much smaller extent,\* by curtailing the eastern boundary. *Patalene* is derived from the Sanscrit word *Patál*, the lower region : it was connected with *Minagara*, the capital of the Lower Indus, and governed by Sambus, when Alexander sailed down the Indus. It is not Arrian, the historian of Alexander, who calls the capital of Sambus *Minagara*, but another writer of that name, who was the author of the Periplus. The latter mentions it as the capital of a Parthian dynasty, in his time. The former gives the name of *Sindomana* to the residence of Sambus, who wisely propitiated “ Macedonia’s madman,” dreading the fate of the crucified Musicanus, and the massacre of the Brahmins.

Captain Pottinger very ingeniously supposes *Minagara* to be the ancient isolated capital of Sinde, the Sogdi of Alexander, so called from *Meān-naggar*, signifying the insulated *Bukhar*. This, however, is greatly too high for the *Sindomanu* and *Minagara*† of the two Arrians, who agree in the position ; their verbal difference, I think, may be reconciled. Some light may perhaps be thrown on that ancient period, and it may be made to appear that the *Járejas* of *Cutch* and *Cant’hi*, now occupying the haunts of Tessarioustus, lived but at a short distance from their ancient kingdom, the abode of Sambus, the friend of Alexander, who was in fact their progenitor.

When (eight centuries before Alexander) the deified Crishna was slain in *Sauráshtra*, by the aboriginal tribes (whom he and the Pandus had expelled), and his followers in the “ Great War ” left India, a part of them settled in *Zabulest’hán*, and another division in *Sewesthán*, on the Indus.

Of the former it would occupy too much space here to speak ; and of the

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\* Arrian, however, makes it longer than the Delta of the Nile.

† Inland on the north, the district of Barugaza (Baroach) joins to Sinde, and is subject to the Parthians of Minnagar ; and the sea-coast from Sinde towards Guzzerat is called Surastrene.—*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, vol. ii., page 393.

latter I shall only mention, that the native annals state that Samba,\* one of Crīshna's sons by his favourite wife Jambuvati, was the founder of the *Sinde-sama* dynasty, on the Indus, and that their capital was anciently called *Samanagara*, or *Sambunagara*, the fortress of *Sama*, or *Sambu*, well known in the *Járeja* annals, at this day. On its site now stands *Tatta*, also called *Debeil*, properly *Déwal*, or *the Temple*; for there is a celebrated temple, the situation of which corresponds with the abode of the Erahmins, whom Alexander massacred for instigating the princes to oppose him.

This *Minagara* is the Parthian capital of the author of the *Periplus*, and the *Sindomana* of Arrian; and its sovereign was *Sambu* (a titular appellation), the *Sambus* of Alexander. When the *Járejas* sacrificed the Hindu character to maintain their dominion, and became proselytes to Islám, it required but the change of a letter to make these the descendants of the mildest of the gods of Hind, the offspring of the Persian *Jamsheed*; and *Sam* and the exploits of Crīshna, the Apollo of *Vrij*, were lost in Jam. Abul Fazil describes the Jam raj (government), which ruled on the Indus, one branch of which is now fixed in the *Sauráshtra* peninsula; their capital, *Jamnagar*. They are neither Hindu, nor Mahomedan; while their *Jareja* brethren follow the Hindu manners, but are too much degenerated from purity of blood, to admit of its mixing with that of the princes of *Rá-jast'hán*.

Had not the afore-mentioned passage of Strabo pointed out the Hyphasis as the first object, when speaking of the conquest of Menander, we might have imagined that, passing over the intermediate country, which forms the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, he had proceeded directly from Bactria, through Aria and Arachosia, to the Patalene; but we have evidence of the route of march having extended from the eastern frontier of the land watered by the five grand streams which feed the Indus; and we are also in possession of the important fact, that there existed a capital of a Greek kingdom on the Hyphasis, called, in the native tongue, *Sangala*, which was the residence of Demetrius, and the Greek dynasty

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\* *Sáma*, or *Syáma*, was one of the names of Crīshna, from his dark complexion, hence Samba; and one branch of their family having lost sight of their origin, say they came from *Rúm Sham*, or Syria. The *Batti* and *Járeja* annals fortunately aid each other to develop the little that is to be gleaned of that remote period.

in India proper, and by Demetrius named *Euthydemia*,\* in honour of his father.

If Apollodotus does not belong to the Bactrian dynasty, we must give *Sagala*, or *Sangala*, to him, in preference to Demetrius, and even Menander. Perhaps the monograms may tend to clear up these doubts.

*Sangala* is placed on St. Croix's map† *within the Hyphasis*, which coincides with D'Anville‡ and the historians of Alexander, and brings it on one side of *Lahore*, the supposed site of the capital of Porus. At this point the progress of Alexander terminated, and here he erected what is called his *Altars*. Major Rennel has not fixed the position of *Sangala* in his map, though he intimates where it should be placed,§ which does not differ from St. Croix.

Wilford, quoting most respectable native authority,|| says, that there are the ruins of a most extensive city, which he supposes to be *Sangala*, to the westward of *Lahore*.¶ This was the last city which the Macedonian conqueror sacrificed to his ambition, in his career towards the plain of Hindust'han. Good fortune saved the cities on the Yamuná and Ganges from sharing the doom of *Sangala*, which was itself levelled to the ground, after a massacre of 17,000 of its people, and the captivity of 70,000.

After Alexander's departure, it seems to have sprung up again from its ruins, but only to become the possession of another Greek. But if we suppose Menander to have been this Grecian, which can hardly be doubted, though he also was master of Bactria, it is gratifying to humanity to think,

\* "I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that *there was a city within the Hydaspes, called Sagala, also Euthydemia*, and I scarcely doubt that *Demetrius* called it so from his father, though after his death, and that of *Menander*. When *Menander* subdued Bactria, I cannot define; but we may conjecture that *Demetrius* was deprived of his patrimony, A.U.C. 562 (A.C. 192)."—*Bayer*, page 84.

† Carte des Marches d'Alexandre.

‡ Page 105. This great geographer, quoting from Ptolemy, says, "Sagala is called *Euthydemia*, but that he would fain read *Euthydemia*."

§ 48 miles S.W. of Lahore.

|| Mirza Mogul Beg, part of whose journals and remarks this very intelligent Mogul presented to me many years ago.

¶ As. Res.

that the beneficence of his character may have obliterated from the remembrance of the Hindu the barbarous deeds of Alexander.

A more honourable testimony of regard was never paid to departed royalty, than that which Menander received from his subjects. Bayer, quoting Plutarch, thus describes it: "A certain king, Menander, who had reigned with justice over the Bactrians, having died in camp, the cities in common had the care of his funeral rites, but afterwards contended for his ashes; they at last divided his remains equally amongst them, and agreed that monuments\* to him should be raised amongst them all."

I possess two notices from the native Hindu annals of a city of antiquity, which I have little doubt is the *Sagala* of the Greeks.

I have already hinted, that in the destruction of the *Yadava* power, which predominated in all India about 1,100 years before the Christian era, one branch retired to *Zabules'than*, claiming *Guzni* as their ancient capital. Doubts might be raised on this point; but the same annals (those of *Jessel-mér*) give us an intermediate place of halt, in their migration from the plains of the *Yamuna* and *Sauráshtra*.

This intermediate place was *Behera*, on the *Béhat*, or *Hydaspes*, in the hilly tract styled by them *Jiddú*, or "*Yadu ca dang*," the *Jiddú*, or *Yadu hills*, a name they still preserve, and which is to be found in *Rennel's Geography*. The MSS. from which I had this, are of some antiquity; but of the real situation of the hills of *Jiddú*, no information is any where to be obtained. These people were again driven back on India, and have retained a great impression of their foes in a Grecian garb. *Subhava*, or *Subhág*, established himself in the *Parapamisan* range, from those of *Yadu*, east of *Indus*; his son was *Gaj*, who founded *Gajni*. The king, *Mamrej*, of *Khorasan* (*Bactria*), often attacked the *Yadu* princes of *Gajni*. *Subhava* had always

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\* On first reading this passage, it struck me that the singular monument described by Mr. Elphinstone as the "Tope (Barrow) of Maunikyeula," might be one of these trophies to merit.

It is, however, much nearer to *Taxila* than *Sagala*, and which, doubtless, was within *Menander's* control. "There was nothing at all Hindu in the appearance of this building; most of the party thought it entirely Grecian."—See *Elphinstone's Cabul*, page 130, vol. i., and plate in vol. ii., second edition.

been victorious, but aided by the king of *Rúm*,\* the Bactrians renewed hostilities against Gaj; but, while he was in great danger, Mamrej suddenly died of indigestion. The period assigned for this is the year 3008 of *Yudhishthira*.

The relation is so mixed up with facts of a later date, that it seems, among other matters, to contain something of the history of Antiochus and his Hindu antagonist, SOPHAGASENUS, who made his peace with him by a present of money and elephants.

Bayer says, we have already stated, that SOPHAGASENUS was an Indian king in the Bactrian regions near to Paronius,† almost south; that he was rich, and surrendered his possessions willingly to Antiochus.

Euthydemus seems to have despoiled him of the kingdom, by means of Demetrius (if it was not Menander, as we might almost be tempted to conjecture, by the similarity of the name *Mamrej*), and to have taken from him all the countries to the west of the Indus, which had been a province of Macedonia, by the Parthians called *White India*.‡

Raja Gaj was at last slain, and his issue compelled to flee to *Salbhanpúr*, in the Panjáb; but this event is referred to the year 72, after § *Vicramáditya*.

I have already adverted to the *Sal-indra-púr*, the residence of a Scythic prince of the Gete or Jit race, in the sixth century, and remarked that the annals of Guzzerat, in speaking of the conquest of the celebrated *Cumárpál* of Anhulwara|| Pattan, say that he carried his arms as far as *Salpúr*, towards the Sewaluk mountains.

\* Rumi pati, in the original. The term Rumi, applied to Syria, appears to have been used long before the removal of the seat of government by Constantine. Alexander is always called "Sekander Rumi;" and wherever the Roman sway prevailed, the country was termed Roumiah.

"Les Orientaux distinguent entre les anciens Grecs qui avaient leurs Rois ou leur gouvernement particulier, et ceux qui étaient joints et soumis à l'empire Romain. Car ils appellent les premiers *Jouan*, Jones, de *Javan*, et ils donnent à ceux-ci le nom de Roum."—*D'Herbelot, Art. Roum*.

† Robertson, quoting Polybius, note 15, page 309. See also Maurice's History, vol. i. page 68, who has collected what has been written on Antiochus and the Hindu princes.

‡ This answers well to Ghizni, or Gajni.

§ Had it been seventy-two years before *Vicrama*, it would have answered for the period of Eucratides, the son of Demetrius, undoubtedly following Menander.

|| In the twelfth century.

All these testimonies seem to point to one particular city, for which a successful search might yet be made. The antiquities of that interesting region are still unexplored; but a persevering and extensive investigation would not be fruitless. There are many important objects yet left to be ascertained; but above all, a rich harvest might be expected in the countries radiating from the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, in Bactria and Sogdiana. The enterprising and intelligent traveller might avail himself of caravans of horse merchants, in his journey.

In the cave temples of Bamian, inscriptions might be met with; and were but the single fact established, that the colossal figures in the temple were Bud'hist, it would be worth a journey: perhaps no spot in the world is more curious than this region.

But let us return to the countries subjugated by Apollodotus and Menander, after the Patalene, namely, "the kingdoms of *Tessarioustus* and *Sigestis*." As to the first, there is little doubt that the kingdom of *Tessarioustus* was the modern kingdom of *Cutch*, the coast of which is called by the ancient geographers *Cant'hi*, a name used by the natives to this day. Hence the name of the old capital, *Cát'h-cót*, which signifies built of wood: it may have been *Cant'h-kót*, the fort of *Cant'hi*. *Tessarioustus* might be a corruption of *Teja-rája*, or King *Téja*, a common Hindu appellation, if it was not *Gajaráshtra*, the  $\Gamma$  being changed to a T.

The last excursion I made was to "the coast of the kingdom of *Tessarioustus*, and towards the Patalene." I obtained a knowledge of several facts, which it is not the place here to dwell upon, though I have added to the number of engravings some medals\* of a very ancient date, in a character of which no specimen has ever yet been given. I found these characters also cut on the rock of the ancient residence of the chiefs of the peninsular *Surastrene*, or *Sauráshtra*, erroneously designated *Katiawar*, which I shall again notice.

Bayer† has gone to the mouths of the Ganges, in search of the kingdoms of *Sigestis* and *Tessarioustus*, but his conjectures have no great probability in them. Strabo‡ proves that nothing but the tract east of the Delta can have constituted the kingdom of *Tessarioustus*.

That of *Sigestis* is more difficult to discover, especially when named

\* See Plate XII.

† Page 81.

‡ See note 4, liv. xi. Strabon.



together with that of *Tessarioustus*. If I am not mistaken, the kingdom of *Sigestis* ought to have been mentioned before the *Patalene*, when the conquests of Apollodotus and Menander were spoken of. Thus a gap in their route from the *Panjáb* frontier would have been filled up; for the only position which can be assigned to this kingdom, in reference to the line of conquests alluded to, goes to strengthen the opinion I before expressed, that the subjugation of the *Patalene*, or Delta of the Indus, proceeded through the western provinces from Bactria, and did not descend through the valley from the *Panjáb*. Then the kingdoms of *Tessarioustus* and *Sigestis*, being contiguous, would have been attacked in the succession I have stated. A passage from Abul Fazil will throw light on that of Strabo.

In his summary of the princes of Sinde, he says, "In ancient\* times there lived a *Rája*, named *SEHRIS*, whose capital was *Alore*, and his dominions extended to Cashmere† and the ocean. An army of Persians invaded this kingdom, and the *Rája* was killed in battle, and the Persians returned home." This relates to a period long antecedent to Muhammed.

*Alore* is stated by Abul Fazil, in his geographical description of the province of Sinde, to have been called *Debeil* and *Tatta*. This would bring the capital of *Sigestis* near that of *Tessarioustus*; but there is no need of encroaching on the domains of the descendants of *SAMBUS* of *Saminagara*, or the chief of the *Patalene*, in order to give *Rája* *SEHRIS*, or *SIGESTIDES*, a proper abode, the situation of which has been mistaken by Abul Fazil.

I was so fortunate as to discover‡ this ancient city, the original capital of the Sogdi of the Indus. It is situated seven miles east of the island of

\* Ayin Akbery, vol. ii. page 118.

† "To the East Cashmere" is *Abul Fazil's* definition of that limit of the kingdom of *Sehris*, which is either a mistake for *Ajamere*, or the quarter should be north. "To the west the *Muran*," that is, the Indus, or *Sind*, both having the same meaning distinctively—the river. Both are, I believe, words of Scythic or Tartar origin. The *Sin* or *Sind'h*, or, as the Chinese would write it, *Y'sin*, is only known locally in the valley as the "*Meeta Muran*," the *Sweet River*, by the natives. By written authorities he is styled *Abu-sin*, the father of the first of rivers. By others, and amongst them *Ferishta*, "*Nil-áb*," the blue stream, or Nile. Query: If Abyssinia has not the same derivation, the land on the *Abu-sin*, or Egyptian Nile?

‡ It was in 1810 I sent my first party to explore that tract, and to bring to me intelligent natives of the desert and Indus, and I repeated these parties till I exhausted the subject, and had matter for a sketch of its geography.

Buk'har,\* on the Indus, a place celebrated in Alexander's voyage. Its name is pronounced *Arore*; and amongst its ruins are the remains of a bridge over a stream, which, branching from the Indus at Dura, seven miles north of Buk'har, skirts the desert down to the ocean. On this stream is situated the port of Lukput, formerly so called. As the place bears the name of Sangra lower down, I have little doubt that it is the Lankra which Nadir Shah, in his treaty with Mahmud, made the boundary of Persia and India, thus lopping off from the latter all the fertile valley of Sinda.

The inhabitants of the desert, or rather one particular tribe, are called *Sehrai*, but I know not from what circumstance. It is a curious fact, that the tribe, which from time immemorial has had possession of this desert region, and which was, not very remotely, master of *Arore* and *Bukhar*, and all the valley, was the Hindu tribe *Soda*, one of the branches of *Püar*. May we suppose that the term *Sogdi*, applied to the people of *Bukhar* by Alexander, originated from that tribe? The best proof of the antiquity of their genealogy is their connecting, in an old couplet, the period of the cessation of the streams flowing through the desert, with one of the *Soda* princes.

In a chronicle of occurrences given me by a learned *Yati*, mention is made of the same prince, called *Raja Sehl*; and it is related that he ruled over all the countries east of the Indus, that he was of the *Püar* (*Pramúra*) race, and contemporary with *Vicramaditya*. Tradition further adds, that the Desert, now constantly increasing to the eastward, had no existence in his time. *Sehl*, or *Sul*, was also the name of one of the Pandu league in the Great War, and *Samanagar* and *Arore* were in the route of retreat of the remains of the *Yadus* and *Pandus*, under Yudhishtira and Baldéva, when they left India, after CRISHNA's death, on the shores of *Sauráshtra*.

I have visited the spot where the Apollo of India (CRISHNA) received the wound from the *Bhilla's* arrow; and also that, where his remains were burnt on the banks of *Rúpavati* (Argentina). A never-dying Pippala (*Ficus religiosa*) marks the spot; but the scion of this immortal stem of 3,000 years, appeared to be a sapling of about five years' growth. The intolerant Muhammedan had polluted the spot, sacred to the Hindu votary, by erecting a Mesjid almost in contact with the altar of Crishna. It is all holy ground to the Hindu: the ruins of the Temple of the Sun are very

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\* The Mansoorá of the Arabians, and erroneously supposed by some to be Minagara.

near the shrine of Chīshna, and not a mile beyond the famed *Sómandī'ha*, whose wealth surpassed that of Delphos. With this wealth Mahmud constructed his "Celestial Bride," at Ghizni. Within the walls, and with the remains of this ancient fane before my eyes, I listened to the recital of a metrical composition which we met with, descriptive of the destruction of the most holy temple. It was a singular composition, evidently, from the display of imagery, the work of the Hindu bards, aided by some refined Persian scholar. It had, with many Persian words, a mixture of pure *Hindī*, the choicest phrases of its colloquial dialects, and was withal incomparably simple.

Wilford,\* treating of the geography of the Indus, says, that the country to the east of the Indus was called *Sehr*, or *Sehr-dés*, and its inhabitants consequently *Sehrais*; and that west, *Lehr*. Leh is a considerable territory westward, and one of the largest communities in Balochistán is that of *Noomrie*, or *Loomrie*,† a colony of the Scythic Gete, or Jit, though now Muhammedan; of this race is a great part of the population of the valley.

I do not think we can find a more appropriate place for the abode of SIGESTIS, than *Arore*, the capital of *Sehris*; while the kingdom of TESSARIUSTUS is expressly said to be on the sea-coast, beyond the *Patalene*.

I shall now venture a remark on another passage of Strabo, and endeavour to elucidate a point which has caused discussion, respecting the countries which bounded the conquests of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER.

Strabo, namely, adds to what has been before quoted: "These same Greeks subjugated the country as far as the territory of the *Syri* and *Phauni*." Bayer, following the original orthography, Σιρων, writes *Suroi*, and on this he has commented, as have the French annotators.‡

He finds fault with Causabon for altering *Phaunōn* to *Phoinicōn*, and approves of the conjectures of J. Valens, who makes them the *Seres* and *Phryni* of the *Sacæ* nation, bordering on Chinese Tartary.

This emendation is noticed, but not confirmed, by the French annotators of Strabo, who prefer carrying the Bactrian arms to Syria and Phenicia. The compilers of the Ancient Universal History have also adopted this

\* Essay on Vicramāditya and Salivahana.—*As. Res.* vol. ix. page 230.

† At the angle of the Indus and Mekran coast: Query, If the *Lymrica*, or *Lymuritá*, of Alexander's geographers?

‡ Note 2, liv. xi. page 283, vol. iv. Strabon.

idea, but only say Menander died when about to carry his arms into Syria.

The misfortunes which befel Antiochus the Great, at this period, certainly afforded an opening to the Bactrian prince to attempt such an invasion; but the historians of the Syrian monarch would not have failed to notice such a powerful diversion in favour of the western foes of Antiochus, as the advance of the Bactrians to the frontiers of Syria, had it taken place. Menander succeeded to the Bactrian throne at the very time when Hannibal took refuge with Antiochus, and instigated him to cope with the soldiers of the mistress of the world; but the fatal battle of Magnesia shewed that neither Grecian phalanx, Scythian bowmen,\* nor a multitude of elephants from India (the tribute of Subhava and his son Gaj), could withstand the Roman legions, headed by the Scipios. This very victory, however, proved eventually ruinous to Rome: for the spoils of Asia and her luxuries enervated and corrupted her citizens; and from this victory, which opened to her the east, is to be dated her decline.

The *Suroi* are mentioned in conjunction with the kingdoms of Tessarioustus and Sigestis, and the Patalene, which was very near them, so that they could be approached without the necessity of invading the territory of Antiochus; which would rather have been presumptuous in Menander or Apollodotus, notwithstanding his misfortunes.

The *Suroi* were in fact the *Sauras*, inhabiting the peninsula of *Saurarâshtra*, the *Saurastrene* and *Syrastrene* already quoted from the Periplus, and the kingdom immediately adjoining, that of *Tessarioustus*, to the eastward. That the *Συροι* of *Saurâshtra*, and the Syrians of Asia Minor had the same origin, appears from the worship of *Surya*, or the Sun. I have little doubt, we have more than one "city of the Sun"† in this tract; indeed, the only temples of the Sun I have met with in India, are in *Saurâshtra*. The temple raised to *Bâl*, in *Tadmor*‡ in the Desert, by Solomon, where

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\* A body of 1,200 Scythian horse, armed with bows, claimed the admiration of the Romans. Antiochus had also 150 elephants, a great part received from Sophagasenus and other Hindu princes, when he invaded India, after making peace with Euthydemus, the predecessor of Menander. — *Anc. Univ. Hist.* page 567.

† Heliopolis (*Sûryapûra*) was one capital of Syria.

‡ Hence its name, *Bâl-béc*. *Béc* is an idol: so *Ferishtra* derives it, the idol *Bâl*. This, the capital in future times of the unfortunate Zenobia, was translated by the Greeks to Palmyra; for it is but a translate of *Tad-tar*, or *Tal-mor*, and can have an Indian derivation, from *Tar*, or *Tal*, the date, or Palmyra-tree; and *Môr*, the head, chief, or crown.

he worshipped "Bāl and Ashtoreth, the strange gods of the Sidonians," was the *Bāl-nat'h*, or Great God of the Hindus, the Vivifier, the Sun: and the Pillar erected to him "in every grove, and on every high hill;" the Lingam, or Phallus, the emblem of Bāl; *Bāl-nat'h*, *Bāl-césari*,\* or as *Bāl-Iswara*, the *Osiris* of the Egyptians; and as *Nand-Iswara*, their *Serapis*, or Lord of the Sacred Bull; *Nanda*, or *Apis*, "the Calf of Egypt," which the chosen people bowed to "when their hearts were turned away from the Lord."

Thus *Bāl* was the type of productiveness, and *Ashtoreth*, as destruction, most probably that of the Eight- (Ashta) armed mother. *A'SHTA-TÁRÁ-DÉVÍ*, or the radiated Goddess of Destiny, is always depicted as trampling on the monster *Bhainsdsúr*, aided by her lion (when she resembles Cybele, or the Phrygian Diana), and in each of her eight arms holding a weapon of destruction: but I have ventured to pursue the subject elsewhere. I shall merely remark on the Suroi of Menander, that amongst the *thirty-six royal races* of Hindus, especially pertaining to Sauráshtra, is that of *Sarweya*, as written in the *Bhák'há*, but classically *Suryaswa*. The historian of the court of Anhulwarra† thus introduces it: "And thou, *Sarweya*, essence of the martial races."‡ No doubt, it was, with many others, of Scythic origin, perhaps from Zariaspa, or Bactria, introduced at a period when the worship of Bāl, or the Sun, alone was common to the nations east and west of the Indus; when, as Pinkerton says, a grand Scythic empire extended to the Ganges. Here I must drop APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, for the history of their exploits extends no further than the Suroi.

I must, however, reserve for a distinct notice, what that great geographer D'Anville remarks. He had Arore within his grasp, and the addition of one point alone reserved for me the honour of the discovery of the abode and position of SEHRIS, if not of SIGESTIS.

Describing the tracts watered by the Indus ("le cours de l'Indus, jusqu'à la mer"§), according to the Turkish geographer, whom he justly lauds, and having mentioned *Bukhar* and *Shwan*, he says, "*Azour est presque*

\* Césari, a lion. Hence the royal appellation of the Cæsars; and Lion (*Sin'ha*) Lords of India, have the same meaning.

† Nehrwarra of D'Anville and Renaudót.

‡ "Sarweya, Cahatiriya tain éár."

§ Eclaircissemens sur la carte de l'Inde, p. 37.

*comparable à Multan pour la grandeur, selon Ebn Haukal dans Abulfeda ;*” but if this authority afforded a positive fact, it is a pity D’Anville did not abide by what he found so correct ; for, following *Agizzi*, he says, “ Cette ville est située sur le fleuve Mehran, à trente parasanges de Mansora à Minagara en remontant ce fleuve. There can be no doubt that Azour is Arore ; the r ( ر ), by a superfluous point, made a z ( ز ), though the only Azour, in Ibn Haukal’s Geography,\* is one in the route from Sejesthan to Ghizni.

It would be well if the successors of D’Anville, who have treated of the geography of the Indus, had followed his opinions of the merits of his authorities.† The names of towns given by him from U’ch (the seven towns, capital of the Oxydracæ) to Bukhar, as Bayla, Metila, &c., are still in existence, as this geographer has placed them.

Captain Pottinger, in his interesting work on Sinde and Balochistan, quoting the Persian work “ Mujmood Waridat,” mentions “ U’laor ” as the capital of Sinde, at the invasion of the general of Walid, in the ninety-third year of the Hejira. From other sources, he also mentions the overthrow of the dynasty of *Sahr* by *Nushirwan*, “ whose ancestors had governed Sinde two thousand years ;” but there are several anachronisms combined with the detail, as neither Jodhpur nor Jesulmér had existence then. But it affords additional testimony of the kingdom of Sehris, the Sigestis of the Greeks, whose capital was Arore.

Eucratides the First, who succeeded Menander in the kingdom of Bactria, is said to have dispossessed Demetrius of his Indian sovereignty, probably founded by Apollodotus. Bayer, quoting Artemidorus, says, that Eucratides possessed five thousand cities beyond the Indus, and assumed, like the Parthians, on his medals, the title of “ Great King.” This account of Bayer seems to be confirmed by a series of coins in my possession, of which I present specimens.‡

That author says, “ the obverse has a remarkably high relief of the head and helmet ; the ground of the reverse is lower. The *fasciæ* which wave round the neck are sufficient proof that the forehead under the helmet is bound with a diadem.

\* By Sir W. Ousely, page 210.

† “ Tout ce détail me paraît précieux pour la géographie bien loin, que je crois devoir passer par dessus. Il fournit ce qui n’existe point ailleurs, comme on s’en convaincra par l’examen des autres cartes.” This holds good.

‡ Plate XII, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

On the reverse are two horsemen with the Bactrian tiara, with palm branches and the sarissa, or long spear, of the Macedonians: the inscription is, "of the great King Eucratides," epoch 108. These horsemen are either Greeks in the army of Eucratides, or Bactrians, accustomed to the Macedonian discipline, bearing the sarissa, as Macedonians, the tiara, as Bactrians.\*

Unfortunately, there are but a few detached letters, and those of titles; there is also a strange mixture of Grecian and Parthian costume and symbol, especially the sacerdotal instrument for feeding the sacred fire. The figure on the reverse, whether on a horse or camel, has a hawk perched on the extended arm.

Nos. 3 and 4 of the first series, are decidedly of Greek princes, but it is to be supposed that they are too mutilated to furnish any useful light. The date of No. 3 is half destroyed, but the numeral N, answering to 50, remains. The medal is altogether in good preservation, having the bust on one side, and on the reverse Apollo armed with a dart, as in that of Apollodotus, and a cornucopia at his right.

Eucratides the Second, in the 110th of the Bactrian era, succeeded to the throne by the murder of his father; but he did not long enjoy it. One hundred and twenty years after its foundation, this kingdom fell.† The parricide was slain during an invasion of the Scythians, or Getes, of the Jaxartes on one side, and the Parthians on the other. The Getes remained in possession of the country they had occupied, till they were, in their turn, expelled by the Huns. Then many of them moved eastward. Strabo has left us the names of these Getic or Scythic tribes, who aided in the overthrow, viz. *Asi*, or *Aspi*; *Sacæ Tachari*. The *Sác'há Rajputs*, the *Táks* of Northern India: the *Getes*, or *Jits*, may be traced by inscriptions and other evidence.

As to the Parthian and Scythic princes who ruled in India, I have already spoken of those who had their residence at *Minagara*, on the Indus; the Indo-Scythic princes of India, mentioned by De Guignes, Cosmos, Gibbon, and others.

Mithridates (one of the *Arsacidæ*, or Parthian sovereigns), who made Eucratides tributary previously to the total overthrow of the Bactrian

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\* Bayer, sect. xi. second series.

† Ante C. 194.

kingdom, had established himself in all the power the Greeks ever had in India. He conquered the whole of the countries from the Indus to the Ganges, including the dominions of Porus; and such were his moderation and clemency, that many nations voluntarily submitted to him. Demetrius Nicator, of Syria, endeavoured to prop the declining cause of the Bactrians, but fell himself into captivity; his son Antiochus was slain in an attempt to release him. The Parthians extended themselves everywhere; and both they and their foes, the Scythic Tachari, had bands of Greeks as allies. To Mithridates, his successors, or a minor dynasty in India, we must assign these medals.\*

The third series of medals is of a race of this description: I present a few, *viz.* Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, all evidently of the same family. No. 10 represents a priest, or king, sacrificing. His head is adorned with the high cap of the Magi, and he is feeding the flame on a low altar. A club is placed in his left. Of several in my possession, though we distinctly read the epithet—"Of the King of Kings, Preserver," and on another, "Of the Great King of Kings," yet no proper name can be discerned. On the reverse is the sacred bull, with a man, perhaps the sacrificing priest, and the epigraph is in the Sassanian character.

Those which follow will deserve attention, and may perhaps be decyphered: the characters have the appearance of a rude provincial Greek. No. , the archer kneeling, speaks for itself. That they belonged to Parthian and Indo-Scythic kings, who had sovereignties within the Indus, there cannot be a doubt. I have collected some thousands; but only these few have escaped the corroding tooth of time.

The fourth series is scarcely less interesting. They are *Hindu*, of a very remote period, and have the same character which I have found wherever the *Pandu* authority existed, in the caves, and on the rocks of *Juniagur Girnar*, on the pillar of victory in *Meywâr*, and on the columns of *Indra-prest'ha* (Delhi) and *Prayâg*. Some of them are not unlike the ancient Pehlavi. These coins are of gold, and in fine preservation. Like all my medals, they are either from *Agra*, *Mat'hura*, *Ujjayan*, or *Ajmer*. Dr. Wilkins possesses some, found even in Bengal: he thinks, he can make out the word *Chandra* upon them.

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\* See Lewis's Parthian Empire, page 35.



On two, the obverse represents a naked figure, with a bow, in the act of shooting at some beast of prey, or fabulous monster. On the reverse is a goddess seated on a lion, holding a diadem, or crown, to reward him.

On the remaining two, Nos.     and     , we have the same figures, but with this difference, that the monster has disappeared; the bow is unstrung, in the man's hand; he is clothed in the spoils of the foe, and near him stands a trophy, the ancient Grecian or Roman standard, the eagle with expanded wings on a staff. To what can this allude? Is it a record of Chandragupta's success over Alexander, or does the Grecian standard denote the alliance he formed with Seleucus in after-times? They are fine medals, bold in design, of high relief, and I hope the inscription may yet be decyphered.

The fifth series is, like the others, entirely novel and unexplored. All that I can say of them is, that they belong to a dynasty which ruled from Avanti, or Ujjayan, to the Indus, for in that whole tract I have found them. The first I obtained, was from the ruins of ancient Ujjayan, twelve years ago. It was presented to me by a valued friend,\* who first awakened my attention to their importance. He found them in Cutch, and in his company I discovered others, amongst the ruins in the Gulph.† The character of the epigraphe I have met with on rocks in *Sauráshtra*, in the haunts of the *Suroi*, the bounds of the conquests of Menander and Apollodotus.

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\* Mr. Williams, resident at the Gykwar court, to whose kind aid I am indebted for being enabled to perform the most interesting of all my journies, and with his society.

† I have, however, little hesitation in assigning them to the *Balhara* sovereigns of Renandot's Arabian travellers, the Bhalla Raes of Anhulwarra Puttan, who were supreme in these countries. "This *Balhara* is the most illustrious prince of the Indies, and all the other kings acknowledge his pre-eminence. He has, of these, pieces of silver called Tartarian drams. They are coined with the die of the prince, and have the year of his reign."—*Renandot*, page 15.

The Arabian travellers have by no means attached too much importance to the *Balhara* sovereignty. They had a distinct era, 375 years posterior to Vicramáditya, which I had the happiness to reckon amongst my discoveries; but on this dynasty I shall have much to say elsewhere.

I trust I have provided matter for others to expatiate on, who may by these aids throw new light on Indian history. The field is ample, and much yet remains to reward patience and industry; nor is there a more fertile or less explored domain for the antiquary, or for the exercise of the pencil, both in architectural and natural scenery, than within the shores of Peninsular Sauráshtra.

XXI. ON THE VALLEY OF THE SETLEJ RIVER, IN THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS, from the Journal of CAPTAIN A. GERARD, with Remarks by HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.

Read December 3, 1825.

CAPT. A. GERARD, from whose letters on a survey of the middle valley of the *Setlej*, in the year 1818, a brief sketch of the geology of that part of the *Himálaya* was prepared, which has been inserted in the *Geological Transactions* (1st vol., New Series), has since continued to explore the same interesting portion of the great Indian chain of mountains. A short narrative of a visit to the same quarter, in 1820, was communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and is published in the 10th volume of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, (page 295.) In the subsequent year (1821) Capt. A. Gerard, with his brother, Mr. J. G. Gerard, more fully explored the same valley, to complete a geographical survey of it. Their diary, and the geological specimens collected by them, have, at their request, been freely communicated to me by the East-India Company, with the liberal permission of retaining a duplicate set of the specimens. This I accordingly have had the satisfaction of presenting to the Geological Society. But, as the diary contains particulars unconnected with geology, yet not devoid of interest in a more general view, I now offer to the notice of the Royal Asiatic Society a summary of it, interspersed with remarks, and including extracts of the more important passages.

The diary commences on the 6th of June 1821, at *Ról*, near the foot of the *Shátúl* pass, where the previous survey of the same tract in 1818 terminated. *Ról* is a small district in *Chúará*, one of the larger divisions of *Baséhar*. It contains five villages, situated upon the south-western declivity of the mountainous range. These villages vary in altitude, from 9,000 to 9,400 feet above the level of the sea. *Ról* itself is 9,350 feet. It is the highest inhabited land without the *Himálaya*. The crops are wheat, barley (*H. hexastychon*), Siberian barley (*H. cæleste*), called by the mountaineers *U'ä*, *Polygonum?* (*phápar*) and pease: they just reach to

10,000 feet. The wheat seldom ripens; and, when the rains fall early in June, most of the grains are cut green.

The travellers proceeded from *Ról* through a fine wood of oak, yew, pine, rhododendron, and horse-chestnut, with some juniper, and long thin bambus,\* to *Búchkdághat*, just overtopping the forest at the elevation of 11,800 feet.

They passed by an extremely difficult and tiresome way, amongst piles of loose stones, which seemed to have been but lately precipitated from above, to *Rëúnl*, a halting-place for travellers, on the bank of a rivulet, at an elevation of 11,750 feet. In the vicinity were stunted birches, dwarf oaks, pines, and juniper, and two species of rhododendron; one, as called by the natives, *Tálsár*. Flowers abounded, such as thyme and cowslips. The soil is a rich moist black turf, not unlike peat.

The *Shdtúl* pass had not been traversed since the month of September, 1820, when Mr. James G. Gerard effected the passage with much difficulty and danger, and lost two of his servants, who were frozen to death at mid-day. It was attended with less peril at this early season: Messrs. Gerard were the first persons who visited it in 1821. Having before travelled the ordinary road through the pass, they determined to strike directly across the ridge, which they accomplished. Its elevation was found by barometric measurement to be 15,556 feet above the sea,† confirming a similar measurement in the preceding year, which made it but two feet less.

The rocks were chiefly mica slate, and gneiss. In the ascent they had noticed a huge granitic rock, in the chilly recess of which they rested; and their route had led them in some places over heaps of angular fragments of gneiss, granite, quartz, and felspar, jumbled together in wild disorder, where every step was dangerous.

\* Throughout the diary, with rare exceptions, I have retained Captain Gerard's names of plants. Probably the English names are not always rightly applied; or, if right generically, the species must be for the most part different. They will be corrected in an appendix, so far as I may be in possession of sufficient information for the purpose, before the present volume is closed.—H.T.C.

† The heights of most remarkable places are calculated from corresponding observations of the barometer at *Súbáthú*: the exact number of feet is in such instances noted. Others were obtained by differences, and they are put down to the nearest fifty feet.

To the east and south-east was seen a low part of the Himálayan range. Its altitude is much less than that of *Shátúl*; but it is rendered impassable by a perpendicular wall of gneiss, that forms an impracticable barrier for several miles.

The snow became more frequent as they ascended, till they attained the crest of a ridge, at the elevation of 13,450 feet, where it is continuous at that early season. A month later, it would be dissolved. Upon the snow, at the greater height of *Shátúl*, were many insects like mosquitoes: at first they were torpid; but sunshine revived them. Some birds were seen, resembling ravens. Mosses were found on the few rocks.

The travellers halted for the night at *Kaniján*, under the shade of a large rock, at the height of 13,400 feet, whence the steep ascent of the pass begins. There were plenty of flowers where the snow had melted, but no bushes. The firewood was brought from the last camp.

From this spot the ascent seemed appalling. The crest was nearly 2,200 feet higher. Here and there a rock projected its black head; all else was a dreary solitude of unfathomable snow, aching to the sight, and without trace of a path.

The travellers found the snow, which was soft at mid-day, afford good footing, and reached the summit with less fatigue than they anticipated. They remained the night and following day at the crest of the pass, and suffered much from head-ache and difficulty of breathing, usually experienced at such elevated positions. It snowed in the evening. The temperature did not rise above 41° at noon: it was 24° and 26° at sunrise (9th and 10th of June).

On the subsequent day, they descended upon the same side, and proceeded along the dell of the *Andréti*, a branch of the *Pabar* river, rising near *Shátúl*, and halted on the bank of a rivulet called *Díngrú*, at an elevation of 12,300 feet, just above the limit of the forest. The lowest point in the dell was 11,100 feet. Leeks were gathered at the height of 12,000 feet. The ground was here a rich sward, cut up in grooves by a large kind of field-rat, without a tail.\*

Capt. Gerard and his brother continued to explore the glens and valleys of the tributary streams of the *Pabar* river; in particular the valley of the

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\* Spalax (*Mus typhlus*)?

*Sípon* river, and that of the *Pabar* itself, visiting the confluence of these rivers, the summit of the ridge which divides them, and the sources of both rivers.

The Himálayan glens for the most part run almost perpendicular to the range, or from N.N.E. and N.E. to S.S.W. and S.W. The face exposed to the N.W. is invariably rugged; and the opposite one, facing the S.E., is shelving. The roads to the most frequented passes lie upon the gentle acclivity: the difference of the elevation of forest on either side is remarkable. On the declivity towards the N.W., which, as before observed, is the most abrupt, the trees rise several hundred feet higher than those upon the opposite face, which has a more gentle slope; and in some instances, the difference exceeds 1,000 feet. The general height of the forest on the southern face of the *Himálaya*, is about 11,800 to 12,000 feet above the sea. Oaks and pines reach that elevation; birches extend a few feet higher. Descending from the pass of *Bandáján*, the level of the highest juniper was observed 13,300 feet.

From *Shéarghal*, at an elevation of 13,720 feet (which the travellers reached by a very steep path, crossing several snow-beds, where it was necessary to cut steps with a hatchet, and passing among gigantic oblong masses of mica slate, disengaged from the impending crags), the prospect is very extensive. Towards the plains appear the *Chúr* mountains, 12,000 feet (one measured barometrically is 12,143 feet); to the S.E., snowy summits of immense altitude, in the direction of *Yamundvatártí*, rising one above another in majestic disorder, and presenting mountains of eternal snow; and beyond the source of the *Pabar*, one of the huge *Raldang* peaks, above 21,000 feet. Across the *Pabar*, is the *Chashíl* range, through which are several passes, 13,000 to 14,000 feet high.

The travellers passed through *Tangno*, which gives name to a small district, comprehending five villages. Abundance of thyme, strawberries, nettles, thistles, and other European plants, was noticed. The houses are shaded by horse-chestnuts, walnuts, and apricots. The elevation of the place is 8,800 feet.

Unable to procure guides to the *Súndrú* pass, Messrs. Gerard proceeded to *Janglig*, a place already visited in 1820. Its height is 9,200 feet: the highest habitation, 9,400 feet.

The *Yúsú* pass, at the head of the *Sípon* river, which is called *Yúsú*, in its upper course, above *Bandáján*, is 15,877 feet high. The dell, between

this and *Bandáján* pass (14,854 feet above the sea), is shut in towards the N.E. by snow-capped mountains, upwards of 17,000 feet high, amongst which the river has its source. The rocks at *Bandáján*, and on the bank of the river, where the travellers encamped at the height of 13,650 feet, were gneiss; and the adjoining mountains the same, and clay slate. The descent was over broken slate, from *Bandáján*.

The ascent of *Yúsú* pass was extremely fatiguing: Messrs. Gerard describe themselves as having been so exhausted at first, that they rested every hundred yards; and, had they not been ashamed, before so many people, some of whom they had induced to accompany them after much intreaty, they would have turned back.

At the summit of the pass, there is a plain covered with snow for 400 or 500 yards. The ground slopes suddenly to the valley of the *Setlej*: the peaks on each side seemed about 800 feet higher.

The *Yúsú* river is divided into several streams, all of which, but the principal one, were crossed by arches of snow. The largest, which was forded, was forty feet broad, and six inches deep: the bed full of pebbles, and the margin snow-washed by the stream. With the exception of that principal channel of the river, and some openings partially disclosing the smaller branches, the rest is a bed of snow six or eight inches thick.

The glen becomes more and more contracted, till at last it is bounded by mural rocks of granite, with the *Yúsú* forcing its passage between them in impenetrable obscurity, under immense heaps of indestructible ice, running in ridges, and studded with mounds of snow.

The source of the *Pabar* is in a lake, called *Cháránmái*, above a mile in circuit, whence the river rushes forth over a perpendicular rock, forming a fine cascade. Above it are enormous banks of snow, 80 or 100 feet in thickness, which have cracked and partly fallen outwards into the lake. Just beyond them are three high passes, *Níbrang*, *Gunds*, and *Ghúsúl*, which lead over the summit of the range, into the valley of the *Baspa* river, and are very steep. The travellers were unable to persuade the guides to conduct them over either of these passes; but subsequently visited them from the other side.

The *Búrendo*, or *Bruäng* pass, near the *Pabar*, was again visited. It had been measured barometrically in 1818: the measurement now taken exceeded the former one (which was 15,095 feet) by 153 feet. To that extent the barometric measurements must be considered uncertain. They

halted two days on the summit of the pass; and, as is usual at so great elevations, were troubled with head-aches and difficulty of respiration. The nights were calm; but the solemn stillness was now and then interrupted by the crash of falling rocks.

They descended into the valley of the *Baspá*; sliding down the declivity of a snow-bed, by seating themselves upon a blanket on the snow. This mode is invariably practised by the mountaineers, where there are no rocks nor precipices. They had then a dreadfully dangerous footpath, along the rugged sides of the dell: it crossed many snow-beds, inclined at an angle of  $30^{\circ}$  or more; which delayed them much, as they had to cut steps in the snow.

The *Baspá* is a noble river, running through a romantic valley, which, the people have a vague tradition, was formerly a lake, and it has every appearance of it. The valley is bounded, on each side, by abrupt ridges of the *Himálaya*, which present a great deal of bare rock.

The travellers advanced to the confluence of the *Baspá* and *Bakti* rivers; examined the valley of the latter, and reached the confluence of the *Bakti* and *Nalgún* rivers, proceeding along the ridge, which is traversed by several passes before-mentioned, all of which they now visited, *viz.* *Níhrang*, 16,035 feet high; *Gúnds*, 16,026 feet; and *Ghúsúl*, 15,851 feet; as also *Rápín*, 15,480 feet.

At *Núru*, a halting-place, where there are good caves for shelter, at the elevation of 18,150 feet, and at *Dónisón*, where they halted the following evening, at the height of 14,200 feet, there was, through the night, a continued crash of falling rocks, on the rugged side of the dell. The species of rhododendron called by the natives *Tálsár*, was observed in the vicinity of *Dónisón*, at its level.

The *Nalgún* pass, the lowest pass through the *Himálaya* which had been yet visited, is 14,891 feet above the sea. From this pass they descended to the confluence of the *Nalgún* and *Bakti* rivers, and thence proceeded along the *Bakti*, and across the *Baspá* river, to *Sangla*, where they halted several days (23d to 29th of June), and whence they despatched their collection of plants and geological specimens; but the paper envelopes of the latter were rendered illegible, and the whole of the former destroyed, by the heavy rain which overtook the despatch, in the following month.

Messrs. Gerard, resuming their journey, ascended the valley of the *Baspá* to *Chétkúl*, the last, and highest village in it; crossing, the first day, two



large branches of the *Baspá*, the *Chuling*, and *Gór*, from the *Cailds* range on the north; and, the second day, two other considerable streams, the *Mangsdá* and *Shúttí*. They first passed over tremendous blocks of coarse-grained granite, the decomposition of which seems to have formed the sand in the river; it gives the water a turbid appearance. The granite is white, and from a distance looks like chalk.

The first part of the valley has the same general character with most others in the *Himdlaya*; but it is considerably broader. The face of the mountain exposed to the S.W., which is part of the *Cailds* or *Raldang* group, presents abrupt precipices and threatening cliffs, with little soil, and but few trees; the opposite face again is more gently sloped, and thickly wooded with pines, which are overtopped by a belt of birches. Near the top of this chain, there is a good deal of snow. The last half-mile to the village of *Rákchám*, situate in the western corner of the glen (and 10,500 feet above the sea), is a rugged descent upon enormous masses of granite. The dell has here a pleasing appearance, and it expands to three furlongs in breadth: half of it is laid out in thriving crops of wheat and barley, and the rest is occupied by sand-beds, which form many small islands, with the river winding among them. Just above the village, huge piles of black rock\* rise abruptly, in numerous black spires, to about 9,000 feet higher, or nearly 20,000 feet above the level of the sea. Approaching *Chétkúl*, the dell becomes more contracted; the right bank becoming very precipitous, and almost mural to the *Baspá*. The altitude of the village is about 11,400 feet, and the highest fields are scarcely 200 feet more. The valley continues about 800 yards wide for two or three miles; the *Baspá* then makes a bend to the southward, and the view is shut up by snowy mountains of great height.

From *Chétkúl* the travellers attempted the *Kimldá* pass, at the head of the valley of the *Rúsú* river, a large stream, derived from a double source, one branch rising in the snow of *Saglá* pass, which bears nearly south; the other, or smallest, in the *Kimldá*, about S.W. Above the elevation of 13,300 feet, the level of the highest birches, the *Rúsú* is increased, in rapidity and turbulence, to a torrent, and foams in dreadful agitation and noise. Still higher up, the road ascends gradually, upon snow of immense thickness in the channel of the current, which now and then shows itself

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\* Composed of black mica (fine-grained), with a little oxide of iron.

in deep blue lakes. The travellers passed along the margin of one, 150 feet in diameter: the way was extremely dangerous, upon ice sloping abruptly to the water; in this there was no footing, till notches were cut with a hatchet, an operation which long delayed their progress. Latterly, they travelled over mounds of unfathomable snow, so loose as scarcely to be capable of supporting them at the depth of three feet. The guides had snow-shoes, which were at least five or six inches in breadth. They said, that early in the morning, before the sun had power, the snow would bear the weight of a loaded person; and in May and June, when the pass is most frequented, it does not sink at any time of the day.

The travellers reached the elevation of 15,500 feet, where the pass appeared to be 1,400 or 1,500 feet higher, over vast fields of snow.

The dell is broad (half a mile wide), and covered with snow in high wreaths. The mountains, which have a S.E. exposure, are nearly bare, a few patches of snow only appearing at great heights. The line of cliffs may be 17,500 feet. On the other side, the mountains are nearly of the same height, and they present a chain of mural precipices, eaten away by frost into forms like towers and steeples. Much of the rock near the summits is exposed; and snow, having lost its hold on their steep craggy sides, has accumulated below.

It had rained several hours; the sleet fell thickly, without any prospect of its clearing up. Messrs. Gerard thought it prudent to order a speedy retreat; especially as the guides were greatly alarmed, and strongly remonstrated against their proceeding further, lest they should fall into some deep chasm, concealed by soft snow.

The shower of sleet continued with them the greater part of the descent; and latterly changed to rain, with a milder climate. From the craggy sides of the dell the rocks were loosened by the rain, and followed each other in a continued crashing, and some pieces tore up the path a few yards from them.

Having caught severe colds, they did not renew the attempt to visit *Kimhd* (nor *Saglá*), but returned to *Chétkúl*; and were dissuaded from attempting the *Neilang* pass, where, several years ago, eighteen persons perished in the passage: since which time, few loaded travellers have ventured by that route.

Messrs. Gerard proceeded by the *Chdrang* pass (17,348 feet high) to the valley of *Nangaltl*. The inclemency of the weather rendered it very

arduous. They were detained three days at *Shalplá* (a resting-place for travellers) by incessant rain; on the fourth day their guides consented to proceed. Many snow-beds were crossed; and, about the height of 16,300 feet, continuous snow-beds commenced; at first, a gentle acclivity, and latterly a very steep slope, surpassing, in terror and difficulty of access, any thing which the travellers had yet encountered. The acclivity was at an angle of  $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , of loose stones, gravel and snow, which the rain had soaked through and mixed together, so as to make moving laborious, and all but impracticable. The stones gave way at every step, so that it became necessary to use hands as well as feet. The travellers reached the crest of the pass at noon, in a state of exhaustion and numbedness of hands and feet, from continued exposure to snow and sleet, with a violent freezing wind.

The dell leading to the pass is very much contracted; and the ridges on each side are almost bare. The rock is generally a sort of slaty gneiss, sometimes in large masses, but more commonly tumbling in pieces, with little soil and less vegetation.

Here, as at *Shatál*, Captain Gerard noticed the circumstance of the mercury appearing quite pure [perfectly fluid?], when they left camp; but, at the pass (when used for filling a barometer) it had lost its lustre, and adhered to the fingers and cup as if it were amalgamated.

The descent from the pass, for half a mile, was at an angle of  $33^{\circ}$ , upon gravel and snow, with a sharp-pointed rock occasionally projecting through it. Some of the loaded people slid down this declivity at the greatest risk. Travelling was rendered laborious on the easier slope of snow, from its sinking one and a-half to two feet. The fissures were beginning to appear, and the guides picked their steps with much caution, leaping over whatever had the least appearance of a rent. The snow fell fast; and a piercing wind blew with fury down the dell.

The principal branch of the *Nangalté* has its source much further to the west; a rivulet joins it from the pass. The mountainous range having a N.W. aspect, is very rugged; and the snow (often of a reddish colour) presents enormous banks of sixty or eighty feet thick, as shown by the part towards the dell having fallen down where it cracked. This is always the case on the precipitous sides of the vallies, because the ridges, for a considerable way down, are too abrupt for the snow to rest upon them: it therefore accumulates in large quantities, where the inclination is more gentle; it then cracks, and tumbles down by its own weight, during the rainy

season, and leaves a perpendicular wall of eighty to a hundred feet in depth. The mountains on the other side were less steep, and the snow lies in continuous fields.

The travellers proceeded over heaps of loose stones, snow, and slush, at the point of congelation. They passed by several deep blue lakes, with their banks of frozen snow: these are always to be dreaded; and they made a circuit by a seemingly more arduous road, to avoid the danger. Two avalanches descended opposite to them: one of rock, which spent its force in distance, the smaller fragments just reaching them; the other of snow, but arrested by intervening rocks.

The rocks in the vicinity of *Kiákúche*, an enclosure for cattle, on the banks of the *Nangaltí* (where they encamped, at an elevation of 12,400 feet, as indicated by the barometer), were granite, and fine-grained mica slate.

Four considerable streams were forded, which rise at the back of the *Coids*, and joining the *Nangaltí*, at length mingle their waters with the *Tidúng* river.

After fording the *Nangaltí*, thyme, and further on juniper, mint, sage, and a variety of odoriferous plants, were met with. At *Kiákúche* there were a few animals of the cross-breed, between the *yak* (*bos grunniens*) and common cow.

On either side, for a few hundred yards, there is a grassy slope, with juniper and other bushes; and just above it, the dell is inbound by craggy cliffs of horrid forms. A little further down, the glen becomes more contracted in breadth, and the mountains present mural faces of rock, which continue for two miles, to the union of the *Nangaltí* with the *Tidúng*.

Few of the loaded people arrived the same day; two of them stopped all night at the top of the pass, and tore up their blankets to protect their feet. Fortunately it did not snow, and clouds prevented severe frost, or they certainly would not have survived the night. People were despatched to their assistance; and all were up, soon after noon, next day.

Recommencing their journey, the travellers followed the course of the *Nangaltí* river, to its junction with the *Tidúng*, and explored the valley of this last-mentioned river, ascending to the village of *Charang* (12,000 feet), amidst mountains 18,000 feet high; and proceeding thence to *Thangi*, and afterwards to the confluence of the same river with the *Setlej*. The principal branch, retaining the name of *Tidúng*, flows from the E.S.E., having its source in Chinese Tartary.

The valley of the *Tiding* is very narrow; in parts so much so, as scarcely to afford a passage for the river. The stream is furiously rapid, the declivity very great, and the rumbling of large stones, carried down with velocity by the force of the water, was incessant. For six or seven miles the fall of the river is 300 feet per mile, and in some places almost double: where it presents an entire sheet of foam and spray, thrown up and showered upon the surrounding rocks with loud concussion, re-echoed from bank to bank with a noise like thunder.

The dell of the *Tiding*, at *Hüns*, a Tartar village, is confined by towering cliffs of white granite and mica slate. The mountains in the neighbourhood of *Charang* are all of blue slate, naked to their tops, and exhibiting decay and barrenness in the most frightful forms. They tower in sharp detached groups to about 18,000 feet. No vegetation approaches their bases, whilst their elevated summits offer no rest to snow.

Where the dell was narrowest, there was so little space for the stream, that the road continued but for a small distance on the same side, and crossed the river repeatedly by *Sangas*; one was inclined at an angle of 15°. The travellers had to pick their way: one while upon smooth surfaces of granite, sloping to the raging torrent; at another, the route led among huge masses and angular blocks of rock, forming capacious caves, where fifty or sixty people might rest: here the bank was formed of rough gravel, steeply inclined to the river; there the path was narrow, with a precipice of 500 or 600 feet below, whilst the naked towering peaks, and mural rocks, rent in every direction, threatened the passenger with ruin from above.

In some parts of the road there were flights of steps; in others, framework, or rude staircases, opening to the gulph below. In one place is a construction still more frightful to behold; it is called *Rapid*, and is made with extreme difficulty and danger. In the instance, it consisted of six posts driven horizontally into clefts of the rocks, about twenty feet distant from each other, and secured by wedges. Upon this giddy frame a staircase of fir-spars was erected, of the rudest nature; twigs and slabs of stone connected them together. There was no support on the outer side, which was deep, and overhung the *Tiding*, a perfect torrent.

After surmounting this terrific passage, they came to another, where the footpath had been swept away. It would have been impracticable; but, from previous intimation, thirty people had been despatched the preceding

night from *Thangi*, and had just completed two tolerable *sangas* by the time the party arrived, so that they passed in safety.

The last mile and a-half to *Thangi* was better; the road ascended from the river, often by staircases and scaffolding; and at the village, the shade of the *Deödár* and *Neoxa* (same with Mr. Elphinstone's *Chilgooxa*), two species of pine, was again enjoyed.

*Grámang*, one of two divisions of *Thangi*, is pleasantly situate upon a southern slope; the houses rising above each other, with the inclination of the soil. There are few fields, but they appeared thriving. The grains were wheat, barley, *phápur* (*Polygonum?*), Siberian barley, and millet (*Panicum miliaceum*), with some patches of turnips and pease. The whole is neatly laid out, and intersected with aqueducts, whose banks are adorned with walnut, apricot, apple, and poplar trees. Above the village is a thick forest of pine: and the summits of the surrounding mountains are all peaked, and very rugged. On one side of the river they are fine-grained black mica, so hard, that it was difficult to break off a good specimen with a hammer; across the *Tidáng*, the rocks appear to be white granite.

The route from *Thangi* to *Marang* lies through a forest of pine (*Rí*), upon the slope of a hill, composed entirely of blue slate, often crumbling in pieces.

From the confluence of the *Tidáng* with the *Setlej*, the town of *Ribé*, or *Ridang*, has a charming appearance: yellow fields, extensive vineyards, groves of apricots, and large well-built stone houses, contrast with the gigantic *Raldang* mountains. These are scarcely four miles from the town.

*Marang*\* is a large town, surrounded by high mountains. Although 8,500 feet above the sea, it enjoys a mild climate. During eight days' halt, the temperature varied from 58° to 82°; and flies were very troublesome. The sun, even at this season (July), does not appear more than nine hours: was scarcely visible above the mountains before 8 a. m., and disappeared behind them at 5 p. m. There were alternately light clouds and sunshine, and now and then a little rain, which in this valley never falls heavy: the height of the outer chain of the *Himálaya* being sufficient to exclude the rains, which deluge *Hindusthán* for three months.

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\* Already visited by Capt. Gerard in 1818 and in 1820.

Having collected from the surrounding villages, supplies for ten days, Messrs. Gerard proceeded to examine the valley of the *Táglá* river, which has its source in Chinese Tartary. They travelled to *Nisang* (on the *Táglá*), a Tartar village, already visited both in 1818 and 1820; crossing the *Túngrang* pass, which was again measured, and the previous measurement (13,739 feet) confirmed.

The pass leads over a spur, which runs down to the *Setlej* river, from a cluster of snowy mountains, upwards of 20,000 feet high. The rocks are slate: it easily splits into large even slabs, which are well adapted for carving the sacred Tartar sentences upon them. Across the *Setlej* the mountains are of white granite, breaking into gravel, and more abrupt than on the hither side.

They proceeded along the banks of the *Táglá* to *U'rchá*, and thence to *Rakor*, through the *Ruthingí* pass, and near the source of a rivulet of that name, after passing the *Kháttí*, which descends very steeply from the *Himdlaya* on the south, in which direction a peak of vast altitude is visible. The elevation of the pass is 14,638 feet; that of the resting-place at *Rakor*, 14,100 feet. A few birches are growing 200 or 300 feet lower.

Upon the left bank of the *Táglá*, the height of the mountains is upwards of 16,000 feet, and no snow appears. The rocks are brown clay slate, and mica slate. Upon the right bank of the river, the mountains appear to be all clay slate, crumbling into soil, and forming a natural declivity. The summits seem to be 18,000 feet high, at least; and there is very little snow in streaks. Farther to the east is a large mountain, white with snow, and near it a naked ridge of rocks, ending in a number of sharp points, apparently formed of slate. In the vicinity of the source of the *Ruthingí*, several conical points are seen covered with snow.

The travellers continued along the banks of the *Táglá* to *Zongchen*, passing several streams which fall into it, and a larger one named *Kegóche*, which comes from the south (S. by W.), and one less considerable, called *Langtarge*, from the S.E., both very muddy. The *Táglá* itself is quite clear, and its course is from the N.E. They crossed at once by a *sango*.

The path lay upon broken slate and slippery soil, then upon inclined faces of rock; at one time ascending steeply upon loose stones; at another, descending abruptly upon rude steps and scaffolding, projecting over the stream, and between cliffs that subtend an angle of 60° or 65° on either side. Now and then these crags are perpendicular for 200 or 300

feet, and they even overhang the pathway. Large snowbeds conceal the river for several hundred yards: an immense load of stones and gravel lies above the snow. In one place the accumulation of rocks, which have fallen from the surrounding peaks, is sixty or seventy feet thick; and the river is seen rushing from beneath a large vault, whose under surface is frozen snow.

The height of *Zoncheng* is 14,700 feet, which, in lat.  $31^{\circ} 36'$ , according to received theory, should be buried under everlasting snow. The situation, however, is far different. On every side of the glen, which is a bowshot broad, appeared gently-sloping hills, for the most part covered with *Tátná* (Tartaric furze). The banks of the river were covered with grass turf, and prickly bushes. Around, the land was covered with verdure; flocks of sheep were browsing, and deer leaping: altogether it was a romantic spot, wanting but trees to make it delightful.

During the march the sun was found at times powerful; but the temperature was evidently decreasing with the elevation. The highest observed in the day (23d of July) was  $68^{\circ}$ .

The rocks were limestone; the soil a stiff yellow clay, rent in every direction by small fissures, and seeming to have been under water. The surface was ground to dust.

The next stage was to *Zamsíri*, by the *Këubrang* pass; after tracing the *Táglá* (crossed frequently by snow-beds), until it was reduced to an inconsiderable rivulet at the foot of the pass.

The ascent of the pass is by no means steep, the angle being only  $19^{\circ}$  or  $20^{\circ}$ . But the difficulty of breathing, and severe head-aches, which all the party, not excepting their Tartar guides, experienced more or less, rendered the exertion of walking very laborious. As they advanced, vegetation became more scarce, till at length it wholly disappeared; and the last mile presented a scene of solitude and desolation.

The elevation was found by barometric measurement to be 18,313 feet above the sea. The pass is reckoned the boundary between *Kundwar* and that part of Chinese Tartary which is under the authority of the Grand Lama of Lahasa.

There was very little snow in sheltered situations contiguous to it, but none in the pass itself. Several birds were heard, and especially the call of a species of pheasant, which lives near the snow.

The mountains enclosing the dell of the *Táglá* river, which lead to the



pass, are between 19,000 and 20,000 feet above the level of the sea, just tipped with snow; else they were covered with *támdá*, a prickly bush, to which the travellers in a former journey gave the name of whins, and which they now called Tartaric furze. It is the ordinary fuel of the Tartars; and appears to thrive best among arid gravel, and in the bleakest places. Its upper limit near *Këúbrang* was observed at something above 17,000 feet.

After halting some time, it began to snow; and though the thermometer was not below 44°, the violence of the wind, added to the difficulty of respiration, rendered the situation unpleasant; and the travellers hastened down to a milder climate.

*Zamstí*, a mere halting-place for travellers, on the banks of the *Shéltí*, to which they proceeded from *Këúbrang*, is 15,600 feet above the sea, a height equal to that of the passes through the outer range of snowy mountains; yet there is nothing to remind one of the *Himálaya*. Gently sloping hills and tranquil rivulets, with banks of turf and pebbly beds, flocks of pigeons, and herds of deer, would give one the idea of a much lower situation. But nature (Capt. Gerard remarks) has adapted the vegetation to that extraordinary country; for, did it extend no higher than on the southern face of the *Himálaya*, Tartary would be uninhabitable by either man or beast.

It seems surprising (he goes on to observe) that the limit of vegetation should rise higher the further we proceed, but so it is:—on ascending the southern slope of the snowy range, the extreme height of cultivation is 10,000 feet; and even there the crops are frequently cut green. The highest habitation is 9,500 feet; 11,800 feet may be reckoned the upper limit of forest, and 12,000 that of bushes: although in a few sheltered situations, such as ravines, dwarf birches and small bushes are found almost at 13,000 feet.

In the valley of the *Baspá* river, the highest village is at 11,400 feet; the cultivation reaches to the same elevation; and the forest extends to 13,000 feet at the least.

Advancing further, you find villages at 13,000 feet, cultivation at 13,600 feet, fine birch trees at 14,000 feet, and *támdá* bushes, which furnish excellent fire-wood, at 17,000 feet.

To the eastward, towards *Mánassaróvar*, by the accounts of the Tartars, it would appear that crops and bushes thrive at a still greater height.

The travellers descended the valley of the *Shélti* river to its confluence with the *Súmdó* river, and ascended to the crest of the *Húkëö* pass, of which the elevation is 15,786 feet. The soil is reddish, apparently decomposed limestone, with no large stones. The ground is thickly covered with green sward and beds of prickly bushes. No rocky points are seen, the whole being gentle slopes of gravel, much resembling some of the Scotch highlands; the *támá* at a distance seeming like heath. *Yaks* and horses were feeding on the surrounding heights; and the climate was pleasant; the temperature being 57°.

There are the usual piles of stones to mark the crest of the pass, and a great number built upon all the surrounding heights. At a distance they could not be distinguished from men; and were taken at first sight, by the servants, for Chinese come to dispute the pass. The guides assured them they were piles of stone; and a view through a telescope confirmed the assertion.

Three of the people, who were attending the cattle, watched the party for some time, until being convinced there were Europeans, they mounted their horses, and set off at a gallop. The travellers quickened their pace, determined to advance as far as practicable; but two miles further they were stopped by the Chinese, after they had crossed a rivulet with swampy banks, winding among rich turf, near which, they found many ammonites, at the height of 16,200 feet, on the elevated land between *Húkëö* and *Zinchin*.

The Tartars under Chinese authority were encamped, awaiting their arrival, of which previous intimation had been received, and pointed out a spot for their camp, and a line beyond which they should not pass. Their manners were polite, and their civility was requited by presents of tobacco, the only thing for which they seemed to have any, the least desire.

The height of *Zinchin* is 16,136 feet, and the eminences in the vicinity rise many hundred feet higher. In every direction, horses were seen galloping about, and feeding on the very tops of the heights; altogether there were about 200. Kites and eagles were soaring in the air; large flocks of small birds, like linnets, were flying about, and locusts jumping among the bushes.

Immediately across the *Setlej*, the mountains are abrupt; but, more to the east, there is a succession of gentle slopes. Beyond them again, appeared a lofty snowy range. It seemed to run N. 50° W. to S. 50° E. Clouds hang about it.

At this altitude the atmosphere exhibited that remarkable dark appearance which has been often observed in elevated situations. The sun shone like an orb of fire, without the least haze. At night, the part of the horizon where the moon was expected to rise, could scarcely be distinguished before the limb touched it; and the stars and planets shone with a brilliancy never seen, unless at great heights.

With a transit telescope of 30 inches, and a power of 30, stars of the fifth magnitude were distinct in broad day; but none of less size were perceptible. At *Súbáthú*, 4,200 feet above the level of the sea, stars of the fourth magnitude require a power of 40 to make them visible in the day.

The temperature was greater than expected: the thermometer rose to  $60^{\circ}$  in the shade, and at sunset was  $42^{\circ}$ . It sank to  $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  before sunrise. About nine in the forenoon a wind from the S.W. began; it was at its greatest strength at 3 p. m., and subsided at sunset.

The climate is very different from that which is experienced in crossing the outer range of the *Himálaya* at the same season. Here, at the height of 16,000 and 17,000 feet, is abundance of fuel (*metóh*, bearing a beautiful yellow flower, and no prickles), good water, and a serene sky; there, at an inferior elevation, no firewood is nearer than five or six miles, the clouds hang around the mountains, the sun is rarely visible, and showers of rain are frequent.

Not being able to prevail upon the Tartars to allow them to proceed a step further, the travellers unwillingly began their return (27th of July). They again traversed the *Kéúbrang* pass, and repeated their barometric measurement of it with the same result; halted at *Rishí Talam*, 15,200 feet high, two miles from their former stage at *Zongchin*, and proceeded by the *Gangtang* pass to *Rishí Irpú*, on the *Hóchó* river.

At the limit of vegetation (16,600 feet above the sea) it commenced snowing, and they were involved in a dense haze: the guides missed their way, knew not how to proceed, and became alarmed. They halted, therefore, for a while; and, the clouds clearing away for an instant, Messrs. Gerard got sight of a *shaghar*, or pile of stones, the bearing of which they took; and being surrounded by mist, steered towards it by a pocket compass. The ascent was steep, and they often scrambled over sharp-pointed rocks. They proceeded a mile and a-half, guided by the compass; and the lower clouds clearing away, they found themselves within half a

mile of the *shaghar*. The summit of the pass was measured barometrically, 18,295 feet above the sea.

A stream, that unites with the *Táglá*, lay upon the left the greater part of the way ascending the pass; they descended it along the *Hóchó*, which comes from the left, where there is a great expanse of snow. They followed its course to *Rishi Irpú*. The valley is generally half a mile broad. The river is picturesque: in one part a clear and shallow stream, in another it thunders over rocks in a succession of sparkling cascades. There are several arches of snow over it. In several places its course was partly arrested by rocks from above. It is concealed for a considerable space by a huge pile of stones, and it forces its way underneath, bursting forth in a large body of water. In other places it forms large deep lakes, and leaps over the embankments, with tremendous noise, in sheets of white spray.

Limestone, which had been the prevailing rock since they first met with it in the vicinity of *Zongchen*, near the *Táglá*, became more rare as they approached *Irpú*, and disappeared near that place. It is there succeeded by mica slate.

Next day they proceeded down the valley of the *Hóchó* to *Dábling*, a place visited likewise in the preceding year, in sight of the *Setlej*, and of the village of *Púi*, on its banks. By the way they passed the highest cultivation yet seen, consisting of barley, *phápur*, and turnips, at an elevation of 13,600 feet above the sea. A little lower, the ground was covered with thyme, sage, and many other aromatic plants, besides juniper, sweet-briar and gooseberries. At *Púi* there are vineyards and groves of apricots:\* at *Dábling*, much cultivation, and plantations of apricots and walnuts.

After a halt of four days for astronomical observations, during which time the temperature was warm, varying from 61° at sunrise to 85° at noon, the wind blowing very strongly from the S.W., and the sky frequently obscured with light clouds attended with a little rain; they moved (4th August) along the banks of the *Setlej*, or in the bed of the river, to *Namglá*. On the right margin of the river, the mass of rock (granite) is

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\* The apricots form a part of the subsistence of the people. At this season they are pulled, and exposed to the sun on the roofs of houses; when dried, they are not unlike prunes.

so steep, and the fracture so fresh, as to give it the appearance of having been recently broken.

Several temporary huts, perched high among the crags across the river, are the summer residence of the hunters of *Hango*, who roam among the rocks in quest of deer.

*Kháb*, a village of but two houses, a mile from *Namgía*, is immediately opposite the junction of the *Li* or *Spítí* river, one of the largest tributaries of the *Setlej*, having its source in *Ladak*. The cheeks of the gulph (solid granite) seem perfectly mural for many hundred feet; one of the arms of the *Pargéúl* mountain limits the left side of the channel of the *Spítí*. The contrast between the two streams is striking: the *Spítí* issues from its almost subterraneous concealment in a calm blue deep body, to meet the *Setlej*, which is an absolute torrent, thundering over the stones in deafening clamour.

*Namgía*, containing eight houses, is the last or most eastern village in *Basehar*: the houses are built of granite, but their structure ill accords with the durability of the materials. The want of forests, to supply the timber necessary to give union to the walls, is the source of the bad workmanship: the granite blocks resist the mountaineer's rude implements.

The mountains on every hand are of stupendous height. Those immediately at the back of the village exclude the sun till eight o'clock; and the consequent deficiency of solar heat retards the ripening of the crops. They were here very backward: harvest was yet a month distant.

It had been determined to renew an attempt of penetrating eastward, beyond the boundary of British influence, into the upper valley of the *Setlej*. Accordingly they marched to *Shipki*, in Chinese Tartary, by the *Píming* pass (13,518 feet), the boundary between *Basehar* and Chinese Tartary. There could scarcely be a better defined limit: in front the face of the country is intirely changed; eastward, as far as the eye can see, gravelly mountains of a very gentle slope succeed one another. No rugged cliffs rise to view, but a bare expanse of elevated land, without snow, and in appearance like a Scotch heath. Just beyond the *Setlej*, the mighty *Pargéúl*, an immense mass, rises to 13,500 feet above the bed of the river, more than 21,000 above the sea. To the east of it, in the same granitic range, are several sharp pinnacles, nearly as high, being more than 20,000 feet above the sea: on the S.W., at the back of the town of *Shipki*, is an

enormous mass 20,150 feet high, crowned with perpetual snow. The *Shrang* mountain, over which the road to *Gárú* leads, exceeds 18,300 feet in actual height above the sea: yet only one small stripe of snow could be detected on it with the telescope.

*Shipki* had been twice before (in 1818 and 1820) visited by the same travellers. They now received a letter from the *Garpan* of *Gárú* (in reply to one sent by them from *Zinchin*), prohibiting their advance eastward. At the same time the local authorities were instructed to furnish no provisions at any price.

Messrs. Gerard returned to *Namgia* by the lofty pass of *Kóngma* (16,007 feet above the sea): it is the usual resting place for beasts of burden. Furze and grass extend considerably higher on each side; and springs rise, which form a lake at the distance of 150 yards.

Intending to explore the valley of the *Lí* or *Splúí* river, and penetrate by that route as far as might be found practicable, they crossed the *Setlej* by a *jhóla*, or bridge of suspension, made of twigs twisted together. The bed of the river is here 8,600 feet above the level of the sea; the breadth of the stream is seventy-five feet.

From the *Setlej* the path leads up the face of a granite range to *Tax-hi-gang*, perched amidst ruins of a frightful bulk, at the height of 11,850 feet above the sea. The temple and residence of the Lamas are still 500 feet higher. Ascending upon loose rocks to the highest point of the road (13,200 feet), they turned the extremity of the range; and leaving the *Setlej* behind, bent their course to the north, having the *Lí* or *Splúí* on the left, about 5,000 feet below, and almost a complete precipice. The road continued at a general height of 13,000 feet, upon granite, crumbling into sand, and producing a few bushes of juniper and furze.

A fine prospect suddenly opened: a village (*Nákó*) in the heart of abundant cultivation already yellow, with a broad sheet of water, surrounded by tall poplar, juniper, and willow trees of prodigious size, and environed by massive rocks of granite.

Separate measurements, at three different times (1818, 1820, and 1821), by excellent barometers, and the boiling point of water, determine the height of *Nákó* a little more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea: yet there are produced most luxuriant crops of barley, wheat, *phápur* (*polygonum*?), and turnips, rising by steps to nearly 700 feet higher; where

is a Lama's residence, inhabited throughout the year. The fields are partitioned by dikes of granite. At *Tax-hi-gang* they are enclosed by barberry and gooseberry bushes.

The seasons are similar to those of our northern latitudes, the grain being sown in March and April, and reaped in August and September. Snow generally falls towards the end of October. It seldom exceeds two feet in depth, but does not leave the ground for nearly six months. Want of moisture in the air prevents its earlier descent, since the beginning of October is winter, under a clear sky. In the middle of October 1818, the thermometer at sunrise was seldom above  $20^{\circ}$ ; now (in August) the temperature was  $75^{\circ}$  at noon, and never below  $52^{\circ}$ .

The effects of particular exposures and localities towards the development of vegetation cannot be more strongly contrasted than between this and *Namgía*; for, although here 3,000 feet higher, the crops were much farther advanced. Vast extent of arid surface on every side reverberates a surprising warmth, and favours an early harvest.

The leaves of poplar are given to cattle. Besides these, junipers and a few willows are the only trees at this elevation. Firewood is of furze (*tama*) alone, and it is scarce.

Messrs. Gerard were desirous of verifying by trigonometric measurement the elevation of their old high station on *Pargéül*, just above *Nákó*. In 1818, Capt. G. made it 19,411 feet by three barometers, which agreed exactly (14.675 inches). In 1820 two other barometers were taken to this spot, and they showed 14.67 inches. The result of the trigonometric measurement now gave 7,447 feet above the former camp, which being 11,995 feet, makes the extreme height of the peak 19,442 feet above the level of the sea, differing 31 feet from the barometric measurement.

They proceeded along the banks of the *Lí* to *Chango*. Part of the road traversed a plain studded with enormous masses of rock, seeming, as Capt. G. remarks, to have been under water at no very distant period. The road then lay along the bank of a rivulet, over waterworn stones of many sorts, and crossing the stream enters the plain of *Chango*. The village is fully 10,000 feet above the sea; but this elevation does not prevent its enjoying a sultry summer, the temperature rising to  $80^{\circ}$  in August. The situation is pleasant, unlike the rude and sterile character of the country. The seasons are at least a month earlier than at *Nákó*: seed time begins in March, and harvest in July and August. Snow falls from No-

vember to March, but it is seldom a foot in depth ; and in April and May, rain is frequent. The grain crops are those noticed at *Ndkó*, with *ógal?* millet, and fine fields of turnips, pease, and beans, all well tasted. There are likewise many apricots.

The plain lies east and west, in a dell, through which flow two streams, that no sooner escape from their dark and winding passages, which are bounded by lofty and inaccessible crags, nearly perpendicular, than they are conducted in tamer conduits, by the industry of man, to the fields, which rise one above another in terraces. This glen is terminated on the north and south by bare thirsty ridges, on which nothing animate appears. On the west is the *Lí* or *Spítí* river, flowing in a tranquil expanse of bed. On the east, at the head of the plain, is a high-peaked mountain, on whose summit rests snow.

The next march was to *Changrezhing* by the *Chdrang lama* pass, of which the elevation is 12,600 feet. Here limestone was again met with, as well as clayslate, &c. Pebbles imbedded in clay, and small rounded stones are numerous ; all having the appearance of having been acted upon by water, although the *Spítí* is nearly 3,000 feet below this level, and no rivulet is near. The *Cháli-dókpó*, a considerable stream from the eastward, extremely muddy, and rushing with inconceivable rapidity between perpendicular cliffs of granite and mica slate, at an altitude of 11,400 feet above the sea, was crossed by a wooden bridge. The breadth of the stream was twenty-five feet.

*Changrezhing* is a dependency of *Chango*, where are a few ruinous houses, inhabited in summer. Its height is 12,500 feet above the sea. The grains cultivated are wheat, barley, *phápur*, and Siberian barley. The rocks in the vicinity are granite, gneiss, and mica.

Having understood that Chinese were at a short distance in front to stop them, Messrs. Gerard did not move their baggage, but advanced to meet the opposite party. They crossed two rivulets, near which they saw the black currant in the highest perfection, and larger than any which they had hitherto met with. They found fifty Tartars awaiting their arrival a mile S.W. of *Chúret*, the first Chinese village. Not being able to prevail on them to allow of their proceeding, they returned to *Changrezhing*.

In the afternoon they visited the confluence of the *Spítí* with the *Zangcham* or *Párátí* river, which comes from the N.E. The last is the larger river, being ninety-eight feet broad ; the *Spítí* (from the N.W.) but seventy-



two feet; the former rushing with great fury and noise, the latter flowing with a more gentle current. The elevation was found to be 10,200 feet above the sea.

A mile from *Changrezhing*, proceeding towards the river, they got among the crags and waterworn passages, whence it was no easy matter to extricate themselves. Capt. G. remarks, that they were evidently on the former bank of the river: the whole bank was a concreted rubble, hardened by the air on the retiring of the waters. After descending a series of difficult steps or ledges, each seeming to have once been the bank of the river, they arrived at its bed. The distance from *Changrezhing* was three miles and a half.

They proceeded by the *Chóngbá* pass (11,900 feet above the sea), and crossing the *Spítí* by a good bridge of three fir trees planked over, to *Shídkhar*, where there is a fort in a commanding situation, on the brink of the channel. The walls are of loose stones and unburnt bricks, with houses all around the inside. It is in the parallel of 32° N. lat. The river is here 10,000 feet above the sea. The climate resembles that of *Chángo*. The grain crops are the same; and apricots are plentiful, and of very superior flavour.

*Lári*, the first village in *Spítí*, a dependency of *Láddak*, is distant about eleven miles to the N. W. Messrs. Gerard wished to visit it, but the *Spítí* intervened, and was then unfordable, and there are no bridges. For the same reason they could not see the hot wells between the *Spítí* and *Zangchám*, four miles north of *Shídkhar*. They are in great repute in this quarter, and diseased people resort thither from long distances, either to bathe in them, or drink the waters.

The travellers proceeded along the glen of the *Spítí*, to *Lakh*, which is 12,900 feet above the sea, whence they descended into the bed of the *Yúlang* river, a middling sized stream, rising among perpetual snow in the west. It is increased by rivulets from either side; and above the ford, a stream gushes from the brow of the mountain, and is precipitated into it in a transparent cascade. Hence the angle of ascent was 34°, rising 2,000 feet perpendicular, in a distance of one mile, over hard gravel. Difficulty and danger in a thousand forms attend the traveller's progress: when he clings to the bank, he frequently brings away a piece of it. In some places there are many large stones amongst the gravel, which it requires much caution to avoid setting in motion, for one displaces others, so that sometimes

a space of 100 yards of gravel and stones moves downwards at once, and the larger stones, bounding over the slopes, are showered to the bottom amidst much confusion and noise. Now and then nitches for the point of the foot were cut : and Messrs. Gerard, not taking off their shoes, as their followers did, were often obliged to grasp the nearest person's hand. They reached the top without accident, much wearied with climbing, and rested upon the verge of the gulph, and enjoyed a refreshing breeze at the height of 12,700 feet, blowing over an extensive tract, which resembles a heath. Thence they descended to the village of *Liu*, which occupies a slip of land on the right bank and in the bed of the *Spiti*, embosomed by sterile masses, glowing under the ardor of a tropical sun. From this the climate acquires a delicious softness. On the east is a solitary rock sixty feet high, which was formerly the site of a fort now in ruins : southward, the plain is washed by a stream called *Lipak*, falling into the *Spiti* a bowshot distance.

They halted on the 15th August, on account of rain. In the evening, when it cleared, they visited the *Spiti*, which is here broad. It was measured 258 to 274 feet wide. The river is rapid, and at this season appears to contain a greater body of water than the *Setlej*. The snow had within two days descended on the granite range of mountains across the *Spiti*, to 16,000 feet. At *Ndoko*, judging from the heights before determined, it was certainly not under 18,500 feet.

Crossing the *Lipak* under the village, by a firm and well raised *sango*, they resumed their journey (16th August) and ascended, by a steep path over granite and mica slate, to the height of 11,600 feet above the sea, and proceeded at this level for a mile, winding round sharp projections of rocks into recesses, in and out again, where the pathway bordered upon precipices of 2,000 and 3,000 feet. They turned their backs upon the *Li* or *Spiti*, and its deep abyss, and entered the *Choling* dell, which sends its waters to that river.

The mountains have an extremely sterile and parched aspect. No grass covers them ; and a few tufts of aromatic plants are all the vegetation they here present. The appearance of a village and green fields was singularly refreshing. Those of *Chulang* and *Hard* were passed, to encamp at *Hango*.

This village is 11,400 feet above the sea ; situate at the head of a dell in the bosom of cultivation. There are a few poplars, but no apricots. The luxuriance of the crops can scarcely be exceeded. The ear of the Siberian

barley showed so large and full, that the average of eight picked casually was seventy-eight fold. Most of the fields were yellow, and a few had been cut.

The glen runs east and west, and has a nearly level surface. A stream flows on each side of it, and one through the middle; and the supply of water never fails.

The mountains around are limestone: the same had been observed at *Chólung*. Those on the north are steep and naked; on the south more gently inclined, and they are covered with grass and furze.

The march of the next day was to *Súngnam* by the *Hangrang* pass (14,800 feet above the sea). The limestone is broken by the action of the weather into a gravelly surface, thickly clad with furze, juniper, and short grass, the arid pasturage of the cattle. Horses were seen loose, feeding at the height of 15,000 feet above the sea.

From the pass the view extended to the elevated range between the *Setlej* and *Indus*, from N. 15° E. to N. 10° W. It is most probably a continuation of the lofty range seen from *Kéúbrang*; it was so completely covered with snow, that not a rock could be distinguished by a telescope of large magnifying power.

Limestone disappears, and clay slate is frequent, near *Súngnam*. This populous place, in the valley of the *Dárbling*, had been already visited by Messrs. Gerard (in 1818). It is 9,350 feet above the sea. At this place, where they halted for several days (17th to 28th August) Capt. Gerard remarks: "The situation is fine, in a glen bounded on the north and south by lofty ranges of mountains, the passes through which are nearly 15,000 feet above the sea. On the N. W. up the course of the *Dárbling*, is a high pass to *Spítí*; and to the S. E., the *Setlej*, at the distance of several miles. For the space of five miles, this valley presents a sheet of cultivation. There are two crops here, and the grains are barley, *ogúl?* and *phápur?* there is plenty of pease, beans, and turnips; and wheat and Siberian barley thrive at great elevations upon the slopes of the dell. Around the village are vineyards, and orchards of apples, apricots, and walnuts.

"In this neighbourhood the pine, to which we had long been strangers, begins to raise its head; it is stunted in growth, and thinly scattered upon the surrounding mountains.

"We stopped here till the 28th August, and at times we were somewhat incommoded by the heat; during our halt the temperature of the open air

ranged from 60° to 82°. For two or three hours after sunrise low clouds were seen hanging about the hills, but they dispersed as the day advanced. In the evening, and during the night, dark clouds charged with thunder appeared towards the N. W. but there was scarcely any rain. About 1 p. m. an easterly wind sprung up, and it increased in violence till five; when it subsided till 9 p.m.

“ Snow falls in November, and covers the ground more or less until March; but it is seldom two feet in depth.

From *Súngnam* the travellers proceeded to visit the *Mánerang* pass, and thence to *Mánes*. I continue to transcribe Captain Gerard's account of this excursion, in his own words, unabridged.

“ The road from *Súngnam* to *Rópá* (four miles) lies in the dell along the bank of the *Dárbúng*. Fields and hamlets are scattered on either hand; and apricots and apples occur at every step. The glen is about a bowshot in breadth; and the mountains on each side are crumbling clayslate and limestone, bearing a few dwarf pines. Near the village of *Shíbé* is a copper mine, which was formerly worked. The height of *Rópá* is 9,800 feet: so the seasons and productions are similar to those at *Súngnam*.

“ We had with us twelve days' supplies, which, from the goodness of the roads, were transported upon horses, mules, and asses. Here, however, we were obliged to exchange our carriage for sheep; and the adjustment of the loads occupied so much time, that we found it necessary to halt for the night.

“ The next day we proceeded to a reating place for travellers, named *Pámáchin* (ten miles and three quarters). At first the road was level for a short way, and it led through fields of beans and bowers of apricots: then there was an ascent of two miles and a half, latterly steep: but the path was good to *Tómókéú* pass, 13,400 feet high. The surrounding hills are slaty, and crumble away at the surface, which is almost naked: a few dwarf pines and juniper bushes occurring now and then.

“ Below this the first branches of the *Dárbúng* are concentrated. The streams are amongst perpetual snow, and rush down from different directions in clamour and foam to unite their waters.

“ The next four miles are of an extraordinary nature, scarcely to be described: rugged cliffs, banks of hard gravel much inclined to the river, mural precipices, and sharp pointed rocks succeed one another.

“ After a series of difficulties and dangers, we descended to a considerable

stream, which we crossed by a wooden bridge, and proceeded upon level soil to *Súmdó*, a few huts occupied by the shepherds and their flocks. Hence to camp, a distance of two miles, the path was nearly plain, and we passed through a belt of birches at the immense elevation of 14,000 feet.

“ It is so named, after the species of juniper called *Pámdá* (which is the only wood for fuel found in the vicinity) and is 13,700 feet above the sea.

“ This was a very fatiguing march for loaded persons. *Súmdó* is the usual stage: and the next does not cross the pass; but it had been snowing for some days upon the heights around, and our guides preferred crossing the chain on the second day from *Rópá* for fear of bad weather.

“ Part of the baggage arrived during the night; and from this time forward the tent, with some other things, were lost sight of.

“ The *Dárbúng* is here much reduced in size. The cliffs rise from the water's edge in wild disorder; and every year marks them with decay. Their sharp summits crumble away by frost and snow; and large portions of rock are precipitated into the bed of the river.

“ The following day we marched to *Sópóná*, a halting place for travellers, distant eight miles and three quarters.

“ The road lay upon the bank of the *Dárbúng*, which it crossed thrice by immense arches of snow, covered with heaps of stones that had fallen from above.

“ The mountains are of limestone, and end in peaked summits of many curious forms, inclined to the north at various angles. Not a trace of vegetation meets nourishment there; and the snow cannot find a rest, but is hurled down, together with the rock itself, and is exhibited at the bottom in accumulations of a frightful magnitude.

“ We had now come two miles and three quarters, and the dell was terminated, and close round. The *Dárbúng* is lost among the fields of snow where it is generated; and the whole space on every side is floored with ice and frozen snow, half hid under stones and rubbish. In some places the snow is of incredible depth, and lies in heaps. Having accumulated for years together, it separates by its gravity, and spreads desolation far and wide.

“ We had never before observed such enormous bodies of snow and ice, nor altogether so wonderful a scene. So rapid and incessant is the progress of destruction here, that piles of stone are erected to guide the traveller,

since the pathway is often obliterated in a few days by fresh showers of splinters.

“Our elevation was now upwards of 15,000 feet, although we had but ascended in company with the river, against its stream. Here only began our toils, and we scaled the slope of the mountain slowly; respiration was laborious, and we felt exhausted at every step. The crest of the pass was not visible, and we saw no limit to our exertions.

“The road inclined at an angle of 30°, and passed under vast ledges of limestone. The projections frowned above us in new and horrid forms, and our situation was different from any thing we had yet experienced.

“Long before we got up, we were troubled with severe headaches, and our respiration became so hurried and oppressive, that we were compelled to sit down every few yards; and even then we could scarcely inhale a sufficient supply of air. The least motion was accompanied with extreme debility and a depression of spirits, and thus we laboured for two miles.

“The last half mile was over perpetual snow, sinking with the foot from three to twelve inches, the fresh covering of the former night. The direct road leads in the centre of the gap, but we made a circuit to avoid the danger of being swallowed up in one of the deep rents, which were now covered up with the new snow.

“The day was cloudy, and a strong wind half froze us. The rocks were falling on every side, and we narrowly escaped destruction. We twice saw large blocks of stone pass with incredible velocity through the line of our people, and between two of them not four feet apart.

“We reached the summit of the pass named *Mdnerang* at half past two p. m. Its elevation is 18,612 feet by barometric measurement.\* There is here a very circumscribed spot, where is a *shaghar*, or pile of stones, free from snow.

“Leaving the pass, we travelled over snow, and descended gently for a mile. The wind blew with great violence, and benumbed us; but the sun shone bright and caused a reflexion that affected our eyes, but did not inflame them much: for at this season the snow is soft and somewhat soiled; but in winter, when it is frozen and sparkles like diamonds, the inflammation is very distressing and painful.

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\* The particulars of the measurement are omitted.—C.

“ After quitting the great snow-bed, the road became extremely rough and difficult, leading over the scattered wrecks of the cliffs and patches of melting snow, and along the edge of a stream in a channel of solid ice.

“ The adjacent ridges are wholly limestone, without a vestige of vegetation; they are even deserted by the snow, and exhibit an enormous extent of pure rock, and shoot into slender summits of a great variety of forms.

“ We encamped at the foot of the slope that stretches from the pass, where the glen takes a regular shape; the stream spreads out and ripples upon sand and pebbles; the mountains slant away, and some stunted vegetation appears at their bases.

“ The elevation of the camp was 15,200 feet above the sea.

“ At sunrise of the following day the thermometer was at 31°; but the night must have been colder, for the dew which fell upon our bed clothes (we had no tent), was so completely frozen, that in the morning our blankets were as tough as the hardest leather.

“ We proceeded towards *Mánes* (distant six miles and a quarter) through the dell that leads to *Mánerang* pass, along the bank of a rivulet which has its source amongst the snow-beds in that direction. There is a good deal of soil and bushes, and we passed fine crops of wild leeks at the height of 15,000 feet.

“ Three miles and a half from camp we came to an open valley, being an expanse of sand and pebbles. We followed the stream till it entered a lake upwards of a mile wide; and here, leaving it to the right, we proceeded to *Mánes*, winding through low gravelly hills covered with *támd* bushes.

“ *Mánes* is a large village (of about fifty houses) in two divisions, separated by a stream. It is elevated 11,900 feet above the level of the sea, and lies on the right bank of the *Spítí* river, 400 or 500 feet above its bed.

“ Around the village is some level soil, bearing crops of wheat and barley, and (*awá*) Siberian barley, which do not extend higher than 12,000 feet above the sea. The grains were almost ripe, and there were a few poplars in the vicinity.”

After a halt of a day at *Mánes*, where the temperature varied (1st September) from 52° at sunrise to 81° at the hottest time of the day, Messrs. Gerard proceeded to *Téngdí*, a small village in the district of *Pínú*, comprised in the province of *Spítí*. They kept along the right bank of the river, a little above the stream, and then descended into the bed of the

*Spítí* river, to the village of *Sóldk*. The dell is frequently a mile across, and the river winds through it in many channels, among islands of sand and pebbles, which are covered with barberry and other bushes. The fort of *Dánkar*, opposite this, is a considerable place, containing about forty houses, which, as at *Shiáلكhar*, are inside. The walls are partly stone, partly mud, and the position is among rugged projections of gravel. Its altitude is not less than 13,000 feet above the sea. Above the fort two rivers unite; the largest, which has a bridge of ropes over it, rises in the *Párdlásá* range on the N.W., and is called either *Spítí* or *Kúnjom*; the other, also a large stream, is named *Pinú*; its principal branches have their sources near *Tári* pass, on the S.W.

Near *Sólak*, where a meridian altitude of the sun was taken, is the highest latitude Messrs. Gerard reached in this journey, viz.  $32^{\circ} 5' 34''$ .

The best road crosses the *Pinú* at this place, and proceeds on the other side; but the stream was not fordable. It was attempted, but the current was found to be much too rapid. They had no choice but to encounter the difficulty of a most frightful descent. In one place is a notched tree from rock to rock, for the passage of a chasm: beyond this, a line of rocky ledges excavated for the toes to enter: above the crags overhang, and beneath is a precipice more than 100 feet deep. Unloaded people get over with the utmost difficulty; the baggage therefore was lowered by ropes. Immediately beyond this they came to an inclined rock, 100 feet high, which they had to climb over: it was nearly smooth, and could scarcely be ascended barefooted. The path continued dangerous for a mile and a half farther, upon hard gravel sloping steeply to the river. The dell is from a quarter to half a mile wide, and is occupied by sand and limestone pebbles: the mountains on either side are of limestone, sharp at the summits, but crumbling below.

*Téngdi* is 12,000 feet above the level of the sea: the houses are two stories: the lower half built of stone; the upper of unburnt bricks; the roofs flat: and on them the firewood, collected with great labour, is piled. Not a single tree is near, and the few prickly bushes seldom exceed three inches in height. The climate here is cooler than at *Mánes*. The temperature at sunrise was  $45^{\circ}$ , and in the middle of the day  $78^{\circ}$ .

The district of *Spítí*, which comprises *Pinú* as well as *Mánes*, is situate between Chinese Tartary, *Laddk*, *Kúlú*, and *Baschar*, and pays tribute to each. The inhabitants are all Tartars, and follow the Lama religion. There are lead mines. The villages are from 12,000 to 12,500 feet above



the level of the sea. Toward *Ladak* the habitations must be still more elevated, and the country very barren, and the climate inhospitable.

It was the intention of Messrs. Gerard to have gone on towards *Ladak*, and returned by the *Tári* pass, which is the most direct road. But intreaties and the offer of a douceur of 150 rupees were unavailing: the *Lafa*, or chief person, would not hear of their proceeding onwards, or attempting the *Tári* pass.

After a fruitless negociation, which lasted two days, they returned to *Mánes*, and thence to *Sópóna*; and again (7th Sept.) by the *Mánerang* pass to *Pámáchan*, *Súmdó*, and *Rópá*. The barometric measurement was repeated with nearly the same result. The *Dárbúng* river was only half its former size; for a few days had brought on winter; and the stream was now but slowly and scantily supplied amongst the ice. The snow had not descended more than 400 feet lower, since they last crossed the pass, but the great fields had a new thick covering frozen hard. Shortly after leaving the pass, it began to snow, and continued till they arrived at *Pámáchan*. Upon the old snow-beds it lay at 14,500 feet; but what fell upon the ground, melted at 16,000 feet.

*Súmdó* is about 12,500 feet above the level of the sea.

They crossed the *Dárbúng* under the village of *Geöbúng*, and ascended the face of a thinly wooded hill to the elevation of 13,500 feet, where they encamped at the distance of a mile from any kind of fire-wood; but the spot afforded water. The upper limit of the pines in this neighbourhood is 12,300 feet; the juniper scarcely extends 100 feet higher. At sun-rise the thermometer was 39°. Every thing around was covered with hoar frost.

They ascended the *Rúnang* pass, 14,500 feet above the sea; the mountains are of clayslate; and the creeping juniper, as if it had found a congenial soil, spreads its roots higher than the pass.

Descending from the zone of frost, they travelled several miles upon an undulating tract much indented, but preserving a height above the limit of trees; and leaving the populous villages of *Kánam* and *Labrang* at a profound depth below on their left, they descended into the dell in which *Lápe*. or *Lídang* is situate. The village is considerable, the houses entirely built of *Kélú* pine, small, compact, and exactly resembling cisterns.

The bottom of the dell stands 8,700 feet above the sea; the vine is cultivated; and there are orchards of fruit trees around. A few of the

grapes were now (10th Sept.)<sup>\*</sup> ripe, and the apples, which are the largest observed in *Kundwar*, are of a delicious flavour.

The mountains are clayslate, granite, gneiss, and mica slate.

The travellers proceeded by the *Werang* pass (13,000 feet above the sea) crossing the *Késhang* river (a large and very rapid torrent forming a series of waterfalls) by a good wooden bridge, to *Pangpá* or *Pangí*, 2,500 feet above the *Setlej*, and 9,200 feet above the sea. There is here very little soil or level ground: the houses are crowded together; and the vineyards, fields, and pasture lands, belonging to the village, are miles distant.

The march was through a fine wood, large beds of juniper, and fine forests of pine, most part of the way. The upper limit of the pine was observed at 12,000 feet, the highest birches at 12,500 feet; and the rhododendron at 12,700 feet.

This day (11th Sept.), Captain G. observes, terminated their adventures amidst frost and desolation. They bade farewell to the serenity of a Tartaric sky and its charms. "Before us," he says, "we beheld dark clouds; we already felt the moist warmth of the periodical rains, and wished ourselves back among the Tartars, their arid country, and vast solitudes."

The rest of the journey follows the course of the *Setlej*, until it emerges from the mountains into the plains of Hindusthan.

They now entered the lower *Kundwar*, and crossing, by a *sango*, the *Malgún*, a rapid torrent passing to the *Setlej*, they traversed a pine forest along a belt of highly cultivated land interspersed with orchards and the richest vineyards: in the midst of which is *Chíní*, a large village, contiguous to which are seven or eight others. The soil slopes gently to the *Setlej*, and is loaded with fine crops. It is the most extensive plain in lower *Kundwar*, and forms a striking contrast with the heavy woods and rocky cliffs which overhang it. Just opposite are the huge *Raldang* peaks.

Here, on both sides of the river, grapes attain the greatest perfection. Some are dried on the tops of houses; some made into spirits; the rest eaten ripe. Eighteen varieties, distinguished by separate names, derived from colour, shape, size, and flavour, are cultivated in *Kundwar*.

From *Chíní*, the road assumes very rugged features; many rude balconies, flights of steps, and notched trees occur. The soil is crowded with countless varieties of gay flowers and many odoriferous plants. Cumin is plentiful, and forms an article of export to the plains.

The height of this spot is 10,200 feet. The rocks are granite and gneiss, forming a succession of precipices, with a solitary tree here and there. The path is narrow, and skirts the brink of the abyss, looking down upon the *Setlej*, 4,000 feet below.

*Rógi*, where they halted, is 9,100 feet above the level of the sea. Towards the *Setlej* there are vineyards, and around the village apricots, peaches, and apples.

Thence they ascended to the height of 10,900 feet through a forest of straggling pines, of the species called *Ri* or *Niora* (Mr. Elphinstone's *Chilguza*.) It does not here flourish to the westward of *Wanghu*. The road rises and falls upon sharp pointed rocks, and now and then a flight of steps occurs. Opposite is the confluence of the *Baspá* with the *Setlej*. Its waters make a very considerable addition to this far-travelled river. The road descends precipitously (2,600 feet) to *Ríngar*, a small stream. The face of the hill is unwooded, but beautifully diversified with wild flowers, and clothed with rich pastures for thousands of sheep. Hence to *Mirá*, or *Mirting*, a small village 8,550 feet above the sea, the path ascends and descends amidst dwarf pines and oaks.

The *Yúlá*, a considerable stream which rises amongst the snow in the N.W. and falls into the *Setlej*, was crossed 1,200 feet below the village. On its banks are many fertile fields. Thence the road ascends through a wood of oak and holly, which affords shelter to many varieties of pheasants; passes the village of *U'rní*, and arrived at *Tholang*, a village containing fifty-five families, and agreeably situated on both banks of a rivulet. It is 7,300 feet above the level of the sea. The whole of the rocks in this tract are gneiss. In several spots the ground had been torn up by bears in search of the honey of the field bee, which is here common.

At a short distance from *Chegaon*, the road passes under a natural arch of granite formed by the contact of two immense blocks. The travellers then descended to the *Setlej*, and continued for several miles along its banks, sometimes a little elevated above it, more frequently dipping down to the edge of the stream, which is very rapid. The rocks on both sides are worn into many caves, which re-echo the roar of the river with tenfold noise.

A very dangerous ascent was next encountered along the face of smooth ledges of granite, very steeply inclined to the *Setlej*; in these the niches for support scarce admitted half the foot, and were cut at very inconvenient distances.

Arriving at the summit, the road again descended into an abyss 1,200 feet deep ; the distance was but half a mile, which shows the steepness of the slope.

The *Wangar*, a mountain torrent, here tears its way amongst vast masses of granite with frightful velocity and noise. The cascades formed by the rocks in its bed, throw up the spray to an amazing height, washing the crags which are loaded with a rank vegetation. In the dell of this torrent lies the secluded district of *Wangpó*, containing seven small villages.

The *Wanger* is formed by two streams : one called *Surch*, rises amongst the snow, the other, which retains the common name, proceeds from the foot of *Tári* pass.

*Pinú* is about four marches from *Wangpó* ; and it was by the *Tári* pass, Messrs. Gerard intended to return, could they have prevailed on the *Lafa* to concede to their wishes. The pass is not reckoned so high as *Mánerang*, and probably does not exceed 17,000 feet.

After crossing the *Wangar* by a wooden bridge, the road continues along the edge of the *Setlej* for half a mile to *Wangto*, where there is a bridge of ropes across the river. Its breadth within the banks (which are of granite) is here 92 feet. It is the narrowest point : the average breadth in this part is from 250 to 300 feet. The bed of the river is 5,200 feet above the sea.

Messrs. Gerard stopped in a large natural cave till three o'clock, and having seen their baggage across, proceeded to *Nangdnéö*, by a very steep and rugged ascent, and then along a well cultivated hill face.

The journey was troublesome and fatiguing. It rained, slightly at first, but latterly poured down in torrents.

*Nangdnéö* is a tolerably sized village, 6,900 feet high (above the sea). A few grapes are cultivated in this district ; but, owing to the periodical rains, do not thrive. Pear trees, bearing large and abundant fruit, are frequent near the villages. The fruit is dried upon the tops of houses, and forms part of the winter stock.

Proceeding towards *Táránda*, the travellers passed through a beautiful wood of stately pines, many of them from 20 to 27 feet in girth ; the pines are called *Kéli* by the natives. This timber is almost everlasting. It resists the attack of insects, and is therefore used in the construction of temples, houses, and granaries. It seldom occurs below 6,000 feet, nor above 12,000 feet from the level of the sea.

Leaving the forest, they descended by a narrow rocky path, among dark thickets of oaks, holly, yew, and horse chesnut. They here crossed the *Saidang* torrent, by three rude alpine bridges, over as many large and very rapid streams, which flow, or rather rush from their sources in the *Himálaya* to the southward, descending, in a succession of cascades, to the *Setlej*, a couple of miles below the bridges.

After crossing the *Saidang* there was a mile and a half of very steep ascent, which required some agility to surmount, without slipping down the precipice. Rank grass, from 8 to 10 feet high, concealed the intricacies of the path, and rendered it necessary to pick the way with the utmost caution. Thence to *Taránda* the road led through woods of pine. It rained heavily all day, and the baggage did not arrive till sunset.

*Taránda* is 7,100 feet above the sea. Gneiss and mica slate appear to predominate here, and granite is not so frequent. Nearly opposite this, to the south, the *Himálaya* mountains may be said to end.

The travellers halted for a day on account of rain, and proceeded on the following (18 Sept.) to *Súrdn*, a tiresome journey, made more disagreeable and fatiguing by incessant rain.

They crossed the *Chaundé*, a large and impetuous stream, by a dangerous *sango* of two thin spars, one much lower than the other, and traversed a dark forest of oak and holly. Inclined rocks, and soil drenched with rain aggravated difficulty to danger. In fording a rapid stream, in which they were completely drenched, many of the loads were soaked with water. Some of the geological specimens were rendered useless by the writing on the paper envelopes being effaced; and the whole of the botanical collection, with the exception of very few plants, was entirely destroyed.

*Maniatt gháti*, the ordinary stage between *Taránda* and *Súrdn*, parts *Kunáwar* from *Dasau*, another of the great divisions of *Basehar*. The country westward assumes a more civilized appearance: villages are more thickly studded, cultivation more abundant, and not so circumscribed by huge masses of rock. Numerous rills trickle down from the mountains, and afford ample supplies for the fields, which are chiefly rice.

*Súrán*, 7,250 feet above the level of the sea, is the summer residence of the *Basehar Rájá* and his court. The climate is fine. Three miles from this, near the *Setlej*, are hot springs. Formerly human sacrifices were offered at a remarkable temple sacred to *Bhímá Cáli*, the patroness of *Basehar*. They have been disused since the British conquest.

The travellers halted four days (19th to 22d Sept.) on account of incessant rain, waiting for the reconstruction of a *sango* over the *Manglād* torrent, which had been washed away by the flood. The temperature was stationary at 50° during the rainy weather, but rose to 64° when the weather cleared. They now resumed their journey, crossed the *Manglād* by a crazy bridge of two spars connected by twigs. The stream was frightfully rapid. The ascent from the dell, steep as the descent to it, was more difficult; the path lying upon mica wet with rain, and slippery at every step.

Next day (23d Sept.) brought the travellers to *Rāmpūr*, the capital of *Basehar*. It is on the left bank of the *Setlej*, 3,300 feet above the sea, in lat. 31° 27', and long. 77° 38'. The houses are of stone and slated, and some are very neat. The spot is hot and unhealthy in summer, and as cold in winter. Under the town is a rope bridge of 211 feet across the *Setlej*, leading to *Rūlu*. On the opposite summit of the range, which is lofty, are three forts, crowned with huge towers and battlements, which give them an imposing appearance.

Following the banks of the *Setlej*, and crossing *Nawagari*, a large stream, by a well-constructed wooden bridge, they found the dell expand at *Dattanagar*. Hitherto the valley of the *Setlej* has been narrow, confined between abrupt mountains. It now forms a flat, three miles wide, well watered by canals, and bearing luxuriant crops.

A few miles further they forded the *Bēāri* torrent, and finally emerged from the glen of the *Setlej* by a very fatiguing and steep descent of 4,000 feet perpendicular height; and, three miles further, by a winding road through woods of oak, yew, and horse-chesnuts; and arrived at *Kōtgarh*, where the survey terminates.

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It will have been remarked in the preceding narrative, as in former accounts of the same travellers, and of Mr. Moorcroft, Mr. Fraser, and others, that at an elevation where the density of the air is diminished five-twelfths, that is, where the barometric pressure is reduced to  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches or seven-twelfths of the atmospheric weight at the level of the sea, (which takes place at an altitude of nearly 15,000 feet above that level,) difficulty of breathing is experienced, attended with lassitude and severe head-ache. The native

mountaineers of the *Himálaya*, who feel it not less sensibly than strangers, ascribe the sensation to presumed exhalations of a supposed poisonous vegetation at that vast height. At a less elevation no such effects are perceived. Inhabited places were visited by Messrs. Gerard, at the height of more than 13,000 feet above the sea; and cultivated fields were seen at 13,600 feet, and cattle pasturing at a still greater altitude.

The diary of this journey supplies ample confirmation of a position advanced by me some years since, in reply to some hasty inductions, grounded on imperfect experiments and insufficient observations, as to the limit of perpetual congelation. It was not to be supposed that the same mean temperature, or the same maximum of it, would occur under a given geographical line, at equal elevations, whether of a solitary mountain or an extensive cluster; whether of an isolated peak, or a sequestered glen. On the contrary, it seemed obvious that reverberation of heat must produce like effects of concentrated warmth, at the level of the sea, and on the table land of mountains. Accordingly, it does appear, that in the exterior chain of the *Himdlaya*, where heat is reflected to it but from one side, the warmth is much less than in the interior cluster, where there is reverberation from all quarters. Capt. G. has repeatedly adverted to these important facts.

He has constantly attended likewise to very interesting questions concerning the geography of plants, and especially regarding the limits of vegetation. In abridging his diary, I have seldom suppressed any circumstance bearing upon these points; but have commonly retained the particulars, at the price, perhaps, of some tediousness and a little repetition. The greatest elevation, at which plants of a notable size are remarked, is 17,000 feet. The utmost limit of vegetation of mosses and lichens must doubtless reach further.

The greatest height attained during this journey was 18,612 feet; viz. at *Mánerang* pass. Next to it is the *Kéúbrang* pass, at 18,312 feet above the sea. Twice, in former journeys, Messrs. Gerard scaled the stupendous altitude of a station on *Pargëúl*, measured twice barometrically 19,411 feet, and now confirmed trigonometrically, not without a surmise of a near approach to 19,500 feet above the level of the sea.

At the elevation of 16,200 feet, on the confines of Chinese Tartary, ammonites were picked up. If not precisely *in situ*, they probably had not come from a remote situation; for the specimens are of ammonites themselves, not *saligráma* stones containing their impressions, and therefore not

likely to have been elsewhere picked up from a religious motive, and accidentally dropped on the spot where they were now found, which was in a region of limestone. Ammonites have been found at a like elevation in the beds of torrents near the *Niti* and *Mána* passes.

A further advance into Chinese Tartary would probably have ascertained the site of these and perhaps of other organic remains; but the travellers were repelled by a guard stationed on the frontier. In two other quarters they met with a similar repulse, from Tartar guards, posted on the frontiers of Chinese Tartary.

I cannot quit the subject without inviting the Society to applaud the persevering exertions of these intrepid travellers in their arduous enterprise. Capt. Gerard and his brother have been neither appalled by danger nor deterred by fatigue; and to the official duties of the survey on which they were employed, else sufficiently laborious, they have superadded a most laudable zeal for the advancement of science in every way for which an opportunity was presented to them, and have evinced exemplary diligence in the prosecution of researches.

I may here be allowed to express regret, that the valley of the *Gandhac* river is yet unexplored. It is in that valley that ammonites are known to abound, and other ancient remains may be looked for. It is probably the route by which the *Dhawalagiri*, or White Mountain of the *Himálaya*, may be approached, and the altitude of apparently the highest mountain, definitively determined. I still entertain the expectation, grounded on measurements taken from remote stations, that its height will be found to be not less than 27,000 feet above the level of the sea.

I have much to observe on the geological notices scattered in Capt. Gerard's diary, and sparingly quoted in the foregoing summary; but I reserve what is to be said on this topic, and on the copious collection of specimens received from him, for a communication to the Geological Society.



## NOTES

BELONGING TO

"OBSERVATIONS ON THE LEPRO ARABUM, BY DR. W. AINSLIE."

[Referred to at Page 298.]

## NOTE A.

Considering the rigid and dry state of the skin which invariably characterizes this Leptra, I have usually recommended, that for a week or more, before giving any medicine internally, the patient should every alternate day be washed from head to foot with soap and warm water; the intermediate days using, for the same purpose, a strong infusion or decoction of the plant called by the Tamools *Toottie elley* (*Sida populifolia*); the body being properly clothed, to facilitate as much as possible the cuticular discharge.\*

The remedies I chiefly relied on in treating this formidable disease were the following, and by them I in several instances put a complete stop to it; but it must be remembered that, to give any chance of success, the case must be taken early: for when the malady has laid complete hold of the frame, a radical cure is impossible; a fact, I perceive, well established so far back as the time of Rhazes (de Re Med., lib. vi. page 128).

℞ Pilulæ hydrarg: ʒiv  
 Camphoræ—— ʒi  
 Piperis nigri —— ʒij

Let these ingredients be well rubbed together, and with the addition of a little syrup of ginger made into forty pills, one of which is to be taken night and morning, and continued for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances; the patient at the same time drinking daily a pint or a pint and a half of the decoction *Guaiaci*, of the Edinburgh Dispensatory, or the same quantity of the decoction of *Daphnes mezerei*. On other occasions I have administered with advantage, pills composed of sulphur of antimony, calomel, and guaiacum, together with one or other of the decoctions above mentioned.

It is well known, that the eastern nations were the first who employed mercury in the cure of obstinate cutaneous and leprous affections; and it may be questioned whether the natives of India were before the Arabians, or only second in order, in availing themselves of the virtues of that powerful mineral. Rhazes,† *Mesue*, and *Avicenna*,‡ all notice it; and according to Fallopius,

\* It is interesting to remark the notions entertained regarding the same medicine in different countries. The Cochin Chinese attach peculiar virtues to what they call *Kuonghuynh* (*curcuma longa*); amongst other properties ascribed to it, they suppose it to be efficacious in cases of Scabies and Leptra, by its resolvent and diaphoretic powers. "Etiam in Leptra, et Scabie pelendo per transpirationem, valet."—*Vide Flor. Cochin. Chin. vol. 1, page 9.*

† "Argentum vivum cum extinguitur ardens est, quod scabiei, et pediculis auxilium affert."—*Vide Rhazes de Re Med. (lib. iii, cap. xxiv.)*. In the days of Pliny the Elder, the medicinal virtues of mercury do not appear to have been at all ascertained; that writer termed quicksilver the *dane* and *poison* of all things, and what would with more propriety be called *death silver*. (*Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii. cap. vi.*)

‡ *Avicenna* says of mercury: "Argentum vivum extinctum adversus pediculos et lendes cum rosaseo oleo valet."—*Vide Canon. Med., lib. ii. Tract ii., page 119.*

as we find observed by Leclerc, in his "*Histoire de la Médecine*," pages 771-791, it was the opinions of those writers which first suggested its use in venereal affections.\*

I have already mentioned about what period Rhazes is supposed to have lived; Mesue, a very distinguished writer, flourished in the tenth century; he professed Christianity, was a native of Bagdat, and practised at Cairo. Avicenna was born in the city of Bochará, A. D. 980, and died at Hamadan, in Persia, A. D. 1036; he was considered as the greatest philosopher and physician of his age; his writings were printed at Rome in 1595; afterwards translated into Latin, and published at Venice, in 1608. His work is commonly met with in Europe under the title of "*Canons of Avicenna*," but its proper Arabic appellation is *Kanoonie Fi al-ib* القانون في الطب. The author, the celebrated *Abu Aly Hussein Ben Abdallah Ben Sina*: I perceive that he recommended, in leprous affections, the use of such medicines as purge off black bile; also bleeding, and a sort of electuary prepared with vipers, the heads and tails of the animals having been previously taken off; and it is a curious fact, that the same remedy was prescribed for similar affections by a celebrated Hindoo physician *Agastier*, as we see by a perusal of his *Pernool*, in which he praises highly the flesh of the hill snake (*Malay Paumboo*), with a free use of asses' milk.

## NOTE B.

I have allowed that I had but little experience of the use of corrosive sublimate in leprous affections. It has not for many years past been a favourite medicine in Hindoostan, in any complaint it is very apt to sicken the stomach, give it in what form you will, and certainly irritates the nervous system more than any other preparation of mercury. It needs scarcely be urged here, how necessary it must ever be, in such cases, to support as much as possible the strength of the pulse: with this view, I invariably ordered a moderate use of some generous wine.

## NOTE C.

The fingers and toes, on falling off in the *Lepra Arabum*, which they almost invariably do in the advanced stage of the disease, sometimes leave ulcers which are difficult to heal: these in the first instance may be moistened with a liniment composed of equal parts of nitrated quicksilver, spermaceti, and margosa oil (oil of the *melia azadirachta*), and the benumbed parts bathed with plain brandy; after which the sores, when pretty clean, may be dressed with an ointment composed of one ounce of simple ointment, and a dram of cerussa acetata; finally washing them with a mixture of equal parts of decoction of *lignum gualacum* and that of *margosa bark* (*melia azadirachta*).

## NOTE D.

I have said that the diet, in cases of *Lepra Arabum*, should be generous; but it must also be stated, that excess of every kind is most detrimental; all food that is gross, fat, crude, or difficult of digestion, must be studiously avoided; amongst which I include salted and dried meats, pickles, preserves, rich sauces, cheese, &c. &c.; and there is no doubt but that pork and fish, with the exception perhaps of whiting, are most injurious.

\* The first person who cured Syphilis by means of mercury, appears to have been Berengarius Jacobus, a surgeon of Carpi, who died in 1327.



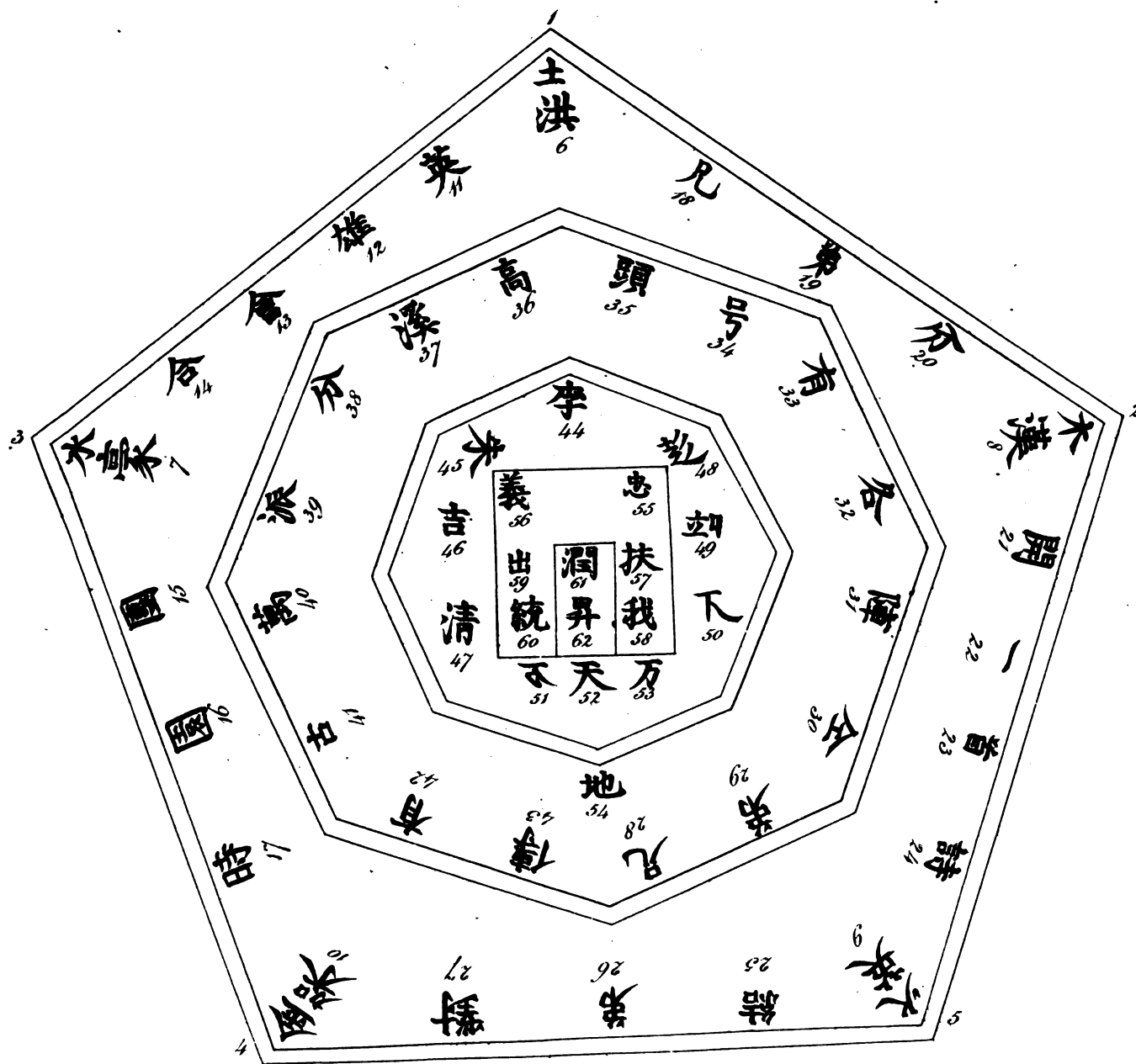
वसिष्ठसालेयं मदीं कुंजरा कृतिं तत्र  
 त्रुवः स्मराय रकुमदारा ज्यविः उपरामश्वरीः ॥ १ ॥  
 दित्यादेवपानमेतद्यारकुमदारा जाविः उपरामश्वरीः ॥  
 शीघ्राशातकुमानमदा कुमारश्री लघीवर्मादेवः ॥ २ ॥  
 मद्राद्वाटश्यादिका समृद्ध उघवाक यामयाः सम  
 सतिष्येते रायामदारा जाविः उपरामश्वरीः ॥  
 या शीवर्माक शुदिभृष्टश्री संज्ञा तमदा शुकश्री नर  
 धर्मादेव सावनी पति समत्य श्री समी कुशति जात्रा ॥  
 धाडुतितिपंसा रम्या सारतां दृष्टी नलिनी दलगत  
 जललेवेता पातमात्रमधुरो विषयो पसोगः ॥ ३ ॥  
 लक्षणगु लयश्चदल वडा तरिस्ता नवि विर्मत नर  
 हाडागाताः क्राण्टा त कक्षीट वात्स्य विविद व कुर  
 श्रीमद्विरे तव ड उ दशाम उघ वण कयामो सश  
 कृमालाः शोचं डा कुंटा वडु द क पूर्व क न या शा  
 माननपु पर्वणि श्रीमति त्रये या धृ प्र न र वा  
 स्मातिः पति सिसम स पद कि ला दिला के स्त्रा क  
 धाके स्वय त्वास वूम सुप्ते समुपं नन गृभू सामो  
 शीवे त सु लनी यष्टुति। यतो त दुति व सु व सु  
 पाडनिः स श्री चाया दे रत व सु वं चा म्। पृषिवर्ष  
 दस्र मि वि शी चाया दे रत व सु वं चा म्। पृषिवर्ष  
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(Executed & Printed from Stone by ...)



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百	XIX	八	三	X	VIII	V	II
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	廿	水	XIII	哥。	享。	天	III
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	二十	三	橋	哥。	禍	會	慶





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 3. 自有中國  
 4. 兄弟





<p>9</p> 	<p>10</p> <p>通寶</p>	<p>6</p> <p>金沙江</p>	<p>4</p> <p>龍川江</p>	<p>1</p> <p>片奏</p>
<p>11</p> 	<p>16</p> <p>寶泉</p>	<p>7</p> <p>怒夷</p>	<p>5</p> <p>檳榔江</p>	<p>2</p> <p>緬甸</p>
<p>12</p> 	<p>8</p> <p>錢</p>	<p>3</p> <p>阿瓦</p>	<p>13</p> 	<p>14</p> 
<p>15</p> 				

J. Neher's Lib. for the Royal Asiatic Society.



7. 葡萄蜀葛

5. 喜吾婁安

3. 勅部幼即

1. 宇宙定寧

8. 句勺勻勿

6. 甲平干午

4. 讀竦議績

2. 至聖子孟蓋

II. 楷書

I. 宋板

III. 林

IV. 橫 豎

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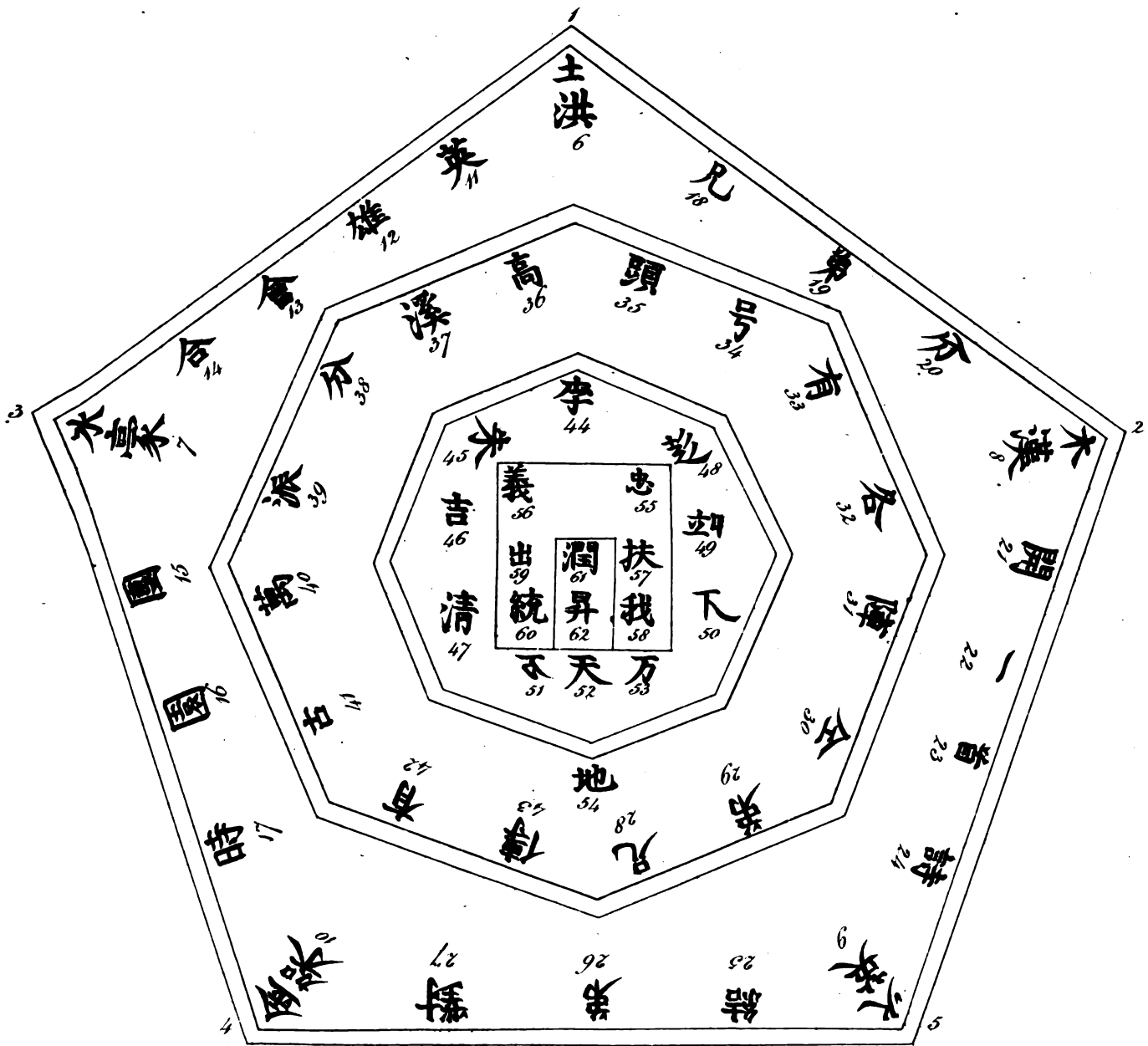
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4. 兄 弟  
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<p>11</p> 	<p>16</p> <p>寶泉</p>	<p>7</p> <p>怒夷</p>	<p>5</p> <p>檳榔江</p>	<p>2</p> <p>緬甸</p>
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J. Neumann's Lithog. for the Royal Asiatic Society.



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2<sup>ND</sup> SERIES.



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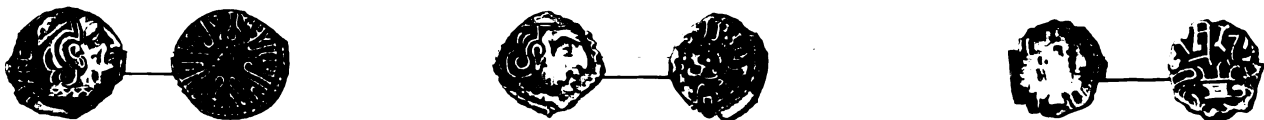
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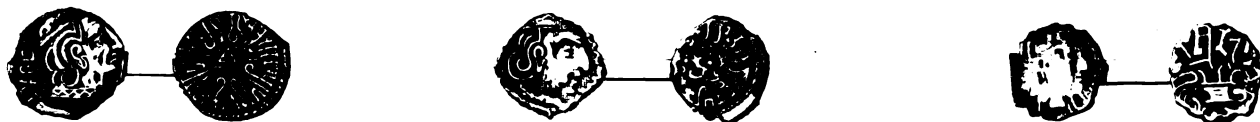
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