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

SIR WM. JONES.

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| 47 | 11-14 | Substitute the following—

If the final consonant of a noun in this declension is preceded by उ, that उ is changed to ा in all cases except the Nominative Singular.

Thus, बांद्र वादुर, a monkey; nom. pl., बांद्र वादर; instr. pl. बांद्रो।

क्षिनि वादराऊ सूरि: कथन करुः, the act of doing; acc. sg. करणसः

करनास: वस्तुक्ष पोङ्ङक्ष, a book; nom. pl., वस्तुक्ष पोङ्ङक्ष.

75 | 4 | *kunasatath* | *kunasatath* (and so throughout the seventies up to 78).
|   | 24 | *kunanamath* | *kunanamath* (and so throughout the nineties up to 99).
| 91 | 3 | *w* or *v* | *w* or *v*, or
| 196 | 4 | ग्राकः ग्राकः | ग्राकः ग्राकः |
| 232 | 19 | substances | substantives |
| 294 | 8 | अनिवासिनय | अनिव |
| 295 | 12 | शास्त्रविद्यः | शास्त्रविद्यः |
Notes on new inscriptions discovered by Major Deane.—By M. A. Stein.
Part I.
(With Plates I-VII.)
[Read December, 1897.]

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

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

1 Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne.—V. Les Récents Découvertes du Major Deane, Journal asiatique, 1894, tome iv., pp. 332-353; 504-518. Also in reprint, Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne, Fascic. 5., 1895.
have thrown upon him. The exceptional success which has attended his efforts in the interest of research, is amply illustrated by the fact that the number of new inscriptions which he has forwarded to Lahore since M. Senart's publication, is nearly twice as great again as the number comprised in the latter. These epigraphical documents have reached Lahore either in the form of the actual stones where these were obtainable, or as ink impressions on paper or cloth, taken by Major Deane's agents in the case of inscriptions beyond British territory which could not be secured otherwise.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have followed throughout in local names the spelling of Major Deane’s notes, and have not attempted to transcribe them according to the Society’s system, as their actual pronunciation is unknown to me.
indistinct to be reproduced. The few characters of which traces are visible, resemble those of Nos. 26, 28 above.]

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

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

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

32-34. Impressions on cloth of inscriptions "lying close to the village of Chargam in Puran, a country above Boner. They were found bound together, one on the top of the other. Ruins exist near where they were found, but nothing is known as to where they originally came from." In a note dated 13th April, 1896, Major Deane [adds]: "The three inscriptions are on separate slabs, and the three of them had been fastened together with hasps in order evidently to remove them. As the fastening had been made by the stones having been bored through, I can only conjecture that they were put together by the original inhabitants of the country and they must have lain a long time in the place where they were found."
   (Nos. xvii., xviii., xix.; scales one-eighth, one-fourth and one-half, respectively. Impression No. 32 being of exceptional length had to be shown on the plate divided into two portions. A part of the central piece of the impression, measuring 2½ inches on plate, has been reproduced both in the left and right portions.)

35. Impression on paper of inscription found in "the valley leading up from Surkhavi to Surah in Chamla. It was found about 5 miles from Surkhavi and 1½ miles from Surah."
   (No. xxxviii.; scale one-fourth.)

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

37. Stone "found in Asgram."
   (Mus. 60; scale one-half.)

38. Stone "found lying amongst ruins at Asgram."
   (Mus. 62; scale one-half.)

39. Stone "from Palosdarra; in situ, round edge uppermost."
M. A. Stein — New inscriptions discovered by Major Deane. [No. 1, p. 25.]

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

40. Stone “from Palosdarra; found in situ.”
(Mus. 66; scale one-fourth.)
41. Stone “from Palosdarra.”
(Mus. 83; scale one-fourth.)
42. Stone “from Palosdarra.”
(Mus. 84; scale one-fourth.)
43. Stone “from Suludheri; in situ, standing on end, thin end top.”
(Mus. 68; scale one-fourth.)
44. Stone “from Khudukhel territory.”
(Mus. 82; scale one-fourth.)
45. Stone “from an old wall at Sarpatti, a spur of Mahaban overlooking Chamla.”
(Mus. 61; scale one-fourth.)
46. Stone “from Kaldarra, near Dargai.”
(Mus. 77; scale one-fourth.)

47. Stone “found at Zangi Khan Banda, Boner. Had been removed from ruin and built into wall of Masjid. Came probably from site of Nos. 48-50.”
(Mus. 70; scale one-fourth.)
48-50. Stones “dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stupa completely buried in the ground at Bughdarra which is the ravine near Zangi Khan Banda in Boner.”
(Mus. 79-81; scale of No. 48 one-fourth, of Nos. 49 and 50 one-half.)
51. Stone “from Khrappa, Panjpao, Boner.”
(Mus. 67; thin piece of slatey stone with characters on both sides; scale one-fourth.)

52. Impression on paper of inscription “from rock on hill above Odigram, Swat.”
(No. vii.; scale one-fourth.)
53. Impression on paper “from rock near Odigram, Upper Swat.”
(No. ix.; scale one-fourth.)
54. Impression on paper “taken from a stone lying near Kanai, Ilaqa Kana, near Ghorband between Swat and the Indus.”
(No. viii.; scale one-fourth.)
55–60. Impressions on cloth of Sgraffiti “on rocks found close together on the banks of the Swat river, just above Ramora Fort on the right bank and at the boundary of the Adinzai Valley.”
(Nos. xi.–xvi.; scale one-eighth.)
M. Senart had already clearly recognized the fact that the inscriptions before him showed at least three distinct types of writing, each of which, on examining the find-spots of the inscriptions exhibiting it, could be connected with a well-defined locality or territorial division. These types which he accordingly distinguished under the very appropriate name of Spankharra, Boner and Mahaban, are all largely represented among the new inscriptions. It is a fresh proof of M. Senart's well-known penetration and sagacity as an epigraphist that the local distribution of the new inscriptions entirely supports his grouping.

This fact is most convincingly illustrated in the case of M. Senart's first group, that of Spankharra. Though M. Senart had only a single small inscription—probably a fragment—to place under this head, he did not fail to realize that its characters, both in form and execution, differ considerably from those met with in the other two classes. Their curiously irregular scrawly lines made M. Senart compare them rightly enough to mere Sgraffitti. These we now find reappearing on not less than twenty-three specimens which all, with one doubtful exception, come from the same locality or its immediate vicinity. Spankharra lies in Ranizai territory just beyond the northernmost point of the Hashtnagar Tahsil, circ. 71° 42' E. Long. 34° 27' N. Lat. according to the Revenue Survey Map of the Peshawar District.3

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

3 "District Peshawar"; scale 1 inch to 4 miles; photozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1884. This map shows the "independent" territory immediately to the north of the Peshawar District with more detail than the corresponding sheet of the Atlas of India or other maps at present accessible to the public. As the topography of the hill tracts beyond the border is (apart from peaks fixed trigonometrically) not shown on the basis of any regular survey, the geographical positions indicated above for localities in that territory cannot be accurate. They are intended merely to facilitate identification on the map named.
classes. The same remark applies to No. 20, the “Sheikh’s baking stone” which is the largest specimen of this type of writing and also exhibits a closer approach to regular lines.

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the south we are taken again by the small inscription No. 28 which was picked up in the Malandri Valley leading up from Rustam
and Surkhab to the Malandri Pass, circ. 72°26' E. long., 31° 24' N. Lat. Finally we have in No. 31, a small stone recently found at Shahbazgarhi far to the south of the Boner hills.

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

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

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

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

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

No. 36 which comes from Shera, a locality of uncertain position in Amazai territory, is a small loose stone showing on both sides scrawls which may be compared with a few signs occurring on No. 30 and elsewhere.
I cannot conclude this brief notice of the inscriptions of the Boner group without pointing out that this is the only one in which inscriptions of an approximately monumental look have yet been met with. The inscriptions of the first or Spankharra group are scarcely more than Sgraffiti on small stones which show no mark of having been specially prepared for bearing records. The inscriptions of the third group to be noticed next are also without exception engraved on stones of comparatively small size which, whether found detached or fitted into walls, are equally irregular in their shape. Against this, we find in the Boner group several inscriptions of greater size, like M. Senart's No. 5 and our Nos. 27, 29, 30 which are engraved in regular lines and evidently with far more care and routine than those referred to.

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

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

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

Perhaps the most curious of the new inscriptions in unknown characters are the five stones Nos. 47-51, which come from Zangi Khan
Banda and Khrappa in Boner. The characters which they exhibit, differ so strikingly in form and arrangement from those found on any of the inscriptions hitherto mentioned, that I cannot hesitate to recognize in them a fourth independent type. As both Zangi Khan Banda and Khrappa fall within the tract occupied by the clan of the Nurizai, I should suggest provisionally for these inscriptions the name of Nurizai group. The first named locality from which four of the stones have been obtained, lies according to the map close to the range of the hills which forms the southern boundary of Boner towards British territory, circ. 72° 25' E. Long., 34° 26' N. Lat. *Khrappa* is marked as *Krapa* on the map, some 7 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Zangi Khan Banda and not far from Elai.

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

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

The only reason for grouping together in the list and plates the series of impressions shown in Nos. 52-60, is that the stones from which they were taken are all situated in Swat territory or in its immediate vicinity. Leaving aside Nos. 55-60 in which some marks are perhaps mere symbols, we find that the characters of the other three inscriptions differ markedly from those found in the four groups above described, without yet showing any distinct affinity amongst themselves. No. 52 comes, perhaps, nearest to the type of the Mahaban group, but exhibits yet peculiarities which make it inadvisable for the present to range it under that head. In No. 53 again, which like the last-named inscription is engraved on a rock near *Odigram* (some ten miles north-east of Thana on the Swat river), we have characters of a peculiar rounded shape which bear no resemblance whatever to those of the third group.
No. 54 comes from the vicinity of Ghorband which is described by Major Deane as a "range of hills running parallel with the Indus for a short distance and northward or possibly a little N. W. from the Ilm and Dossira mountains." A few of the simple characters shown by this inscription occur also in the Mahaban group. Others, however, in particular the compounded (?) signs in the first two lines which are attached to horizontal strokes, I have not been able to trace in the large number of inscriptions we already possess of that type.

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

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

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

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

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

* [For further information regarding the position of these rock-carvings and the manner of their reproduction compare the "Supplementary Notes," p. 17 below.]
ments. All the more gratified we must feel at the recent discovery of a document which has thrown unexpected light on an obscure period of the history of Gandhāra and the neighbouring regions, and which also seems to show us the direction where the means for the future solution of the riddle may have to be sought for.

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

The interesting historical fact thus established fully justifies the Editors in attaching importance to the curious similarity which M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had already noticed between certain characters in Major Deane's inscriptions and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the banks of the Orkhon deciphered by Prof. V. Thomsen in 1893. This resemblance deserves all the more attention in view of the fact that the date of these Turkish inscriptions (first

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

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

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

7 According to Prof. Bühler's observation, 'On the origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet,' 1895, p. 89, the alphabets of the Orkhon and Yenissei inscriptions show more than a dozen of the signs found in Major Deane's inscriptions.
half of the 8th century), as already noted by Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes, falls close to the time of Ou-K'ong's residence in the monasteries of Gandhāra and Udyāna.

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

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

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

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

8 From the Chinese notices regarding Ki-pin, lucidly set forth by Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes, l.c., pp. 371 sqq., it appears that Ki-pin as a geographical term in Chinese texts has had a varying employ at different periods. On the whole, however, preponderating evidence points to Ki-pin having been originally the designation of the Upper Kābul Valley.
Meagre as these details are they show yet clearly that in searching for the national and literary affinities of the race which held the rule of Kia-pi-shi and Gandhāra in Hiuen Tsiang's time, we have to look to the Turkish tribes in the north and not in the direction of India. A century later Udyāna too had passed under the same dominion. Whereas Hiuen Tsiang speaks yet of independent kings in Udyāna (U-chang-na, Si-yu-ki, i., p. 121), we see from a passage of the T'ang Annals (L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong, p. 349 note) that A.D. 745 this territory was already united with Gandhāra and Kia-pi-shi under the same rule. In that year P'o-p'o, king of Ki-pin, is said to have received the imperial authority for assuming the title of 'King of Ki-pin and Ou-chang.'

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

Fanaticism among transfrontier tribes, like those of Boner and the Utman Khel, is still strong enough to make the open removal of inscribed stones which may be suspected to be of a 'Kafir' origin and to give
eventually information as to hidden treasures, etc., a business of considerable risk even for such people. Major Deane, therefore, thought it best to initiate his occasional visitors into the art of taking impressions on paper or cloth and to provide them with the necessary materials in order to secure through them impressions of stones not otherwise obtainable. Some of them incited by the hope of a small remuneration have actually carried out Major Deane's wishes, and the impressions now published (together with a considerable number of others subsequently received) represent the result of their efforts.

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

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

A short visit which I had the good fortune to pay to the Lower Swat Valley last Christmas under Major Deane's auspices, enabled me to examine personally the rock-carved inscriptions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 of Plate VII. These were the only ones among the inscriptions here published from impressions which were then accessible for inspection. I found the two rocks exhibiting them exactly in the posi-
tion indicated by the remarks quoted above, p. 6. They lie side by side at the foot of a hill-spur which runs down to the right bank of the Swat river, about three miles above Fort Chakdarra and quite close to the little hamlet of Khusbnaqum. Between them and the precipitous river bank passes the road to Shamozai territory and Upper Swat, undoubtedly an important route of communication since ancient times. The face of both rocks is naturally smooth and thus seems to offer itself as a convenient place of record.

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

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

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During the time which has passed since the above paper was written, Major Deane has continued with equal zeal and success the collection of epigraphical remains from the interesting regions which lie within the sphere of his influence. The number of inscriptions in unknown characters since secured by him, including those obtained during the recent expedition to Upper Swat, has gradually risen to above fifty. Among them is one coming from Boner which owing to the large num-
ber of characters it contains is likely to prove important for the eventual decipherment of these puzzling documents. Major Deane's efforts have, however, not yet succeeded in bringing to light a single 'bilingual,' and in the absence of such a guide the first step in that direction remains as difficult as before. The preparation of Plates showing Major Deane's recent acquisitions has already being taken in hand by Mr. Griggs, and with the help of the Asiatic Society I hope to publish soon the whole of these new finds in a Second Series.

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

Lahore: 5th November, 1897.

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

[Read February, 1897.]

About the close of the 6th century A.D. when Čri Harṣa reigned in Kācāṃrī,1 in the north, the brother of king Prabhāsa, named Čākyabala, brought under his sway the country between Haridvārā and Kācāṃrī. He accepted as his spiritual teacher Ācārya Vasūmitta, the author of the commentary of the Mahākōça and also of the works on the religious theories of the eighteen sects of the early Buddhists. In the south Dēva Črama, a pupil of Dharma Rakṣita, who had written the *Māla Prajñā Tikā*, gained the victory in a disputation with some Tīrthika (Brāhmaṇa) Pandits, and succeeded in converting king Sālavāhana to Buddhism. Afterwards in the reign of the fifth Simha, the Tīrthika teacher called Dattātri appeared.2 Shortly afterwards the Brāhmaṇa Pandits, called Kumāra-liśa and Kaṇāḍa, defeated the pupils of the Buddhist sage Diś-nāga and others. When Čāṃkar-ācārya, who, it is said, could see

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1 (Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 110.)

Then the Pāla dynasty of the solar race (Suryavamaṇa) consisting of fourteen kings came in succession. At that time in Kācāṃrī there ruled Čri Harṣa Dēva.

2 (Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 105.)
the god Mahādeva whenever he wished, came to Bengal, the elderly
Buddhist Bhikṣus wished to call the demigods who guarded Buddhism
in other lands to their aid, but the youthful Buddhist Pandits, not
listening to their advice, held religious controversy with Çāmka and
were defeated. They lost twenty-five endowed religious institutions
together with their furniture and other properties; and 500 Buddhist
Upāsakas were converted to the creed of the Tirthikas (Brāhmaṇas).
When Çāmkar-ācārya sent his letter of challenge to Nālanda to hold a
religious disputation with him, Dharma Kirtti was brought from the
Dekhan by king Prabhāsa. In the great controversy which was
held at Benares between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists in which the
king presided, Pandit Dharma Kirtti gained the victory. All the people
interested in the controversy became converted to Buddhism. The
king, having been converted, established a large number of Buddhist
institutions. Though defeated, Çāmkara did not embrace Buddhism.
After his death which occurred by drowning himself in the Ganges,
his followers were mostly converted to Buddhism.

In Ötvīsa (Orissa) Çāmkara’s disciple, a Brāhmaṇan named Bhaṭ-
ṭācārya, became powerful. He defeated the Buddhist Pandit Kuliča
Črestha and others in disputation, with the result that the Buddhist
temples were destroyed by the Tirthikas, and their endowed pro-
properties appropriated to the use of the latter. In the east Vimala
Candra, son of Bāla Candra, had established his power over

Dharma Kirtti and Gam-po king of Tibet were said to be of the same time.
Gam-po married the daughter of Emperor Thai Jung of China, who according
to Chinese chronology reigned in 600 A.D.

Bāla Candra was the son of Śrīnha Candra who reigned in Bengal. Bāla
Candra extended his power to Tirhut and Kāmarūpa. At this time Magadha was
ruled by the elder son of King Harṣa.
the three great provinces, viz:—Tirabhukti, Bangala and Kamarupa. He patronized the Madhyamika philosophers, Čuṇḍa Gupta, the pupil of Supradatta and also the Ācāryas Ratna Kirtti and Amara Siddha. King Vimala Candra had married a sister of king Bhartṛhari, the last of the line of the Candras who ruled in Mālava, and had two sons, viz:—Lalita Candra and Gopi Candra. After king Bhartṛhari had renounced the world in order to live the life of an ascetic, Lalita Candra succeeded him. King Vimala Candra was succeeded by Gopi Candra, during whose reign the seat of Government was at Cātigrāma (modern Chittagong) in Eastern Bengal. In Cātigrāma there were in that early time many Tirthika temples and Buddhist Viharas. The Buddhist of Cātigrāma belonged to the Tāntrik Mahāyāna school. To the south of Cātigrāma was the kingdom of Raklian or Arakhan. In Cātigrāma there was Jālandhara, in which flames of fire appeared mixed up with water.

The Buddhist Siddha Bālapāda was born at Nagara Thata in Sindu, in the family of a rich Çādra merchant. He became a Buddhist and studied a large number of Buddhist works under eminent Buddhist sages. Then entering the holy order of Bhikṣus, he visited Udyāna (modern Swat and Chitral) and there practised yōga. From there he proceeded to Jālandhara (a place somewhere between Kaśmir and Nēpāl), where appeared flames of fire in the midst of water and stone. For his long residence there he was called the Saint of Jālandhara. He visited Nēpāl and there causing the chief Līnga of Çiva to be split by the efficacy of his charms, converted the Nepalese to Tāntrik Buddhism. From Nēpāl he proceeded to the city of Avanti in Mālava. At this time Bhartṛhari, a member of the old royal family of Mālava, had succeeded to the throne on the death of Viṣṇu Rāja. Bālapāda converted a large number of people at Avanti to Buddhism by performing miracles. Once several thousand goats were being sacrificed by the Brāhmans before some deity. Suddenly by his charms he changed them into so many wolves. This frightened the people who, imbibing faith in Buddha, desisted from animal sacrifice. He initiated a man of the weaver-caste, aged 99 years, in the mystic cult of Tāntrik Buddhism and admitted a young Brāhman to the holy order, who afterwards became an adept in mysticism and was called Krisṇ-ācārya (the performer of black magic). Lastly, once while he was seated in deep meditation at the foot of a tree in a grove outside the city of Avanti, some robbers came and sat round him. At night they committed robbery in the city and obtained good many precious things. Thinking that good luck had attended them on account of their having seen the sage, they made him large presents of pearl rosaries and other precious things which weighed several hundred ounces. When they had gone away, the people saw in
his possession the stolen goods, and so they took him to the king, who sentenced him to be impaled. The sage was fixed to the stake, and there he remained still and motionless as in yôga. When necessary, he used to get away to make ablution in the river, and then again quietly resumed his seat on the stake. On the seventh day of his impalement the king came to inspect the scene. Seeing that the sage sat unhurt on the stake, he became unhappy for the wrong he had done to one who was guiltless and holy. He became a devout follower of Bâlapâda, who was so called on account of his child-like simplicity of character.\(^6\) From Mâlava the sage proceeded to the kingdom of Bengal which was ruled by Gôpi Candra,\(^7\) a son of king Vimala Candra. Gôpi Candra was young when he became king. Being a handsome person, he was very coquettish in his manners. He often used to behold his beautiful face in the mirror. The sage Bâlapâda visited Jâlandhara (probably the modern Sitâkunḍa), where flames of fire were seen in the midst of water and stone. Coming to the city of Cûţigrâma, he entered the king’s orchard and sat meanly attired in meditation at the foot of some trees. It is said that when he felt thirsty, he summoned the cocoa-nuts that were on the tree to come to his lips. They came and, pouring into his mouth their watery contents, returned at his bidding to their respective places. The mother of the king observed this curious phenomenon with wonder, and knowing that the sage who looked mean like a Hâdi (sweeper of roads) was a Siddha, she asked her royal son to call the sage to his presence to get some charms by which he might gain longevity. The sage whispered a mantra into the king’s ears, and at the same time asked him to put his hand in an empty earthen pot. “Do you perceive anything in it?” asked the sage. “No, nothing” was the reply.

\(^6\) \(\text{(Pagsam Jon-Zañ, 108.)}\)

\(^7\) \(\text{(Pagsam Jon-Zañ, 109.)}\)

\(\text{(Kâhbab Dun-dan, 30.)}\)

\(\text{(Kâhbab Dun-dan, 28.)}\)
Thrice the same interrogation was made, to which the same reply was given. Then "that tattva, i.e., the perception of nothingness, is the way to immortality," said the sage. The king did not perceive the truth, and suspecting the sage to be an imposter, ordered him to be buried alive. A pit was dug in the ground, into which the sage was placed. The ground was then covered with the dung of elephants and horses. It was then fenced with thorny trees, so that nobody could take him out. Twelve years after this event his pupil Kṛṣṇ-ācārya, when proceeding to the place called Kadali Kṣetra, visited Cāti grāma. His two pupils Badala and Mahīla at his instance shewed some miracles to the king, and impressed him with the extreme holiness of their teacher. Being likewise asked for the secrets of immortality by Gōpi Candra, Kṛṣṇ-ācārya whispered into his ears the same mantra which was given him by Bālapāda. The king, remembering it, said he had heard the same thing once before, and told the same story. Kṛṣṇ-ācārya informed the monarch that nobody else knew the mantra except his own Guru, i.e., Bālapāda, the sage of Jālandhara whom he had buried alive. The king became penitent and greatly frightened. They both went over the grave and exhumed the sage. Being in a state of suspended animation in yōga, he was alive. He complained of extreme hunger and thirst, having had no food or drink for twelve years. When brought out, he rested his two arms on the heads of Kṛṣṇ-ācārya’s pupils, named Dhama and Dhuma, and took some food. The king prayed for forgiveness, which was granted to him on condition that he renounced the world and adopted the life of an ascetic. After staying for six months in Cāti grāma in a cavern in the hills, he proceeded to Rāmeqvar-ārāma in the south of India.

Cāti grāma was an important city of Bengal in that early period. The country to the south of Tripura and north of Rakhan (Arakan) was Ramma (Sanskrit rāmya), the land of the picturesque sceneries. It was the headquarters of Buddhism after the decline of Nālanda. In the city of Cāti grāma or Cāti gā there was a large Buddhist monastery called Paṇḍita-Vihāra. There the Buddhist Pandits used to hold religious controversies with the Tirthikās (Brāhmaṇas.) Once when a disputation took place, the leader of the Buddhists, at the suggestion of an old woman, wore a cap pointed like a thorn, at the time of the controversy. He came out victorious. To commemorate that
triumph, the Buddhists of Magadha kept up the use of the conical pointed cap. In Tibet it is called Pan-shwa (pan ‘Pandit’ and shwa in Tibetan ‘a cap’), meaning ‘the Pandit’s cap.’ The Lamas of Tibet, who belong to the Mahāyāna School of Magadha, use the pointed cap on all religious occasions. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, took a model of the Pan-shwa from the grand Lama of Tibet who visited Peking at the invitation of the great Emperor Kublai Khān, and presented it to His Holiness the Pope.

About the middle of the 10th century the great Buddhist Tāntrik sage Tila-yōgi was born in Cātigā. The hierarch of Magadha, Naratōpa, visited Cātigrāma and took vows from Tila-yōgi. Marpa Lochava, the founder of the red hat school of Tibet, was a pupil of Naratōpa, and Milarapa, the renowned Siddha (saint) of Tibet, was Marpa’s pupil.

In 1200 A.D. Pandit Çākya Çribhadra of Kaśmir visited the great monasteries of Odantapurī and Vikramačālā. He witnessed the destruction of those Viharas by the Turuṣka (Muḥammadān) army and the wholesale massacre of the monks. He fled to a place called Jagadhala in Oṭivisa (Orissa), when further ravages were being done to Buddhism in Magadha by the Turuṣkas. Three years after, in 1203, he visited Tibet, and there introduced the system of initiative vow which is called Panchan Domgyun. Some of the Buddhist Pandits of Magadha fled towards Nāpāl, to the south-west and south, and also towards Arkhan (Arakan), Muñād (Burmah), Kamboja (Cambodia) and other places. From the rise of the Sēna Dynasty to its downfall, when under the orders of Lawang Sēna (probably Laksmaṇa Sēna) some Buddhist Bhikṣus served as messengers, the country called Antara Videha was overrun by the Tirthikas, Mlecchas and the Turuṣkas. About this time some foolish Yogis, who were followers of the Buddhist Yogi Gau-rakṣa, became Čvaita Saṃnyāsīs. There remained only

9 (Kāḥhab Dun-dan, 33.)

10 (Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 112.)
a few Buddhists at Natasva. After that time the Rājas of the Sēna family became vassals of the Turuṣka kings. They acted according to the commands of the Turuṣka kings. They respected the Buddhist religion. Particularly in the time of Buddha Sēna, Rāhula Čribhadra, Bhūmi Čribhadra, Upāya Čribhadra and others performed Buddhist religious service. They had a limited number of followers and devotees. There were at that time the Ācāryas Karaṇa Čribhadra, and Munindra Čribhadra and others who also worked with a few followers. About a hundred years after the time of Pratīta Sēna,11 Cagala Rāja, probably the most powerful king of Čātigā, rose to eminence in Bengal. His power was felt all over the country extending from Bengal to Delhi. He was devoted to Brāhmanism. His wife, being a Buddhist, induced him to repair some of the ruined Vihāras of Magadha and to perform religious service at Vajrāsana (Bōdhi Gayā) and Nālanda, and particularly to rebuild the upper storeys of the great nine storeyed Gandhola of Bōdhi Gayā. He re-established the worship of Buddha there by inviting a learned Pandit like Čāriputra. From the death of this Rāja (Cagala) up to this year (Earth-dragon year according to the chronology of Tibet) three hundred years have elapsed. Afterwards in Ōṭivisa (Orissa) Mukunda Dēva (Dharma Rāja), who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He too did some service to the cause of Buddhism. Since his death up to this time one hundred and seventy-eight years have passed.

Towards the East, Buddhism spread more and more than before. After the downfall of Magadha most of the learned sages went towards the land of the Kōki. Since that time the Rājas Čōbhajāta, Simha-jaṭi and others established many Buddhist religious institutions in their dominions. The religion of Buddha having spread there, the Pandit Vana Ratna and others visited Tibet from there (Čātigā). In later
times Raja Babla Sundara sent a number of Pandits to the Siddha Çanti Gupta, when he was residing in the country of Khagendra in Dekhan. They returned with a large number of Mantra works to Cātiāgā. His four sons, Candra Vāhana, Atita Vāhana, Bāla Vāhana, and Sundara hachi, patronized Buddhism. The first reigned in Rakhan (Arakan), the second ruled in the land of the Cakmas (Chittagong Hill Tracts), the third became the king of Muñad (Burmah), and the fourth ruled over Naṅgāta (the Hill Tracts of Assam, Kachar and Tripura). Babla Sundara, it seems, was the king of Tripura and Cātiāgrāma (Chittagong).

With respect to the 'Pandit's cap' (Panzva-riṣe riá), mentioned above (page 25), the following information is available.

Dr. Waddell in his work on "The Buddhism of Tibet" has given a very interesting description of the Lamaist hats and cawls. "The majority of the hats, he writes, are of an Indian type, a few only being Chinese or Mongolian. The two most typical hats are believed by the Lamas to have been brought from India by the Buddhist Saint Padma Sambhana, the founder of Lamaism, and his coadjutor, Çanti Rakṣita, in the eighth century. And both of these hats are essentially of an Indian pattern. The red hat, of the great Pandits Panchen zva dmar is alleged

(Pagsam Jon-Zan, 133.)

(Pagsam Jon-Zan, 124.)
to have been brought from India the foundation of Lamaism. Its shape is essentially that of the ordinary cap used in the colder parts of India during the winter, with lappets coming over the cap and the nape of the neck, which lappets are folded up as an outer brim to the cap in the hot part of the day. Such a cap is often worn by Indian ascetics when travelling in the winter time. It is quite probable that this kind of cap was introduced either by Padma Sambhana, Çānti Rakṣita or Atiça (Dipamkara) into Tibet from Magadha. From the account of the origin of the *Pan-zva rtse riṅ* (called in Waddell’s list *Panchen sneriṅ*) quoted from *Pagsam Jon-zaṅ*, it appears that the Buddhist Yogs and Pandits used caps either during their residence in the monastery or at the time of travel. It is very probable that the cap originated in Udyāna, the country from which both Padma Sambhana and Bālapāda came. The latter or earlier Buddhist Pandits who visited Cātigrāma must have introduced the use of caps among the Buddhist Pandits who were called Mahantas. Pilgrims from Kāśmir and the Panjab still visit Sitākundā which has been a holy place both to the Brāhmans and Buddhists from very early time. In describing *Panchen sneriṅ* Dr. Waddell observes:—It is only worn with these longtails by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, the Gahdan Khri-rinpo-che, and the Tibetan Lama King or regent, during the assembly mass and empowering. *Pan-zva rtse riṅ*,¹⁴ that is the Pandits cap with long or pointed top is generally made with the top point bent a little like a thorn of a rose, symbolical of penetration and piercing.

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

¹⁴ *Pan-zva rtse riṅ* means the long pointed cap of the Pandits. *Pan or Panchen,* means great Pandits, *zva* cap, *rtse* 'point' (Skt. agra), and *riṅ* 'long.'
On the Kāšmiri Noun.—By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.

[Read December, 1897.]

A. Gender.

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

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

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

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

Masc. Fem.

मंगूर mōgyur, a male kid मंगिर mōgīr, a female kid.

वृक watsh, a male calf वृक watshā, a female calf.

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

कतुर katuru, a large potsherd कत्तु katru, a small potsherd.

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

चास tsās, a cough चासू tsākshā, an artificial cough, a "hem."

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

कोल koth, a load कोल kwatsk, a bag.

तातुर taturu, smarting (of a wound) तातुर taturu, the pain felt by an angry person.

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

नार nar, a sleeve नार nar, an arm.

खार khar, having a scald-head खार khar, the disease of scald-head.
1. Words signifying human castes or professions, form their feminines by adding बाय bây (vi. 2) [to the oblique form used in the case of compound words. Vide post, under that head]. [The word then means ‘wife of so and so’].

Thus:

बट bât, a Brâhmaṇ 
बटबाय batabây, a wife of a Brâhmaṇ.

दार dar, name of a Brâhmaṇ caste 
दरबाय darabây, wife of a Dar.

कौ latch, name of a Brâhmaṇ caste 
कौलबाय kaulabây, wife of a Kaul.

खूल sönar, a goldsmith 
खूलबाय sönabây, the wife of a goldsmith.

खार khâr, a blacksmith 
खारबाय khârabây, a blacksmith's wife.

We can only use this for human beings. Thus, कोरबाय kötarbây means the wife of a man of the kötar caste, and not the wife of a pigeon (कॉटूर kötur), the feminine of which is कॉटूर kötûr.

Cf. No. 9.

2. When respect is not intended हलय holay is substituted for हाय hay in the meaning of wife (vi. 3). Thus:

बटकालय batakâlay;

So from

चान chân, a carpenter 
चानकालय chânakâlay, the wife of a carpenter.

Cf. No. 9.

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

पट pu, a board 
पटडा puḍa, a tablet.

मोफ u, fat 
मुफ्त u, the wife of a fat.

गर u, hard 
गरेँ u, a mare.

गुर u, a horse 
गुरङ्ग a mare.

डोब u, a washerman 
डोबं अंडा dwâbâ, a woman who does washing. [Thus जान डॉबो Jâna dwâbâ, Jâna the washerwoman. A washerman’s wife would be डॉबबाय dwâbbây.]
khār, having a scald head
ghūr, a cowherd

khārā, the disease of scald-head.
ghūrā, as in ɣūn ɣūn Zūna gūrā,
Zūna the cowherdess. A cow-
herd's wife is ɣūriāwāy gūrībāy.

Note also words like—

kātur, a large potsherd
mōngur, a male kid
tātur, smarting of a wound
wōwur, a weaver

kāturā, a small ditto.
mōngurā, a female kid.
tāturā the pain of anger.
wōwurā, a woman weaver.

[A weaver's wife is wōwriāwāy wōwībāy.]

gagur, a rat

gagurā.

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

The word ɣhūt tsōtu, small, makes its feminine ɣhūt tshwat, or tshwatiān (Cf. No. 8.) The latter is only used with reference to human
beings. The former is universally used (vi. 5), thus:—ɣhūt (or tshwatiān) kūrā, a small girl.

So also we have khār, an ass, feminine khārā or khariān (see No. 8).

(4). Words ending in ɣu, are subject to the following rules
(vi. 7, 8, 29).

(a) Words of three syllables and over, ending in ɣu change ɣu to ɣu, thus:—

Feminine.

gātul, clever
phuṭul, a bundle of things
tied up in a shawl, &c.

chukul, circular
patul, a raft

gōgul, a big turnip
tsōtul, a sodomite

Γgātulā.
phuṭujā, a small bundle.
chukulā.
patulā, a mat.
gōgulā, an ordinary turnip.
tsōtulā.
(b) Words ending in the suffix वोल wöl, form the feminine in वाजेन wajën, thus:

गरवाल garawöl, a house-holder गरवाचाज garawajën.

The word वोल wöl, 'a ring' is not formed with this suffix.

(c) Other words in लु form their feminines in ज़ jä, thus:

गुल gül, a kernel गुज्ज़ gūjä, a small ditto.

Words in बोल बोल change बो to बी बी, thus:

बोल wöl, a small ring बाज wajä, a small ditto.

मोल möl, a father माज majä, a mother.

घोल təröl, watchman ठाज़ tərājä.

Irregular is—

दुल dül, a large bowl दुलिज़ düläjä, a small ditto.

(5) Words ending in क़ kä, ख़ khä, ग़ gä (and also in क़ k, ख़ kh, ग़ g; but no examples are given) change क़ kä to च़ cä, ख़ khä to च़ chä, and ग़ gä to ज़ jä (vi. 9), thus:

Feminine.

बतुक batukä, a drake बत् बतैः batæä, a duck.

होक्क hokkä, dry क़ हवाँच़ khaçä.

द्वीग dviägä, a ball of string द्वी द्वीज़ dviäjä, a small ditto.

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

Içvara-kaula occasionally spells बत् बतैः batæä बत् बतैः batæc.

Exceptions are (vi. 10.)

क़् हाख़ khañkä, one who speaks through हाख़ khañkahä.

his nose.

शूक सोक़ sökä, sour त्वाक़ tswakä.
(6) Words in त, थ, ध, द, or न, with or without u-mātrā, change त to च, थ to छ, ध to ध, and न to न. As usual, a-mātrā is omitted, in writing, after छ, न. (vi. 11.)

संस्करण: उष्ण, a load
व्याख्या: wōrē, a second husband of one woman.
शब्द: वान, a forest
गृह: गून, a brothel-keeper
साइट: चाँ, a carpenter
शब्द: हुन, a dog

(7) Certain words form their feminines by adding र to with various other changes, thus:

Feminine.
काॅत्र kāgov, a small ditto (vi. 12.)
पांडिर tōkâr, an artificial cough, (vi. 13.)
त्रकल trakâr, a scale, (vi. 14.)
मोंद्र mōndâr, a small log (vi. 15.)
होट्र phōtâr, a small basket (vi. 16.)
लॅट्र latâr, a small tail, कुटी लटृ kūtī latâr, a piece of wood cut off the end of a beam.
वाच्च watchâ, a male calf
गृह: watchâr, a female calf.

(8) Certain words form their feminines in रू र (vi. 16–27), thus:

Feminine.
हास्त्र hastâ, an elephant
कावू kāv, a crow
नागू nāg, a snake.

J. i. 5
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\[\text{wūth,} \text{ a camel}\]

\[\text{khār,} \text{ an ass}\]

\[\text{wūtiṅ,} \text{ wūth, a camel}\]

\[\text{khāriṅ,} \text{ (see No. 3) or khārā.} \text{khārā.}\]

And so other words signifying animals.

\[\text{vyāth,} \text{ stout}\]

\[\text{gūth,} \text{ stupid}\]

\[\text{bōtā,} \text{ a Tibetan}\]

\[\text{bugiṅ,} \text{ a master}\]

\[\text{zal,} \text{ water}\]

\[\text{garā,} \text{ a house}\]

\[\text{dobā,} \text{ a washerman}\]

\[\text{vyāthā,} \text{ stout, but rēthiṅ (in a bad sense) stout, fat.}\]

\[\text{gūthiṅ.}\]

\[\text{bōtīṅ, (būtiṅ, butiṅ), or bōtabāy bōtabāy, a Tibetan woman.}\]

\[\text{bugiṅ,} \text{ a mistress.}\]

\[\text{zalīṅ,} \text{ sweat of the feet.}\]

\[\text{gārīṅ,} \text{ a good mistress of a house; distinct from garāwājēṅ, a female householder (see No. 9.)}\]

\[\text{dwabān,} \text{ a washerman's club, but dwabībāy, a washerman's wife.}\]

(9) Certain nouns take ānu in the feminine (vi. 28.)

(a) Names of castes.

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

\[\text{bātā,} \text{ a Brāhmaṇ,}\]

\[\text{bātaṅ,} \text{ a woman of that caste.}\]

\[\text{musalmān,} \text{ a Musalmān}\]

\[\text{musalmaṅ,} \text{ a Muhammandan woman.}\]

\[\text{hākagrākāṅ,} \text{ a vegetable seller.}\]

\[\text{wōnā,} \text{ a shopkeeper}\]

\[\text{wōnyāṅ,} \text{ a female shopkeeper.}\]
1898.]

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So also all nouns with the suffix गोलः गोलः, (vi. 29) as given in No. 4 (b). Thus:

मर्वरः गर्वरः, a householder गर्वरः गर्वरः.

See also No. 8.

(10) If the masculine word ends in र then the suffix is युजः युजः (vi. 30), thus (see Secondary Suffixes No. 39.)

Feminine.

सलः सलः, a member of bridegroom’s सलः सलः.

प्हः प्हः, an invited guest प्हः प्हः.

रेङः रेङः, a dyer रेङः रेङः.

सनः सनः, a goldsmith सनः सनः.

दादः दादः, a vegetable seller दादः दादः.

कोदः कोदः, a baker कोदः कोदः.

Also we have—

सः सः, a co-father-in-law सः सः.

सस्लः युजः, a great king सस्लः युजः.

स्स सः, a great king, a bride.

राजः राजः, a king राजः राजः.

(11) Finally we have वासः वासः in the following (vi. 31):

पादः पादः, a pandit पादः पादः.

गुजः गुजः, a forester गुजः गुजः.

(12) Irregular is (vi. 18)—

पः पः, an axe पः पः.

B. Number.

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

C. Case.

Kāśmirī nouns have, besides the Nominative, two inflected cases the Accusative, and the Agent. Other so-called cases are formed by the addition of postpositions to one of these two. The following are the cases given by Īcvara-kaula.
Formed from the Accusative:—

Genitive,
Locative 1,
Dative 1,
Concomitant.

Formed from the Agent:—

Instrumental,
Locative 2,
Dative 2,
Ablative.

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

There are thus, excluding the Nominative, ten cases.

I now proceed to deal with each case separately.

Accusative.

The Accusative has two forms, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is always the same as the nominative (ii. 1. 39.)

In the masculine singular, the longer form always ends in s. In the feminine it ends in a, e, i, or u-matra (36-40). When the longer form of the accusative singular ends in i, that i is always fully pronounced.

Thus मालि, not मालः. In the plural it always ends in n (12, 38).

Genitive.

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

In the case of masculine nouns, the s of the accusative singular is dropped before the termination, and the final vowel so left is pronounced short, as a mātrā vowel. Thus from दयं day, God: acc. sg. दयस् dayas; gen. sing. दयस् दयः daya sanda: acc. pl. दयनः dayan; gen. plur. दयनः दयः dayan handa.

So from गुरु guru, a horse: acc. sg. गुरिस् guris; gen. sg., गुरिस् गुरु guri sanda: acc. pl. गुर्यन् guryan; gen. pl. गुर्यन् गुरु guryan handa.

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

Thus मालः गुरु मालः गुरु मालः sanda nayur, the son of the father.

मालः गुरु मालः गुरु मालः sanda nayur, the sons of the father.
Moreover this genitive may even be treated as an independent base, and be regularly declined, with case affixes added to it.

Thus from मोहँ, a father, the genitive masculine is माहँ सन्दा, which may be declined like a masculine noun in उ-मात्रा, with a dative माहँ सांड़ि पूंश्य, which can be used instead of the simple dative माहँ पूंश्य. Indeed the dative formed from the genitive is in the case of this word the usual one, and the simple dative is scarcely used (ii. i. 61, 62, 63, 64).

The following are the affixes used to form the genitive:

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

(a) in the singular, चन्द्र सांड़ि, E.g., दय चन्द्र दाय चन्द्र, of God (46).

(b) in the plural, चन्द्र हांड़ि, E.g., दय मन्त्र दाय मन्त्र दाय मन्त्र, of Gods (42).

B. All feminine nouns without exception take चन्द्र हांड़ि, both in the singular, and in the plural. E.g., अण्ड मन्त्र बेने हांड़ि, of the sister; अण्ड मन्त्र बेने हांड़ि, of the sisters; पोंय मन्त्र पौले हांड़ि, of the book; पोंय मन्त्र पौल्यां हांड़ि, of the books (42).

C. Masculine nouns without life take.

(a) In the singular अक उक, (48) before which a is elided (i. 4), and i becomes y (i. 10). While when it follows उ-मात्रा, the u of उक is elided (i. 5). E.g., अकुक डयुकु, of a forehead; कुकु कुलुकु, of a tree; दूनु दूनु कुकु, of a pomegranate.

(b) In the plural, the termination is चन्द्र हांड़ि, as above; e.g., अण्ड मन्त्र डयुकु डयुकु हांड़ि, of foreheads.

Exception.—The words खन खन, gold, and यन् यन्, silver, take the termination चन्द्र सांड़ि in the singular, when the genitive is used in the sense of 'composed of.' E.g., खन मन्त्र बश्शर खन सांड़ि चाठर, an umbrella of gold, a golden umbrella. खन कुकु सूनु चाठर, would mean an umbrella belonging to gold,—a possessive genitive in fact (ii. i. 47).
NOTE.—When a genitive in उक् uk is treated as a declensional base, the उ u becomes औ a in the oblique cases (64). Thus धना पति, a woollen cloth. Gen. sg. पत्युक् patyuk: Dative, पति पति पतिया putshy or पति थ थ पात्कि पात्कि (spelled patyaki) putshy.

D. Masculine nouns which are proper names form their genitive singular in उन् un, which is treated exactly like उक् uk, (50). E.g., राधाकृष्ण Rādhākṛṣṇa of Rādhākṛṣṇa: राधाकृष्णानि पुत्रि, Rādhākṛṣṇani putshy, for Rādhākṛṣṇa.

The plural is formed regularly with धन् hand, e.g. रामन hand, of (many) Ramas.

It will thus be seen that the suffix of the genitive of all plural nouns, and of all feminine nouns is धन् hand.

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

**THING POSSESSED IN THE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR.</th>
<th>PLURAL.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उन् sandu</td>
<td>सन्त्रास sandra (46, 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धन् handu</td>
<td>हांस hansa (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उक् uk</td>
<td>च c (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उन् un</td>
<td>नुँ no (51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in order as:—

माति सन्त्रास माति ने सन्त्रास माति, the son of the father.

माति सन्त्रास कुर्स्तिमाति santra kurstu, the daughter of the father.

1 So written by Içvara-kaula. च c would be more correct, but, च c being a palatal letter, there is practically no difference in the pronunciation.
Locative, 1.

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

This Locative is formed by adding the postpositions चन्द्र अंदर (ii. i. 52), in; मझ माँझ (52), in; पठ पथ (52), upon; क्षण क्षण (53), in; to the longer form of the Accusative. In Poetry, वेष वेष is also used in the sense of ‘upon’ (52). Thus गुल मुल, a root; Acc. sg. गुलस मुलस; Loc. sg. गुलस चन्द्र मुलस अंदर; गुलस मझ मुलस माँझ, in a root; गुलस गुलस पथ मुलस पथ, on a root; Acc. pl. गुलस मुला; गुलस चन्द्र मुला अंदर, in roots.

The postposition क्रम क्षण can only be used with words which mean a receptacle. Thus we can say शाखा क्रम ठाला क्षण, in a dish; or even नाव क्रम नावी क्षण, in a boat; but we cannot say गराष क्रम गरास क्षण, in a house or गुलस क्रम मुलस क्षण, in a root, because a house, or a root, are not used as receptacles for putting things into.
hydth can also be used with any word signifying a means of conveyance, and it must then sometimes be translated by 'on.' Thus 

\[ guris\ kyāth, \] or \[ guris\ pyāth, \] on horseback.

Loc. 2 will be dealt with subsequently.

Dative, 1.

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

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

Sing. Masc. \[ kitu (kyut^u) \]
Fem. \[ kiti \]
Pl. Masc. \[ kiti \]
Fem. \[ kiti \]

Thus \[ mālis kyut^u anun pōn^u \], he brought water (masc. sg.) for the father.

\[ mālis kiti gāv, \] he brought a cow (fem. sg.) for the father.

\[ guris kiti anin rav, \] he brought blankets (masc. pl.) for the horse.

\[ gōras kitsa aṇyan pōtē, \] he brought books (fem. pl.) for the teacher.

Concomitant.

This case is used in the sense of 'with,' or 'accompanying.' It is formed by adding the postpositions \[ sūt \] or \[ sūty \] to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 60). Thus \[ mālis sūt \]
In this case it is always implied that the person who is accompanied is the principal and he who accompanies, is the appendage (iv. 185).

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

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

Agent.

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

(1) In the case of Masc. nouns ending in consonants by adding अन an; thus दय day, God; Ag. sg. दयन dayan. In the older forms of the language the suffix was आ: e.g., दयन दय day; dapu, by God it was said, God said. The modern phrase would be दयन दय dayan dapu (ii. i. 58).

(2) In the case of Masculine nouns (except pronouns) ending in a, the same suffixes appear. Thus from दयak, a forehead; Ag. sg. दयक an, or (old) देक (58). Pronouns take इ-मात्रा in the masc. sg., e.g., तमी tami, by him, (58).

(3) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in u-मात्रा, i-मात्रा is substituted for u-मात्रा. Thus, कार kar, a bracelet; Ag. sg. अर kar (56).

(4) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in ā-मात्रा, by adding न n; e.g., from दान dān, a pomegranate; Ag. sg. दान dān (58). [Içvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent of these nouns, but the above is the correct form.]

(5) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in a, by substituting i (which is fully pronounced, and not i-मात्रा) for a: e.g.,
42  G. A. Grierson—On the Kāśmīrī Noun.  [No. 1,

from बेने (spelled byān), a sister; Ag. sg. वेिने बेनि (56).

(6) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in i-mātra or u-mātra, a fully pronounced i is substituted for the i-mātra or u-mātra: e.g., from पुथि पुथि, a book; Ag. sg. पौथि पोथि.

So from शृङ्ग कुर्ग, a girl; Ag. sg. कोरि कोरि (56).

(7) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in consonants, by adding a fully pronounced i: e.g., from माल माल a garland, मालि मालि (56). The irregular nouns, however, which end in t, th, d, n, h, and l, add u-mātra: e.g., from रात् रात, night; Ag. sg. रात् रात्. [This last rule is not expressly stated by Iśvara-kaula, but may be inferred from sūtra 7, read with sūtra 17.]

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

From Ag. Plural.

दय्  day, God  दयो  dayau
चक  dyak, the forehead  चको  dyakaū
कर्  kar, a bracelet  करी  karyau
दान्  dān, a pomegranate  दानव  dānv
बेने  बेने (byān), a sister  बेनौ  बेनू
पूथि  pūthi, a book  पौथि  pōthiū
कुर्ग  कुर्ग, a girl  कोरि  kōryau
माल्  māl, a garland  मालौ  mālau
रात्  rāt, night  राताः  rātau

When postpositions are added to the agent of masculine nouns ending in consonants or a, the n of the Agent singular is dropped. Thus, from शृङ्ग मुल, Ag. sg. शृङ्ग मुलन; Istr. शृङ्ग खिल्म मुल sātin, not शृङ्ग खिल्म मुलन sātin (4). [The same rule applies to masculines in u-mātra, though not stated by Iśvara-kaula.]
The Instrumental is formed by adding suffixes to the Agent, the final \( n \) of Masculine nouns in consonants, \( a \), or \( \text{i-mātṛā} \) being elided, (ii. i. 4, 59.). Thus—

\[ \text{मुल} \quad \text{mūl}, \text{ a root; Ag. sg. मुलन} \quad \text{mūlan; Instr. sg. मुलन सुतिन} \quad \text{mūlan sūtin, by means of a root; Ag. pl. मुलान} \quad \text{mūlān; Instr. pl. मुलान सुतिन} \quad \text{mūlān sūtin.} \]

When खतिन sūtin follows i-mātṛā, the i is fully pronounced (6). Thus कर, kara, a bracelet; Ag. sg. कर, kari; Instr. sg. कर खतिन kari sūtin.

This case can also be formed by adding the same postposition to the agent case of the masculine genitive treated as an independent base, as explained above (61). Thus चक ड्याक, a forehead; masc. gen. sg. ड्याकु क ड्याकु; Agent of ditto, चक ड्याकिड ड्याकी; Instr. चक खतिन ड्याक, sūtin or चक खतिन ड्याककी sūtin.

So from गुरु, gurū, a horse. Ag. sg. गुरi guri; Gen. Sg. गुरक्त gurī kāṇ; Agent of ditto, गुरी सुतिन guri sūtin, or गुरी सदि gurī sandi sūtin.

**Locative 2.**

The Locative 2 has the meaning of ‘from in,’ and is formed by adding the postposition चन्द्र andr to the Agent, (\( n \) being dropped in the case of masculines in consonants, and \( a \), and चन्द्र). Thus, from गर गर, a house; Ag. sg. गर गरान garan; Loc. 2, sg. गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र andr, from in the house; ag. pl. गरी गराव gara; Loc. 2, pl. गरी चन्द्र गराव andr, (ii. i. 57).

Examples of the use of this case are गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र andr an bring out from the house, lit. bring from in the house.

गर चन्द्र कुच जान लोक गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र andr an andr, among the people in (lit. from in) the house, (only) so and so is good.

गरी चन्द्र कुच जान काँगुन गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र गर चन्द्र andr an andr, the only good thing in the houses is the court-yard.
This form can only be used in the meaning called in Skr. \textit{nirdhāranē}, \textit{i.e.}, in words meaning \textit{jāti}, a species (including all plurals); गुण, \textit{guna}, a quality; क्रिया, \textit{kriya}, an act; \textit{समजना}, \textit{samjña}, an appellation; and means that one of several is taken.

Examples:—
Species. A Brähmana is the best amongst men.
Quality. Amongst cows a black one gives most milk.
Action. Amongst men who go, he who runs is the swiftest.
Appellation. Amongst the pupils Maitra is the cleverest. See \textit{Siddhānta Kaumudi} (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) I, 311. In all the above “amongst” means “from among.”

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

\textit{Dative} 2.

According to \textit{Īcvara-kaula}, this form is only used to a moderate extent (\textit{sāmānya}) (ii. i. 63). It is in fact rarely used. It has the same meaning as the Dat. 1. It is formed by adding गुण putshy to the Agent, or (as has been explained under the head of the Instrumental) to the Agent case of the Genitive. Before गुण putshy, as in the case of \textit{सत} satin, \textit{i-matrā} is fully pronounced. Thus,—उन गुण putra putshy, or उन गुण गुण putra sandi putshy.

\textit{Ablative}.

The Ablative is formed from the Agent by adding the postpositions यथा, \textit{pyatham}, literally from on, hence, from near; निः, \textit{niśa}, from near; अन्त्र, \textit{andra}, from among, from in (ii. i. 65).

Thus, गाम यथाथ gāma pyath, from the village; गामा यथाथ gāmau pyath, from the villages; सरपाठ niśa sarpu niś, from the serpents; गर अन्त्र ग्राम gar-andra drav, he came out from the house; नावि अन्त्र नाव nāvi andra drav, he came out from the boat, (65).
[Masculine living beings can also add these postpositions, in the singular only, to the longer form of the Accusative. Thus चुरस निष त्सुरास निष, from the thief; गुरिस निष गुरिस निष, from the horse.]

The ablative of comparison is formed with the postpositions खत कटो or खत खोला, निष निष or निषि निष, which are added either to the agent direct, or to the Agent case of the Genitive treated as a base. In the case of some words, e.g., स्वर गोर, a teacher, only the latter idiom is used.

E.g., स्वर गोर खत हुसू गाटुजू गोर खोल खत खुल गाटुजू, he is more clever than the teacher. We cannot say स्वर खत गोर खोल. चु मनि (or कस) खत हुसू चुकू कानो हांडी (or कानो) खोल खुल त्राकु, he is harder than a stone; भंब लिए हुसू खत चान रोप निष खुल सौन जैं, gold is better than silver (ii. i. 62).

D. Declension.

Kāśmiri nouns have four declensions.

The first declension consists of masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in ा, or in ा उ-मात्रा. The base in this declension ends in ा.

The second declension consists of masculine nouns ending in ा उ-मात्रा. The base in this declension ends in ा.

The third declension consists of feminine nouns ending in ा उ-मात्रा, ा उ-मात्रा, or ा ा। The last is only another way of writing ा ा। It may be considered as the feminine form of the 2nd declension. The base in this declension also ends in ा, and this declension is closely connected with the second, as feminine and masculine.

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

There are thus two masculine, and two feminine declensions.
FIRST DECLENSION.

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in ख a, or in ख u-mātra.

(a). Noun ending in a consonant.

चूँर tsūr, a thief.

**SINGULAR.**

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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>चूँर tsūr (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>चूँर mas tsūras (36, 38)</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर mas tsūran (13, 38)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर संब्द tsūra sanda (41, 42, 45)</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर संब्द tsūran handa (42)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc. 1</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūras pyath (52), &amp;c.</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūran pyath (52), &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 1</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūras kyuta (54, 55)</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūran kyuta (54, 55)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concom.</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūras sūtin (60)</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūran sūtin (60)</td>
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<td>Agent.</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर mas tsūran (58)</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर mas tsūrau (56)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūra sūtin (6, 59)</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūrau sūtin (59)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc. 2</td>
<td>(चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūra andra) (4, 57)</td>
<td>(चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūrau andra) (57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 2</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūra putshy (63)</td>
<td>चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūrau putshy (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर मिश tsūra nīpa (65)</td>
<td>चूँर चूँर मिश tsūrau nīpa (65)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[or चूँर संब्द चूँर mas tsūras nīpa].
Similarly are declined दिन day; गांव काव, a crow; सन् sन, gold; वें पृथ, silver; उन्न पुत्र, a son; वसं वधर, a leaf; लम्बू तमुल, husked rice; चार हर, name of a month, आसाद्धा; संग मोग, name of a grain, फासेलोलुस मुंगी; साम् माग, name of a month, माध्या; दे दी, a day; नाग् नाग, a spring; कट कत [nom. sg. and pl. कठ kठ] (66)], a ram; रात रत [nom. sg. and pl. रात् rाठ, (66)], blood; पोष पोष, a flower; वाज् वाल, hair; सल् गल, the cheek; स्वर् गोर, a preceptor, a ब्रह्मा man.

Numerals take i instead of अ in the Agent and connected cases, e.g., पति सति सति by sevens (ii. i. 5).

If a noun ends in छur [or जन् un], the u is changed to अ in all cases except the nominative singular, e.g., वादर wादर, a monkey; nom. pl. वादर wादर; instr. वादरी सति सति (32). [So infinitives like कन् karun; acc. कन् karun.[

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

मूल mूल, a root. लुदृलुदृ, eagerly desirous.

मूल chूल, a cascade. मूलर लुबूर, eagerly desirous.

मूल dूस, a stout club. वूट वृट (nom. sg. वृट वृट, 66), a camel.

बूट bूट (nom. sg. बूट बूट, 66), खूस sूस, ashes.

बूट bूट, a ghost.

रूड rूड, rain. खूस hूस, an uproar.

[चूर tsूर, a thief], and others.

लुक lूक (nom. sg. लूक lूक, 66), people.

Thus from मूल mूल, acc. pl. मूलन mूलन, not भूलन मूलन.
If a masculine noun ends in क k, च ch, चू चू ch, त t, or ध p, this final consonant is aspirated in the nom. sg. and pl. (66); thus:

- **Nom. sg. and pl.**
- त्रक् trak, a certain grain measure.
- काख् kākh, glass, a disease of the chest.
- कत् kat, a ram.
- रत् rat, blood.
- बत् hat, a hundred.
- तोप् top, sunshine.

The aspiration is very faintly heard, being a final letter, but it affects the preceding vowel. The aspiration does not occur in the other cases; e.g., क क सूटिन् traksō sūtin (instr.); काख् kākhō sūtin; कत् पुष् katō putshy (dat. 2); तोप् पाप् tōpas pāp (loc.).

This aspiration does not occur if a final त t or त अ k forms part of a compound consonant (even when a short o is introduced between them to aid pronunciation) (68); thus:

- साध्व saṭs, a tailor (Elmslie, sūts); nom. sg. and pl. साध्व saṭs, not साध्व saṭsh.
- मास्त mast, hair; nom. sg. and pl. मास्त mast, not मास्त masth.

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

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>चाख् byākh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>बियि biyis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>बियः biyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>बिय् biy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>बियन्त biyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>बिया biyau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Fem. Ag. is बियि biyi. In other forms it is the same as the Masc. This is really a compound word: made up of बि bi, other, and एक् ākh, one. The oblique forms are made up of the base बि bi, together with the emphatic particle य y, which accounts for the apparent irregularities. बि bi is of the 2nd declension.
1898.] G. A. Grierson—On the Kāsmīrī Noun. 49

Noun ending in य a.

चक dyak a a forehead.

### Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>द्याक a (ii. i. 1)</th>
<th>द्याक a (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>द्याक a (ii. i. 1)</td>
<td>द्याक a (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>द्याक a (38)</td>
<td>द्याक a (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 1</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 1</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concom.</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
<td>द्याक a (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>द्याक a (i. 5a)</td>
<td>द्याक a (56 ; i. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>द्याक a (6, 59)</td>
<td>द्याक a (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 2</td>
<td>द्याक a (61)</td>
<td>द्याक a (61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 2</td>
<td>द्याक a (63)</td>
<td>द्याक a (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>द्याक a (65)</td>
<td>द्याक a (65)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined गर gar a, a house; अथ a, a hand; दाने dāne, rice; बल bat a, boiled rice.

J. 1. 7
(c). Noun ending in ा umātā.

दान dān, a pomegranate.

Nom. दान dān (ii. i. 2).
Acc. दानस dāns (38).
Gen. दानक dānk (41, 48).
Loc. 1. दानस पथ dāns pyāth,
&c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1. दानस कित dāns kūt (54, 55).
Concom. दान सृतिल dāns sūtin (60).
Agent. दानन dānn (20, 31, 56).
Instr. दान सृतिल dāns sūtin (59).
Loc. 2. दान धन dān andr (57).
Dat. 2. दान पुख dān putshy (63).
Abl. दान निश dān nīś (65).

Iṣvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent singular of these nouns, but दान dān is the correct form.

The following words are optionally declined as if ending in consonants, ा ganz, a leather-worker; ा gās, a grass-seller; ा bāt.
people of a house; 

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It must be remembered that ū-mātra at the end of a word is not pronounced. Before a consonant (as in dānāv) it is pronounced like a short German ū. It is, also, slightly pronounced in the Instr. Loc. 2, Dat. 2, and Abl. Sing. Before ū-mātra, a preceding a or ā must be modified to a or ā respectively (70); e.g., as in dānāv.

SECOND DECLENSION.

Masculine Nouns in ī u-mātra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>कृष्ण कर</th>
<th>कृष्ण कर</th>
<th>कृष्ण कर</th>
<th>कृष्ण कर</th>
<th>कृष्ण कर</th>
<th>कृष्ण कर</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
<td>कृष्ण कर</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paras. कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |
| कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |

Agent. कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |
| कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |

Instr. कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |
| कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |

Loc. 2. कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |
| कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |

Dat. 2. कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |
| कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |

Abl. कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |
| कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर | कृष्ण कर |

[also गुरिस निंग गुरिस निंग (in the case of masculine nouns with life).]
Similarly are declined गुर gur, a horse; गुर gūr, a cow-herd; गुल gūl, a kernel, especially of the singāra; गुल kul, a tree.

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

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

Thus गुर gūr, a cowherd; acc. sg. गुर gūris; nom. pl. गुर gūr, but acc. pl. गोर्यन goryan.

The following words in u-mātra are exceptions, and do not change.

कस्तुर kastūr, the nightingale.
कुटु kūṭu, a tree-trunk.
तुर tuṭu, an apple.
तर tūr, a woman's eating platter.
दुर dūr, a flower-bed.
नस्तुर nastūr, having a deformed nose.

Thus from कस्तुर kastūr, acc. pl. कस्तुर्यन kastūryan.

If a masculine noun ends in u-mātra, and has ओ o in the penultimate, this ō becomes ā in all cases of the singular except the nominative, and throughout the plural. Moreover, this ā is modified to ā before i-mātra, and in the accusative singular (69, 70). Thus, वॉल wōl, an earring; acc. sg. वालिस wālis; gen. sg., वालिक wālyuk (from मोल mōl, a father, मलिस मिल sandu); ag. sg. वालिव wālī; instr. sg. वालिछि वासिन् wāli svātin (here the i is not i-mātra, but is fully pronounced); nom. pl. वालिय wāli; acc. pl. वालियन्त wālyan; ag. pl. वालियन् wālyau. Similarly are declined मोल mōl, a father, and बोय bōy, a brother; also masculine possessive pronouns, such as मोर्य myōn, mine; होन cyōn, mine; होन sōn, our.
Thus nom. sg. म्यान myān; acc. sg. म्यानिस myānis; gen. sg. म्यानिं myānī; nom. pl. म्यान्य myāny; acc. pl. म्यान्यिं myāni; Nom. pi. myāny; Instr. sg. म्यानिं भविन्द myāni sūtin, or म्यानिं भविन्द myāni sandi sūtin. So also the others (ii. iii. 11 and ff.).

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

Base पत्त pat, a woollen cloth; nom. sg. पत्त patu; ag. sg. पति pati; nom. pl. पत्ति patī; but, acc. sg. पतिः patis (not पतिः patis, as in the case of वोत vōtv); Instr. sg. पति भविन्द pati sūtin (fully pronounced i); acc. pl. पत्यन patyan; ag. pl. पती patyā.

So also पत्तक patuk, of a woollen cloth; acc. sg. पत्तकिः patēkis; ag. sg. पत्तकिः patēki; instr. sg. पत्तकिः भविन्द patēki sūtin; nom. pl. पत्तकिः sandi; acc. pl. पत्तकिः sānyan; ag. pl. पत्तक भविन्द sānyau): similarly पत्तक patuk, of a woollen cloth; acc. sg. पत्तकिः patēkis; ag. sg. पत्तकिः patēki; instr. sg. पत्तकिः भविन्द patēki sūtin; nom. pl. पत्तकिः patēki; acc. pl. पत्तकिः sānyan; ag. pl. पत्तक भविन्द sānyau.

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

मातुल gātul, clever; acc. sg. मातुलिः gātali; ag. sg. मातुलिः gālī (pronounced gālī); instr. sg. मातुलिः भविन्द gātali sūtin; gen. sg. मातुलिः sandi gālī; nom. pl. मातुलिः gālī; acc. pl. मातुलिः gālī; ag. pl. मातुलिः gālī.

This does not occur in the case of dissyllables; e.g., from कुल kul, a tree; acc. sg. कुलिः kulis, and not कुलिः kalis.

The following words in u-mātra, with u in the penultimate, change
the penultimate \( \textit{u} \) to \( \textit{a} \) in all cases except the nominative, and are then declined like nouns of the first declension ending in consonants (74.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{kōtskul}\text{u}, & \text{ a porter.} \\
\textit{tsōtul}\text{u}, & \text{ a sodomite.} \\
\textit{tsakul}\text{u}, & \text{ circular.} \\
\textit{gōgul}\text{u}, & \text{ globular.} \\
\textit{wātul}\text{u}, & \text{ a low-caste man.} \\
\textit{batuk}\text{u}, & \text{ a drake.} \\
\textit{gagur}\text{u}, & \text{ a rat.} \\
\textit{mōngur}\text{u}, & \text{ a kid.} \\
\textit{kōkur}\text{u}, & \text{ a cock (iv. 1).} \\
\textit{kōtur}\text{u}, & \text{ a pigeon (iv. 1).}
\end{align*}
\]

So also words in \( \textit{ru} \) signifying professions, &c. (iv. 6, 99 and ff.), e.g., \textit{sōnur}\text{u}, a goldsmith, \textit{manur}\text{u}, a shell worker.

See secondary suffixes No. 39.

Thus—


If a word ending in \( \textit{u-mātrā} \) has \( \textit{yu} \) or \( \textit{i} \) in the penultimate of the nom. sg., it has \( \textit{i} \) in the penultimate in all the other cases (ii. i. 76). [These words are spelt indifferently with \( \textit{yu} \) or \( \textit{i} \) in the nominative, but are always pronounced as if \( \textit{yu} \) was written. Thus \textit{sahānu}\textit{mahanyuv}\text{u}, or \textit{sahānu}\textit{mahaviw}, a man, both pronounced \textit{mahanyuv}; \textit{zyuth}\text{u}, or \textit{zith}\text{u}, old, but both pronounced \textit{zyuth}. On the other hand, in other cases, except the nominative, we have only \( \textit{i} \), pronounced as \( \textit{i} \): thus; \textit{zyuth}\text{u}, old; acc. sg. \textit{zith}is; ag. sg. \textit{zith}\text{i}; nom. pl. \textit{zith}\text{i}; acc. pl. \textit{zith}\text{y}an; ag. pl. \textit{zith}\text{yau}.]
Similarly, when the penultimate is yū, it becomes ī before i-mātrā or is, and ē in other cases, except the nom. sg. (77, 78); thus,—

Nom. sg. चूनं tṣyun', a wall; acc. sg. चौरिस tṣīnis; gen. sg. चूनयक् tṣēnyuk'; ag. sg. चौरिण tṣīn'; instr. sg. चौरिण tṣēni sūtin (not i-mātrā); nom. pl. चौरिण tṣīn'; acc. pl. चौरिम् tṣēnyan; ag. pl. चौरिम् tṣēnyau.

[The word चूल् nyūla, blue, however, has ī throughout. Thus, gen. sg. नौकूक् nilyuk'; instr. sg. नौरिण nīli sūtin; acc. pl. नौरिम् nīyan; ag. pl. नौरिम् nīyan.

So also in चूल् yyūla, how much; चूल् tyūla, so much; चूल् yūla, this much; change the yū to ī throughout (ii. iii. 27). Thus, चौरिण yīt', how many (nom. pl.); चौरिण tišt; चौरिण īt, pr. yīt'.]

The ज आ in चूल् kūla, how many? (ii. iii. 25, 26) becomes ज आ, in all cases except the nominative singular. In the obl. cases of the plural, it may optionally become ई. Thus—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th></th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. चूल् kūla</td>
<td>चौरिण kūla'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. चौरिस kūlis</td>
<td>चौरिम् kūlyan or कैयम् kaityan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. चौरिण kūli</td>
<td>कैयम् kūlyau or कैयम् kaityau.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its fem. is चूल् kūla'.

The word चूल् kāh, or चूल् kāh, a certain person, is declined as a feminine ending in a consonant (ii. iii. 29).
Feminine nouns ending in र i-mātrā, क्‍ उ-mātrā, or म् न.

पृथि pūthi, a book.

(a). Nouns ending in र i-mātrā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>योधा pōthē</th>
<th>पोथन् pōthyan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>पृथि pūthi¹ (ii. i. 9)</td>
<td>पोथन् pōthē (11, 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>पृथि pūthi (21, 33, 38, 40)</td>
<td>पोथन् pōthē (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>पृथि pūthi handa (42)</td>
<td>पोथन् pōthyan handa (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 1.</td>
<td>पृथि यथ pōthē pyath, &amp;c. (52, 53)</td>
<td>पोथन् यथ pōthyan pyath (52, 53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 1.</td>
<td>पृथि किन् pōthē kyut (54, 55)</td>
<td>पोथन् किन् pōthyan kyut (54, 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concom.</td>
<td>पृथि सूतिन् pōthē sūtīn (60)</td>
<td>पोथन् सूतिन् pōthyan sūtīn (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>पृथि pōthi (6, 56)</td>
<td>पोथन् pōthyan (56; i. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>पृथि सूतिन् pōthi sūtīn (33, 59)</td>
<td>पोथन् सूतिन् pōthyan sūtīn (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 2.</td>
<td>पृथि चन्द pōthi andra (57)</td>
<td>पोथन् चन्द pōthyan andra (57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 2.</td>
<td>पृथि पुष्क pōthī putshy (63)</td>
<td>पोथन् पुष्क pōthyan putshy (33, 63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>पृथि निश pōthi nīṣa (65)</td>
<td>पोथन् निश pōthyan nīṣa (65)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined, जूृर नुर¹, a hoof; बीत khit¹, a field; चॊृर cīr¹, a lottery ticket.

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel ृ, that ृ becomes ो in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus पृथि pūthi¹ a book; nom. pl. पोथन् pōthē (33).
So also a penultimate \( i \) becomes a \( e \) in the same circumstance. Thus क्षिति \( khit \), a field; nom. pl. क्षिति \( khit \). The word चेट चिर \( cir \), a lottery-ticket or slip, does not, however, change its long \( i \), and its nom. pl. is चेट चिर \( cir \) (33).

\[(b)\] Nouns ending in \( u \)-\( m\-\)त्रा.

कृङ \( kur \), a girl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>ख्रुङ्ग</th>
<th>कङ्ग कङ्ग (11, 30, 33)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>कृङ्ग कङ्ग (ii. i. 9)</td>
<td>कङ्ग कङ्ग (11, 30, 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>कङ्ग कङ्ग (21, 33, 38)</td>
<td>कङ्ग कङ्ग (12, 30, 33, 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>कङ्ग कङ्ग (39)</td>
<td>कङ्ग कङ्ग (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>कङ्ग पादः कङ्ग pyāth, &amp;c. (52, 53)</td>
<td>कङ्ग पादः कङ्ग pyāth, &amp;c. (52, 53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>कङ्ग नित्वः कङ्ग kyut (54, 55)</td>
<td>कङ्ग नित्वः कङ्ग kyut (54, 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concom.</td>
<td>कङ्ग सतिन् कङ्ग sūtin (60)</td>
<td>कङ्ग सतिन् कङ्ग sūtin (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>कङ्ग (6, 56)</td>
<td>कङ्ग (66, 30; i. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>कङ्ग सतिन् कङ्ग sūtin (6, 30, 59)</td>
<td>कङ्ग सतिन् कङ्ग sūtin (33, 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 2.</td>
<td>कङ्ग नित्वः कङ्ग sūtin (61)</td>
<td>कङ्ग नित्वः कङ्ग sūtin (61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 2.</td>
<td>कङ्ग पुषः कङ्ग putshy (63)</td>
<td>कङ्ग पुषः कङ्ग putshy (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>कङ्ग nिगः कङ्ग nिगः (65)</td>
<td>कङ्ग nिगः कङ्ग nिगः (65)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similarly are declined पत्र पात्र®, a tablet; बैठ kāth®, a stalk, especially the non-edible part of asparagus, sugarcane, &c.; बड bād®, a great woman; तान tān® (or तान tān) a slender woman; लंड lānd®, a branch.

The final उ- becomes य (or य) throughout, except in the nom. sg. (30).

All nouns of this declension ending in ता tā, था thā, or दा dā, change the consonant to the corresponding palatal, in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पत्र पात्र®.</td>
<td>पच्च pacē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काठ kāth®.</td>
<td>काठ kāchē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बड bād®.</td>
<td>बच्च bājē.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel उ, that उ becomes ऋ in all cases except the nom. singular, thus खुर kūr®, a girl, nom. pl. कौर kūre (33).

The following are exceptions and do not change the उ (35). तुरं tūr®, cold; दुरं dūr®, a lane; गुरं mūr®, a twig. Thus from खुरं tūr®, nom. pl. खूरं tūre.

So also a penultimate व becomes ऋ in the same circumstances. Thus, गीर gīr®, red-chalk. Nom. pl. गीर gīrē. The following words (33) however, do not change,—

| गीर gīr®, red-chalk. | गीर gīrē.         |
| गौर gōr®, child's excrement. | गौर gōrē.        |
| फूट kāth®, pride. | फूट kāchē (22). |
| टूर tūr®, cold-boiled-rice-pudding. | टूर tūre. |
| पूर pūr®, a table. | पूर pūrē.         |
Whenever in this declension ā-mātrā is preceded by a or ā, the a or ā become modified to a or ā respectively (70). Thus,

Base पत् pat, a tablet; nom. sg. पत pata, but acc. sg. पच्च pacyē; ag. sg. पच्च paci (i fully pronounced,—not i-mātrā); nom. pl. पच्च pacē; acc. pl. पच्च पच्च pacyan; ag. pl. पच्च पच्च pacyau.

So,—Base माज् māj, a mother; nom. sg. माज् माज् māja; but acc. sg. माज् माज् mājē.

Again; Base, काठ kāṭh, wood; nom. sg. काठ kāṭha; acc. sg. काठ kāchē.

(c). Nouns ending in नू. नू.

Similarly are declined all feminine nouns in नू, thus माण्ड myān, mine (fem.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. माण्ड myān.</td>
<td>माण्ड myānē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. माण्ड myānē.</td>
<td>माण्ड myānān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. माण्ड myān.</td>
<td>माण्ड myānau.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel is only modified in the nom. sing. So also चाण्ड cyān thine (fem.); साण्ड sān, our (fem.) (ii. iii. 11 and ff).

As the semivowel य ya cannot, as a rule, immediately follow च त्स, त श, or ज झ, when a noun ends in च त्स, त श, or ज झ, the य ya is elided in declension. Thus मच्छ matsa, mad, (feminine): nom. pl. मच्छ matsa, not मच्छ matsē. कृष्ण kwatśa, a small bag: pl. कृष्ण kölsa. वर्ज्ञ wörzsa, a woman who has married twice, pl. वर्ज्ञ wörzsa. (iv. 51). The य ya is, however, retained in the singular. Thus the acc. sg. is मच्छ matsē, कृष्ण kölshē, and वर्ज्ञ wörzē.
Fourth Declension.

Nouns ending in बेने, or a consonant.

(a) Nouns ending in बेने

बेने, a sister.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>बेने</th>
<th>बेनान</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>बेने (ii. i. 1)</td>
<td>बेनान (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>बेने (38, 40, 39)</td>
<td>बेनान (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>बेने हाँड़ (42)</td>
<td>बेनान हाँड़ (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 1</td>
<td>बेने प्याथ (52, 53)</td>
<td>बेनान प्याथ, &amp;c. (52, 53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 1</td>
<td>बेने कितु (54, 55)</td>
<td>बेनान कितु (54, 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concom.</td>
<td>बेनेसुटें (60)</td>
<td>बेनानसुटें (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>बेन (56; i. 4)</td>
<td>बेनाउ (56, i. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>बेनसुटें (59)</td>
<td>बेनाउसुटें (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>बेन हाँडी सुटें (61)</td>
<td>बेनान हाँडी सुटें (61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 2</td>
<td>बेन अंड्रा (57)</td>
<td>बेनाउ अंड्रा (57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 2</td>
<td>बेन पुश्य (63)</td>
<td>बेनाउ पुश्य (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>बेन निप्ता (65)</td>
<td>बेनाउ निप्ता (65)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G. A. Grierson—*On the Kashmiri Noun.*

(b) Nouns ending in a consonant.

मालः *māl,* a garland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>मालः <em>māl</em> (ii. i. 10).</td>
<td>मालः <em>māl</em> (11).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>मालः <em>mālī</em> (37, 38, मालः <em>mālān</em> (12, 38).</td>
<td>मालः <em>mālī</em> (37, 38, मालः <em>mālān</em> (12, 38).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>मालः <em>mālī handu</em> (42).</td>
<td>मालः <em>mālān handu</em> (42).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 1</td>
<td>मालः <em>pyāth mālī pyāth,</em> &amp;c., (52, 53).</td>
<td>मालः <em>pyāth mālān pyāth,</em> &amp;c., (52, 53).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 1</td>
<td>मालः <em>kyut mālī kyutu</em> (54, 55).</td>
<td>मालः <em>kyut mālān kyutu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concom.</td>
<td>मालः <em>sūtin mālī sūtin</em> (60).</td>
<td>मालः <em>sūtin mālān sūtin</em> (60).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>मालः <em>mālī</em> (56).</td>
<td>मालः <em>mālau</em> (56).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>मालः <em>sūtin mālī sutin</em> (59).</td>
<td>मालः <em>sūtin mālau sutin</em> (59).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. 2</td>
<td>मालः <em>andr mālī andrū</em> (57).</td>
<td>मालः <em>andr mālau andrū</em> (57).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. 2</td>
<td>मालः <em>putshy mālī putshy</em> (63).</td>
<td>मालः <em>putshy mālau putshy</em> (63).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>मालः <em>nic mālī nicū</em> (65).</td>
<td>मालः <em>nic mālau nicū</em> (65).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined क्रुक *kruk,* a loud noise; नारिजः *nārij,* a conduit; झांग *zagg,* a thigh.
Note that when a noun ends in क k, च c, चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ चँ
The word द्वेि mās (ii. iii. 28), a buffalo-cow, changes जू to ai in all cases except the nom. sg., thus—

**Singular.** | **Plural.**
---|---
Nom. mās | māsa
Acc. maísī | maísan
Ag. maísī | maísau

The word द्वेि kāh or कांच kāh, any one, some one, though of both genders, is always declined as a feminine, in the sg. number. It changes जू to ai and जू to s in all cases except the nom. sg. (ii. iii. 29). It becomes केन्द्रें kēntē in the plural (ii. iii. 30) and is then declined as a masculine.

Thus,—

**Singular.** | **Plural.**
---|---
Nom. kāh, kāh | kēntē
Acc. kaísī | kēntsan
Ag. kaísī | kēntau
(c). Irregular Feminine Nouns, ending in Consonants.

रात्‍ rāt, night.

Nom. राघ्‍र rāth (ii. i. 10, 66). राढ rāṭs (16, 23).

Acc. राढ rāṭs (16, 23, 38, राढू rाठn (14, 16, 23, 38).

Gen. राढ हद्द rाठa hand (16, 23).

Loc. 1. राढ मझ् rाठa manz, राढू मझ् rāṭa manz, &c. (52, 53).

Dat. 1. राढ कित् rाठa kyut (54, 55).

Concom. राढ पतिन् rाठa sātin राढू पतिन् rāṭa sātin.

Agent. राढ rāṭa (7, 17). राढrāṭa (20, 56).

Instr. राढ पतिन् rाठa sātin (59).

Loc. 2. राढ पतिन् rāṭa andr (57).

Dat. 2. राढ पतिन् rāṭa putshy (63).

Abl. राढ मिन् rाठa nī (65).
This group of irregular nouns consists of most feminine nouns in तू t, थ th, द d, न n, ह h, and certain nouns in ल l. In all these cases the final consonant is changed as follows:

- तू t becomes तू t\
- थ th becomes थ th\
- द d becomes द d\
- न n becomes न n\
- ह h becomes ह h\
- ल l becomes ल l\

e.g., रात rāt, night; रात raṭa (23, 14, 16).
- कद kadh, a hank; कद kwatsh (23, 14, 16).
- ग्रन्थ grand, a counting; ग्रन्थ granu (23, 14, 16).
- यिरन yiran, an anvil; यिरन iran (23, 14, 16).
- कह kah, an eleventh lunar day; कह kah (19, 14, 16).
- वाड wāl, a hole; वाड wāl (27, 14, 16).

Other examples are सत sat, hope; हान hān, loss; तसामन tsāman, cheese.

The words in ल l which follow this declension are वाड wāl, a hole (as that of a serpent); साल sāl, a wife's sister; झाल zāl, a net; कल kal, thought, consideration; and हाल hāl, a house, a hall (27, 28). The word वाड hāl when it is at the end of a masculine compound is, however, declined regularly; thus चाटलाहाल चाल तसातहाल साल tsātahālas andar (not चाटलाहाल चाल तसातहाल चाल, in the school-house, because चाटलाहाल tsātahāl is masculine (28). The words कुंडल kundal, a kind of cup (especially the cup of a portable stove), and कर्तल kartal a sword, may optionally be regular. Thus कुंडल खल तिन kundajā sūtin or कुंडल kundal sūtin, by the cup, (29).
Exceptions. The following nouns are however declined regularly (24, 25):

- wat, a road.
- lat, a kick.
- dat, a clod.
- thöt, an impediment.
- tsöt, the anus.
- tsitt, a sprain.
- tsöt, tumbling head over heels.
- got, a rise in a river, a swift flood.
- pít, a trifle.
- töt, a beak.
- kāth, a story.
- vyāth, the river Jhelum.
- khōn, the elbow.
- tan, the body.
- nān, the navel.
- sōn, a co-wife.
- han, a little.
- ban, a heap, pile.

Thus vat सैठिन, not वात सैठिन वात सैठिन.

It must be remembered that the उ-मृट्ट modifies a preceding a to ā, and ā to ā (71). When final it is not pronounced. When it precedes a consonant it is pronounced like a short German ü. Thus रात्सु रात्सु is pronounced something like, German, rötsü.

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

The words यात्, यात्, belly; गाव गाव, a cow; थार थार, the back; बन्.
The words खारः khar, an ass's load, a certain measure; मारः mar, the name of a river; सारः sār, a cross-beam, for strengthening; रागः rāg, stock-in-trade; follow the same rule. E.g., nom. pl. खारः खारः khar* (17).

[Sutra 18, apparently only refers to the plural. But the singular follows the same rule, e.g., खारः खारः khar* sutin, by the measure].

The word गावः gāv, abovementioned, changes its a to ā in all cases except the nom. sg. (72); thus, acc. sg. गोवः gōva; ag. sg. गोवः gōva; nom. pl. गोवः gōva; acc. pl. गोवनः gōvān; ag. pl. गोवः gōva.

E. Composition and Concordance.

Içvara-kaula, in his Kāśmīra-çabdāmṛta, treats of the two subjects forming the title of this section, in the Samāsa-prakriyā, the third portion of his grammar. He treats an adjective in concord with a noun as an example of a karmadāhāraya, or adjectival compound. Really, as will be seen, it is not a compound at all, but an instance of syntactical agreement. Just as bonus homo, in Latin means a good man, and boni hominis, of a good man, so बारः लारः bāri lāri, in Kāśmīra means a large house, and baji lāri pyathā, means from a great house.

In the case of all compounds and concordances the postposition denoting the case is omitted after every member of the compound, except the last, but each member is inflected as if to receive the postposition (iii. 2). Thus, चारः गुरः chata gurā means, a white horse. The instrumental plural of चारः गुरः chata gurā is चारः गुरः chatau gurau sutin, and of गुरः gurā is गुरः गुरः gurau sutin, but the instrumental plural of चारः गुरः chata gurā, is गुरः गुरः gurau sutin, not गुरः गुरः gurau sutin gurau sutin, by white horses. When there is no postposition these remarks, of course, do not apply. Thus the accusative singular is गुरः गुरः gurau sutin gurau sutin, by white horses. When there is no postposition these remarks, of course, do not apply. Thus the accusative singular is गुरः गुरः gurau sutin gurau sutin, by white horses.
Karmadharaya or adjectival compounds are expressed in Kāśmiri by an adjective agreeing with its substantive in gender, number and case. The above rule about postpositions must be applied. Thus बड़ा ्या दयार (masc.), great wealth; बड्यान दयार चुह जेनान् baqyan dyāran chuh zēnān, he is earning great wealth (acc. pl.); मित्र चित्रित उदित mōcī tācī sūtīn, by a thick (मोटा mota) cake (ठों tewarta, fem.); चित्रित कौरियू trichi kōri putshy, for a clever (त्रिक trīkh, fem. चित्रित trichī) girl (कौर कूर); बचन छाण पाल पात ा लार पातः from the big (बड़ा bāda) house (लार); बाजू बजू बजू बजू bājē grānta handa, of the big counting (घन्द grand); बडिस गुरिसे गाद baqis gurīs pyath, on the great horse (मूं gurī). And so on.

In Copulative (dvandva) compounds each member of the compound is declined separately, the above rule as to post-positions being observed. Thus, base ताप tap, light (masc.); गात gata, darkness (fem.). The nom. sg. of नाप tap is नाप tāph and the instr. sg. is नाप छातिन tāphā sūtīn. So from गात gata, the nom. sg. is गात gata, and the instr. sg. गाठ छातिन gati sūtīn. The compound noun, ‘light and darkness’ is nom. sg. ताफ गात tāph-gata; instr. sg. नाप-गाठ छातिन tāph-gati sūtīn, and so on.

Again वारा wāra (fem.) is a garden; कुल kul (masc.) is a tree; फल phal (masc.) is fruit; and साल zal (masc.) is water. Making these into a copulative compound we have in the dative sg. वार फल फल-फल फल wāri-kul-kul-kul-kul putshy, for the garden, the tree, the fruit, and the water. Sometimes each member is put in the plural, the whole collective idea being plural though each member of the compound is properly in the singular. Thus माज़ māj, a mother, nom. pl. माज़ mājē; कूर kūr, a daughter, nom. pl. कूर kōrē. Hence माज़-कूर mājē-kōrē, mother and daughter. So मार उद द पता मलेल पतल mālī-puthār, father and son (मोल mōl, a father; पतल puthār, a son); दत ना हाल-नोस hāl-nōs, mother-in-law (हाल hāl) daughter-in-law (चाल nōs); जोस-काका zōm-kākānē, husband’s sister (जास zōm) and brother’s wife (काका kākānē); पच-चुच pacē-kūcē, board (चट pata) and wood (कुट kūtē).
In Tatpurusā or appositional compounds, the first member usually takes the form which the word adopts in the agent, the न of the agent of the 1st declension, being dropped. We may also say that the first member of the compound is put in the genitive, the post-position being dropped, and y being changed to i (iii. 5).

Thus, श्राकि-क्षः चृकि-क्षः, the cut of a knife (श्राकि क्राकि, fem.).

टोपी-फलः टोपी-फलः, the border of a cap (टूपी टूपी, fem.).

सरप-बय सरप-बय सूलिन, by the fear (बय बय, masc.) of a snake (सरप सरप, masc.).

राजा-नचिव पुष्पः राजा-नचिव पुष्पः, for the son (राजा राजा) of the king (राजा राजा).

बट-कोरे बटः बटः कोरे हांडः, of the daughter (बटक्के कुर्के) of the brahmaṇa (बट बट).

खन-दव खनः ढनः ढनः अन, bring the box (ढन ढनः, masc.) of gold (खन ढन, masc.), i.e., the gold box.

म्यिश-पृथ पृथ वित्स-पोतः थाव, put down a basket (वित्स पोतः पोतः, masc.) (full) of earth (म्यिश म्यालः).

Irregular formations.

1. When the word वृक्षः पोनः, water, forms the second member of one of these compounds, it becomes वृक्षः वृक्षः पोनः (iii. 6). Thus,—

गंग-वृक्षः gangs-pōnः, the water of the Ganges.

वय-वृक्षः vyath-pōnः, the water of the Jhelum.

शीत-वृक्षः cīn-pōnः, snow-water.

बुध-वृक्षः wug-pōnः, flood-water.

संस्कृत-वृक्षः mār-pōnः, the water of the Mār [see p. 67].

क्रीर-वृक्षः kril-pōnः, well (क्रीर क्रीर, masc.) water.

कुट-वृक्षः rūd-pōnः, rain-water.

नाम-वृक्षः nāg-pōnः, spring-water.
2. The words पोन pōn, water, ढान dānē (masc.) rice, वोन woṅ, a merchant, and others, become पार pār, दार dār, and वा wa respectively, when (iii. 7, 8) they are first members of one of these compounds.

Thus,—

पावर pā-trāk, a measure (4½ sērs) of water.
पावर pā-nat, a water-bucket.
दार dā-khār, a measure (16 trākh)s of rice.
दार dā-phot, a basket (full) of rice.
वार wā-dyāl, the merchant's straw.
वार wā-kūr, the merchant's daughter.

3. The प of the word पार pār, a leaf, becomes व in masculine compounds (iii. 9). Thus,—

बोन wā-thār, plane-tree-leaves.
पोष wā-thār, a flower-petal.
ख्या wā-thār, a leaf of the lotus-grass.
षाक wā-thār, spinach-leaves.

When, however, the compound is feminine, the word पार pār, becomes पार pat. Thus

मुजि पार muji-pat, a radish-leaf.
गोजि पार goji-pat, a turnip-leaf.

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

तम त्स त्स त्स त्स toma-kwat, rice-cake.
काक त्स kwak-kwat, wheat-cake.
वुश्क त्स wuski-kwat, barley-cake.

If not made of grain, the word त्स त्स त्स त्स must be substituted.
Thus

Thus

\[ \text{thūl}^-\text{mwaŋ}^a, \text{egg-cake}. \]
\[ \text{nad}^-\text{r}^-\text{mwaŋ}^a, \text{lotus-stalk-cake}. \]
\[ \text{tsāmā}^-\text{mwaŋ}^a \text{(also written, \text{tsāmā}^-\text{tsāmā}), cheese-cake}. \]
\[ \text{adrak}^-\text{mwaŋ}^a, \text{ginger-cake [apparently irregular]}. \]

The masculine form \[ \text{mond}^a, \text{can, however, be used for grain cakes, thus} \]
\[ \text{tōm}^-\text{mond}^a, \text{rice-cake, (tōm, tōmul, rice).} \]
\[ \text{ab}^-\text{mond}^a, \text{a cake of parched meal}. \]

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

\[ \text{yad}^-\text{bd}^a \text{(not \text{yad}^-\text{bd}^a \text{yad}^-\text{bd}^a, as we might expect)}, \]
big-bellied, Skr. brhad-udara, quasi udara-brhat.

\[ \text{dāri-zyūth}^a, \text{long (\text{zyūth}^a) bearded (dār, fem., a beard)}. \]

\[ \text{kan}^-\text{tsot}^a \text{having the ear (\text{kan, masc.) cut (\text{tsot}^a)}).} \]

\[ \text{hūn}^-\text{buth}^a, \text{dog (hūn, a dog) faced (buth, a face)}. \]

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

\[ \text{dwahar}^a \text{occurring every two years}. \]

\[ \text{sat}^-\text{bōt}^a \text{having a family of seven}. \]

\[ \text{pēt}^-\text{potur} \text{having five sons}. \]

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

\[ \text{tōl}^-\text{thōl, mutual pushing with horns}. \]

\[ \text{tap}^-\text{tāph, mutual kicking}. \]

\[ \text{thūk}^-\text{thākh, mutual pushing with horns}. \]

\[ \text{cap}^-\text{cāph, tooth against tooth}. \]
When an adjective is used as an adverb, its form is not changed (v. 5). It stands in the masculine singular.

Thus,—

\[
\text{कोब्ज़ गङ्गा कुर्ल पकान् gob* gob* chuh pakān, he is going slowly.}
\]

\[
\text{चुटुर् (or चुटुर् चुटुर्) कावानक्ष़ूर्तूर् (or कावानक्षूर्तूर्) khyawān chuh, he is eating quickly.}
\]

\[
\text{लङ्कूर करान्त कुख lot* karān chuh, he is doing slowly.}
\]

F. Numerals.

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

**Cardinals.**

1 अक्षः ākh.
2 ज्ञः zēh.
3 तिः trih or अच्छः treh.
4 चोर् tsōr.
5 पांन्तः pānts or पांन्तः pānts.
6 धः sah.
7 सः sāth.
8 एः aith.
9 नः nav.
10 दः dah.
11 बाहः kāh.
12 बाहः bāh.
13 चुँवः truwāh.
14 चूहः tsōdāh.
15 पांधः pandāh.

**Ordinals.**

1 अक्षः ākh.
2 ज्ञः zēh.
3 तिः trih or अच्छः treh.
4 चोर् tsōr.
5 पांन्तः pānts or पांन्तः pānts.
6 धः sah.
7 सः sāth.
8 एः aith.
9 नः nav.
10 दः dah.
11 बाहः kāh.
12 बाहः bāh.
13 चुँवः truwāh.
14 चूहः tsōdāh.
15 पांधः pandāh.
| 16 | पुराचे पुराचे surāhyum*． |
| 17 | बदाचे बदाचे sadāhyum*． |
| 18 | अरदाचे अरदाचे aradāhyum*． |
| 19 | कुनाचे कुनाचे kunawuhyum*． |
| 20 | वुह वुह wuhyum*． |
| 21 | अकुचे अकुचे akawuhyum*． |
| 22 | जनोचे जनोचे zōtōwuhyum*． |
| 23 | अबुचे अबुचे trēwuhyum*． |
| 24 | चुचे चुचे tsōwuhyum*． |
| 25 | पूँचूचे पूँचूचे pānts*hyum*． |
| 26 | पतुचे पतुचे sawuhyum*． |
| 27 | सतोचे सतोचे satōwuhyum*． |
| 28 | ऐतघुचे ऐतघुचे aithōwuhyum*． |
| 29 | कुनाचे कुनाचे kunatrach． |
| 30 | चुचे चुचे trach． |
| 31 | अकुचे अकुचे akatrach． |
| 32 | दयचे दयचे dōyatatrach． |
| 33 | तेयचे तेयचे tēyatatrach． |
| 34 | चुचे चुचे tsōyatatrach． |
| 35 | पांचचे पांचचे pāntsatrach or पांचचे पांचचे pāntsatrach or पांचचे pāntsatrach． |
| 36 | शयचे शयचे sayatratrach． |
| 37 | सतचे सतचे satatrach． |
| 38 | अरचे अरचे aratrach． |
| 39 | कुनातिज्ञचे कुनातिज्ञचे kunatājih． |
| 40 | तातिज्ञचे तातिज्ञचे tsatajih． |

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41 अकाताजिय ह akatâja hyum
42 दोयाताजिह doyatâji hyum
43 तेयाताजिह teyatâji hyum
44 तसोयाताजिह tsøyatâji hyum
45 पांतसताजिह pântsataj hyum
46 सागताजिह sayatâji hyum
47 सताजिह satâji hyum
48 अराताजिह aratâji hyum
49 कुनवाज़ kuna vânzâh
50 पंतसाहं pântsâh
51 अकावाज़ akawânzh
52 दोवाज़ dôwânzh
53 त्रावाज़ trâwânzh
54 तसोवाज़ tsôwânzh
55 पांतसवाज़ pântsawahânzh
56 सावाज़ sawânzh
57 सतावाज़ satawahânzh
58 अरावाज़ arawahânzh
59 कुनवेइ kuna wahai
60 गाइ th or गेइ peth
61 अकहाइ akahâi hyum
62 दोहाई dôhai hyum
63 त्राहाई trâhai hyum
64 तसोहाई tsôhai hyum
65 पांतसहाई pântsahâi hyum

1 Sometimes pronounced akatâji hyum, and so throughout the forties; except forty-nine.
2 Also pronounced akahâi, akahâi hyum, and so throughout the sixties, except sixty-nine.
66 देव  sāhāith.
67 देष  satāsāth.
68 एरेि  arāhāith.
69 कुमारि  kunasatāth.
70 चन्द्र  satāth.
71 खालि  akasatāth.
72 दुन्त  dusatāth. 1
73 चुन्त  trasatāth.
74 चुन्त  tsoxsatāth.
75 पांचिन्त  pāntsasatāth.
76 उन्त  saxsatāth.
77 चन्त  satasatāth.
78 खरि  arasatāth.
79 कुनश्री  kunaçith.
80 श्री  çith.
81 खकश्री  akasçith.
82 दयश्री  doyaçith.
83 खयश्री  trøyaczith.
84 खयश्री  tsoyaczith.
85 पांचिश्री  pāntsaczith.
86 खयश्री  sayaçith.
87 चनश्री  sataczith.
88 खरश्री  araczith.
89 खकमुि  kunanamathi.
90 नमि  namathi.
91 खकमुि  akanamathi.

1 Not दृषिि  dusatāth, as we might expect.
92 दुनमथ्  
93 त्रानमथ्  
94 त्सोनमथ्  
95 पांतसनामथ्  
96 सनामथ्  
97 सतनामथ्  
98 अरनामथ्  
99 नामानामथ्  
100 हाथ्  
101 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
102 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
103 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
104 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
105 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
106 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
107 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
108 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
109 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  
110 अख्हथ् न अख्  अख्हाथ्  

काश् अख
d is one: अखाध् akhāh, or अखाध् अखाध्  akhāh khandā means 'some one,' or 'about one,' (ii, iii. 38, 45).

1 Not दुनमथ्  dūnamath, as we might expect.
akh is thus declined.

Nom.  ḡeḥ
Acc.  ḡeḥ
Gen.  ḡeḥ
Ag.  ḡeḥ

कह is only used in the nominative (ii. iii. 38).

कुः-कुः, फेम. कुः कुः, is 'only one.' So also खः कुः, फेम. कुः, means 'only one' (iv. 191).

जः, or खः, two, becomes दः दव in all cases except the nominative (ii. iii. 32, 33).

Sg. (a pair). Pl. (two).

Nom.  (ज़ोर jir).
Acc.  (ज़ोरास jiras).
Ag.  (ज़ोरान jiran).
Instr.  द्वय खःतिनः dwayi sütin

(ज़ोर खःतिनः jirा sütin).

ज़ोरास jirāh, 'any pair,' 'some pair,' or 'about two,' is declined in the plural. Thus ज़ोराची खःतिनः jirāhaus sütin (ii. iii. 38). ज़ोरास खः jirāh khanḍa, means 'about two, but a little less' (ii. iii. 45).

जः खः, means 'only two.'

There are two words signifying 'a pair,' (iv. 192). These are खः har (pl. खा हर) and ज़ोर jir or ज़ोर jir.

खः har is generally used of things without life; thus,—

खः हर, a pair of ear pendants.

दुर्खः हर, a pair of ear rings.

वल्हार, a pair of rings (वल् वल्).

पुलहर, a pair of grass sandals.
khvābhar, a pair of wooden sandals.

ākhār, one pair; zānāhar, two pairs; trēhar, three pairs.

In the villages we find the word hūrī. Thus dādahīr, a pair of bullocks. Here the word is used of a thing with life.

jūr or jūrī is used generally of things with life, but not always. Thus,—

mōktajūrī, a pair of pearls.

dādajūrī, a pair of bullocks.

kōtajūrī, a pair of pigeons (kōtur, a pigeon).

ghurjūrī, a pair of horses (ghur, a horse).

akhjōr, one pair; zānajōr, two pairs; trējōr, three pairs.

Note that jūr and jūrī are not interchangeable.

trīh, three, is thus declined (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. trīh

Acc. trēn (trēn).

Ag. trēyau

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

'A group of three,' 'a trio,' is trih, (masc.), or (iv. 192) trī (fem.).

So also sah, six (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. sah

Acc. san

Ag. sayau

'About six' is sakhāh. 'Only six' is sa-y (ii. iii. 42).

'A group of six' (iv. 192) sak. It is also sakhāh, and
sakăn khañdā means ‘a group of about six’ (ii. iii. 42).
The latter usually means a group of a little less than six.

Chōr tsōr, four, is thus declined (ii. iii. 35).

Nom.  Chōr tsōr.
Acc.  Chōran or Kun tsōn.
Ag.  Chōrāu tsōrau.

Chum tšōmar, (ii. iii. 40), means ‘about four,’ and Chōrāu tšōra-y is ‘only four’ (ii. iii. 40).

Chākh tšākh means ‘a group of four,’ ‘a four’ (iv. 192). Chākha tšākhāh means ‘a group of about four, and Chākhāt tšākhāh khañdā means ‘a group of a little less than four’ (ii. iii. 45).

This numeral in composition becomes Cho tšō. Thus (vīde post) Chaw tšōcaway, even the four; Chūdāt tšōdāh, fourteen: Chūt tšōwuh, twenty-four, and so on.

The word for ‘five’ is Pānch, pānts or Pānch, pānts.

Nom.  Pānch, pānts.
Acc.  Pāntsan pāntsan.
Ag.  Pāntsau pāntsau.

‘About five’ is Pānch, pānts, and ‘only five’ is Pānch, pānts-a-y (ii. iii. 41). Pānch, pānts means ‘a group of five’ (iv. 192). Pānch, pānts tšōwuh khañdā means ‘about five but a little less.’

For ‘six,’ see under ‘three.’

The word for ‘seven’ is Chāt sātāh. It is thus declined—

Acc.  Sātāh sātān.
Ag.  Sātāu sātau.

‘About seven’ is Sātāh sātāh-a. ‘Only seven’ is Sātāh sāt-a-y (ii. iii. 43).

Sāt sāt is a group of seven (iv. 192). Chākhāt pānts tšōwuh khañdā is ‘about seven, but a little less.’
The declension and formation of the remaining numerals is regular.

‘About’ is signified by adding अमर amar, and ‘only’ by adding अय ay (ii. iii. 44).

Thus एट ai’t, (acc. pl. एटन ai’tan); ‘about eight,’ एटमर ai’tamar; ‘only eight,’ एटय ai’ta-y. एट ai’t, is a group of eight (iv. 192).

जट अथ (pl.) is groups of eight (e.g. four eights = thirty-two, चोर जट दयवृत तेव्र अथ दोयारा).

च नाव, nine; चम नावमर, about nine; चय नाव-य, only nine.

चम नावu is a group of nine (iv. 192). चम खछ नामवह khandा is a group of about nine, but a little less.

चद दाह, ten; चदम दाहमर, about ten; चदय दाह-य, only ten.

चद दाह is a group of ten (iv. 192), and चदफ़ खछ दाहवह khandा is a group of about ten, but a little less.

च्र हाथ is a hundred; चजाच खछ हृथह khandा is a group of about a hundred, but a little less.

The word for ‘fifty’ is पौनसाह pantsah, the प pa of which becomes व wo in composition (iii. 10). Thus, चक-वज्झाच aka-wanzah, fifty-one; च-वज्झाच dō-wanzah, fifty-two; कुन-वज्झाच kunu-wanzah, forty-nine.

The word for ‘sixty’ is चेत peth (iv. 176) or चेत चाइ, the श of both of which becomes छ h in composition (iii. 11). Thus कुन-चेत kunu-haith, fifty-nine; चेत dō-haith, sixty-two.

चछ हाथ; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition up to and including eight hundred (iv. 115); thus चछ अङ्क्ष अक्कहाथ, one hundred, चछ अङ्क्ष अङ्क्ष महाथ two hundred, चछ त्रिहाथ (dropping छ h), three hundred.

चछ पाथ; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition after eight hundred (iv. 116); thus चछ पाथ navpāth, nine hundred; चछ काक्ष kākpāth, eleven hundred; चछ बाह्ष बाह्ष pāth, twelve hundred.
The following terms are peculiar to counting (iv. 174–177).

(a) दोः **thuk** means two pice.

(b) एक्ष हाठ **hath** means a pice, when more than two are referred to in counting. Thus, **तिर्नाह** trihath, three pice; **चौथक्ष** tsorhath, four pice; **पाँच्छ नाह** pats-hath, five pice. As in the case of numerals, एक्ष **hath**, becomes प्रथ पात from nine on. Thus; — नव धात **navdath**. Ten pice are also called **सात** sats, lit. a thousand.

(c) ज्ञन **zan**; this is the word used in counting persons. Thus ज्ञन पंचाश्मर **zan panchasmara**, about fifty men. चौछ **chath zan**, sixty men.

(d) लुङ्ख **lukh**. This word must be used in counting persons by hundreds or thousands. Thus एक्ष लुङ्ख **hath luk**; a hundred people; ज्ञन लुङ्ख **zan luk**; two hundred persons; **तिर्नाह लुङ्ख** trihath luk; three hundred people. We also sometimes, however, but rarely, have एक्ष ज्ञन **hath zani**, a hundred people, **सात्स ज्ञन** sats zani, a thousand people, in both of which the i is fully pronounced.

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

| रत्नवाय | dōcawaya-y | or | रत्नवाय | dónaqua-y | even both. |
| रत्नवाय | trécaquaya-y | or | रत्नवाय | tryanwa-y | even all three. |
| रत्नवाय | tsocawaya-y | or | रत्नवाय | tsōnwa-y | even all four. |
| रत्नवाय | patsawa-y | even all five. |
| रत्नवाय | sacawaya-y | or | रत्नवाय | sanawa-y | even all six. |
| सतवाय | satawa-y | even the seven. |
| रेडवाय | aithawa-y | even the eight. |
| रत्नवाय | navawa-y | even the nine. |

And so on.

The acc. is रत्नवनी navawani. The agent is रत्नवनवाय; and so for all, (iv. 186–188).

We may also say दोष रत्नवाय dwap**i** dōcawaya-y; नव रत्नवाय nav**i** navawa-y, and so in all, repeating the first element, (iv. 189).
In multiplication, the numerals take special forms, as follows:

1. नेांक ना म्र ॐक या नम्र अक्ष अक या नम्र, one one (is) one.
2. धान्यभ दोग्नि, two ones (are) two.
3. धान त्रान्ग, three twos (are) six.
4. धान्य प्राधक, seven sixes (are) forty-two.
5. धान्य प्राधक, eleven twelves (are) a hundred and thirty-two.

These special forms may be called multiplicative numerals. Multiplicatives above ten can only be used with numerals above ten. Thus धान्य बाण्ड धान्य नाम एक हान अह तो दोग्नि अह तो दोग्नि, four twelves are forty-eight, because four is not greater than ten. We cannot say धान्य एक हान अह तो दोग्नि अह तो दोग्नि, four twelves are forty-eight, because four is not greater than ten. We can only say धान्य एक हान अह तो दोग्नि अह तो दोग्नि, twelve fours (are) forty-eight.
G. Pronouns.

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

\[ \text{बृहूं \, बृह, I.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>बृह , बृह (ii. iii. 8).</td>
<td>बृहि , बृह (15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>म् , म्य (8).</td>
<td>बृह आश (15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>म् , म्य (8, 9).</td>
<td>बृह आश (15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>, म्यों , म्यों (11).</td>
<td>बृह सों (19).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Genitive Forms.**

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>म्यों , म्यों</td>
<td>म्या। म्या।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>म्यां , म्यां</td>
<td>म्यां म्यां।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly for the Plural.

\[ \text{थूः \, थूः, thou.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (ii. iii. 8).</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (8).</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (8, 9).</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>, थ्यों , थ्यों (11).</td>
<td>थूः , थूः (18).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Genitive Forms.**

**Singular.**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>थ्यों , थ्यों</td>
<td>थ्यों , थ्यों</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>थ्यां , थ्यां</td>
<td>थ्यां , थ्यां</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly for the Plural.
84 G. A. Grierson—On the Kâcmîrî Noun. [No. 1,

निचि ति, that (out of sight), he, she, it.

Nom. Masc. घुं् झूह (ii. iii. 2); निचि तिम (16).

fem. घुं् सौह, or सा (3); neut. निचि ति (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) निचि सम, तिमन, तिम (16).

(5); तिम सस (20); neut.

नय सस (7).

Ag. (M. n.) निचि तमि (5); f. निचि तिम (16).

निचि तमि.

Gen. (M. f.) निचि तमि तमि तिमन; तिमन छम्द; तिमन सस (16, 20).

नय सस (20); (n.) लम्बू तम्यूक।

This pronoun only refers to things not within sight. For things within sight घुं् कूह is used.

The neuter form agrees with all things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine. Thus नय पौथ परनां फ्रित प्रस सस पाठ परानस क्यू हङ्ग्र, a couch for reading that book.

So in the case of the other pronouns. The plural is the same for all three genders. So elsewhere.

विचि यिह, who.

Nom. Masc. घुं् बूह यूस (ii. iii. 2); निचि यिम (16).

fem. घुं् योस (4);

neut. निचि यिह (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) निचि येमि यिमन (16).

(5); घुं्य सस (20),

neut. नय सस (7).

Ag. (M. n.) निचि यामि (5); (f.) निचि यिम (16).

निचि यामि (5).
Gen. (M. f.) गृं म दः याम्यमन् यिहांदु; यिमन् चूङ्गः साँदु; यसङ्गुः यासाँदु यिमन् हांदु (16, 20).

(20); यम्यस (20); (n.)

यम्यक् येंयुकुः

क्या क्याह, who, what?

Nom. Masc. कुः kus (ii. iii. 2); कमः kam (16).

fem. कः koss (4);

neut. क्या क्याह (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) कमिः (5); कमन् kaman (16).

कमः kas (20); (neut.)

कमथः काथ (7).

Ag. (M. n.) कमः kam (5); कमः kama (16).

(f.) कमः kami (5).

Gen. (M. f.) कमः चूङ्गः वाम्यमन् यिहांदु; कमन् चूङ्गः साँदु; कसङ्गुः कसांदु; कमन् हांदु (16, 20).

कमः kas (20); n. कम्युक्कः

कम्युक्कः

रच्छ यिः, this.

Nom. Masc. रच्छ यिः (ii. iii. 2); रसः यिः (16).

fem. रच्छ यिः (3); neut.

रच्छ यिः (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) रसिंस यिंमिः रसन् यिमन् (16).

(5); रसिंस नोमिः (5);

neut. रच्छ यिः (7); नौः

नौहः (7).
This pronoun only refers to things within sight. For things out of sight, तिह tih is used.
The Reflexive Pronoun.

The word पानं pān⁶, self, is declined only in the singular (ii. iii. 36). Its genitive is irregular (37). Thus,—

Nom. पानं pān⁶, self or selves.
Acc. पानस् pānas, self or selves.
Gen. पानुः panun° (fem. पाणा panā).
Ag. पानं pān⁶, by self or selves (not पाणू म pānū).

[Example मे पान् करु-म me pāṇa karu-m by me, myself, it was done].

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

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

यत् yat°, this much. Fem. यत्स् yatsu°.
यून्त् tyut°, that much. यून्त्स् tyutsu°.
यून्त् yyut°, how much. यून्त्स् yyutsu°.
कूल् kut°, how much. कूल्स् kutu°.

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

Indefinite Pronouns.

काँह kāh or कूँ kūh or काँहाच kāṭshāh any one, some one, (m. and f.) (ii. iii. 29, 30, 31).

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. काँह kāh or काँहाच kāṭshāh.</td>
<td>केन्ह kents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. काँहिस kāhisi.</td>
<td>केन्हस kentsan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. काँहिस kāhisi.</td>
<td>केन्हस kentsau.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

कांहाच kāṭshāh, means 'any thing' (ii. iii, 31).

It is not declined.
H. Emphatic and Indefinite Particles.

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

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

नसन्द्य तसंदुय, even his, from तसंदु, his.

नस्ति तमैं संदू, even his, नस्ति तमैं संदू, his.

ग्वर्दु चन्द्र गोरास य अंदर, even in the preceptor.

ग्वर्दु चन्द्र गोरास अंदर, even in the preceptors.

ग्वर्दु चन्द्र पुष्कर गोरास य हांडी पुष्कर, even to the preceptors.

ग्वर्दु चन्द्र पुष्कर गोरास अंदर in the preceptors.

ग्वर्दु चन्द्र पुष्कर गोरास अंदर in the preceptors.

ग्वर्दु चन्द्र पुष्कर गोरास अंदर in the preceptors.

The word य, all, always takes this suffix (ii. iii. 22).

Thus,—

Nom. sg. य सोरू; Nom. pl. य सैरु; instead of य सैरू चार चार चार, respectively.

* पुष्कर पुष्कर is really another way of writing पुष्कर पुष्कर.
When य is suffixed to the letter आ, the two together become आँ य, (ii. iii. 23).

Thus,—

गुर्यावँ दिन guryāvā-ya sūthin, by the horses certainly, from मुगँ दिन guryau sūthin, by the horses.

नमावँ दिन namāvā-ya sūthin, even by the nails, from नमै दिन namau sūthin.

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

कथाल kathā, any story, from कथा kāth, a story; आखाल akhāh, some one, any one, from एक ēk, one; आरा jōrā, some pair or other, from आर jōra, a pair. The last may, however, be declined, thus आर जो rā jōrāhau sūthin by any pair.

When खण्डा khandā is added to these words, it indicates a slight diminution. Thus मुँ kruh, a kōś; मुँ kruhāh, about a kōś; खण्ड kruhāh khandā, about a kōś, but a little less; खण्ड khandā, about a day, but something less; राथा rathāh khandā, about a season but something less; रुपया rupayāh khandā, about a rupee, but something less. The syllable आ अ may be omitted, and then खण्ड not खण्डा is used. Thus, मुँ kruh khand, about a kōś, but a little less.

The suffix ज़ा zā added to a word signifies a group, or number. Thus, from कङ्ग kāth, rams, काघँ kātga, a number of rams; from मुरि gurī, horses, मुरिज़ guriz, a number of horses, a troop of horses; from रुपया rupayē, rupees, रुपयेज़ rupayēz, a number of rupees; कन्न kānē stones, कन्ना kānēz, a heap of stones (ii. iii. 46).

The word पहाण pahān qualifies the word which it follows (iv. 193).

Thus,—

बाड़ पहाण baḍa pahān, somewhat big.

वाट पहाण vyathā pahān, somewhat stout.

J. i. 12
G. A. Grierson—On the Kāśmirī Noun.

The following conjunctions are given by Ēçvara-kaulu.

न तः, and (iv. 178). E.g., छुँ न चूँ suh तः to sah, he and thou.

ति ti, also (iv. 179). It is also used instead of न तः with plurals.

Thus,—छुँ ति छूँ ति suh. ti to sah ti, he also, you also. सचनिवि ति समनि ति ताय mahariv ti gupan ti ay, both the men and the cattle came. We cannot say सचनिवि ति समनि ति ताय mahariv to gupan to ay.

বিয় biya, means, ‘again.’ It also means ‘other,’ (iv. 180). Thus, বিয় বিত্ত biya wati by another road.

जन् zan, like (iv. 181). E.g., तोत जन् कुँ राहन् toto zan chuh paran, he reads like a parrot. मालिस जन् कुँ राहन् mālis zan chuh rachān, he protects him as if he (the object) was his father.

छुँ huḥ (also written छिह hih), fem. छिह hiḥ, means ‘like,’ (iv. 182, 183). E.g., मालिस छुँ mālis huḥ, like his father, (e.g., this child is like his father). मालिस छुँ बुँ mōl huḥ chū-s (s is the dative pronominal suffix of the 3rd person), he is like a father to him. खन् छुँ hūn son hūn chuh nāpān, it is shining like gold. We also have phrases like बुँ छुँ बुँ बुँ बुँ buḥ huḥ anīyan, bring whoever (amongst them) is old, — not, bring him like an old man.
I. On the Rhyming Repetition of words (anuprāsa).

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

Thus,

करान वरान बच karān varān chuh, he is doing it or nearly doing it.
धार धार धनिन् dyār vyār anin, let him bring the wealth, &c.
बत बत खयिन् batā watā khayin, let him eat rice, &c.

बन्धार बन्धार anwār wanwār or बन्धार पन्धार anwār panwār, turn and turn about.

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

पर वर par war, read (imperative), &c.
पैल पैल पिन् paīs waīs ditin, let him give pice and the like.

वागन पागन अन् wāgan pāgan an, bring brinjals and other like vegetables.

वाज़ पाज़ बिच् wāzā pāzā chih, they are cooks, &c.

The word बुटः (विच्) vutsā, a collection, makes बुटः पोटः vutsā pūtsā, an omnium gatherum.

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

युकः (विच्) युकः nyukā sukā, a collection. युकः nyukā means literally 'a little.'

मयंं यंं myāndsā tyāndsā, mouthfuls, &c.
हलः कलः halā kalā, crooked, &c.; but
हलः वलः halā valā, girdles and the like.
हाँ गांं hānsā gānsā, boatmen, &c.
फळ फळ phalā phyatā, ornaments, &c.

These compounds are feminine when they denote reciprocity. For examples, see p. 71.
J. Forms of address.

Instead of a formal vocative case, Kāśmirī uses a number of Interjections, each causing or not causing changes in the base of the noun with which they are used. The following is an abstract table showing the Interjections described by Içvara-kaula, in the Sambuddhi-pāda (ii. 2) of his grammar. As a rule, before interjectional suffixes, च u-māṭrā and झ ū-māṭrā are changed to द्र i (or घ y).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref. to No. of Sūtra.</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>चे हे.</td>
<td>Respectful. By man to man.</td>
<td>नारान् nārān (N. P.)</td>
<td>चे नारान् हे nārān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>चे हे—जुव juv (or a caste-word instead of juv).</td>
<td></td>
<td>गण कौळ gana-kaul (N P.)</td>
<td>चे गण कौळ हे gana-kaul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>चू सा may be added! after any of the above.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td></td>
<td>चू नारान् सा हे nārān sā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>चतसाहे hatasāhe may be substituted for चे हे.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td></td>
<td>चतसाहे नारान् जुव hatasāhe nārān juv.</td>
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<td>Page</td>
<td>Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Or ष्वन्धि hasāhē. With these, if neither जुव juv nor any caste-word is used, then बा सा must be added.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>वे हे—बा बा used without जुव juv or caste-word.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>वनसाभि hasāhē or वनसाभि hatabāhē.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>बा a added either to the bare name or to the caste-word.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Or preceded by वन hatā.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>वन In addressing a priest, a person of the middle class, or a servant.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>वन If the above are old.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>वन In addressing male juniors or inferiors.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>वन Ditto.</td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>वन In addressing a person at a distance, or in sorrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>काक् kāk, a father.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1898.

G. A. Grierson — On the Kāmīrī Noun.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>हटो hatō may be substituted for छा हाः</td>
<td>In addressing a person at a distance, or in sorrow.</td>
<td>पर pār (N. P.)</td>
<td>छा पर्वावह hatō paryü (note vowel change).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>माज्ञा mājya added to the bare name.</td>
<td>When a man addresses an elder woman.</td>
<td>पावर् pārvat (N. P.)</td>
<td>पावर् माज्ञा pārvat mājya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>बिन्न bīn.</td>
<td>When she is moderate in age, or of an age equal to that of the speaker.</td>
<td>As in the two last.</td>
<td>पावर् बिन्न pārvat bīn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>हतमाज्ञा hatamājya or हतबिन्न hatabīn may precede.</td>
<td>As in the two last.</td>
<td>सरसवत sarasvat (N. P.)</td>
<td>हतबिन्न सरसवत bīn.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>हतबिन्न पावर् माज्ञा hatabīn pārvat mājya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14)</td>
<td>चतम् हाय—य् ।</td>
<td>In addressing female juniors or inferiors.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>15)</td>
<td>चतय् हताय—य् ।</td>
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<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td>चतवा हताबा—बा bā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18)</td>
<td>चतवा हताबा—बी आ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19)</td>
<td>चतवा हताबा—ब बा a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20)</td>
<td>चतवा हताबा—ब बाया a बाय।</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25)</td>
<td>चतवा हताबा—ब बायो a बायू। दतो हताउ—ब</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ७१५ | वक्कु waxhóra, child. |
| ७२५ | वक्कु वक्कु waxhóra (note change of vowel). |

| १८९८ | चतवा हिमत (N. P.) |
| २५० | दतो हिमत बा हताबा हिमत bā. |

| १७० | चतवा काकौ हताबा kāku. |
| २५० | दतो काकौ हताउ kāku. |
| २५० | दतो हिमत कोही हताउ हिमत kōlu. |
| २५० | चतवा काक हताबा kāk। |
| २५० | दतो गंगा हताउ gaṇa। |

<p>| २५० | सचारेव बाय हताबा mahādev (N. P.) |
| २५० | सचारेव बाय हताबा mahādev बाय। |
| २५० | दतवा सचारेव बायो हताबा mahādev बायू। |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बायो a bāyau.</td>
<td>we cannot say बायो kāk bāy, O father.</td>
<td>&gt;kāk bāy</td>
<td>hatāu मनसामायरा manasā rām (N. P.)</td>
<td>हताय मनसारामायरा hatāu manasā rāmau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 } छतोव hatō—थो au.</td>
<td>Used by women in addressing a man or woman at a distance.</td>
<td>मनसारामायरा manasā rām (N. P.)</td>
<td>हतो मनसारामायरा hatō manasā rāmau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Also by Musalmān women in addressing their husbands.</td>
<td>कादिर kādir.</td>
<td>हतो कादिरे hatō kādirau.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Not by Brāhmaṇī women, who only use the following.</td>
<td>हत hato.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Used by a Brāhmaṇī woman when addressing her husband, when she is</td>
<td>हत hato.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>अहन् अहन्.</td>
<td>alone with him, and she is near by. She does not mention his name. Merely uses the interjection. May be prefixed to any of the foregoing to signify concurrence, 'yes.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>हा.</td>
<td>Used affirmatively with verbs, with the above.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

G. A. Grierson—On the Kāşmirī Nōm.
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 क no.</td>
<td>Similarly used as a negative.</td>
<td></td>
<td>शाक्ष्या वत दशा हुस रनान् । अहंस बात् हसा चुह रनान्, yes, Sir, he is cooking rice.</td>
<td>नवा करान् नवा हुस । नारान्न हसा चुह, no, Sir, he is not doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>शाक्ष्या नारान् दशा हुस पूर्य परान् । अहंस नारान्हसा चुह पुनः परान्। यस, Sir, Nārāyana is reading the book.</td>
<td>शाक्ष्या राम । हुस पूर्य करान् । अहुबहा राम हसा चु-स नेंदर। करान्, yes, Sir, Rāma is having his sleep.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla of Pragyōtiṣa in Āśām.—By
Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, C.I.E.

(With Plates VIII–XIII).

[Read January, 1898.]

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

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

I. The Bargāṅ Grant.

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

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

1 See my papers on the previous Gauhaṭi and Nowgong Grants, in this
description of Ratnapāla’s residence and person is in prose, down to line 52. The remainder is as usual: namely the description of the land, its perquisites and boundaries is in prose, viz., from line 52 down line 58, and lines 58 to 64; but the genealogy of the donee is in verse, from lines 65 to 72.

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

The mechanical execution of the grant is very slovenly and inaccurate; it is, in this respect, even worse then that of the Ganhaṭī grant. Syllables are frequently omitted; thus 1.1, dūṣṭā for nīrduṣṭāi ( (?); 1.13, kṣī for kṣīṭi; 1.15, khide for kṣitīṃ; 1.52, Ratnapā for Ratnapāla, etc. Similarly letters are omitted: e. g., 1.11, anayā for anayad; 1.22, anuvṛgā for anuvṛgāj. Occasionally superfluous syllables are inserted; e. g., 1.2, anēkīnēbhavan for anēkī-bhavan; 1.8, kundalēṇa for kundale. Similarly a superfluous t is added in 1.14, jayal-labdha for jaya-labdha, 1.45, udbhāsanal-lāṣō, etc. Anuvāra and visarga are very frequently omitted; see the footnotes 4, 15, 18, etc. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged; e. g., 1.3, tāt for tat; 1.6, priyam for priyam, etc. For other miscellaneous blunders, see footnotes 6, 12, 43, 49, 57, 67, etc. A curiosity is the euphonic insertion of ṛ in 1.11, mu-r-ṛha; and there is another instance in the Suālkuci grant, in 1.21, mārttanḍa-r-iva.

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

The last mentioned ligature is really explained by the fact that no separate sign for b is used in all these Āsām grants. And this fact, again, is explained by the circumstance that in Bāŋgāli and Āsāmi no distinction is made, in pronunciation, between non-conjunct v and b; both are pronounced alike as b. There are other indications of a more sporadic occurrence of what may be called “phonetic spelling.” They are curious, as showing how far back such fashions of pronunciation may be traced. In modern Bāŋgāli and Āsāmi kṣ is pronounced kh. Hence we find in 1.15 khide (false for khitim) spelled for kṣitīṃ, and in 1.17, vikṣya for vikṣya. Similarly non-conjunct initial y is now pronounced j, and conjunct y is omitted. An instance of the former practice occurs in 1.21, ja for yā, 1.35, jaksmaṇā for yaksmaṇā, also in the Gauhaṭī grant II a1 jačās for yačās. An instance of the latter practice occurs in the Nowgong grant in IIIa6 Gāmāyikā, the correct
spelling of which name Cṛyāmāyikā occurs in the Bargaon grant 1.61. Possibly the curious spelling in 1.18 yuyyate for yujyate may be due to a similar cause; so also the form ya in 1.50, for ca; though these would rather be survivals of an old prākrītīc fashion which has not survived to the present day.

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

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

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

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

The virāma occurs twice to indicate a final consonant in 1.23, samyak, with the full form of k, and in 1.23, mandam with a slightly truncated form of m. In both cases it is attached to the foot of the letter. In the case of final t, n and m specially modified forms are used; thus the final form of t occurs in l. 5, jagata, l. 7, akārṣita, and l. 63, 'ghāt. The final form of n occurs in l. 54, jānapadān and l. 55, prabhritin and sarvēnān. The final form of m occurs in l. 2, tāṇḍavīn, l. 16, rājya, l. 32, maṇḍalam, l. 33, alaṃkāram, l. 39, sārthānām, l. 48, gambhīryam and viryam, l. 65 ātmanām and ālyām, l. 69 and 72, ālyām.

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


(c) Śenā kings of Bengal (Bihār); Vijaya Śenā, c. 1080 A.D., facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 308. Lakṣmāṇa Śenā, c. 1126, facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, Plates I and II.

The table sufficiently explains itself; but I may point out that the special final forms of *t* and *n* have arisen from the practice of attaching the virāma to the top of the full or truncated forms, instead of appending it, in the usual fashion, to their foot; and that the special final form of *m* owes its origin to the contraction of the original square *m* into a small circle, to which the virāma was appended as a tail. Later on, this tail was separated, and thus the forms of *m* and the anusvāra become identical (No. 8 in columns 5 and 15), because in the meantime the anusvāra had assumed a tendency of standing below instead of above the head-line (No. 5, col. 5). At one time the forms of the truncated *n* and special final *m* approached so nearly as to lead to a confusion of them (compare No. 1, col. 12 with col. 15). Thus final *n* is used for final *m* twice in the Nowgong grant, see I b² amalan for ṭamalam, II a⁷ yauvanan for yauvanam. An earlier instance occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, line 57, vasundharan for vasundharam³; other instances are in the Lakṣmāṇa Śenā grant, Plate I, obverse, line 21, layan for layam; Plate II, reverse, line 21, mantavyan for mantavyam, line 22 pālaniyan for pālaniyam.

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

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

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

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

5 The term Mleccha indicates a Non-Hindu, though the name Çala Stambha has a distinctly Hindu (Sanskrit) ring; so have the other names of his dynasty. They may be birudas or laudatory names.
years after the beginning of his dynasty. It follows, therefore, that Bala Varman comes about 80 years after Ratna Pāla, and that palaeographically the Nowgong grant should be later than the Bargaon grant. Their palaeographic characters, however, indicate just the reverse. The identification of Tyāga Simha with Čri-Hariṣa, therefore, seems to me very doubtful; nor does it appear that there is any necessity for it. A more probable solution appears to me to be, that Čāla Stambha’s dynasty ended with Čri-Hariṣa, and that it was succeeded by another foreign dynasty, which commenced with Pralambha and ended with Tyāga Simha, after whom the restoration of Naraka’s dynasty, in the person of Brahma Pāla, took place. The Bargaon grant does not say that the 20 kings who followed Čāla Stambha were all of the same dynasty; on the other hand, twenty-one (including Čāla Stambha) is a sufficiently large number to accommodate two long dynasties. Moreover the Nowgong grant clearly indicates that a break or change of dynasty took place with Harjara (son of Pralambha).

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

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

6 In verse 19 of the translation, Vanamāla, the son of Harjara, is also said to be “like the moon in the clear sky of the Naraka line.” The original text has kṣiti-tanaya-nṛpati-vamśa or ‘the royal race of the son of the Earth.’ Naraka is the “son of the Earth.”
he was the father of Harjara. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant ignores Pralambha altogether, and commences the dynasty with Harjara. Nor is there anything in the latter grant to connect him with Naraka's dynasty; on the contrary the non-Hindu sound of the name Harjara points to a foreigner. I am unable to suggest any satisfactory solution; but the weight of the evidence seems to me to be for both dynasties (Cāla Stambha's and Harjara's or Pralambha's) being those of foreign invaders, though they may have occasionally preferred a claim to belong to the ancient indigenous line of kings.

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

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

There is again a curiosity to be noted in the Ratnapāla grants, similar to that in the Nowgong grant (see ante, Vol. LXVI, p. 288), the discovery of which is due to Dr. Th. Bloch, the Society's Honorary Philological Secretary. This is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations, from Bāma's Harṣa Carita. The following passages,
or clauses, may be compared, the references being to Takaram Javaji’s Bombay edition of 1892 (Nirnaya Sagara Press).


(3). Bargãoon Plate, line 48, Arjunnō yaçaṇi Bhūmasēṇō yūdhi (or Suālkucī Plate, l. 21, Bhīṣmō dhavnī), &c. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 110, Arjunnō yaçaṇi Bhīṣmō dhavnī, &c.

Finally, I may add three corrections in the Gauhatī grant. The blundered phrase bhūmya-pakṣa-sta in II b⁵ should be bhūmya-apakṣa, as in the Bargãoon grant I. 53; it means the ‘inferior or non-arable land.’ Also vyāpādhārika in II b⁷ means ‘officer’: the whole passage in which it occurs should be translated as in the Bargãoon grant. Again the phrase māhiṣī-jātikā should be read, as in the Suālkucī grant, māhiṣā-jāvīka ‘buffalos, goats and sheep.’

**Text.**

*First Plate: Reverse.*

1 Svasti I² Duṣṭa³ vapa-vimv(b)akair=n=nakha=gajai⁴ svai⁵=n=nṛtya-
sampad-vidhōḥ sō sa-çvēva⁶-gatīm çubhām prakṣayān=ādyāyō

2 ṣan=tāṇḍavim ēvaṁ yah paramātma-vat=prthu-guṇ-ōddēho⁷ ‘py=
anēkī-nē⁸-bhavan=prākāmyan=dadhad-ēva bātī bhuvan-ē-

3 ṣas=tāṭ³=çriyē Çanañkarah [1 U] Mürttā kīṁ vahat=iha¹⁰ çita-kara-ru
kim¹³ spāṭikī-vidrutih kim¹³=v=ādy-angha-vibhēdan-ai-

4 ka-niratā çakti¹ çubhā Çanañkari tasya=āpañ-gatim=ity=avēya janatā
yāyēta dhānyā drutam pāyāt=sa prāṇiha.

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1 From the original plates.

2 Metre of verses 1 and 2: Qārdēla-vikridīta.

3 One akṣara is here omitted; perhaps read nirduṣṭāyair.

4 Read gataiḥ; l. 4, çaktiḥ; l. 5, ākriēḥ; l. 10, çriḥ and guṇaḥ; l. 12, yaçaḥ; l. 13, ātmajāḥ and ripuḥ; l. 14, kārttīḥ.

5 Read svāir.

6 Read çvēta. See note to translation.

7 Uḍḍēha is not noted in any dictionary.

8 Read anēkī-bhavanā; nē is superfluous.

9 Read tat-çriyē or rather toc-çriyē.

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

11 Read kara-ruk-kīṁ.

12 Read kīṁ vā.
5 tya sarva-kaluṣām launhiyā-sindhor-jagat 11 Dharām Harōr-
30 uddharatal kīr-ākṛtaś payōdhi-magnā Nārakoś 15 'sur-ānsa-
kaś sa sūnur-ācit 17 sura-yōṣid-angini ariyam 19 pratindūyitam 20
=ōva yēna hi 1 [3 1] Yāc 21 =c=āval=ēti jarat=ēti bhiyā-yut=ō-
7 ti mūdh-ēti v (b)andhu-rahit=ēti vipad-gat=ēti 1 hitvādītisx 22 vaji-
tyā surān=ahārṣit tat-ku-
8 ndalena 23 sura-yaćo-mahaį iv=āgryēī [1 4 1] Kāntā-mukhair=
v=v(b)ahu-vidhāv 24 =iva vīra-vīṇdais=tējasvibhi
9 ravi-gaṇān-iva sandadhānē ś Prāgijyōtisē 25 'vasad=asau pravarā
purāṇām dōr-dappa 26 samcaraṇa-
10 cārutar-ārjītā-cri 24 [5 1] Yuddhē purātaī at=iddha-guṇā 4 pit=ēti yāvad=viciutyā krpayā sa
11 cacāra maundam tāvad=Dharis=tam=anaya 57 =divam=ātitānsōs 23
=ōjānsyā 22 =ahō nu r 80 =īha no gaṇan=ā-
12 stī v(b)andhau 1 [16 1] Dhiras=tata=yaçaŚ-pata-guṇṭhi-ācō 51
ya çocā āpir aktam=arakō=bhuvanaṁ guṇ-aughāiḥ ś bhavyāh sa bhūri-vibha-
13 vō Bhagadatta-nāmā tasy=ātmajākṣi 52-dhurām v(b)iharēn=cakā-
ra 1 [7 1] vajr=īva nirṛitta-ripu 4 prthu-vajra-kāntiḥ sv-ōrji-ārj-
javā-
14 rjjīta-jagaj-jayal 53-lav(b)dha-kīrtti 5 rājān=tad=āpa rucam=astam-
itē khar-ānsau 54 bhrātuḥ cīkh=īva valavān=n=īha Vajra-dattāh

14 Metre: Vāmja-sthavila.
16 Read magnām narakō. Perhaps the intended reading was magνām narakō.
16 Read āṃqakāh.
17 Read āṣit.
18 Read agginām.
19 Read ariyam.
20 Perhaps read pratindūyitam, (i.e., prati indūyitam).
21 Metre of verses 4-8: Vasanta-tilakā; but the second half of verse 4 is out of
order, its first pada having only 13, while its second pada has 15 instants.
22 This aksara is illegible; there is also here one short instant wanting; perhaps
read Adītīṃ samavajītya, or Adītiṃ-vajītya.
23 There is here one short instant in excess; read kundālē, omitting na.
24 Read vidhānē.
25 Read Prāgijyōtisē.
26 Read darppa.
27 Read anayad.
28 Read ātitāṁsōs.
29 Read tējānēy.
30 Here r is inserted in order to avoid the hiatus nu iha.
31 Read āṃsō
32 Here one short aksara is omitted. Read krīti.
33 Read jaya, and below, l. 30, lubāna, and l. 45, odbhūsana; omitting l.
34 Read kharāṃṣau.
Second Plate : Obverse.

18 hō bhaumō hi nō yuyyatē 45 [1] svām-iti 46 pravcintya tat-prakṛtayō bhū-bhūra-vāksā-kaśamaṁ sāgaundhyāt-vaicakrīya narapa-
19 ti 59 čī-V(b)rahaṇapālaṁ hi yam [ [1 10 ]] Ŗkō 'sau jitaṁ=ṛpun 47 = samiti bhō ki 59 nāma citra 59 udam 48 atiḥ-dāharaṇam Harō Ha-
20 ri-ahō Bhiṣam-ādayō 'nē 49 pi hi i ithāṁ 50 samparimṛcya yasya hi bhaṭā sthāna-sthitasya dviśāṁ dīkṣaḥ=āstāya=api vidra-
21 vēṇa mahat-āṇcaryān 61 =sādā meṇīre [ [11 ]] 52 Vibhava-phala-
vilās-āśvāda-jāt-ābhilāsa 53 sa yuvatiṁ=upayēmō j 54 = ā-
22 nurāgā 55 janēṣu 1 avani-kula-samuthā 56- ksma-pa-sampṛatyn 57-laks-
myāḥ sthitam=iva kula-dēvi-nāmadheyaṁ=v(b)abhāra [ [12 ]]  

35 Metre of verse 9 : Sragdharā.
36 Read vamça.
37 One short akṣara is wanting. Read šitim.
38 Read bhūjaṭāṁ and rājaṁ.
39 Read Čālastambhaḥ, and vikhyātāḥ ; l. 17, sāṃvibhinnaḥ ; l. 19, narapatin, kiṁ and citram.
40 One akṣara is wanting. Read deviṇīta.
41 Metre of verses 10 and 11 : Čārdāla-vikṛḍita.
42 Read nirvamçaṁ and ēkavimśatitamarṁ.
43 Read ābhidhan.
44 Read tēsāṁ vikṣya.
45 Read yuy yatē or yūyatē.
46 Read svām-iti.
47 Read ripun or ripāṁ.
48 Read nīdam or nīdam (i.e., nu idam).
49 Read 'nyē (for anyē).
50 Read itthāṁ.
51 Read āṇcaryāṁ.
52 Metre : Mālinī.
53 Read abhilāṣaḥ ; l. 27, ānuḥbhāvāḥ.
54 Read yē.
55 Read nurāgā (i.e., yā anurāgāḥ = āṇēṛa).
56 Read samathko.
23 Ratn-ōpamā narapatī ⁵⁹ sva-gunaṁ=m=mah-ārhan=yaḥ pālayed=
iti janair=avagamyā samyak । nītah prasiddhim=iha tē.
24 na sa-kirttanāṇā cri-Ratnapāla iti sūnur-ajāyat=āsyām ⁶⁰ ॥ [13 ॥]
Durvvāra-vairi-kari-kumbha-bhidā-bhav-āsra-srotō-va-
25 h-āhāti-calat-kari-muktikabhīḥ ॥ yad-yuddha-bhūr=v=vipaṇi-vad=
dhata-pādma-rāgī ćōbhōta ⁶¹

26 vīr-vaṇijā ⁶² nikaraī ⁶³ prakṛīṇā ॥ [14.॥] Simhāsanō 'thā ⁶⁴ Naraka-
ānava-yā-jāv(b)ja-bhānu ⁶⁵ samvēcya ⁶⁶
27 tām ⁶⁶ divam-agād-a-kalanā-gaṇḍāḥ kāl-ōcitām vicaritum hi mah-
ānubhāvā ⁶⁵ samvidrī-
28 tē ⁶⁷ hi guṇa-dōṣa-vidō bhavasya ॥ [15 ॥] Ničit-āsi-marici-mañjari-
jaṭila-bhujā-v(b)ala-vi-
29 jīta-narapati-sat ⁶⁹-ōpāyanī-kṛta-sa-mada-gaja-ghaṭā-kaṭa-syāndi ⁷⁰-
dān-ānv(b)yucikar-āsā-
30 ra-samupaçaṃmita-santāpam sakal-āri-kaṭaka-luṇṭanal ⁵³-lampaṭa-su-
bhaṭa-v(b)āhu-vitap-ātāvi-
31 saṃkaṭam=api mahājana-nivāsa-yōgyam ⁶⁰ | sa-mada-sundari-smita-
sudhā-dhavalita-saudhā-ći-
32 khara-sahasrā-ānta-hṛta ⁷¹-taraṇī-mañḍalum Malay-ācala-sthali ⁷²-
ruḥa-kāṇanam=iv=ānēka-bhōgi ⁷³-çata-sēvitam ⁶⁰ । nabhō-
33 vat=ēv-āvāptarv(b)udha-guru-kāvy-ālaṃkāram ī kailāsa-giri-çikha-
ram=iva paramēçvar-ādhisthānam ⁶⁰ । Vittēca-ninēṣita-
34 n=ca । yac=ca Čaka-kridā-ćanī ⁷⁴-drītha-pañjarēṇa Gurjar-ādhīrāja-
prajārēṇa ⁷⁵ dur-d danta ⁷⁶-Gaudēndra-kari-kūṭa-pākalēna

⁵⁷ Read samprāpya.
⁵⁹ Read ratnōpamā narapatiḥ as in the Sualkncī grant.
⁶⁰ Read final m for m. Also read ādhīṣṭhānam.
⁶¹ Read ćōbhēta, as in the Suakkncī grant.
⁶² Read vaṇijāṁ nikaraī as in the Suakkncī grant.
⁶³ Read 'thā.
⁶⁴ Read hām, which is the reading of the Suakkncī grant.
⁶⁵ Read samvēcya.
⁶⁶ Read tam.
⁶⁷ Read samvidrātē.
⁶⁸ From here prose.
⁶⁹ Read çat.
⁷⁰ Read syandī.
⁷¹ Probably read antar-hita.
⁷² Read sthali.
⁷³ Read bhōgi.
⁷⁴ Read çakunī, as in the Suakkncī grant.
⁷⁵ Read praṇjārēṇa, which is the reading of the Suakkncī grant.
⁷⁶ Read danta.
Kérál-éç-ácalá-çilájamáná V(h)áhika-Táik-áttaýka77-káriñá dáksiñá-

tyá-kṣoñi-patí-rájájanmaná78 kṣa-

pit-árátie-pákṣatáyá kṣítipa-vakṣah-kavāta-pañón-éva prákárvñ=

ávrta-práňtham79= unwáda-kála-hansa80-kámiñi-ku-

la81-kúpita-péçala-márun-mánd-ándólit-órñmi-çikarair-upácañit-

ápávrta-sañdhá-çikbá-ádhírúñha-sundari-suñá-

Second Plate : Reverse.

t-otsav-áyáśéna kaiñá-sa-kári-dukula82-kádañiká-pátñ83 nêka-nákeç-

cámiñi-vibhrama-máñi-darppñé-

na Lauhity-ámbhidhíná virájamáñám60 l máññiyam-anêka-manaká84-
patí-sártháñám yathárith-áblidháñám

Prágyótis-ésa85-durjáy-ákhya-puram-adhyúvaña l yatra ca jaññá-

dará-yastíñu n=ándriýéñu cañçalatá hari-

su na mánasóñu bhañgguráta bhrúvi bhraméñu na pratipannéñu

s-ópasarggátá dhátúñu na prajásu vámatá kámi-

niñu skhalitañ madhu-mádu-mudita-kámiñi-gátiñu níspññáta 'dósa-

káriñu niratyaya-madhú-pán-áçaktir38=m=ma-

dhú-kára-kára87-kúleñu atyantám pry88-ánuvartháñam rathánga-

námasu piñt89-áçita cväpadéñu tatra Vásap-ává-

sa-spañddhíñi90 vidhú=iva vívarddhiña-çíla-ñelá-jaladhi-máññálañ-

sátru91-sárañ-adárcíñu-padm-ápañhañ=ca mártta-

úda iva bhú-bhré-chírio-nívécñita-páñña kamal-ákar-ódbháñanañ92-

láñá92=ca praméçva-

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77 Read báhika-táyik-áttañka or báhliñká-táyik-áttañka.
78 Read yaksmaná.
79 Read práñtam.
80 Read hamáña.
81 In the original kúla is only just traceable, but in the Suálkncí grant it is
distinct.
82 Read dukula.
83 Probably read padñón = ánêka.
84 Perhaps read máñaka.
85 Read Prágyótis-éca.
86 Read àsaktir. In the original the first á of pánñåkñti is cancelled; but the
real intention may have been to cancel the second á; for pánú-sákti would give the
same meaning.
87 Cancel kara.
88 Read priy.
89 Read piñt.
90 Read Vásav-ávása-spañdhhíñi.
91 Read çañtra.
92 Read láñá. 
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46 rō'pi Kāmarupānandī 98 Bhauṃ-anvayo 'py=ullāsita-dāṇav-āriḥ puruṣ-ōttamo 'py=a-da-
47 nārddanā 99 viro 'pi mattēha 96-gāmi yasa 96 ca Manmath-ōṁmatibhi- rūpaṃ tiraskṛt-āmbhōdhī-
48 gāṃbhīryam jagad-vijay-ācānsi 96-viryam Skand-āskandi-viryam yaṣe=Arjunaṇa yacāsi 97 Bhi-
49 maṃṇo yuddh Kṛtāntaḥ kruddhi Dāvānlō vipakṣa-virudhi Çaca-
50 lay-ānīlaḥ su-janu-su-manasi Sūryo 'ri-tamasi Uday-ācalō mitr-ōd-
gama-sampadi ya 99

51 mahāraja-ādhirاجa-क्र-V(b)rahmapāla-varmma-dēva-pād-ānudhyā-
ta-paramēṣvara-parama-bhūtārakō
52 mahāraja-ādhirajah 98-Ratnapā 99-varmma-dēvah kucaḷī 98

Uttara-kūlā trāyōdaṣa-grāma-viṣay-āntālpāṭi-Vā-
53 madēva-pātak-āpakṛṣṭa-bhūmi-samēta-lābu-kuti-kṣēṭṛā 100 dhānaya-
dvi-sahās-ōṭpattika-bhūmaṇa yathāyathāmaṃ samупasthi
54 ta-v(b)āhman-ādi-viṣaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapadān rāja-rajan-ṛṣṇa-ādhiṅkṛtāṁ anyān-āpi rā-
55 janaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtīn yathā-kāla-bhāvino 'pi

sarvāṇā māmanā-pūrvvakaṁ 101 samādiṣati viditām=
56 [stu] bhava-tām bhūmiti-iyam 99-vāsau-kēdāra-sīhā-jalā-gopacara-
āvaskar-ādy-upēśa yathā-samētha sva-sim-ōṛēōa-paryaṇtā
57 hasti-v(b)andha-naukā-v(b)andha-caur-ōdāraṇa-ḍaṇḍa-pāṇ-ōpari-
kara-nānē-nivitt 103-ōtkhētana-hasty-aṅg-ōṣṭra-gō-mahiś-āj-āti-

Third Plate: Obverse.

58 ka 102-pracāra-prabhṛtinām 102-vinivārita-sarvva-pidā 99-cāsani-kṛtyaṃ

Pārśvaro 'bhūdu-bhuvi Devadhattaḥ Kā-
59 avō 'agrajo Vājasanēyak-āgryah 99-āsādyā yam 102-vēda-vidām par-
ārddhyaṃ trayyā kṛt-ārthāyītam=ōva samya-

98 Read āṇandī.
99 So also the Swālkuci grant; but read ajanārādānō.
96 Read mattēha.
96 Read yasa.
97 Read ācāmsi and yaṣaṣi.
99 Read ca. Ya may be a Prākrit form, if it is not simply a clerical error.
98 Read Ratnapāla.
100 The reading is false; perhaps read kṣēṭṛāyām, agreeing with bhūmaṇa.
101 Read pūrvvakaṁ.
102 Read iyam; 1. 58, prabhṛtinām, and 1. 59, yam.
103 Read niṃitt.
104 Read āvika, as in the Swālkuci grant.
Dr. Hoernle—Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla. [No. 1.

60 k II

1 J 2

Dr. Hoernle—

Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla. [No. 1.

60 k II [1 II] Agny-āhitas-tasya v(b)abhūva sūnh Sadgaugadattō 105 guna-çila-çāli [1] yam viṣyaṣa śat-karma-ra-tam dvijōṣeṁ 106

61 Bhring-ādiśu pratyayiṭo jan-aughaḥ II [2] Čyāmāyikā tasya v(b)a-bhūva patni pati-vratā āila-guṇ-ōpannā 107 I ugraṇḍu-

62 lōkhēva virājate yā viçuddha-rūpā tamasō nihantriṁ 108 III [3 II] Āsyāṁm 109-abhūc=chāstra-vidām dhuriṇas=trastrāh 110 su-

63 tō 'ghat khalu Viradattāḥ I yam prāpya dharmm-ācayam=ugra-

64 v(b)uddhiṁ kālaḥ kalir=nyak-ṛta-vad=v(b)abhūva II [4 II] Sam-

65 krāntau

66 Vipnupadyāñ 111-ca pañca-vimś-āv(b)adārājiyakē I tasmai dattā mayā potrōr=yaçah-puñyā-

67 ya c-ātmanam 112 III [5 II] Simā pūrvēṇa vrhad-ālyām cālmali-

68 vrksah I pūrvva-dakṣiṇēṇa rū-

69 si-gaṇa-pāṭhi-nau-simni kharā-tāṭa-stha-cālmali-vrksah II daksiniṇa

70 tan-nau-simni

71 v(b)adari-vrksah I daksīṇa-paccimēṇa ta 113-nau-simni kācimv(b)alā-

72 vrksah I paccimēṇa

68 kharā-tāṭa-sth-āçvatha-vrksah I paccima-ga I uttara-ga-vakṛtēṇa

73 āli 114 I kācimv(b)a-

74 lā 115-vrksa=ca I paccim-ōttarēṇa kṣētr-ālyām hijjala-vrksah I pūrv-

75 va-ga I uttara-ga-va-

76 kṛēṇa kṣētr-āli 116 I cālmali-vrksau I punah pūrvva-ga-dakṣiṇa-ga-

77 vakṛtēṇa kṣētr-āli 114 I kācimv(b)ala-vrksau I ki-

78 n-cit-pūrvva-ga I daksīṇa-ga-vakṛtēṇa kṣētr-āli 114 I cālmali-vrksau I uttarēṇa vrhad-ālyāṁ kācimv(b)ala-vr-

79 kṣaḥ I uttara-pūrvvēṇa vrhad-ālyāṁ vētasa-vrksa=ca=ōtī II

The Seal.

1 Svasti Prāgyōtiṣ-ādhipati-

2 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-Ratna-

3 pāla-varma-dēvaḥ II

105 Read Sadgaugadattō.

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

107 Read ōppaṇām.

108 Read nihantri.

109 Omit the anusvāra.

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

111 Read Vipnupadyāā.

112 Read ātmanah.

113 Read tan.

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

115 Read kacimbala.
Translation.

(First Plate: line 1) Hail!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 The moon beholds the charms of the Apsaras; so did Naraka, of whom it is related that he "seized the daughters of the Gandharvas and of gods and men, as well as the Apsaras themselves." See Dowson’s Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, sub voce Naraka. Suggestion of Dr. Bloch.
Alas! for one who is keenly desirous of glory there is truly in this world no counting of kinship.  

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Verses 10 and 11 are two relative sentences (with yam and yasya) dependent on the demonstrative sa in verse 12.
(11.) "Single-handed he overcame his enemy in battle: why indeed should this appear strange to his detractors, (seeing that) on this point Hara and Hari are examples, and Bhishma and indeed many others besides." Thus arguing, his warriors have always thought very highly of (the conduct of) their home-staying (king), seeing that his enemies fled away in all eight directions. 8

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 Both grants read pādmarāgī. The correct form, however, would seem to be pādmarāgā.

13 The emendation saṁvidrātē was suggested by Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri.
(that capital) was crowded with a dense forest, as it were, of arms of his brave soldiers who were hankering after the plunder of the camps of all his enemies, yet was it fit to be inhabited by wealthy people (merchants.) (In it) the disk of the sun was hid\(^1\) (from view) by the thousands of plastered turrets which are rendered still whiter by the nectar-like\(^3\) smiles of the love-drunk fair damsels (standing on them). It was frequented by many hundreds of well-to-do people\(^4\), just as a forest planted on the heights of the Malaya mountains (is frequented) by snakes. It is adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets who have made it their place of resort, just as the sky is adorned by Mercury, Jupiter and Venus.\(^5\) It resembles the summit of mount Kailása in being the residence of the Paramēçvara (i.e., supreme ruler, or Ćiva, the supreme God), and in being inhabited by a Vittelīcha (i.e., a master of wealth, or Kuvera the God of wealth).\(^6\) Like the cloth which protects the king's broad chest, its boundaries were encompassed by a rampart, furnished with a fence strong like that used for the game-birds of the Čakas, fit to cause chagrin to the king of Gurjara, to give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the chief of Gauda, to act like bitumen in the earth to the lord of Kerala, to strike awe into the Bāhikas and Tāiikas, to cause discomfiture (lit., pulmonary consumption) to the master of the Deccan country; and generally to serve for the purpose of discomfiting the (king's) enemies. It is rendered beautiful by the river Lauhitya which gives relief to the fair damsels, that after the exertion of sexual enjoyment ascend to the retirement of their stuccoed turrets, by the spray of its current gently wafted up by the breeze charmingly resonant with the prattle of the flocks of love-drunk females of the Kala-haṁsa ducks;

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

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

\(^{15}\) There is here a verbal conceit in the original which is untranslateable. Saudha means 'plastered,' and sudhā means both 'nectar' and 'whitewash.'

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

\(^{17}\) Here is again a verbal conceit: budha means both 'a learned man' and 'Mercury;' guru both 'a religious preceptor' and 'Jupiter,' and kāvyā both 'a poet' and 'Venus.' The capital was to the men, what the sky is to the planets.

\(^{18}\) There is here an obvious play on the words paramēçvara and vittelīcha which are epithets of the king as well as of a god.
the jewelled mirrors used in their coquetries by the numerous females (i.e., the Apsaras) of the lord of heaven (i.e., Indra). It is an object of respect to merchants who are the owners of numerous (kinds of) wares. Such is the town in which the lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa took up his residence and which he called by the appropriate name of the ‘Impregnable one’ (durjaya). Here dulness might be observed in necklaces, but not in the senses (of the inhabitants); fickleness in apes, but not in their minds; changefulness in the motions of the eyebrows, but not in promises; accidents (happening) to things, but not to the subjects. Here capriciousness might be seen (only) in women; reeling (only) in the gait of women excited with the (tender) intoxication of spring-tide; covetousness (only) in evil-doers; safe addiction to the sipping of honey (only) in swarms of bees; exceeding devotion to love (only) in Brahmany ducks (Anas Casarca); and eating of flesh (only) in wild beasts. In that town, which emulated the residence of Vāsava (i.e., Indra), the king, who resembles the moon in that he makes his virtues to wax, as the moon makes the tides of the encircling ocean to wax, and in that he causes his enemies to experience the deprivation of their wealth, as the moon causes the ponds to experience the deprivation of their lotuses; and who resembles the sun in that he makes his feet to rest on the heads of his enemies, as the sun makes his rays to rest on the summits of the mountains, and in that he delights in making his copper-mines lucrative, as the sun makes the lotus-ponds brilliant: who, being a Paramēṣvara (or paramount sovereign), takes pleasure in (the country of) Kāmarūpa; who, though being of the Bhauma (i.e., of Naraka’s) race, delights in being the enemy of the Dānavas (or demons); who, being a Puruṣottama or ‘perfect man,’ does not act as a Janārdana.

19 There is a double meaning in s-ōpasurgatā dhātuṣu which may be also translated ‘the prefixing of prepositions (upastrga) to verbal roots (dhātu).’

20 Madhu-mada might also mean ‘intoxication with wine.’

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

22 I propose to read Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini. The Śuālkuci grant reads Vāsav-āsparddhini.

23 Padma is the lotus which closes at night, but it also signifies the wealth of Kuvera, and hence ‘wealth’ generally.

24 Pāda means both a foot and a ray; and bhū-bhṛt means both a king and a mountain.

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

26 There is here an untranslatable play on the words puruṣottama and janārdana. Both are epithets of Viṣṇu, who is called puruṣottama or ‘the best of men,’ but also
(or troubler of his subjects); who, though being a valiant man, walks (leisurely) like an elephant: whose figure is such as to outdo Manmatha (or the god of love); whose profundity such as to put into the shade the ocean; whose intelligence such as to be a guarantee of the conquest of the world; whose valour such as to surpass Skanda (or the god of war): who is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhimasena in war, a Kṛtānta (or god of death) in wrath, a forest-conflagration in destroying his plant-like adversaries; who is the moon in the sky of learning, the (sweet) breeze of the Malaya mountains in the midst of the jasmine-like men of good birth, the sun in eclipsing his enemies, the mountain of the East in the successful advancement of his friends: this king, the Paramēśvara, Purama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Ratnapāla Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the Mahārājā-dhirāja, the illustrious Brahmāpāla Varma-dēva, may he prosper.

(Second Plate: reverse; line 52.) With reference to the land producing two thousand (measures of) rice, and the fields with the clusters of gourds, together with the inferior land of the hamlet of Vāmadēva, (the whole) situated on the northern bank (of the Brahmāputra), within the district of the "Thirteen Villages," the king sends his greetings and commands to all and several who reside (there): to the janārdana or 'the troubler of men,' because he excites or agitates them. The king, on the contrary, is declared to be a puruṣottama, but not a janārdana. There is, in fact, a verbal conceit involved, in every one of the phrases descriptive of the king. Thus paramēśvara is an epithet of Īśvara who is an ascetic and takes no pleasure in kāma-rūpa (or attractive things); the king, on the contrary, though he is a paramēśvara, or rather because he is paramēśvara or 'supreme ruler,' takes pleasure in Kāma-rūpa (his country). Again Naraka was himself a Danava, but the king, though of Naraka's race, delights in being an enemy of the Danavas. But the word dānavārī may also be divided into dāna or 'gift,' and vārī or 'water;' i.e., the water, the out-pouring of which is symbolical of the grant of a gift. In that case the passage means that the king, though of Naraka's (i.e., of Danava) race, yet delights in giving presents to Brāhmans.

I propose to read dhāryaṁ, because vīryaṁ recurs immediately in the following sentence. V and dh are apt to be confounded in writing.

There is an untranslateable conceit in the word vīrudhi, which may also be spelt vīrudhī. Spelt vīrhūḍh, the word means 'a plant;' spelt vīrudh, it means 'stopping.' With the latter spelling, the passage would mean that the king is like a forest-fire in stopping his enemies.

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

There is a verbal conceit in mitroḍgama which may also mean 'the rising of the sun;' that is, what the eastern mountains are to the rising sun, that the king is to the advancement of his friends.
(common) people of the Brāhmaṇ and other castes, headed by the
district revenue officers and their clerks, as well as to the other (higher-
class) people, such as the Rājanakas, Rājaputras, Rājavallabhas, etc.,
and above them the Rāṇakas, Rājūs, and Rājas; and, in fact, to all who
may reside there in future at any time.

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

(Third Plate: line 58: verse 1.) There was a Brāhmaṇ in the
land, Dēvadatta, of the Pārāsara Gōtra and the Kānva cākhā; a leader
among the Vājasanēyakas, whom on having found to be the foremost
vedic scholar, the Vēdas, in their threefold division 32 felt themselves
satisfied.

(2.) He had a son, Sadgaggādatta, richly endowed with (every)
virtue, who ever kept the holy fire burning (in his house), and at the
sight of whose devotion to the six holy duties 33 a multitude of people
were established in their faith in the whole body of Brāhmaṇs from
Bṛgu downwards.

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

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

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

31 The sentence which breaks off here, is resumed below in verse 5.
32 Referring either to the three Vēdas, or to the three vedic sciences of hymn,
sacrifice and song. The reading ākrīt-ārthāyitam, however, is not quite intelligible
to me.
33 The six duties are: studying and teaching the Vēdas, offering sacrifices and
conducting them for others, giving and receiving gifts.
34 There are four of these; viz., the instants of the sun’s entrance into the
four Hindu signs vṛṣa (taurus), simha (leo), vṛṣcika (scorpion) and kumbha (aquarius)
which are also the beginnings for the four months Jyēṣṭha, Bhadrapada, Mārgaśīrṣa
and Phālguna. The first of these is probably intended here.
(Its) boundaries (are as follows): On the east, the Çâlmañi-tree on the big dike; on the south-east, the Çâlmañi-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river Brahmaputra) by the anchorage of the boats for the Pâthi fish of the Rûsî-class; on the south the Badari-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the south-west the Kâçimbala-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the west the Āçvatha-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river); at the bend to the north-west, the dike of the fields, as well as a Kâçimbala-tree; on the north-west the Hijjala-tree on the dike of the fields; at the bend to the east and north, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çâlmañi-trees; further at the bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Kâçimbala-trees; at the slight bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çâlmañi-trees; on the north, the Kâçimbala-tree on the big dike; and on the north-east, a Vētasa-tree on the big dike.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prâgjyôtiśa, the Maharâj-ādhîrâja, the illustrious Ratnapâla Varma Dēva.

II. The Sualkuci Grant.

This grant and its seal exactly resemble the Gauhatî and Bargaon grants, as may be seen from the photographs (Plates XII and XIII). The plates measure 12\text{\(\frac{1}{16}\)} by 8\text{\(\frac{1}{4}\)} inches and are protected by a slightly raised rim on all four sides. The seal measures 4\text{\(\frac{3}{4}\)} by 3\text{\(\frac{3}{4}\)} inches.

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

35 The trees here mentioned are: Çâlmañi, Bombax malabaricum; Badari, Zizyphus Jujuba or Jujube tree; Kâçimbala, an inferior kind of Çimbala, which I cannot identify; Āçvatha, Ficus religiosa; Hijjala, Barringtonia acutangula; Vētasa, Calamus Rotang.

36 The pâthi is a kind of sheat-fish (Silurus Pelorius), also called pâthîna, and in Bangâli rôgâl. The term râsi I cannot identify; it might be connected with Sanskrit rōkîśa.
identical. The only difference appears to be in the statements referring to the land and the person to whom the land was granted.

The two sides of the first (originally second) plate have 19 lines each. The second (originally third) plate has 7 lines. The inscription on the obverse of the former plate probably commenced with the word phala on l. 21 of the obverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The reverse of that plate commences with the word [pri-] yānuvarttanām, the syllable pri being at the end of the obverse side; and this word stands on line 43 of the reverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The formal part of the Suālkucē grant ends in its 37th line (the last but one on the reverse side of the existing first plate) with the phrase cāsanī-kṛtya, which stands in the 58th line (the first of the 3rd plate of the Bargāon grant). From here the remainder of the Suālkucē grant is occupied with the portion peculiar to it, describing the grantee and the granted land.

The mechanical execution of the Suālkucē grant is, if anything, still more slovenly and inaccurate than that of the Bargāon grant. A glance over the extracts, given below, will show numerous blunders. There are, however, a few variants, which appear to be genuine differences of composition; e.g., l. 14, kalahansa-gāmini (for kalahāṃsa-gāmini) ‘females walking like kalahāṃsa geese,’ l. 24, Bhīsmō dhanuṣī; or which actually offer more suitable readings, as in l. 11, kṛḍā-śakuni (for kṛḍā-śakuni), and in l. 33, mahiś-ōj-āvika.

Palaeographically the Suālkucē grant does not differ in any way from the Bargāon grant. The guttural nasal ṅ is throughout made without a ringlet. Only once, in l. 12, taṅka, it is represented by the anusvāra; but this case is not above suspicion, because the reading here is defective; see the extract below. The anusvāra is formed by a ringlet and placed above the line. The special final form for n occurs in l. 10, jānapadān, and l. 11, prabhṛtin and survān. The special final form of t occurs in l. 21, bṛṛt, and in l. 34 ’bhūt. The special final form of m occurs, twice, in ll. 23 and 24 vaityam; as a rule, however, the anusvāra is used; thus in l. 9, mandālaṁ, l. 10, alaṅkāraṁ, l. 16, sārthānām, and l. 23, gambhīrya[ṁ], where the Bargāon grant has the special form. The initial short i, made by two ringlets placed above a hook, occurs in ll. 3 and 34, iti, l. 40, iṣṭa; but in l. 21, the hiatus with īva, which the Bargāon grant shows, is avoided in the Suālkucē grant by the insertion of a euphonic ṛ. The avagraha occurs in l. 25, ċūryō’rī, where it is omitted in the Bargāon grant. It appears also to be intended, in l. 40, by the mark of interpunctuation.

Regarding the probable date of the Suālkucē grant, see the remarks on the Bargāon grant. It is not dated in any era, but professes to have been issued in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

J. i. 16
In the following transcript I shall only quote such portions of the Suālkuci grant as differ in any respect from the corresponding portions of the Bargāon grant, or as show the same irregularities. The portion peculiar to the Suālkuci grant is transcribed in full.

Text.¹

Second Plate: Obverse.

1, phala etc., ending with saṃprāptā-lakṣmyāḥ sthitam=ī- (see Bargāon grant, ll. 21 and 22).
2, va...... apparently ratuōpamō narapati etc. (cf. l. 23.)
4, ...... padma-rāgī čóbhētā vira-vaṇijām nikaraiḥ etc. (cf. ll. 25, 26).
5, ...... bhānum samvēṣya tā (sic) etc. (cf. l. 127):
6, ...... sat-ōpāyani sa-mada etc., omitting kṛta (cf. l. 29).
7, ...... syāndi-dāmvu (sic) ...... samupasamitu (sic) ...... luṇṭanal-lampāta etc. (cf. ll. 29, 30).
8, ...... nivāsa-yōgyam! ...... sundāri-chudhā (sic) ...... sikhar-ādhiruṣṭha-sahasr-ānta etc. (cf. ll. 31, 32).
9, ...... kṛdā-çakuni-drūha² ...... prajvareṇa etc. (cf. l. 34).
12, ...... Kāralā sa-cala-çilājatuḥ nā (sic) Vāhika-tāmka etc., omitting Tāika (cf. l. 35).
13, ...... rājajakṣmanāḥ ...... vakṣaḥ kapāṭa etc. (l. 35, 36).
14, ...... kalahansa-γāmini ī kulaḥ kuṇīta-prēcāla (sic) ...... ļṛummi ī čikar-āsāram-upaçamītā etc. (cf. ll. 36, 37).
15, ...... ādhiruṣṭha ...... paṭē nākiča (sic) (cf. ll. 37, 38).
76, ...... anēkamanakṣa-pati etc. (cf. l. 39).
17, ...... adhyuvāsya (sic) ...... yaṅtiṣū ² n-ēndrayēṣu etc. (cf. l. 40).

Second Plate: Reverse.

20, y-ānuvarttanam ī ...... piṭīṭā svāpadeśu ī ...... Vāsav-āsparddhini ī etc., omitting citā (cf. ll. 43, 44).
21, uḍalam ī çatru-sarasāṁ darppita ...... mārttanā r=iva bhūbhṛt-chiṁo-nīvečita-pādam ī ...... ĥdbhāsana-la- (cf. ll. 44, 45).

¹ From the original plates.
² The āksara dha stands below the line.
³ This mark of interpunctuation is placed almost regularly after each clause.
22. laçaça\textsuperscript{a}=ca ...... kāmārūpā | nandi ...... dānavāri | paruṣottamā 

\textsuperscript{(sic)} py=adanārddanā | etc. (cf. ll. 46, 47).

23. pi mattēha-gāmī ya | sā ...... rūpā | ....... gambhirya | ... āsansi-
vairya | etc. (cf. ll. 47, 48).

24. ndi-vairya | ....... yaçaṣī | Bhiṣmō dhanuṣī | etc. (cf. ll. 48, 49).

25. ....... Čūryō’ri-tamasi \textsuperscript{b} etc. (cf. l. 50).

26. sampādí ya | ....... pādānūdhāya'taḥ paramēçvaraḥ parama-satāra-

\textsuperscript{(sic)} (cf. ll. 50, 51).

27. ......... çrimān=Ratnapāla=varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali \textsuperscript{c} Kala-

28. ngā-visay-āntaḥ-pāti-dhānyā-tri-sahsr-ōtpattika-ha-kṛṣṭā\textsuperscript{5}.

bhūmău yathāyathām samupasthitā-v(b)rā-

29. hmaṇ-ādi etc. (cf. l. 54).

30. ....... nānā-nimitt ...... mahiś-āj-āvika-pracāra-prabhoṁtinām etc. 

(cf. ll. 57 58).

31. ......... çāsani-kṛtya \textsuperscript{d} Bhāرادlevator-sa-gōtrō Vājasaṇēyi Çrķānva\textsuperscript{7}

cākhō'bhūṭ | bhaṭṭō V(b)ala-dēva iti khyāta-

32. ĥ çrūta-vinaya-sampaṇnah \textsuperscript{e} [1 \textsuperscript{f}] Āsit-pratihata-narakaḥ v(b)a-
hu-vibudha-vandyamāṇa-carana-yugmaḥ | × × × ma × × × × × × ×

33. s=tat-putrō Vāsudev-ākhyah \textsuperscript{g} [2 \textsuperscript{h}] Lakṣmin=iva jana-sēvyā

bhāry=āsid=asya vallabhā sādhvi | c=Chēppāyik=āti vidīta sād-
dhāmmā va-

34. rṇa-bhūṣaṇā\textsuperscript{9} ramyā \textsuperscript{i} [3 \textsuperscript{j}] Tāsyām=ajayata suto bhuvi Kāma-
dāvah čaktyā\textsuperscript{11} manō-ramatayā jita-kāma-dēhah | kāntih

35. samasta bhuvaṇām hi caçaṅka-čubhrā yasy=āṇiçam=bhramati 
bhūri vibhūṣita-dyauḥ \textsuperscript{k} [4 \textsuperscript{l}] Pitrōḥ svam=punyām=uddiçya

\textsuperscript{15} × × × × × × ×

\textit{Third Plate: Obverse.}

36. — ☼ — I mayā dattā dvijāy=āsyai rājyō ṣaḍvīṣṣad-āv(b)dikey 

\textsuperscript{l} [5 \textsuperscript{m}] Asyās=ṣimā pūṛvvenā Čaudē-nauki(nā)\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{4} The first aksara ça is superfluous.

\textsuperscript{5} Perhaps read hala-kṛṣṭa.

\textsuperscript{6} Metre of verses 1-3: Āryā.

\textsuperscript{7} Read Črikānva.

\textsuperscript{8} Ten aksaras are here illegible.

\textsuperscript{9} The reading is uncertain.

\textsuperscript{10} Metre: Vāṣanta-tīlakā.

\textsuperscript{11} Reading uncertain.

\textsuperscript{12} Metre: Ćūka.

\textsuperscript{13} Here 8 aksaras, or a quarter-verse, are illegible.

\textsuperscript{14} The bracketed portions are uncertain.
Dr. Hoernle—Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla. [No. 1,  

40, (n=s)aha-sīmni īṣṭak[ṛṇasya]=ōpari ça[(va)ra-mūla 15| khōd-āṃv(b)ra-vṛksau | pūrvva-dakṣinēna (dakṣī16)-pāṭi-nauki-sa- 41, ha-sīmni Vētasa-vṛksaḥ | dakṣinēna Sadhava-nauki-saha-sīmni  

Hijala-vṛksaḥ | dakṣinā-paḍcimēna (Bhaṣyaka)- 42, ma-vṛksaḥ | paḍcimēna Candē-nauki-saha-sīmni adhunā-rōpita-  

Çālmali-vṛksaḥ | paḍcim-ōttarēṇa Kalaṅgā- 43, daṇḍi-dakṣinā-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēṇa Sadhava-Kalaṅgā-  

daṇḍi-dakṣinā-pāṭa-stha-Cōraka-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣīṇa-ga-vakrē- 44, ā kula-sōnt-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-ga-vakrēṇa Sadhava-kula-  

sōnt-ōttara-pāṭa-stha-Varuṇa-vṛkṣaḥ | uttara-ga-vakrēṇa Hija- 45, la-vṛkṣaḥ | uttarēṇa Diyaṃv(b)āraṇjāl-ōttara-pāṭaḥ | uttara-  

pūrvvēṇ=āli-mastaka-Vētasa-cē=ēti ||

The Seal. 

(1) Ōṁ svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-āṭhipaty-anva-  

(2) yō mahārāj-ādhīrāja-gri-Ratna-  

(3) pāla-varmma-dēvah ||

Translation. 

Second Plate : Reverse. 

(Line 34; verse 1.) There was a learned Brāhman, called Bala- ḍēva, full of holy lore and good conduct, who belonged to Bhāravāja’s gōtra and the Ćrikāṇṭha cākhā of the Vājasanēyins. 

(2) He had a son, Vāsudeva by name,................17, who (by his sanctity) had exempted himself from hell, and whose feet were revered by many learned men. 

(3) He had a loving and chaste wife who, like Lakṣmi (the goddess of good fortune), was honoured by the people. She was known by the name of Cheppāyika,18 a woman charming, true in faith, and an ornament to her caste. 

(4) From her was born a son Kāmadēva who on earth by his power and his charm excels Kāma, the god of love; for his beauty, brilliant like the moon, and illuminating the heavens, incessantly wanders through the whole world.

15 Probably read mīṭē 'khōd-āṃbra. 
16 Perhaps read dakṣīnā. 
17 Here the original text is illegible. There are 11 aksaras—all short, as the metre shows,—of which only one (the seventh) ma is legible. 
18 This appears to be a vernacular name, the Sanskrit equivalent of which I do not know.
(5) With a view to my parents' as well as my own welfare,...........
........, (this land) is given by me to this Brāhmaṇa, in the twenty-
sixth year of my reign.

Its boundaries are (as follows): On the East, at the anchorage of
the boats of the Cande men, and at the foot of the Saravā above the
brickfield there are a walnut and a mango tree. On the North-east,
at the anchorage of the boats of the men (located) on the southern
terrace, there is a Vēṭasa-tree.19 On the South, at the anchorage of the
boats of the Sadhava men, there stands a Hijjala-tree. On the South-
west, there stands a Bhayakama(?)tree. On the West, at the anchorage
of the boats of the Cande men, there stands the Čālmali-tree which has
been recently planted. On the North-west, there is the southern terrace
of the boatmen of Kalaṃgā. At the bend on the East, there is the
Cōraka tree, standing on the southern terrace of the boatmen of the
Sadhava (portion of) Kalaṃgā. At the bend on the South, there is the
northern terrace of the Sōnta of the Sadhava (portion of the) river's
bank. At the bend on the East, there is the Varuna-tree, standing on the northern terrace
of the Sōnta of the Sadhava (portion of the) river's bank. At the
bend on the North, there is a Hijjala tree. On the North, there is
the northern terrace of the Diyambārāṇjala, and on the North-east, a
Vēṭasa-tree on the highest point of the dike.

The Seal.

Ōṁ! Hail! the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, of the illustrious race of the
lords of Prāgjyōtīṣa, the illustrious Ratnapāla Varma Dēva.

19 Regarding the identity of the trees in this list, see ante, page 120, footnote 35. Of the Bhayakama tree I can make nothing, but the aksaras bhayaka are un-
certain. I am unable to identify the Cōraka tree. It is commonly identified with
Trigonella corniculata or Andropogon acicularis; these, however, are mere plants.

20 I do not know what sōnta means. It corresponds to dandi in the preceding
clause.
A Note on the Identity of the great Tsang-po of Tibet with the Dihong.—By Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., Rai Bahadur.

[Read February, 1897.]

Sir Clements Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society in his learned introduction to "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet," regarding the course of the Tsang-po wrote as follows:—"Beyond the point where the Lhasa route crosses the river, in longitude 90° 40' E., the course of the Brahmaputra within the mountains is entirely unknown for a distance of about 400 miles, when, under the name of Dihong, the mighty stream emerges into the valley of Assam and becomes the Brahmaputra of the plains. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the Tsang-po of great Tibet and the Brahmaputra of the plains are one and the same river."

This question has occupied the attention of geographers for upwards of a century. In his instructions, dated 1774, Warren Hastings specially enjoined Mr. Bogle to inform himself respecting the course of the Brahmaputra. D'Anville, and afterwards Klaproth, believed that the Tibet river was the upper course of the Irrawaddy. In 1825 Captains Bulton and Wilcox were sent to explore its course. Bulton followed up the course of the Dihong, until he was stopped by wild tribes, while Wilcox crossed the water-parting towards Burma, and reached the banks of the Irrawaddy. From the point reached by Bulton on the Dihong, to the place where Manning crossed the Tsang-po, there is an interval of about 400 miles, and a difference of level of 11,000 feet. This interval was entirely unknown till 1882 when I explored up to Saugri Khamar, a place situated to the east of the town of Chethang on the Tsang-po where it crosses 92° Lg., and Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, about 50 miles further east up to the confines of the province of Kongbu; and Kunthup has done, though not scientifically, further 200 miles, so that out of 400 now only about 50 miles remain to be explored.

In July 1880, a Lama of Gya-rong was despatched by the late
Captain Harman from Darjeeling to Tibet with orders to explore the country below Gyala Sing-dong and trace the great Tsang-po to the plains of India, or failing this, to throw marked logs into the stream at the lowest point reached. It was intended that due notice should be given by the Lama to Captain Harman of the period during which the logs were daily to be cast into the river, so that he might set watches at the place where the Dihong debouches into Assam, and thus prove the identity or otherwise of the great river of Tibet with the Brahmaputra. Kunthup, a native of Sikkim, who had previously accompanied the explorer Nima Sring to Gyala Sing-dong and who has since traversed Bhutan with Rinzing, was sent with the Gya-rong Lama as assistant. The proposed arrangements for casting logs into the Tsang-po fell through owing to the delinquency of the Lama, who having sold Kunthup as a slave in the Pema-koi country decamped to his home in Gya-rong within the Chinese frontier.

Kunthup having escaped from the hands of his master, reached Onlek a short stage from Mir Padam, or Miri Padam, a village situated on a plain on the Tsang-po, a resort of traders from Assam, and the abode of the Miri and Padam tribes, who are known to inhabit the country near the place where the Dihong breaks through the hills into Assam. He was informed at Onlek that Miri Padam was about three days' journey or 35 miles from the nearest plains of India. Kunthup also saw the haze of India from Onlek in an easterly direction when looking down the river. According to native report and also legend, the Tsang-po enters a deep rocky gorge at the foot of a rocky mountain which has the appearance of a lion's face and is therefore called Sing-dong, from sing a lion and dong a face. Kunthup describes the falls of the Tsang-po below the Pema-koi monastery as a cascade of some 150 feet in height, and mentions the prismatic colours of the spray hanging over the dark basin or lake below the cliff. This rock is called Shin-jé-shéjal, i.e., the place of interview with the Lord of the Dead. Shin the dead, jé lord, and shé-jal an interview.

Since then Mr. Needham, a political officer, resident near Sadya in Assam, has explored a part of the mountainous country, inhabited by Mishmi and other wild tribes, up to the borders of Za-yul, but has not succeeded in following up the course of the Dihong. The inscription before us and the letter of Mr. Barnes, quoted below, go to prove that the Dihong is the great Tsang-po, as it was conjectured by the late General Walker. The wooden block on which the inscription is, came down from the Tsang-po. It must have belonged to some one of the Niñ-ma monasteries of Tibet or to the monastery of Pema-koi, the last of the Buddhist institutions of Tibet, situated to the further East of
Tibet. My friend and tutor Lama Sherab resided twelve years at the Pema-koi monastery and knows the country well. The charm contained in the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit written in Tibetan and repeated twenty-five times. It belongs to the Niij-ma-pa or the older red-cap School of Tibet. The following is a transcript:

(1) ᪛BookmarkPlaceholder–వాజ్రాస్త్వ!సమయం-అనుపాలయ, వాజ్రాస్త్వ!త్వే నుంధిందే; ద్రిఢ్ఢు మె భావసు, తోస్యు మె భావసు, పొశు.
(2) మె భావా, అనురాక్షు మె భావా, సర్వతిస్థితి మె ప్రయాచచా, సర్వకార్మసలు కా మె సితాము శ్రీయాహ కురు.
(3) హుం-హా-హా-హా-హాహోహో! బహాగ్వన్ సర్వ-తత్తాగాత! వాజ్రామ మె ముంచా, వాజ్రి భావా మహాసమయయసయ సత్వా-శి.

Translation:

(1) Om, vajrasattva! keep thy duties; O vajrasattva, ground us upon thee; be strong to me, be delighted with me.
(2) Be kind unto me, be cheerful unto me; grant me every success, and in all my actions make pure my heart!
Line 3 seems rather untranslatable.

The letter of Mr. H. C. Barnes, Assistant Commissioner of Dibrugarh, dated the 22nd October, 1896, is as follows:

"I enclose a print taken from a piece of wood found in the Brahmaputra a few miles above Dibrugarh a short time ago. When brought in, it appeared that the block was meant for printing from, as, though the surface of the letters was clean, the whole of the carved out portion of the wood, i.e., the space between the letters, was covered with what
looked like ink. Moreover, though no one could say what the writing was by mere inspection of the block; some Khamptis on seeing a print taken from it, declared that it was a Lama, i.e., Tibetan, writing. You will observe that the lines are similar, so that a translation of one will give the meaning of the whole. I should be obliged if you would send me a translation and also inform me what the block was used for. If my conjecture that it was used for printing from is wrong and the Khamptis have misled me, I can send you a rubbing of the block.

"The block is about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches thick and it has no marks on the sides or back to show that it has ever been fastened to anything else. It is supposed to have been brought down the Dihong by the last flood, which was probably caused by the breaking through of a dam formed across the Dihong by a former landslip. The flood rose to a great height in one night in fine weather and no other river came down in flood except the Dihong. The piece of wood was found by an Assamese who was looking for firewood."
Numismatic Notes and Novelties, No. III.  

By Vincen<e9> A. Smith, I.C.S.

(With Plate XIV.)

[Read April, 1898]

INDO-BACTRIAN.

I.

Telephus.

Copper or bronze, rectangular, measuring '95 by '85 inch (= about 25 x 21 m.m.), and about '15 thick. Weight 131 gr. [Rawlins].

Obv. Zeus (or king) seated l., on throne with back; his r. hand advanced; in his l., sceptre.

Greek legend, BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ (left) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (top) [Τ]ΗΛΕΦΟΥ (right).

Rev. Figure (? female) to r., seated in crouching attitude, with r. arm extended; l. arm not visible.

Kharoṣṭhi legend, Maharajasa (on right) Kaliṇakrama (?) on top) sa Tēlīphasa (damaged, on left).

This very remarkable piece has recently been obtained by Mr. J. P. Rawlins at Haripur in the Hazara District of the Panjab.

The figure of Zeus resembles that on the reverse of the ΣΩΤΗΡΣ coins of Hermæus (B. M. Catal., p. 65, Pl. XV, 7). The reverse device is unique, and I am unable to explain it.

The reading of the king's name in Greek is certain. The Kharoṣṭhi equivalent could not be deciphered without the help of the Greek.

The coinage of Telephus is of extreme rarity, and has heretofore been known in silver only. The Elliot hemidrachm in the Bodleian cabinet was considered unique until Von Sallet identified two duplicates of it among the unnamed coins of the Guthrie collection at Berlin (Von Sallet, p. 131).

Professor Gardner (B. M. Catal., p. 171) describes the Bodleian specimen as follows:

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΘΛΕΦΟΥ. Giant (Skythes ?), his body ending in three serpents; holds in each hand, hammer (?)  

Rev. Kharōṣṭhī legend, Maharajasa pālanakramasa (or perhaps, pālanakaśamasa) Teliphasa. Helios radiate, facing, clad in tunic and chlamys, holds long sceptre; beside him male figure wrapped in mantle, wearing wreath, or horned; in field, mon. Weight 37. Diam. 7.

The long epithet which is the Prākrit equivalent of εὐεργέτου appears to be the same on the new coin as on the previously known hemidrachms. The reading is unfortunately doubtful.

Lassen read parakaramasa, which, as Von Sallet remarks, is certainly erroneous.

Cunningham suggested kalānakramasa. Von Sallet reads kalana-(or kalaka-) kramasa.

I agree that the first character is ka, and that the second consonant is l. But the new coin shows a short vertical stroke across the horizontal line of the l, which converts the character into li, or le.

The third character, a hook turned to the right, is certainly either the cerebral n, or the dental n. The first element of the word therefore reads kalina, or kalēna.

Lengthening the vowels it may be read as kālīna, (or kālēna), and the whole compound taken as kālinakramasa. Mr. Bendall’s pālanakramasa does not seem to be admissible. But, though kālinakramasa seems to be a good reading of the letters, I do not understand how that form can be used as a translation of εὐεργέτου, ‘benefactor.’

INDO-BACTRIAN.

II. Peukelaus.

Copper or bronze, square. Diameter 95 × 85. Weight 142 gr. From Bannū District, west of the Indus. [Rawlins].

Obv. Male figure, to front, looking l., wearing hat and short coat.

Legend, [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚ[ΛΑΟΥ]

Rev. City, turreted, standing, with r. hand outstretched over mon., and palm over l. shoulder.

Kharōṣṭhī legend, [Maha]rajasa dhramikasa tradatasa Peukalaīsa.

This interesting coin is unfortunately in poor condition, and a photograph of it cannot be distinct.

The coins of Peukelaus were published for the first time recently by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who briefly noticed two specimens, (apparently obtained at Peshāwar?), of which one belonged to Sir Alexander

[1 I have not the slightest doubt that the reading of this word is kalayakramasa, or in Sanskrit kālyyānakarmacanaḥ, which corresponds exactly to the Greek εὐεργέτου.—Ed.].
Cunningham, and the other to Mr. L. White King.\(^1\) The coin now published is, therefore, the third known specimen.

Cunningham called the figure on the obverse Apollo, and that on the reverse Demeter. I cannot say whether or not the figures were the same as those on Mr. Rawlins' coin. I cannot find the obverse figure on any other Bactrian coin.

The reverse figure is that of a turreted personified city, as on the square bronze coins of Hippostratus, with Triton obv. (B. M. Catal., p. 60, Pl. XIV, 6). The mon. on the coin of Mr. Rawlins' is the same as that on the coin of Hippostratus with horseman reverse (ibid. Pl. XIV, 6).

It is clear, therefore, that Peukelaus was approximately contemporary with Hippostratus.

The legends \(\Delta \text{IKA} \text{I} \text{OY KAI} \Sigma \Omega \text{T} \text{HR} \text{O} \Sigma\), and \(\text{dhramikasa tradatasa}\) indicate that the period of Hippostratus and Peukelaus is not far removed from that of Menander. The same inference is suggested by the use in the Greek legend of the minute dot form of \(\text{omikron}\).

The early part of the Greek legend is illegible, but the word \(\Sigma \Omega \text{T} \text{HR} \text{O} \Sigma\) can be read, and most of the letters of the Kharoṣṭhi legend can be made out on the original coin. The king's name is certain, \(\text{PEYK}\), in Greek, and \(\text{Peuk}\) in Kharoṣṭhi, being distinct.

The name Peukelaus necessarily recalls to the mind that of the city Peukelaītis or Peukelaotis, mentioned by several Greek writers. Arrian tells us that in the dominions of the Assakenoi (probably the Aṣvakas) there was a great city called Massaka, the capital, and that, there was another city of great size, called Peukelaītis, not far from the west bank of the Indus.\(^2\)

This city seems to be the same which is described by Hiuen Tsiang under the name of Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti, or Puṣkalāvati, which was situated across a great river about 9 miles (50 \(\text{li}\)) north-east of Kaniṣka's famous monastery at or near Peshāwar. The "great river" must be the Kābul. The distance stated by the Chinese pilgrim indicates that the site is to be looked for at the Nicetta or Nisattha of the maps rather than at Hashtnagar, where it is placed by Cunningham.\(^3\)

If Peukelaītis and Puṣkalāvati are identical, which is not exactly proved, it seems quite possible that the Greek name may be derived from the name of the king Peukelaus, and not, as has hitherto been assumed, from a Prakrit form of Puṣkalāvati.

\(^1\) Num. Chronicle for 1896, p. 269.
\(^2\) McCrindle "Megasthenes and Arrian," p. 180. Arrian was born about A.D. 90, and lived to an advanced age. The date of king Menander is approximately B.C. 100.
\(^3\) "Reports" II, 90; XIX, 96-110; Vivien de St. Martin in Julien's Hiouen Tshang, III, 308.
NORTHERN SATRAPS.

Copper, circular; diam. 6. Wt. 19 gr. obverse slightly convex, and reverse concave. Thin. [Rawlins].

Obv. Bust to r., bare-headed, or wearing closefitting cap. Traces of Brāhmi letters in front of face. Dotted circle.

Rev. Legend in two lines, occupying field, in border:—


This remarkable coin comes from the Bannū District. The characters are those of the northern alphabet of about the beginning of the Christian era, and closely resemble those on the known coins of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā.

KUṢAṆA.

Kadphises I.

A. Copper, Diameter '8. Wt. 63 gr. Rather thin coin, without rim. [Rawlins.]

Obv. Bust to r., apparently bareheaded, Greek legend on r. margin, KoZoYaKαΔ[ΓΣοΥ].

Rev. Soldier marching to r., wearing crested broad-brimmed hat, and armed with a long spear and convex shield.

Kharoṣṭhī legend—la kaśīṣa kusa—.

V B. Copper, Diameter '7. Wt. 73 gr. Thick coin, with raised rim on reverse. [Talbot.]

Obv. Bust to r., with a more Parthian appearance than that of A. Greek legend not distinctly legible, though apparently the same as on A.

Rev. Device as on A, in better preservation. Kharoṣṭhī legend in perfectly preserved letters, Kaśīsa kuṣanasa.

The two coins above described have been sent to me by their owners from the Hazāra District. Mr. Talbot’s coin first arrived, and was not fully intelligible until Mr. Rawlins’ specimen was received.

The Greek legend Koζουλο Καδ proves that the coin must be assigned to Koζουλο or Koζουλα (Kh. Kuζula) Kadphises, and not to Kadaphes, on whose coins the tribal name is written with the initial aspirate (Gr. χοζουλο and Kh. Kuζanasa), and the name or title of the king is written Kuζula in Kharoṣṭhī and Koζola in Greek, instead of the corresponding kuζula and koζoulo or koζoula on the coins of Kadphises I. But, as will be shown later, it is possible that Kadphises I, and Kadaphes may be identical.

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on these coins is new. The reading kaśīṣa is perfectly certain; the first character is ka, the second is initial ū, and the third is sa. The A specimen preserves a character in front of
kaïsa, which seems to be la, the last syllable of kujula. I interpret kaïsa as an abbreviated genitive corresponding to Kadphisou in the Greek.

The reverse device is as novel as the legend.

When about to send this paper to the press I found that two coins of this type, (though not quite identical) had already been described by Cunningham (Num. Chron. for 1892, p.p. 46, 64, Pl. xiv. (iv), 5, 6.)

He describes the king’s head as “helmeted” and reads the Greek legend as KoZoYoLo KA.....KOPEAN: and the Kharoṣṭhī legend as kuyula kasasa kuṣana Yaviūasa. The second word on the coins now published is certainly kaïsa, not kasasa. It is impossible to mistake the character for u, which is a hook with loop at foot.

The following statement compares the newly discovered coins with the related types previously known, which are:

I. HERMÆUS.

Obv. Bust of the King r., diademed: —

BAΣIΛEΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩΥ.

Rev. Throned Zeus.

Kharoṣṭhī legend, Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa.

B. M. Catal. p. 65; Von Sallet, p. 117). The correct reading of the Greek legend stérossu as an adjective in the genitive, the equivalent of mahatasa, is due to Mr. Rapson, in J. R. A. S. for 1897, p. 320.

II. HERMÆUS AND KADPHISES I.

Obv. As above, with same legend stérossu.

Rev. Herakles, standing, facing, diademed, holds in r. hand, club; in l., lion’s skin. Kharoṣṭhī legend, Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa.

(B. M. Catal., p. 120; Von Sallet, p. 118.)

III. KADPHISES I.

Obv. Bust r., as in I and II.

Greek legend KoPoNA (or similar word, probably intended as an equivalent for Kuṣana—the letters vary) KoZoYoL o (or KoZoYoΛA) KAΔΦΙΣΟΥ.


IV. KADAPHES.

Obv. Head of the king r. diad. (closely resembling that of Augustus in the later years of his life). Greek legend ΧΟΡΑΝΣΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ KAΔΑΦΕΣ.


The above legends clearly show that the king Kozoula Kadphises (No. III) was a Kuṣana chieftain, who reigned at first as colleague
of Hermæus, with the titles dhramathidasa, equivalent to δωκαίου, and yavugasa (reading not quite certain), of unknown meaning.

I take kasasa in Nos. II and III as a genitive proper name, the equivalent of the Greek ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ, that is to say, Kadphises in the genitive case. The nominative case of the name in the Prakrit should therefore apparently be Kasa, = Kadphises.

The meaning of kozoulo (kozoula) in Greek, equivalent to kujula (No. II and III) and kuyula (No. IV), is not yet ascertained. But it seems impossible to doubt that the Greek kozoulo, kozoula, or kozola, (No. IV), and the Prakrit kujula (Nos. II and III), and kuyula (No. IV) are all different forms of the same word. If Kadphises I. (No. III) is distinct from Kadaphes (No. IV) that word must be an epithet or title rather than a proper name. But I have a strong suspicion that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes were one and the same person, and that the epithet yavugasa of No. II is only a fuller form of the yauasa (ΞΑΟΟΥ) of No. IV.

The king’s name (in the genitive) is in the Prakrit:—

Kujula Kasasa — Nos. II and III,
Kuyula Kaphsasa — No. IV.

— la Kaïsa — new coins A and B.

I propose to treat all these forms, which should be in the nominative respectively Kasa, Kaphsa, and Kaï (?) as variants of a simple name, written in Greek as Kadphises or Kadaphes. Cunningham also identified Kadaphes with Kadphises. “Kozola-Kadaphes I take,” he observes, “to be only a variant spelling of the same king’s name, on the issue of a different mint. The head seems to be imitated from the coins of Augustus, his contemporary.” (Num. Chron. for 1892, p. 46.)

**KUṢĀṆA.**

**VI. KADAPHES.**

**Buddha Type.**

Thin copper or bronze coin; diam. .62; wt. 24 gr. Obtained on the Pune (Punch) border of the Hazara District. [Rawlins.]

**Obv.** King, or god, standing, wearing diadem and fillet, holding spear upright in l. hand; r. arm extended. Peculiar mon. in l. field behind figure. Greek legend, of which only Χο is legible, probably part of ΧΟΠΑΝΣΥ.

**Rev.** Seated figure of Buddha, cross-legged; r. hand raised, holding?; l. hand on hip. A triangle (? delta) under elbow of r. arm. Kharoṣṭhī legend all round margin; the only characters plainly legible being kadaqa below the figure. The ka is certain; the da may possibly be na; and the qa, having a loop at foot, may be read as gu.

This interesting coin is closely related to, though materially...
different from, the B coin of the Buddha type, of Kadaphes recently described by me.¹

That coin had the obverse device of Śiva and the bull. The coin now published has a figure standing to r., and no bull. The fragmentary Greek legend Χο induces me to ascribe the coin to Kadaphes, who transliterated khūsanasa by ΧοΡΑΝΣΥ. I have already intimated that Kadaphes and Kadphises I. may prove to be the same person. I regret that I am unable to offer any interpretation of the imperfect Kharoṣṭhī legend.

KUŚAṆA.

VII.

HUṆIṢKA.

Brass, or very pale bronze. Diameter .65. Weight 58 grs. Collected in Hazāra District. [RAWLINS].

Obv. King, seated on throne, looking r. Three-pronged mon. to l. The plethoric figure of the king recalls the coins of Kadphises II. (B. M. Catal., Pl. XXV, 6, 7).

Greek legend on l., ο(?)οο; on r., 'οΚ(?).AH(?).

The coin has been worn as an ornament, and a hole above the king’s head has damaged one or two letters. There are certainly two οs to l., and traces of a third. On the r., the first legible character is certainly ο, and the third is A. The second and fourth are doubtful.

Rev. Two figures, standing, facing each other, the head of that to r. having been punched out. Both are clad alike in coats reaching to the knee. The figure to r. wears a sword.

Greek legend, beginning from r. top, is 'ΑΓο οΑΝΑΔΑο, which should probably be read [ΒΙΖΑΓο οΑΝΑΔΑο. The second name is certain. The Δ is the fifth form, and the Ν the third form in Cunningham’s table of the Indo-Scythic Greek Alphabet (Num. Chron. for 1892, Pl. X). The letters ΑΓο are also certain on the original coin.

This is a very peculiar piece. The effigy of ΒΙΖΑΓο (Viśāka, a son and impersonation of Skanda) has hitherto been known only on coins of Huviṣka, associated with Skanda Kumāra (ΣΚΑΝΔο ΚΟМАΡΟ); and with Mahāsena (ΜΑΑΣΗΝΟ). (B. M. Catal., p. LXVI, 149, 150; Pl. XXXVIII, 22–24).

The name οΑΝΑΔΑο is new. The closely related form οΑΝΙΝ-ΔΑ (or οΑΝΙΝΔο) is found on some rare coins of Huviṣka associated with a figure of the Goddess Nike.

οΑΝΑΔΑο may possibly be only a variant of οΑΝΙΝΔο, but is more probably a male deity, the star Vanaṅt. The effigy on the new

¹ “Num. Notes and Novelties, No. II” in No. 4 of Part I of this Journal for 1897.
coin seems to be male, rather than female, and there is no iota in the name. I suggest this identification with reference to Dr. Stein's remarks on OANINΔA, which are as follows:

"With Verethraghna we may connect most appropriately the winged Goddess, who appears in the distinct type of a Nike holding wreath and trophy-stand on some rare gold coins of Ooerki (see No. VIII; Cat. p. 147). Her name, which, with a slight variation, is written both OANINΔA and OANINΔO, induces me, in conjunction with the very characteristic type, to identify her with the female genius, whose name vanainiti uparatat 'victorious superiority' is invariably coupled in all formulas and invocations of the Avesta with that of Verethraghna (comp., e.g., Yagna I. 6, Vished 1, 6, Yasht XIV, 10).

We prefer this explanation all the more to the hitherto accepted theory, which identified OANINΔA with the star Vanan (a male deity!), as it disposes effectually with the two difficulties involved by the latter; both the female representation of OANINΔA and the Iota of the name are now easily accounted for, the former by the feminine gender of vanainiti (uparatat), and the latter by the well-known phonetic influence of epenthetic i."

Inasmuch as the deity BIZΑΓo is found only on coins of Huviska, and the king's effigy is more like that of Huviska than that of Kaniska, I am of opinion that this coin with the effigies of BIZΑΓo and OANΔAΔO should be ascribed to Huviska.

UNKNOWN DYNASTY (? of Odumbara.)

VIII. Bhānumitra.

Moderately thick die-struck silver (? base) coin. Diam. 75. Wt. 72 gr. [Talbot.]

Obv. Male figure standing to l., wearing hat and tunic; l. hand on hip, r. arm extended across spear. Remains of legend outside spear. Behind figure, a snake on end.

Rev. A small elephant, with rider, in upper l. field, proceeding to l.

Legend in early Brāhmi characters Śrīmānāvatāra, Śrī-Bhānumitrāsa. The word Śrī is faint, to the l. of the rider's head, but clearly visible on the original coin. The upper part of the m is separated from the lower.

The reading of the reverse legend appears to be certain. The characters seem not to be earlier than B. C. 100 or later than A. D. 100.

This coin belongs to a group which has been described by Cunningham in association with the ancient coins of Odumbara or Kāṅgra.

The coins described by him are those of:

Rāja Mahādeva ... C. Anc. I. p. 68, Pl. IV, 5.
Rāja Rudra Varma ... ibid. " Pl. IV, 6.
Rāja Aja Mitra ... " p. 69, Pl. IV, 7.

1 "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins," Stein (Oriental and Babylonian Record, August, 1887). J. i. 18.
Rāja Mahi Mitra  ... ibid. p. 69, Pl. IV, 8, 9.
Rāja ? Dhara  ...  ...  ...  ...  Pl. IV, 10.
Rāja Bhānu Mitra  ...  ...  ...  ...  Pl. IV, 12.
Ditto do.  ...  ...  ...  ...  Pl. IV, 13.

But none of Cunningham’s coins agrees exactly with Mr. Talbot’s. The male figure device (which Cunningham calls reverse) of his figure 10 is identical with that of the piece now published, but the elephant side of Cunningham’s coin had the legend in Kharoṣṭhī, not in Brāhmi characters.

Cunningham’s fig. 12 depicts a coin which must, I think, be attributed to the same king as Mr. Talbot’s coin. It is thus described:—

“Plate IV, Fig. 12. Æ. 0·55, weight 32 grains. Author.
Obv.—Elephant to l. Arian legend, Rajna Bhānu Mitasa.
Rev.—Bodhi tree and two Symbols, snake below. Indian legend, [Rajna] Bhānu Mitasa.”

The combination of the snake and elephant connects it with Mr. Talbot’s coin.

But I am doubtful as to the attribution of Cunningham’s figure 13, which is thus described:—

“Plate IV., Fig. 13. Æ. 0·4. Weight 16 grains. Author.
Obv.—Symbols as on reverse of figure 12. Indian legend Bhānu Mitasa.
Rev.—Rayed disc of Sun (Bhānu) above a Buddhist railing.”

So far as I can see, the symbols on fig. 13 are not exactly the same as those on the reverse of figure 12.

In fact, the coin depicted in Plate IV, 13, is a duplicate of the small coin of Bhānumitra depicted in Plate VII, 9, among the Pañcāla or Ahichatra coins. The Mitra coins do not invariably exhibit the characteristic incuse square.

When describing a small Bull and Bodhi-tree coin of [A] gi Mitra with incuse, Cunningham (Pl. VII, 16, page 83) observes that ‘this coin may, perhaps, belong to the Pañjab.’

Mr. L. White King possesses two minute coins of Bhadra Grh5sa. One, of which I have a duplicate, is like Cunningham’s Pl. VII, 11, with incuse distinct. The other has no distinct incuse.

The small coin of Bhānumitra figured in J. A. S. B. Pt. I for 1880 (Vol. XLIX), Pl. III, 8, shows the incuse square distinctly, and agrees in this respect with the ordinary Ahichatra coins. That piece was found at Ahichatra. Otherwise it agrees with Cunningham’s Pl. IV, 13, and VII, 9, neither of which has any distinct incuse square.

Cunningham’s treatment of the various Mitra coins of Ayōdhyā, Ahichatra, and the Pañjab leaves much to be desired.
The Ahichatra coins were very fully described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlileyle in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIX, for 1880, Pt. I. pp. 27, 87, 138, Plates III, VII, VIII, IX, XVI, XVII.
The relations between the various groups of Mitra coins are extremely obscure.

The Lahore Museum (Catal., Part III, p. 126) possesses three specimens of Bhānumitra's coinage. No. 1, apparently a copper coin, weight 15 grains, and diam. *53. The type seems to be the same as that of Mr. Talbot's coin. No. 2, weight 35, diam. '50, resembles Cunningham's Pl. IV, 12. No. 3, weight 42, diam. '6, seems to be a slight variety of No. 2.

The Indian Museum seems to possess no coins of Bhānumitra.

IX. Toramāṇa.

Copper. Diam. '65. Wt. 55 gr. Bought from Mr. Rodgers, who obtained the coin at Hōshyārpur in the lower hills of the Jālandhar District, Panjab. [V. A. Smith.]

Obv. King standing to front, r. arm bent, and probably holding arrow or sword; body bent at waist; l. hand grasping by middle bow with string turned outwards. Obscure, illegible characters under king's arm.

Rev. Sun in upper field, Below, तोर, Tōra, in large bold characters.
Dotted circle.

This coin is a variety of the hitherto unique coin belonging to Mr. Theobald, which was published by Cunningham in Num. Chron. for 1894, p. 280, Pl. IX. (VII), fig. 17, and again by me in J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 198, with woodcut. The coin first published had the string of the bow turned inwards.

X. White Hun.

Copper or bronze, rather thick; diam. '65; weight 49 gr. [Rawlins].

Obv.—Bust to r. Faint legend in small apparently Brāhmi characters in front of face, पला—Pāla—?

Rev.—Device obscure; it seems to me intended for a cock standing to l., with tail raised. Dotted circle.

This coin clearly belongs to the White Hun group, but I cannot further assign it.

XI. Unknown.

Base metal. Diam. '55. Wt. 43 gr. From Rāwalpindi. [V. A. Smith.]

Obv.—Concave, with a peculiar wheel-like device.
Rev. Convex blank.

I cannot guess what this piece is, and am not certain that it is a coin.
It seems to belong to the class noticed by Thomas in the following words:

"In this instance, the square die is driven home upon one surface so as to give the coin a concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank. The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil. These coins are, as far as I know, unpublished; I have never met with any in the entire course of my own somewhat comprehensive search after local antiquities, nor am I aware from what section of the country the examples I quote were obtained; they now form part of the late Lord Auckland's collection in the British Museum. They are composed of silver considerably alloyed, and weigh from thirty-five up to forty-one grains." (Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I, 213).
The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—By William Irvine, Bengal Civil Service (Retired).

[Read March, 1898.]

The following article is in continuation of that appearing on pp. 136–212 of the Journal for 1896, Vol. LXXV Part I.

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CHAPTER IV.

Farrukhsiyar.

1. The march from Agrah to Dihli.

In the confusion and the darkness the Jāts plundered impartially the baggage of both armies. No fitting resting-place for the prince could be found, nothing but a dirty screen, all black from the smoke of cooking, and a small wooden platform. On this latter Farrukhsiyar seated himself and received the homage of his officers. It was not till three days afterwards that Sa'd-ullāh Khān (son of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān), who had been Jahāndār Shāh's Lord Steward, produced the late sovereign's duplicate set of tents, which owing to their erection within a
walled garden, had escaped the plunderers. These were put up for Farrukhsiyar on the site of Jahändär Şāh’s encampment.¹

Having spent the night of the battle (14th Zu-l-Ḥijjah, 11th January, 1713), in the small tent erected on the field, the next morning, after a formal enthronement, Farrukhsiyar offered up his thanksgiving at the shrine of Şāh Muṣṭṭāq, and then marched one and a half kōs to his camp. The Ėrrānı leadership, Cin Qılıc Kān and Muḥammad Amin Kān, Cin, with many others who had served in the army of Jahändär Şāh, tendered their submission. Şarīʿat-ullāh Kān (ʿUbaid-ullāh) was also presented by Sayyid ʿAbd-ullāh Kān. Written orders were issued to Asad Kān and Muḥammad Yār Kān at Dihli, and to many other şūbādārs, enjoining them to seize the fugitive Jahändär Şāh wherever he might be found. At the end of the day His Majesty paid a visit to Ḥusain ʿAli Kān who was confined to his tents by his wounds. After the battle was over, he had been found about midnight lying naked and insensible under a heap of the slain. When informed of the victory, new life was breathed into him. The following day, the 15th (12th January), the emperor attended at the large mosque attached to Akbar’s tomb at Bihishtābād Sikandra, and there heard the Khūṭbāh read in his own name. More nobles and leaders now presented themselves. On this date ʿAbd-ullāh Kān brought in as a prisoner Aʿazzu-d-din, who had been found hiding in the underground chambers of the mansion at Āgra known as Dārā Shukōh’s.² Public rumour asserted that Jahändär Şāh and Zu-l-fiqār Kān had gone to Dihli; the latter had been seen at Mathurā on the way to that place.³

On the 17th (14th January), a move was made to the neighbourhood of Bāgh Nūr Manzil, also known as Bāgh Dahrāh.⁴ The stream of officers lately serving under Jahändär Şāh continued to flow into the camp. As there was still great uncertainty about the future movements of Jahändär Şāh, and a renewal of the struggle by Zu-l-fiqār Kān was feared, it was thought advisable to take steps to secure possession of the capital as quickly as possible. ʿAbd-ullāh Kān

¹  Wārid, 1485.
² Yahya Kān, 121  a, says that Aʿazzu-d-din and his wife were captured in a grove near Āgra, and that Farrukhsiyar ordered them to be kept prisoners. Kām Rāj’s story, 52  a, is that they were found in a milk-seller’s house.
³  Kāmwar Kān, 126, Ijad, 100  b, Wārid, 148  a, Khāfī Kān, II, 724, 727.
⁴ Of this grove the only thing now left is a large well, which from its size is known as the well of the 52 water-bags (Bāwān lāo kī kudā)—Tārīkh-i-Āgra, Ḥusainānī press, Fathīgarh, p. 28. The site is three miles south of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called Khawās purah (private letter from Mīrzā Wiqār ʿAlī Bēg, dated 20th February, 1893). The epithet Nūr Manzil was given with reference to the Emperor Jahāngīr’s name, Nūr-d-din Muḥammad, Maqṣiru-l-umārā, III, 79.
was therefore invested with the usual dress of honour and despatched on this day (14th January, 1713), upon that service. With him went Cin Qilic Khan, Muḥammad Amin Khan, Cin, Ḥāmid Khan, Jān Niṣār Khan, Khwājam Quli Khan, Luṭf-ullāḥ Khan, Šādiq, Turktāz Khan, and others. His orders were to attach all the property of the men belonging to the other side. An imperial rescript was also sent to Asad Khān by the hand of Iḵlās Khān. It was then Farrukhsiyar's intention to follow as speedily as possible with the rest of his troops.¹

On the 18th (15th January, 1713), another visit was paid to Ḥusain 'Āli Khān. The 19th was passed at the Tāj, where the tombs of Shāhjahān and his queen, Mumtāz-i-Maḥal, were visited. The Government of Akbarābād was confirmed to Sayyid Amir Khān, Ṭaḥawī, or Sindhi, (grandson of Qāsim Khān, Namakin).² The jizyah, or poll-tax, was abolished after it had been levied for thirty-four years. On the 20th submissive letters were received from Asad Khān at Dihli, reporting the imprisonment of Jahāndār Shāh and the restraint placed on Zūl-fiqār Khān. As Farrukhsiyar could not trust Asad Khān, it was decided to await full reports from 'Abd-ullāḥ Khān before any further action was taken. On the 22nd the emperor attended the public prayers at the Great Mosque near the Cauk, or market-place, in the city of Āgra, gold and silver coins being scattered on the way. The next day 'Abd-ullāḥ Khān sent the good news from Dihli that Jahāndār Shāh had been made a prisoner and Zūl-fiqār Khān dissuaded from continuing his resistance. As there was no longer the same pressing necessity for haste, re-assuring letters were sent to Asad Khān, and a leisurely advance to Dihli was ordered by the usual stages.³

On the 25th (22nd January, 1713), a start was made for Dihli, the first camp being near Sikandrah. The other marches were, 27th, Sarāe Godrayah, 1st Muḥarram, Irādatnagar, 3rd, a place near Sarāe 'Aẓīm-ābād, between Mathūrā (Islāmābād) and Bindrābān, 5th, Siyā, 6th Shērgarh, 8th, Shāhpur, 9th, Sultānpur, 11th, near Fathpur, 12th, near Qabūlpur, 13th, Isma'ilpur, 15th (10th February, 1713), a grove in Khīzrābād, five miles south of Dihli city.⁴

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad, 150, 151, Kāmwar Khān, 127, Ijad, 104 b, Khāfī Khān, II, 727.
² For this man, see Blochmann, Ain, 470, and Maʿṣiru-l-umāra, III, 74. The rock-salt plates and bottles from which he got his nickname are described in Anand Rām's Mīrāṭu-l-iṣfālāh. For Amir Khān himself, see M-ul-U, I, 303.
³ For abolition of Jizyah, see B. M. No. 1690, fol. 163.
⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 127, 128, Ijad, 105 a. Khāfī Khān, II, 728 and Maʿṣir, I, 318, say the army arrived on the 14th Muḥarram at Bārahpulah, which is 1½ miles nearer the city (Carr Stephen, plate 1). Sarāe Godrayah, Irādatnagar and Shērgarh, I have not traced. Mathūrā and Bindrābān are well known. Siyā (Seyee) and
We now return to Dihli. The first news of Jahândár Sháh’s defeat at Ágrah was received at Dihli after midday on the 15th Zu-l-Ḥijjah (12th January, 1713). We have already described the subsequent arrival there of Zu-l-fíqár Khán and Jahândár Sháh, and the measures adopted by Asad Khán. Sayyid ‘Abd-ulláh Khán, who started from Ágrah on the 17th arrived at Báràpula near Dihli on the 25th Zu-l-Ḥijjah. The principal men of the city came out to pay their respects, and on the same day Zu-l-fíqár Khán, to whom Ikhláš Khán had been sent, rode out to the camp. His interview with the new wazir lasted over an hour. The Sayyids never doubted for a moment that Asad Khán and his son, as soon as they presented themselves, would be admitted to favour and high office. Thus they thought it wisest for their own future benefit, to put the two men under an obligation by acting as their introducers. Sayyid ‘Abd-ulláh Khán promised his predecessor that, if he would entrust himself to his and his brother’s care, they would arrange that he and his father should not only be presented to the new emperor, but that not a hair of their heads should be injured. Visitors returning from the Nawáb’s camp met at the Turkmán gate of the city the retinue of Mahábát Khán, son of Mun’im Khán, who had just been released from prison along with Jahândár Sháh’s other prisoners. Aminu-d-dín Khán, who was one of them, found his way to Mathurá and was presented there to Farrukhsíyár on the 3rd Muḥarram (29th January).

On the 26th Zu-l-Ḥijjah, ‘Abd-ulláh Khán entered the city and occupied the mansion known as Ja’far Khán’s. He busied himself in restoring order in the capital and the rest of the country. Khwája Husain (Khán Daurán), Hifz-ulláh Khán (son of Murtaza Khán), Murid Khán and other partisans of the late emperor were seized and

Sháhpur are on Sheet No. 50, Sulţánpur, Fathpur (F. Biloc, Qábúlpur, and Isma’ílpur on Sheet No. 49 of the Indian Atlas.

1 Among others Mirzá Muḥammad, the historian, with his brother and a cousin, was presented to the Nawáb by Lutf-ulláh Khán Şádiq. Báràpula is 3½ miles south of the Dihlí gate of the modern city (Carr Stephen, Plate 1 and p. 209).

2 Yahyá Khán, 121b, calls the overtures made by Sayyid ‘Abd-ulláh Khán to Asad Khán his “deceit” (fareb).

3 This gate is on the south side of the city, having the Dihlí gate between it and the river. See Constable’s “Hand Atlas,” Plate 47, and Carr Stephen, 244.


5 It had belonged to Kokáltásh Khán and was sometimes called ‘Ali Mardán Khán’s. A’gam Sháh had owned it in ‘Alamgír’s reign—(B.M. 1690, fol. 162a). It was afterwards granted to ‘Abd-ulláh Khán.
their property confiscated. The same course was adopted with the estate of the late Kōkaltāsh Khān (‘Alī Murād). Sabhā Cand, Zū-l-fiqār Khān’s chief man of business, who had been promoted by him to the office of dīwān of the Khālīṣah, or Imperial Revenue Office, with the title of Rājah, was summoned by ‘Abd-ullāh Khān. Finding that this man was sent for, Zū-l-fiqār Khān began to fear for himself, and he told Sabhā Cand not to obey the order. ‘Abd-ullāh Khān sent reassuring messages and advised the ex-wazir not to interfere. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was not satisfied, until in a few days farmāns arrived, addressed to himself and his father, promising them the new emperor’s favour. Some of these letters went so far as to promise his restoration to the office of wazir. As there was no other way out of the difficulty, Sabhā Cand was now sent in charge of Dāvwar Dād Khān to Sayyid ‘Abd-ullāh Khān. Sabhā Cand was put into prison and his house confiscated.1

3. Death of Zū-l-fiqār Khān.

Although one month had barely elapsed since Farrukhsiyar had won an empire almost entirely by the exertions of the two Sayyid brothers, a party adverse to them had already been formed in the imperial camp. At its head was ‘Ubaid-ullāh, Shari’at-ullāh Khān,2 a Turānī, who when qāżī of Dhākah (Dacca) had acquired great influence over Farrukhsiyar. Allied with him were other personal friends and dependents of the new emperor, the principal man being Khwāja ‘Asim (Ashraf Khān),3 a native of Āgrab. Shari’at-ullāh Khān, although possessing little capacity for high office, was a bold ambitious man, whose chief object was to clear his own road to power by destroying as many as possible of the old nobility, and sowing in Farrukhsiyar’s heart the seeds of suspicion against the Sayyids, whom he hoped soon to supplant.4

When it was known in Farrukhsiyar’s entourage that Zū-l-fiqār Khān had visited ‘Abd-ullāh Khān and that some kind of friendly proposals had been interchanged, it was resolved to interfere at once.5 The

1 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 158.
2 Afterwards Mir Jumla. To give him a status in the court he had been, made dārūqta of the pages (Khawāss), on the 20th Zūl-Hijjah (17th January, 1713) and the title of ‘Ībād-ullāh Khān was conferred on the 26th of that month.
3 Afterwards Šamsam-du-daulah, Khān Daurān, who was made dārūqta of the Audience Hall on the 1st Muharram (27th January, 1713).
4 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 158, 159.
5 Yahyā Khān, 121b, makes out that Farrukhsiyar asked the Sayyids for advice as to the conduct to be pursued towards Jahāndār Shāh, Asad Khān, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. ‘Abd-ullāh Khān, Ḥusain Ali Khān and Lācin Bēg held that on no J. 1. 19
man selected as their envoy was one Muhammad Ja'far, who had long been steward to Farrukhsiyyar and had lately been raised to the title of Taqarrub Khan. As he was a native of Iran, it was thought that he would be more trusted than any one else by Asad Khan and Zü-l-fiqär Khan, who were also from that country. Taqarrub Khan swore the most solemn oaths on the qurān that no harm should happen to Asad Khan or his son. He hinted to them that it was dangerous to accept an introduction through the Sayyid brothers, as in secret Farrukhsiyyar was already displeased with them, and was not likely to turn a gracious ear to any representation from them. Persuaded by these arguments, Asad Khan proposed that he and Zü-l-fiqär Khan should set out together. His son preferred that, in the first instance, Asad Khan should go alone, that they might see what sort of fate was in store for them. Asad Khan would not listen to any such proposal. He was convinced that, as their services could not be dispensed with, no harm could come to them. Finally on the 15th Muḥarram the two nobles accompanied Taqarrub Khan to the camp at Khizrabad and passed the night in their own tents, it being arranged that they should be received in the morning. Their too ready acquiescence bears out the truth of the proverb, "When Death arrives, the physician becomes a simpleton."  

We are told by Wārid, I know not with what amount of truth, that after Zu-l-fiqär Khan's death the hand which Taqarrub Khan had employed in taking the false oath on the qurān began at once to wither. He could not move it, and it grew continually worse. He lived on asses' milk, he tried every remedy, nothing was of the least use. Thus the hand remained a witness to his false oath until three years afterwards his end came.

On the 16th Muḥarram the presentation of Asad Khan and his son took place. Zü-l-fiqär Khan, as he entered the imperial enclosure, felt a presentiment of his impending doom. He said to his father that he would withdraw and greet the Emperor the next day, when on his march into the city. Asad Khan lost his temper and gave a sharp answer. Zü-l-fiqär Khan was silenced, and they entered the enclosure account could they be allowed to live. Thereupon Farrukhsiyyar decided that Asad Khan was innocent; but they were at liberty to kill the other two.  

1 Yahyā Khan, 121b, cīn qaṣā āyad, ṭabīb ablāh shawad. Mīrza Muḥammad, 159, Kāmwar Khan, 129, Wārid, 113, Khaṭṭī Khan, II, 732, 733.  

2 T. Kh. died on the 9th Rabi' II, 1128, 1st April, 1716, Tārīkh-i-Mhdī. Mīrza Mḥd., 261, says he died of diqqu (hectic fever, consumption, atrophy), of which he had been seriously ill for one year. He left sons, one of whom, Tahir Khan, was on the 7th Jumādī II, 1128 II. created Taqarrub Khan, see Kāmwar Khan, 163, 164.
Asad Khan went into the Justice Hall and sat down. His presence was announced to the Emperor. Farrukhsiyar came from the Chaplet tent (tasbih-khāna) and Asad Khan rose, made his bow, and pronounced his salutation. The emperor advanced quickly, embraced him, took his two hands, and seated him close to himself. Many flattering remarks were pronounced and robes and jewels were brought, with which he was then and there invested. Asad Khan now said, "I have brought a culprit with me, may I hope for the pardon of his offences?" The Emperor replied, "Brother, let him be brought in." Zu-l-fiqār Khan came in, unarmed, his two hands tied together, and stood before the sovereign. Farrukhsiyar, making a gesture of repugnance at seeing his hands tied, ordered them in an agitated voice to be untied. The Khan was then told to approach. He came and fell at the emperor's feet, but he was raised up and embraced and kindly spoken to. A robe of honour and jewels were brought for him. Farrukhsiyar then, addressing Asad Khan, said that he was just on the point of starting for a visit to the shrine of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya, he (Asad Khan) had better go home and "Brother," that is, Zu-l-fiqār Khan, would remain. Before their arrival, the orders for the visit to the shrine had been given, and the imperial retinue and the men of the Haft caiikl (personal guard) had all assembled.

Asad Khan returned to his tents and Zu-l-fiqār Khan remained in the emperor's camp. Farrukhsiyar rose and went out, saying to Zu-l-fiqār Khan, "I am going now; I must get something to eat and see " to my equipage; I will send some food for you, you can eat it here." He then went inside, leaving Zu-l-fiqār Khan seated with Khwāja 'Āsim. In a few moments trays from the imperial table were brought. Fearing that the food might be poisoned, Zu-l-fiqār Khan hesitated to eat. Khwāja 'Āsim, penetrating his thoughts, said: "If his lordship permit, this slave, too, will take a share." Thus reassured Zu-l-fiqār

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1 Mirzā Muḥammad's account of Zu-l-fiqār Khan's death was obtained from a friend, whose truthfulness he fully believed in. This gentleman had gone that morning, in Indian fashion, with a dāli or basket of fruit and vegetables from his own garden, to be laid at the new emperor's feet. By this means he had been admitted into the Privy Chamber and Justice Hall. Before he could come out, the approach of Asad Khan and his son was announced. When he tried to make his exit, he found that of those inside no one was allowed to leave the place. He was thus a witness of all that happened (M. Mḥd., 161, 162).

2 Kamwar Khan, 130, says "the Qutbān-l-aqtāb," i.e., the shrine of Khwāja Qutbuddin, Balchtiyari.

3 M. Mḥd., 160-2, Ijad 119 b, Wārid, 114.

4 He had just been made Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Ijad, 119 a. His titles were afterwards added to, and he became Şamsāmu-d-daulah, Mansūr Jang.
Khan began to eat. The Khwaja then remarked that to eat food in the tent used as Hall of Justice was not fitting, had they not better move to the screens outside and eat there? It so happened that two canvas screens had been put up in the space before the Hall of Justice, an entrance having been left at one end only. The two nobles came out. As soon as Zulfiqar Khan had entered within the screens, and while Khwaja 'Asim was still outside them, the tent-pitchers with the greatest expedition brought the screens together and closed the entrance. In an instant about two hundred men, each armed with sword and shield, sprang from their place of concealment and drew up round the screen, shoulder to shoulder, leaving no space whatever between them. When the capture was reported to Farrukhisiyar who was seated in the Chaplet tent (tasbih-khana), 'Ibad-ullah Khan, darogha of the Pages, was sent out. Entering between the screens, he said loudly, "His Majesty asks what reason there was for you to imprison Muhammad "Kam Bakhsh and inflict injury on his followers. Does it accord with the rules of loyalty and of submission to a gracious master to act thus to his sons?" Zulfiqar Khan answered:

"The imprisonment of Kam Bakhsh was by his father's order; I was 'Alamgir's servant and Kam Bakhsh, his son. If he had told me to make my father a prisoner, I should have obeyed."

After each answer 'Ibad-ullah Khan returned to Farrukhisiyar and came back with a new demand. The questions and answers continued on this wise as follows:

"You were generalissimo and chief adviser of Muhammad 'Azam Shah. Was it fitting for a general to flee, as you did, and leave his prince all alone?"

"As long as he was alive, I remained with him; when he was slain, what right had I to continue a contest in the field."

"What was your quarrel with the martyred Prince, (i.e. 'Azimu-sh-shan, Farrukhisiyar's father)?"

"He did not look on me with favour, thus I was not in a position to join his side. All the officers of the State took one side or another. I, too, took a side; nor did I thereby commit any crime."

"Why did you kill Mukhlas Khan and Rustam Dil Khan?"

"I had nothing to do with that matter. These things were done on the advice and by the instigation of Kokaltash Khan."

"All the other princes survive: what was Muhammad Karim's offence that you should seize him, bring him to your house, and slay

1 Afterwards Mir Jumla, Mu'azzam Khan, Khan Khannan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang.
“him? Are you not aware that he was our brother, and that his “blood cannot go unavenged?”

Zü-l-fiqār Khān, by this time, knew that his death was resolved on, and that any further display of meekness would avail him nothing. He changed his tone and returning taunt for taunt, cursed Farrukhisiyar and said, “If you want to kill me, kill me in any way you like, what is the use of all this talk.” Upon this Lācin Beg and several Qalmaq slaves fell upon him, threw him to the ground, twisted the strap from a shield round his throat and strangled him. The others stamped upon his chest till the breath left him. But to make quite sure a dagger was plunged into his body several times. Ropes were tied to his feet and he was dragged to the outside of the railing in front of the public Audience Hall. There the body was left exposed. Officials were deputed to confiscate the houses and property of both father and son. Zü-l-fiqār Khān’s retinue, which was drawn up outside the artillery park at the entrance of the camp, dispersed on hearing what had happened, and the men sought safety wherever they could find it. All this took place at the time of afternoon prayer.

The official statement of the case against Zü-l-fiqār Khān, as found in Ījad, whose narrative was corrected weekly by Farrukhisiyar himself, follows the lines of the conversation reproduced above. The misleading letters and messages sent to him through Taqarrub Khān are exultingly referred to as an exhibition of consummate policy and statesmanship.

4. Death of Jahāndār Shāh.

On the same day that saw the end of Zü-l-fiqār Khān (16th Muḥarram, 1125 H., 11th Feb., 1713), Saif-ullāh Khān was sent to the citadel with a letter in Farrukhisiyar’s own hand-writing addressed to Muḥammad Yār Khān. The nāẓim, although sorrowful at Jahāndār Shāh’s fate, complied with the order and admitted the messengers. When the group of men entered the prison room, Lāl Kumwār shrieked,

1 Mirzā Muḥammad, 163-166.
2 The name is sometimes given as Ilāqī Bēg and Dilāqīn Bēg. Ījad, 115 b, and Kamwar Khān, 130, say “Nūr Bēg and other Qalmaqs of the brotherhood of Ilāqī Bēg.” Khāfi Khān, II, 734, has Lācīn Bēg (Bahādur Dil Khān) “or as some say, one of the celās.” Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 172, describes the man as a servant of Khvāja Qutbuddīn, son of Maulānā Shārf Husain, Kajjīyah (?). He received the title of Bahādur Dil Khān at the request of Mir Jumlaḥ.
3 M. Mḥd. 166, Khāfi Khān, II, 734.
4 Ījad, 116 a, Khizāmah-i-āmirah, 28.
5 B.M. No. 1690, fol. 162 a says Taqarrub Khān (alīnus Nusrat Khān), Yahyā Bēg, was the messenger.
clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahândâr Shâh, they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off. Word was sent to the nâzîm that life was extinct, that an executioner was needed to cut off the head. Muḥammad Yâr Khân, who was standing down below, bathed in cold perspiration, answered “What is left for an executioner to do? Cut off his head, and carry it to His Majesty.” They cut it off. The body was then thrown into an open litter (miyāna) and the head placed on a tray (khwân). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the emperor’s tents, alongside the body of Zu-l-fiqâr Khân. Lâl Kumwâr was sent to the settlement of Suhâgpura, where the widows and families of deceased emperors lived in retirement. ¹

5. Procession into Dihlî.

Next morning, the 17th Muharram (12th February, 1713), Farrukhsiyar left Khâzrâbâd and marching in state into Dihlî took possession of the palace and its citadel. The artillery of all sorts went in front. Behind the guns came the new emperor mounted on an elephant, and at his back sat ʿĪbâd-ullâh Khân (Mir Jumlah) waving a peacock fan over his master’s head. Largesse was scattered among the crowd as he went by. The head of Jahândâr Shâh was carried on the point of a long bambû held by an executioner seated on an elephant; his body was laid across the back of another elephant. The corpse of Zu-l-fiqâr Khân, with head and feet bare, was tied by the feet to the tail of a third elephant. These followed about one hundred yards behind the elephant on which the emperor rode. The procession was met by Sayyid ʿAbd-ullâh Khân (now Qâṭbu-l-mulk) near the city wall, at the inside of the Dihlî gate. The crowd in the streets was immense, a greater had rarely been seen. Some of the spectators were unable to restrain their grief, their eyes filled with tears, lumps formed in their throats, and they muttered to each other, under their breath,

¹ Kâmwar Khân, 130, Ijad, 122 a, Khâfi Khân, II, 734, Khushhâl Cand, 395 a, Rustam ʿAlî, 225 b. Suhâgpura (Hamlet of Happy Wives) or the Bêwa-Khâna (Widow-house) was one of the establishments (Kârkhanajât) attached to the Court “where in the practice of resignation they pass their lives, receiving rations “and a monthly allowance,” Dastûru-l-ʿamal, B. M. No. 6598, fol. 55 a. The name, Suhâgpura, may have been due to delicacy for the feelings of the ladies, or it was perhaps given in derision.
"Glory be to God! Yesterday lords over thousands, to-day fallen into this calamity." 1

The bodies of the unfortunate Jahāndār Shāh and of his wazir were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Dihli gate of the palace. Asad Khān’s family, taking with them nothing but the clothes they had on, were removed in palkis from their house to one known as the pēškhāna of Khān Jahān where they were kept under surveillance; and Taqarrub Khān, the new Khānsāmān or Lord Steward, brought in two elephants loaded with the jewels and jewelled vessels from Asad Khān’s house, and also sixty-two of his horses. The fallen viceroy himself had been forced to appear in the triumphal procession into Dihli, seated in a palki and accompanied by a few men on foot, all that was left of his former grandeur. At the Akbarābādī mosque he was halted, and there he sat in his palki unheeded for four or five hours, until Farrukhisiyar ordered his removal with his women to the office rooms of the Diwān above referred to. Some temporary screens were put up, and there he and his family sought shelter. Food was sent to them at night by Husain ‘Ali Khān. 2

It was not till the 19th (14th February, 1713), that Arslān Khān received orders to bury the bodies of the murdered Jahāndār Shāh and Zūl-fiqār Khān. The prince was laid in the vault of the emperor Humayūn’s tomb, at the side of other members of the family. Zūl-fiqār Khān’s remains were interred close to the shrine of Shaikh ‘Aṭā-ullāh, which is situated at the gateway of the same tomb. Zūl-fiqār Khān was a little over fifty-nine (lunar) years of age at the time of his death; he left no sons. No memorial was erected over him for several years. At length some of his eunuchs, who had been transferred to Sayyid Husain ‘Ali Khān, mentioned this fact to their new master. The Sayyid ordered a tomb to be built, and on a tablet were inscribed the following lines, composed by Asad Khān:

هاتف شام غریبان با دو چشم خرس چشان
گفت ابراهیم اسماعیل را قریان نمود

1 Mīrzā Mīd., 168, Ijād, 123, Khūshhāl Cand, 395–b. The Dihli gate is on the south side of the city, it is the one nearest the Jumna. Mīrzā Muhammad and his brother witnessed the entry into Dihli from the roof of the Akbarābādī mosque, which is in the Faiz Bāzār, the street running north and south from the Dihli gate of the city to the Dihli gate of the fort. (Aṣāra-y-i-sanādīd, 70, Carr Stephen, 246, 248). Khūshhāl Cand, also, was one of the onlookers and “into the skirt of this humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven māshas.”

i.e., "A hidden voice, lamenting with blood suffused eyes, said, 'Ibrāhīm made of Ismā’īl a sacrifice’” (1125-H.).

In connection with these lines, Wārid tells a story in praise of Asad Khan’s strength of mind and vigour of intellect, even at the extreme age that he had then reached, which, if true, would seem rather to prove his want of common feeling. At the moment that his son’s death was announced to him, he hung his head for a little while, and then said to the bystanders, "My thoughts repeatedly recur to the words 'Ibrāhīm made of Ismā’īl a sacrifice.’” As the numerical value of the letters in these words accords with the year of Zu-l-fiqār’s death, the coincidence, if the words came spontaneously into his mind, was very wonderful. If not, this excogitating of a numerical puzzle was a curious use of the first moments following the news of an eldest son’s violent death. As there was no member of the family left to support its name and fame, and Asad Khan now disappears from our history, it will be sufficient to note that he survived until the 25th Jumādā I 1128 H. (15th June, 1716), when he passed away at the great age of eighty-eight lunar years.

Zu-l-fiqār Khān had obtained great renown as a soldier in the Dakhin, and there can be no question that he was a man of great experience in matters of state. But during the period that we are treating, commencing with the battle between A’zam Shāh and Bahādūr Shāh in 1707, his generalship was prudently displayed more in furthering his own interests than in winning battles for the master that he might be serving at the moment. Dānishmand Khān (‘Ali) has a passage, taunting him with his conduct in the battle of Jajau, and accusing him of acting on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour. An anecdotist states that Zu-l-fiqār Khān offered the poet and historian a large sum if he would erase this passage from his work, but to ‘Ali’s credit be it said, the words still stand in the copies which have come down to us.

1 The father’s original name was Ibrāhīm and the son’s ‘Ismā’īl, Ijad, 127-b, Wārid, 147-a, Khunshāl Cand, 395-a.
2 Wārid, 146-b, Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī, year 1128-H., Kāmwar Khān, 165. Ma’āṣiru-l-umrārā, II, 319, says 94 years; also Khāfī Khān, II, 771, where the year is 1129-II. Kām Rāj makes the age 98 years. An allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year had been given to him by Farrukhsiyar, B. M. Or. 1690, fol., 164a.
3 Anand Rām, Mukhliṣ, "Camanistān,” p. 22.
4 Bahādūr-shāh Nāma, B. M. Or. 24, fol. 37b. “The first to show his back was Muḥammad Ismā’īl, entitled Zu-l-fiqār Khān. To A’zam Shāh’s face he made great protestations, but instead of sacrificing his life, he made off at the earliest moment. Receiving from an arrow a skin wound near the mouth, he cast away his honour through excessive love of life. If he is abhorrent (malvūn) to the
The greatest blot on the life of Asad Khan and Zu-l-fiqar Khan is, however, the base ingratitude displayed towards Jahandar Shah. Even native historians do not defend this act of treachery. Jahandar Shah had many claims upon them for favours conferred; and he had placed his life in their hands. If Asad Khan had thought fit to excuse himself from joining any further in the prince's fortunes, he should have left it open for the fugitive to seek some other refuge. But he should not have seized him or delivered him over to his mortal enemy to be killed with indignity. Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khan was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long-suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome presence. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to the lowly, and of ostentation and hauteur to your equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked, or as it is put, "he threw without intermission double-six "from the dice-box of desire."  


On the way from Agrali to Dihli, and after arrival at Dihli, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Khan (now made Nawab Qutbu-l-mulk, Yaminu-d-daulah, Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Khan, Bahadur, Zafar Jang, Sipah-salar, Yar-i-wafadar) became chief minister. The diwan-i-Khaliṣah, or Exchequer Office, was given to Muhammad Bāqir, Muta'mid Khan, who had been for a time Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah's lord steward, and then diwan, or comptroller of the household, to Prince Jahān Shah; the diwan-i-tan went to Lutf-ullah Khan, Bahadur, Ṣadiq, who in Bahadur Shah's reign was agent at Court of Prince Jahān Shah, and in Jahandar Shah's was comptroller (diwan) to that sovereign's eldest son, A'azzu-d-din. Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khan, was appointed first Bakhshi with the titles of Um-datu-l-mulk, Amiru-l-umara, Bahadur, Firuz Jang, Sipah-sardar. As the reward for the Turani betrayal of Jahandar Shah, the place of second bakhshi was conferred on Muhammad Amin Khan, Cin, Bahadur, who now became Itimādu-d-daulah, Naṣrat Jang. The third bakhshi "people, his excuse is notorious (ma'lūm). He had risen to fame and place in the "Dakhin; from his youth up, his training in valour had been in running after "the traces of the Marathas, a tribe of cats, whose occupation is robbing and "running away. He had never seen a battle between kings; had never met in "battle field with tigers from the forest of valour. In brief, to stand firm in such "violent contests you must be a hero."  

1 Ma'aṣiru-l-umara, II, 317, 318.
2 Shiv Dās, fol. 2, has Maṇṣūr Jang, which seems a mistake.
was Afrāṣ-yāb Khān, Bahādūr, a Wālāshāhī, or personal follower of Farrukhsīyar, with whom he had been in Bengal and had there taught him wrestling. The pay-mastership of the Aḥadis was given to Qamaru-d-din Khān, Bahādūr, son of the above-named Muḥammad-Aūn Khān. Islām Khān (grandson of the late Islām Khān), formerly Mīr Āṭash to Bahādūr Shāh, who had retired from court, was restored to his rank of 5,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed to be first Mīr Tozak, or quarter-master-general. For the period of one month from the victory at Āgrah, Sa’d-ullah Khān (son of ‘Inayat-ullāh Khān, Kashmīrī) was continued in the office of Khānsāmān, or Lord High Steward; but at the camp in Khizrābād, this office was transferred to Taqarrub Khān (Muḥammad Ja’far, Shīrāzī), who already held the place of Private secretary.

Some smaller court offices were conferred on Farrukhsīyar’s personal favourites. Although these offices were of the second rank, their holders exercised, as we shall soon see, as much if not more power than the nobles who were nominally their superiors. For instance, against the opinion of Mīr Jumlah, who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, the chief minister himself found it impossible to act. The office of Confiscations and Escheats (buyūtdāt) was given to Saif-ullāh Khān, Bahādūr, a Wālāshāhī; Khwaja ‘Āsim, now created Şamsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, Bahādūr, Mānṣūr Jang, was superintendent of the Audience Hall and Bakhshi of the personal

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1 Afrāṣ-yāb Khān, Bahādūr, Rustam Jang, was Suhrāb, known as Mīrzā Ajmērī son of Garshāsp. He died at Dihli on the night of the 25th Ramażān, 1130 H., 21st August, 1718, Tāriḵ-i-Muḥābbat. His elder brother was the Rashid Khān sent in 1124 H., 1712, to oust Jaffar Khān, nāzīm of Bengal, Gladwin, “Transactions,” 96. Mīrzā Ajmērī was of such strength that once he lifted a small gun and its carriage out of the mud on the road from Akbarnagar to Rāj Māhāl, Aḵbār-i-Muḥabbat, 277.

2 Aḥadī (one, single) means a gentleman trooper serving under no chief or noble, but directly under the Emperor.

3 This Islām Khān (d. 1144 H., 1731-2), was one Mīr Aḥmad, first Barkhurduār Khān, then Islām Khān, son of Ṣāfī Khān (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), the second son of ‘Abdu-s-salām, first Ikhītṣāṣ Khān, then Islām Khān, Mashhādā, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), M.-u.l-u., I, 162, II, 740.

4 His former titles were Hidāyat-ullāh Khān, and then for a time, after the death of Mīn‘īm Khān, Bahādūr Shah’s Wazīr, he was Wazārāt Khān. We shall speak of this man again presently.

5 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 169, Kāmwar Khān, 121, 143, Ṣāfī Khān, II, 728, Wārid, 149b, Kam Rāj, ‘Ibrātnāmah, 538. Khāfī Khān says the third bakhshi was Ghāzin-d-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Bāgī). Yāḥyā Khān, 122a, on the contrary, says that this man was made Mīr Āṭash. This latter statement is confirmed by Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 170, the date being 12th Sha‘bān, 1125 H., (2nd September, 1713), vice Zū-ḥi-fāqīr Khān (Ghulām ‘Ali Khān).
troops, or Wālā-shāhī; 'Ībād-ullāh (Shāri'at-ullāh Khān) created Mutamidul-mulk, Mir Jumlah, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muṣaffar Jang, held the office of superintendent of the Khawāṣṣ, or attendants, and of the ghusl-khāna, or privy council room. Ghulām 'Ali Khān, a wālā-shāhī, received the title of Zūl-fiqār Khān, Bahādur, and the command of the artillery; being soon supplanted, however, (12th Sha'bān 1125 H., 2nd September, 1713), by Ghuziu-d-din Khān (Ahmad Bég). This latter had already obtained charge of the retinue (jalau), vice Islām Khān, who had held it in addition to his principal office of Mir Tozak. The command of the cauki-khāss, or bodyguard, was made over to Faiz-ullāh Khān, a wālā-shāhī. Aminu-d-din Khān, Sambhalī, became head of the 'Arz Mukarrar, or office for the examination and confirmation of appointments. The department of Branding and Mustering (dāghk-o-taʃihah) was given to Sayyid Shuja'at-ullāh Khān, Bārhah, sister's son of Quṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazir. At first Fīdā Khān 1 was retained, as in Bahādur Shāh's and Jahāndār Shāh's time, as qūr-bēgi, or head of the armoury; but the place was shortly afterwards transferred to Amir Khān (Muḥammad Ishaq) 2 son of the late Amir Khān; then in a few months he gave way in favour of Khwāja Muṣaffar, Pānīpatī, now created Zafar Khān, Bahādur, who was known by the nickname of Ṭurrah-i-bāz. 3 The Ṣadārat-i-kull, or superintendence of charitable and religious grants, was given to Sayyid Afzal, who had taught Farrukhsiyar to read the qurān, with the title of Sayyid Afzal Khān, Bahādur, Ṣadr Jahān. 4

The provincial governments were next provided for. Kābul was left in the hands of Naṣir Khān, Bahādur, Naṣir Jang. Kashmir was taken from 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, whose maḥṣab even was cancelled, and

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1 Formerly Tahavvur Khān, then Fīdā Khān, son of Salābat Khān, Khwāja Mir, Khwāfī, (d. early in 1104 H., 1693-4), M.-ul-u., II, 742, 745.
3 Ṭurrah, waving ringlets, or the hanging end of a turban; Ṭurrah-i-bāz, 'a falcon's crest.' Zafar Khān and all his men wore their turbans in the same way, with an end sticking out, and from this peculiarity the nickname arose. Khushhāl Cand, 403b, explains that the Ṭurrah were of gold and silk brocade (bādalah), and were used extensively as ornaments to Zafar Khān’s equipage. In lot No. 698 in B. Quaritch’s catalogue, No. 161, of July 1896, there was a portrait of Rōshaniu-d-daulah (i.e., Zafar Khān) which I inspected. It showed a rather stout and not very tall man, with a broad and slightly heavy face, white beard and moustache, the latter slightly black still at the corners of the mouth. To the band or ribbon round the centre of the turban was attached an ornament (sarpec) and from it hung a long feather, falling backwards and ending in two small points. Perhaps this feather represents the Ṭurrah-i-bāz?
4 Mirzā Muḥammad, 169.
he was replaced by Sādāt Khān, the new Emperor's father-in-law, to whom permission to govern by deputy was accorded. Zabardast Khān entitled 'Ali Mardān Khān (III), son of Ibrāhīm Khān, ‘Ali Mardān Khān (II), son of Amīru-l-umāra, ‘Ali Mardān Khān (I) died at Lāhōr before he could be removed; he was replaced by ‘Abdu-s-ṣamad Khān, Bahādur, (subsequently made Dīlēr Jang, after his victories over the Sikhs). Mūlțān was conferred on Qūṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazir, but Shōr Afgan Khān, Bahādur, (brother of Lutf-ullāh Khān, Sādiq), who had been in charge on behalf of Kokaltāsh Khān (‘Alī Murād) remained as the deputy of the new governor. For the preceding fifteen or sixteen years Dīlēr had been held by Muḥammad Yār Khān, and he was left undisturbed. Ajmēr was made over to Sayyid Muzaffar Khān, Bārhal (recently created Sayyid Khān Jahān, Bahādur), maternal uncle of Qūṭbu-l-mulk. Shahāmat Khān (son-in-law of ‘Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kāshmīrī) who had been governor of Gujarāt in Bahādur Shāh’s reign, received the new title of Mubāriz Khān and was confirmed in his old appointment. Rājāh Chabelah Rām, a personal adherent of Farrukh’s family and a brave soldier, whose welfare was dear to the heart of the Emperor, was sent at first to Āgrah, his birthplace, but on the pretext that he was unable to cope with Curāmān, Jāt, he was soon replaced by Šamsū-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, also a native of Āgrah. Andh was given to Sarbunand Khān, the Emperor’s uncle by marriage, and Allāhābād to Khān Jahān (son of the late Khān Jahān, Bahādur, Kokaltāsh, ‘Ālamgīrī). The latter had been recently removed from the Government of Bengal. His titles were now increased to A’azzu-d-daulah, Khān ‘Ālam, Bahādur. Shahāmat Khān (Mubāriz Khān) had lately held Mālwah in addition to Gujarāt. Mālwah was now taken from him and given over to Rājāh Jai Singh of Āmber. To conciliate the Rājāh, he was told that he need not come to Court, but might march straight from his own country to his new government. ‘Āzīmābād Paṭnāh (Bihar) was confirmed, as before, to Ḥusain ‘Ali Khān, Amīru-l-umāra; his sister’s son, Ghairat Khān, who had been left behind in charge, continuing to act as his deputy. Bengal was conferred on the infant prince, the Emperor’s son, Farkhunda Bakht, entitled Jahāngīr Shāh, with the former diwān, Murshid Quli Khān,

1 Mīr Muḥammad Takkī, Ḥusainaīn, Māzandārānī, Iṣfahānī, son of Sādāt Khān, wounded on the day of Farrukh’s deposition, in Rabī’ 1131 H., February 1719, and died a few days afterwards aged over eighty years—Tārikh-i-Muḥammadī.


3 Chabelā Rām in Mīrzā Muḥammad; sometimes Chabelā Rām in other works.
as his deputy. The latter's titles were increased to Ja'far Khān, Naṣīrī.¹ In a few months' time, when the infant died of small pox, the sūbah was granted to Mir Jumlah, with the same deputy. To Orissa, Murshid Quli Khān (Ja'far Khān) was appointed sūbahdār in his own name.²

For the six provinces making up the Dakhin special arrangements were made. The supreme control of the whole country was confided to Cin Qilic Khān (son of the late Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang), who on this occasion was created Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Fath Jang. He was empowered to select the lands to be held in jāgīr for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, and to suggest the rank (mansāb) to be granted to the chief landholders. His headquarters were fixed at Aurangābād. In Burhānpur his deputy was to be Shukr-ullāh Khān, to make room for whom Dāūd Khān, Pannī, was removed as deputy-governor to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt; in the two Karnātak, Sa'adat-ullāh Khān; in Barār, 'Īwaz Khān, who was married to the late Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān's sister, and was, therefore, Nizāmu-l-mulk's uncle by marriage. Bidar, Bijāpur, and Haidarābād were to remain as before under Amin Khān (son of Khān Zamān, Bahādur, Fath Jang, deceased), Mansūr Khān and Yūsuf Khān respectively. Haidar Quli Khān, Isfārāinī, a protégé of Mir Jumlah, was sent as diwān of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the Nāzīm, of the report writers, and of the deciding of suits.³

The Sayyid brothers are generally accused of grasping all power and office for themselves and friends to the exclusion of everybody else. It is curious to note, after going through the chief appointments, that this accusation should have so little foundation. Besides the two offices which were the price of their services, they received the government of two sūbahs for themselves and one for an uncle. They seem to have

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad gives Ṣadīqī or Ṣadīqī. Naṣīrī or Naṣairī. Naṣīrī means "the prudent," "the circumspect," naṣīrī, "the helper," and Naṣairī "faithful to 'Ali as was Nuṣair," or "one ready to sacrifice his life out of devotion." Anyone of these meanings would be equally appropriate.

² Mirzā Muḥammad, 174.

obtained very little else, while the Emperor’s friends and the Tūrānī chiefs obtained the lion’s share. A crowd of new men were thus brought on the stage, and it is necessary for the sake of clearness that we should say something about the most prominent of them, their origin and antecedents.

7. ʿĪtimādu-daulah Muḥammad Amin Khān, Bahādur, Nuṣrat Jang.

Muḥammad Amin Khān was a native of Samarqand in the kingdom of Bukhārā. His grandfather, Ṭālim Shaikh, a learned man and a descendant of the Shaikh Shahābū-d-dīn, Quraishi, Tarmani, Ṣadiqi, of Sahrward, had two sons, Khwāja ʿAbid and Mir Bahāū-d-dīn. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang; the second son, Mir Bahāū-d-dīn, Muḥammad Amin’s father, entered the employ of the ruler of Bukhārā, and was by him executed on suspicion of complicity with his rebellious son. This event happened about the year 1098 H. (1686-7), when Mir Muḥammad Amin must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favourably received by ʿĀlamgir, then in the Dakhin, by whom he was sent to serve with his cousin, Firūz Jang. In the forty-second year, 1109-10 H., 1697-8, when ʿĀlamgir was anxious to find in the Turānīs a counterpoise to Asad Khān, the Wazir, and his son, Zūl-fiqār Khān, Muḥammad Amin Khān was brought to Court and made ʿṣadr, or head of the charitable and religious endowments. In 1115-16 H., 1704-5, and again in 1116-17 H., his rank was raised in reward for military services, and in the very last year of ʿĀlamgir’s reign (1118 H.), after defeating the Mahrattahs, he received the special addition of Cin Bahāūdūr to his other titles. Although the Turānīs had not shown any great zeal for his rival, Aʿzām Shāh, still Bahāūdūr Shāh did not receive them into the same favour as before. Muḥammad Amin Khān was sent to Murādābād as faujdār; but towards the end of the reign, he was brought back to headquarters, and took a leading part in the campaign against the Sikhs. When Jahāndār Shāh decided to march against Farrukhsiyar, Muḥammad Amin Khān was recalled from Sahrīnd. He was present in Jahāndār Shāh’s ranks at Ágraḥ, but as we have related, took no serious part in the fighting. This betrayal was now rewarded by his appointment to be second Bakhshi of the empire. At this time he was about fifty-two years of age, and since the death of Firūz Jang in 1122 H., 1710-11, he had become the acknowledged leader of the Tūrānī soldiery, his cousin, Cin Qilī Khān (Nīzām-ul-mulk), son of Firūz Jang, being about ten years his junior.1

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1 Maʾāṣiru-l-umārā, I, 346.
8. ŞAMSÅMU-D-AULAH, KHĀN DAURĀN, BAHĀDĪR, MĀNŞŪR JANG.

Khwāja 'Āsim's ancestors, emigrating from a village in Badakhshān, took up their residence in Āgra. Some followed the profession of soldiering, others gained reputation as men of learning and holiness, living secluded from the world. They were of the Naqshbandi sect. His father's name was Khwāja Qāsim: and as his birth took place about 1083 H., 1672-3, he was now about forty-two (lunar) years of age. He began life as a trooper of Prince 'Azimu-sh-shān's regiment, and when that prince, at the time of 'Ālamgīr's death, left Bengal for Āgra, Khwāja 'Āsim remained with Farrukhsiyar in the former province. One author asserts that he had been a play-fellow of Farrukhsiyar's, but as he was at least eleven years older, this can hardly be correct. His intimacy with the prince was founded, however, on his joining him in wrestling, archery, riding, polo playing and other warlike exercises, of which Farrukhsiyar was passionately fond. He soon obtained such great influence with the young prince that the other courtiers complained to 'Azimu-sh-shān. The Khwāja was accordingly sent for to head-quarters at Lāhōr. Soon after this, Bahādur Shāh died and Khwāja 'Āsim (now become Ashraf Khān) upon the death of his master, 'Azimu-sh-shān, fled to Āgra. Here Khwāja Ja'far, his elder brother, tried to make him renounce the world and thus save his soul. For a time he stopped at home and occupied himself with Shirāzi pigeon-fancying and archery. When Farrukhsiyar became next heir to the throne, Khwāja 'Āsim "felt like a falcon newly moulted." He began to collect some men, but his doings were reported to the governor. Being warned by a disciple of a resolve to seize him, he fled at midnight in the disguise of a faqir. On reaching Paṭnāh, he was introduced by the two Sayyids to the prince, his former intimacy with whom is said to have concealed. From this point the part he took has already appeared in our history.1

Khān Daurān was the perfect type of the Indian courtier, and from this time until his death in 1151 H. 1738, he retained his position at Court, whoever was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catch word Mērā šāhib! (my good sir). To conceal his limited acquaintance with Persian, he used to begin by speaking in elegant Urdu, so that he might charm his hearers at the outset and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. He used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous by his own act. But he could quote occasional-

1 M-ul-umārā, I. 817, Aḥwāl-u-khwāqīn, 49b, Tārīkh-i-Muḥammādi (year 1151 H.)
ly with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs. An elder brother had been formerly in the service of 'Azīmu-sh-shāh and was killed in the campaign in Bengal against Raḥīm Khān, Afghān. Much of Khān Daurān's prestige may have been derived from his commanding presence. A contemporary tells us that when he walked up the audience hall with a group of followers, his head would be seen towering far above the others. From all accounts he and his brother, Muẓaffar Khān, were boasters of a most extravagant order, while their courage was more than doubtful. At any rate, they rarely put it to the test. Khān Daurān might, indeed, have qualified as a member of the Peace Society, for whenever the subject was broached, he would ask, “What is to be gained by going to war?” He was one of those men, never absent from Eastern courts, who do absolutely nothing, either in war or in peace, as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue, and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career, he was the favourer of the Hindustānī party in the State, the person through whom Jāt or Rājput chiefs put forward any claim they might wish to advance. Especially was this the case with Rājah Jai Singh, for whom as we shall see, Khān Daurān obtained many favours.1


When Farrukhsiyar first reached 'Azīmābād Paṭnāh, Shāriʿat-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah) and Khwāja 'Āṣim (Khān Daurān) not being present, Aḥmad Bēg became for a time his most active assistant and principal confidant. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahāndār Shāh,2 but having quarrelled with that prince on account of the preference shown for 'Alī Murād, Kokaṭāsh Khān, he sought a refuge in Bengal. When Farrukhsiyar’s more particular favourites returned, they supplanted Aḥmad Bēg in the prince's good graces, and from that time he seems to have fallen a good deal into the back ground. Aḥmad Bēg, a man of Tūrānī race,3 was born about 1076 H. 1665-6. From the scantiness of his beard, he bore the nickname of Kosah, or Goatbeard.4 His further part in history is confined to two occasions, the day of

1 Maʿāṣiru-l-umārā, I, 819, Yahyā Khān, 119b., Aṣhōb, 73.
2 Yahyā Khān, 119a, says he was the nawāsah (daughter’s son) of Qāīm Bēg, Shāḥjāhānī.
3 The Āhwālu-l-khwāqīn, 61a, gives him the epithet of Aḵtārālāb (?).
4 The epithet is borne out by a portrait that I saw lately at Mr. Quaritch’s (one of the drawings mentioned on the cover of his catalogue No. 155, December 1895). Ghālib Jang is shown seated, and is dressed in a pale mauve coat of thin muslin. His beard consists of four or five short, straight hairs.
Farrukhsiyar's deposition, when he fought in the streets on his master's behalf, and again at the time when he took the side of Quṭb-ud-dīn, after the murder of Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. When Muḥammad Shāh pardoned him, it was proposed to take away his title of Ghālib Jang, as it had been granted to a brother of Lutf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq. Ghaziudd-dīn Khān made loud objection, and claimed that, as both he and the new “Conqueror in War” were present, they should fight it out in single combat, the victor becoming in both senses “Ghālib-i-jang.” The emperor smiled and left him in undisturbed possession. He died on the 12th Ṣafar, 1139 H., (8th October, 1726), at the age of sixty-three (lunar) years.

10. Mīr Jumlaḥ.

The name of this man, a native of Samarqand in Tūrān, was ‘Ubaid-ullāh, son of Mīr Muḥammad Wafā, and he was born about the year 1081 H., 1670-I. Early in life he abandoned his native country and repaired to Hindūstān, where he arrived in the reign of ‘Aḥamgīr. He obtained in time the post of Ḥāzī at Jahāngīrnagar Dhākah in sūbah Bengal, and finally the same office at ‘Azīmābād Patṭuḥ in sūbah Bihar. He seems to have wormed himself into the confidence of Prince ‘Azīmu-sh-shāhn, then Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and to have obtained complete control over the mind of his second son, Farrukhsiyah. He was with Prince ‘Azīmu-sh-shāhn at Lāhūr, and as we have already stated, was making his way eastwards to Farrukhsiyah when he met and joined that prince at Ḍharr. He had secured himself a very favourable reception by his successful negotiations with the Tūrānī leaders in Jahāndār Shāh’s army. From this time his name will recur frequently in our narrative. His titles were first Shāri‘at-ullāh Khān, then ‘Ībād-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, and finally Muta‘imidu-1-mulk, Mu‘aẓẓam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, Mīr Jumlaḥ, Tarakhānī, Sulṭānī. He is described by one writer as a man who, in spite of his great learning, was blind to the essential meaning of things.


Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very first rank upon Farrukhsiyah’s accession, was Nizāmu-1-mulk, now a man of nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age, who

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1 Ma‘āṣiru-1-umāra II, 879, Tārīkh-i-Mhdi., year 1139 H.
2 The Ma‘āṣiru-1-umāra has “‘Abd-ullāh” and “‘Ībād-ullāh.” Th commonest form is عبیدالله which may be either ‘Abid-ullāh or ‘Ubaid-ullāh.
was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor, even in 'Ālamgīr's reign. Hitherto, however, he had been overshadowed by his father, Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang, who had died only two years before this time, and by his cousin, a much older man, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, Bahādur. But on Nizāmu-l-mulk's appointment in 1125 H. (1713) to the six sūbahs of the Dakhin, he rose to a position of preeminence, which he never for one moment lost till his death in 1161 H. (1748), thirty-five years afterwards.

As stated a few pages back, when speaking of Muḥammad Amin Khān, the family of Nizāmu-l-mulk came from Samarqand. His great grand-father was 'Ālam Shaikh, son of Allāhādād, son of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, Shaikh 'Azīzān. They are said to have come originally from Sahrward. Khwāja 'Abid, son of 'Ālam Shaikh, moved to Bukhārā, where he was first of all Qāzi, then Shaikhu-l-islām. A year or two before 'Ālamgīr ascended the throne (1066-7 H., 1655-6), he passed through India on his way to Mecca. He returned at the time when 'Ālamgīr was about to start from the Dakhin to seize his father's throne. 'Ālamgīr accepted his services and gave him a high command. He filled various offices, such as that of Ṣadārat-i-kull, or superintendent of endowments, governor of Ajmer, then of Multān. In the twenty-fourth year (1091-2 H., 1680-1) he fell into disgrace, but was soon pardoned and again given the Ṣadārat-i-kull. A year afterwards he was sent to the Dakhin, and then in the twenty-ninth year (1096-7 H., 1684-5), he became governor of Zafarābād Bidar. He continued to serve with distinction in the Dakhin, until on the 24th Rabi' I. 1098 H. (30th January, 1687), at the siege of Gulkandah, he was shot in the arm and died of the wound. In the twenty-third year (1690-1) he had received the title of Qilī Khān. He had five sons, the two youngest of whom died comparatively early in life without rising very high. The second and third sons, Mu'izzu-d-daulah, Ḥāmid Khān, and Naṣīru-d-daulah, 'Abdu-r-raḥīm Khān, were men of some fame and distinction.

\[1\] The table (furnished by the present Nizām) in J. D. B. Gribble's "History of the Deccan," I, 380, gives the same steps in the genealogy thus:

\[\text{Nizāmu-l-mulk, Āṣaf Jāh,}\]

\[\text{Firūz Jang}\]

\[\text{Mīr 'Ābid (Qilī Khān),}\]

\[\text{Khwāja Mīr Ismā'īl}\]

\[\text{Khwāja 'Azīzān (Alūna)}\]

\[\text{Mḥd 'Ālam Shaikh, Ṣadiqī 'Ulvi,}\]

and so on, back to Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr, in the 33rd generation.
But the greatest of all was the eldest son, Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang, and to him we now turn.

Mir Shahābū-d-din was born at Samarqand about the year 1060 H. (1649-50); and followed his father to India in the twelfth year of 'Alamgir (1079-80 H., 1668-9), when he was in his nineteenth or twentieth year. He received the rank of 300 Zāt, 70 horse. His special favour with 'Alamgir began ten years later when, at the peril of his life, he brought speedy information from a general who had been sent in pursuit of the Rānā into the hills of Udaipūr, and of whose safety no tidings could be obtained. For this service he obtained the title of Khān and from that time rose rapidly, especially after he had proved his loyalty by rejecting all advances from the emperor’s rebel son, Prince Akbar. He accompanied the emperor into the Dakhin and took part in all the campaigns there for the succeeding five and twenty years. He conquered Ibrāhimgarh-Ekar (also called Firūz-garh); was conspicuous in the taking of Ḥaidarābād; Adonī (Imtiyāz-garh) also fell before him. He was sent against Čambhājī, son of Čivājī, in 1099-1100 H. (1687-8), and served against Deogarh (Islāmgarh), which he captured. In the forty-eighth year, 1115-16 H., 1703-4, he pursued the Mahrattahs into Mālwah. At the time of 'Alamgir’s death in 1118 H., 1707, he was at Elicpur, in charge of the sūbah of Barār. As we have already recounted (under Bahādur Shāh’s reign), he took no part in the war of succession between A’zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh. The Turānīs were not in favour with the victor, Bahādur Shāh, and thus Firūz Jang was moved out of the Dakhin, where he was dangerous, to the government of Ahmādābād in Gujārāt. There he died on the 17th Shawwal 1122 H. (8th December, 1710) at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. He held the rank of 7,000 gāt. Following the usual Mughal system, his estate was confiscated on his death. It consisted of 1½ lakhs of rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold muhrs, 25,000 Ḥān (gold) and nilm-pāoli (gold), 17,000 gold Pāoli, 400 adhelī (half) and 8,000 whole silver Pāoli, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants.

Ghāziu-d-din Khān is described as the most exceptionally gifted among the Turānī nobles, good-natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator. His first wife was the daughter of Sa’d-ul-lāh Khān,¹ Wazir of Shāhjahan; after her death he married in succession two of her nieces, daughters of her brother, Ḥīfz-ullāh Khān (Miyān Khān), but by these two wives he had no children. For the last twenty years of his life he was totally blind, his sight having been

¹ S. K. died 1066 H., 1665-6, see M-ul-u, II, 441 and T-i-Mādir, year 1066 H.
destroyed by an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. In spite of this privation, his active career continued as before; such a case having been until then unknown in India, of a blind man continuing to command an army in the field or govern a province.

Mir Qamaru-d-din, son of Ghaziu-d-din Khan by the daughter of Shāhjāhān's Wazir, Sa'd-ullāh Khan, was born on the 14th Rabi'il 1082 H., (11th August, 1671). In 1095 H. (1682-3) when in his thirteenth year, he received as his first appointment in the service of the state, the rank of 400 zāt, 100 horse. In the following year the title of Khān was added to his name. In 1101 or 1102 H., (1690-1), he received the title of Cin Qilic Khan, and at 'Alamgir's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was governor of Bijāpur. His father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the sons of 'Alamgir: and when Bahādur Shāh had succeeded in defeating his rival, he removed the Īrānis from the Dakhin, possibly on the advice of Zū-l-fiqār Khan, who looked on them as his personal enemies. Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang, was sent to Ahmādābād in Gujarāt, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, went to Murādābād as faujdār and Cin Qilic Khān was appointed Subahdār of Audh and faujdār of Gōrakhpur (15th Ramadān, 1119 H., 9th December, 1707). At the same time the title of the last named was changed to that of Khān Daurān, Bahādur, and he was raised to 6000 zāt, 6000 horse. A few weeks afterwards (5th Žū-l-Qā'adah, 27th January, 1708), he resigned all his titles and appointments; but at the desire of Mun'im Khān, the Wazir, he withdrew his resignation and was promoted to 7,000 zāt, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Cin Qilic Khān (Khān Daurān as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, 18th Žū-l-Ḥijjah 1122 H., 6th February, 1711; this time it was accepted, and 4,000 rupees a year were granted for his support. Quite at the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign, he returned to the active list with the titles of Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Bahādur, Firūz Jang. On Bahādur Shāh's death, he attempted to espouse the cause of 'Azīmu-sh-shāh, 1

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1 In many works there is a curious mistake as to Nizāmu-l-mulk's age. He is said to have died in 1161 H., (1748), at the age of one hundred and four years. Orme, "Military Transactions," Madras reprint, I, 122, is the first to make this statement. Orme was in Madras at the time of the Nizām's death (1748), and ought to have known the truth; but then he had no knowledge of Persian and no access to written authorities. Grant Duff, "History of the Mahrattahs," Bombay reprint, 265, repeats the statement, probably copying from Orme. Grant Duff was acquainted with both the Ma'āṣiru-l-uimarā, and the Khizānah-i-'āmirah, a reference to either of which would have shown him that Nizāmu-l-mulk's birth year was 1082 H.; and therefore, in 1161 H., when he died, he could have been no more than 79 lunar or 77 solar years of age. This is the age given by Elphinstone, "History," 64.1.
who long before had promised him high office, and he had made one
march from Dihli at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 men, when he heard of
the prince's death. Thereupon he discharged his men and retired into
private life. 'Abdū-š-ṣamad Khān was the brother-in-law of his cousin,
Muḥammad Amin Khān, and this man's services to Zūl-ﬁqār Khān had
been so great, that on his account Cīn Qilīc Khān's hostile attitude was
overlooked. Towards the end of Jahāndār Shāh's short reign, he was
appointed to the defence of Āgra. There he and his cousin were
brought over to Farrukhsīyar's interest, as already related, through
Shārīʿat-ul-lāh Khān (Mir Jumlāh), and as a reward for his neutrality
he was now made governor of the whole Dakhīn, with the new titles
first of Khān Khānān, and then of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Fatḥ
Jang.¹

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¹ Fatḥ Jang is the title by which he is most commonly referred to by Khāfi
Khān. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 399, is the authority for Khān Khānān. For the rest of
the above paragraphs, see Maʿāṣir-i-l-ʿumārā, III, 120 (Qilīc Khān), II, 872, (Fīrūz
Jang), III, 837 and 875-883 (Niẓāmu-l-mulk), also Tārīkh-i-Khurshīd-Jāhī, p. 372
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An unrecorded Governor of Fort William in Bengal.—By C. R. Wilson, M. A.

[Read April, 1898.]

It is well known that the commonly received lists of the early Governors of Bengal are very imperfect. Quite recently, in 1888, Mr. F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of the India Office Records, drew up a statement and memorandum tracing the Bengal Chiefs, Agents, and Governors, from the earliest dates. Yet even he has failed to notice the Governor of whose history this paper is intended to be a brief record. He was, it is true, Governor for little more than a single day, but his life more than covers the interval between Charnock and Clive, and the man himself is an interesting personality in the factory period.

Edward Stephenson¹ was born in Cumberland in the year 1691, his baptism being recorded in the parish register of Crosthwaite under the date of the 8th October of that year. His father was Edward Stephenson of Keswick. Through his mother Rebecca, he was connected with the Winders of Lorton and of the City of London. The pedigree of the Winders of Lorton has been investigated with great care by Mr. F. A. Winder of Southsea, Portsmouth,² to whom I am indebted for much of the information which follows. Here it will be sufficient to say that John Winder of Lorton, who died in May, 1696, left behind a numerous family among whom were his eldest son and heir John Winder, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn; Samuel Winder, a merchant at Mark Lane, London; Jonathan Winder, his third son, who entered the New East India Company's service, and was from 1705 to 1707 one of the two Chairmen of the United Council in Bengal; and Rebecca who married, as has been said, Edward Stephenson of Keswick, by whom she had two sons, Edward and John, and a daughter, Debora.

¹ He signs “Edwd. Stephenson,” and so the India Office Records always spell the name. The parish register has “Steavenson.”

² See his paper on the subject in Vol. XIV. of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.
On the 3rd November, 1708, the Court of Directors of the East India Company read a petition from Edward Stephenson, then seventeen years old "praying to be entertained a writer in the Bay or elsewhere," and ordered the Committee of Accounts to examine the petitioner's qualifications. On the 24th November Edward Stephenson was elected a writer in the Company's service. On the 17th December following, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Jonathan Winder were accepted as securities for Edward Stephenson in £500. Edward Stephenson arrived in Bengal on the 2nd February, 1710. In the seventy-fifth paragraph of a letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors dated the 10th December, 1712, he was specially commended. On this account he was advanced one year in service and accordingly became a Factor on the 2nd February, 1714. In a list of the Company's servants drawn up in November, 1711, he appears as Sub-Accountant.

On the 5th January, 1714, he was elected third in the embassy to Delhi. On the 26th February he was given two hundred and fifty rupees to provide himself with clothes and necessaries. In April the boats which carried the present for Farrukhshyār were sent up the river to Patna, and Stephenson must have left Calcutta at the same time or soon after. When the Surman Diary opens in August, 1714, we find him with John Surman in Patna preparing to start for the Mogul Court. On the 6th April, 1715, the embassy actually began its journey. On the 7th July it made its entry into Delhi. The next two years were spent in long, tedious, but successful negotiations. After many disappointments Farrukhshyār and his vizier, Suyyıd 'Abdu-lлах Khān, were prevailed upon to issue a number of imperial rescripts and orders increasing and securing the commercial privileges of the English in every part of India. In his

1 See Court Book XLIII., p. 231.
2 See Court Book XLIII., p. 275.
3 See Court Book XLIII., p. 344.
4 See the lists of the Company's servants which come at the end of the volumes of Consultations in the India Office Records.
5 This letter is lost, but an abstract of it will be found in the Correspondence Papers, Vol. I., 1713 to 1715.
6 See Bengal General, dated 13th January, 1713 (i.e., 1714). para. 88.
7 See Bengal Public Consultations of that date. On further discussion, Khojah Sarhad being appointed second, John Pratt became third, and Stephenson, Secretary. Finally Pratt withdrew and on the 4th March Stephenson was again appointed third.
8 See Bengal Public Consultations of that date.
9 Ib.
10 See the Surman Diary under the dates given.
old age Stephenson was consulted by Orme about the history of this embassy in which he played no small part and of which he was in 1765 the sole survivor. On the 18th July, 1717, the embassy left Delhi and returned to Calcutta on the 22nd November. ¹

From the embassy Stephenson went to Balasor to be Chief of the local factory; but in July, August, 1718, he was transferred to the Council at Patna of which he became Chief on the 25th June, 1719. ² In September, 1720, he was confirmed in this appointment, and given a gratuity of £300 for his services in connection with the embassy. ³

After eight years of uneventful service, first as Chief at Patna, and afterwards as Chief at Cassimbazar, he was suddenly called upon to fill the highest post of all. “On Friday, the 23rd August, 1718,” says the Consultations Book, “the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., late President, having, after a sickness of about twelve days, departed this life at one o’clock this morning, and the Worshipful Edward Stephenson, Esq., being next in succession, who is now Chief at Cassimbazar, it is unanimously agreed that we despatch a pair of qāṣids to advise him that thereby the government of this place devolves on him.” The Consultations Book continues the story on Tuesday the 17th September. “This morning at nine o’clock the Hon. Edward Stephenson, Esq., arrived here from Cassimbazar and took his place at this board as President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal to which he succeeds by the death of our late President, the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., and accordingly the commission and keys of the fort were now delivered him.” His rule was short. On the evening of Wednesday the 18th John Deane who had already held supreme authority, from 1723 to 1726, returned from England and resumed his former position. “At eight o’clock in the night arrived here John Deane, Esq., who produced the Honorable Company’s commission for appointing him President and Governor of all their affairs in Bengal; which commission was read in the Consultation Room, Fort William, in the presence of all the Company’s servants, &c., and accordingly the keys of the fort were delivered to him by Edward Stephenson, Esq.” ⁴

¹ See the Surman Diary and the Bengal Public Consultations of the dates given.
² See Bengal Public Consultations as before.
³ Ib.
⁴ No notice of these changes is to be found in any of our authorities. Even Mr. Danvers in his carefully compiled list of Bengal Governors has omitted Edward Stephenson and the second governorship of John Deane. According to him Henry Frankland assumed office on the 30th January, 1726, and returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732. Whereas, as I have said, Henry Frankland died on the 23rd August, 1728, and was succeeded by Edward Stephenson, who after actually holding office for a day and a half was superseded by John Deane on the night of the 18th
Stephenson accordingly returned to Cassimbazar where he remained another year. At the end of 1729 he resigned the chiefship of that place, and came down to Calcutta, whence he sailed for England on the Eyles at the beginning of 1730.  

It was probably after his return home that "Governor" Stephenson married the lady whose death on the 24th February, 1744, is recorded in the Gentleman's Magazine. In 1764 Orme, who was collecting materials for the second volume of his history wrote as follows to Stephenson:

"CONCERNING THE EMBASSY TO FURRUCKSEER.

To MR. STEVENSON.

Sir,

It is not impossible that you may have seen my work of the military transactions in India, and if your opinion of it has induced you to wish for the continuance of it, my present requests to you will carry their excuse with them; otherwise this intrusion will scarce admit of an apology.

In order to explain the late revolutions in Bengal, it appears to me absolutely necessary to explain the embassy to Furruckshir on which you went with Mr. Surman. These papers are in the India house where I am suffered to peruse them, but from whence I am not permitted to take them. As I am very infirm it is very seldom that I can go there, and when there, my attention is distracted by the variety of clerks and business, which surround me. If you have these papers in your possession, I shall be very much obliged to you for the loan of them for a few days. I will take great care of them, and return them punctually at the limited time. Should you be induced to comply with this request I beg the favour you will omit no scrap however insignificant in appearance, for it has often happened that a few words lead to very material knowledge.

I have always looked upon the Phirmaunds, which you obtained from Furruckshir, as the Magna Charter of the Company until of late years. It is true that the great Phirmaund, as published by Mr. Frazer, seems to imply a general permission of trading to all places in all articles. But I much doubt whether the Mogul ever intended that we should extend our sales beyond what was importation from foreign parts, or our purchases beyond what was intended for exportation. At least I am sure that all the while I was in Bengal, no Englishman dared to trade in salt, beetle or tobacco, and if they carried any others of the productions of the country from one port to another of the province of Bengal, they were permitted only because the profits were known to be very small and not worth the attention of the September. It was John Deane who, having thus become a second time Governor returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732.

1 See Bengal Public Consultations.
2 Gentleman's Magazine for 1744, p. 108.
3 Orme Collections XV. Letter from Mr. Orme to Mr. Stevenson, pp. 4131-4133.
natives to make a quarrel about. I should be glad, therefore, to know from you, Sir, who are the only man alive that can tell me, whether these restrictions were not intended, although they may not be expressed in the Phirmaund.

It was a report whilst I was in Bengal that you had obtained from the Mogul an addition of 84 villages to the ground which contained all the Company's territory ten years ago; that is from Perrings to Surman's garden: but that the Nabob Jaffeir Khan set his face against this accession of territory, and would not suffer the company to take possession of it. It was likewise a common talk, that Mr. Surman offended Jaffeir Khan on his return from Delhi, by asserting that the title of his Munsub being higher than the Nabob's, the Nabob ought in some ceremonies, which were to pass between them, to give him the precedence. I was young when in Bengal and never thinking of the work I am now engaged in, took these stories as they were told at table talk, and having forgot one half of the particulars, have little confidence in, nor indeed a clear idea of the rest. But by the Phirmaund published by Mr. Frazer it appears that the Mogul only granted 40 vingas, that is about 30 acres of ground to any settlements which the Company might make in Bengal or Orissa. So that the 84 villages must have been, if granted at all, in a separate Phirmaund.

Again, Sir, I should be glad to know what particular and extraordinary oppressions from the Government the Company suffered, to induce them to be at the expense of your embassy.

It was in consequence of great oppressions that in the year 1635, the old Company sent out an armanent and ordered Job Chanock to fight. The papers of old date which came from abroad, are in such extreme confusion at the India House, that there is no possibility of divining where Job Chanock's letter to the Company, informing them of his expedition, lies; so that I despair of ever seeing it. Perhaps, Sir, you by being in India, not many years after that event, may be able to give some account of it. Where he marched from and to; whom he fought; and the success; which by a letter, wrote by the Directors after the expedition, seems to have been no wise satisfactory to them.

I am far from expecting that you should be at the trouble of giving me in writing all the details concerning the informations I want; but an hour's conversation with you will, I hope, be deemed no unreasonable request, although I am a perfect stranger to you. If, therefore, you will permit me to wait on you the first time you come to town, I shall be much obliged for notice the day before, when I can have the pleasure of seeing you at your house in Queen Square. All I can say, Sir, is, that as you are the only person living who can give me these informations, my obligation will be equal to the difficulty of obtaining them elsewhere, very great indeed.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

Harley Street, Cavendish Square,

August 4th, 1764.

R. ORME."
From this it would appear that Edward Stephenson at this time resided chiefly in the country, perhaps at Borfield Lodge, Essex, and only occasionally came to town where he had a house in Queen's Square. Orme has preserved the following "memorandums of a conversation":

"Memorandums of a conversation with Edward Stephenson, Esq., who went on the Embassy to Furruckseer; taken on the same day I visited him January 17th, 1765.

He says that all the Lands in a province in Indostan excepting such as are governed by Rajahs, consist either of Colsa lands or Jagueers.

Jagueers are lands given to the Nabobs, Phousdars, or other Officers of the State, by the Crown, to be held only during their administration or continuance in favour, of which lands the temporary Lord receives the revenues or advantages, on condition that he keeps up the number of horse at which his Munsub or title of nobility is rated, and likewise the number of foot which are always in one settled proportion attached to the number of horse, this Mr. Stephenson believes to be double. So that a Munsub of 4,000 horse is to maintain besides those 4,000 horse, 8,000 foot, and he receives the rents of his Jagueer without deductions or taxes due to the Crown.

The Colsa lands are such as being neither governed by Rajahs, nor portioned into Jagueers remain to the Moorish Government to be administered by their own officers. All the Colsa lands are under the administration of the Duan, who farms them out to Renters for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. years, and the rents forthcoming from them are brought by the Duan into his account with the Emperor.

The territories governed by Rajahs are for the most part the same, which the ancestors of these Rajahs ruled at the time of conquest. It sometimes likewise has happened that Rajahs, who for the convenience of the Government, have been removed out of their hereditary lands, have been placed in other vacant territories.

These Rajahs govern according to the ancient institutions of their forefathers over the Indians their subjects; but over Mahomedans established in their territory they have not except by particular permission any authority of life or corporal punishment, for a Mahomedan always calls upon the Koran and the Cadi who is the interpreter of the Koran for this [his] Judge.

The Rajahs pay the stipulated tribute to the Duan.

The Duan therefore must be an officer of very great power, equal almost to the Nabob. His functions are:

1st. Supreme authority over the Colsah lands in all cases where the land is concerned.

1 Orme Collections O. V. 12, pp. 107-109.
2nd. Receiver general of all the Customs established in the Mogul's name. In the Jagneer lands the Nabob or Jagguer Lord collects the customs, but cannot impose them in detriment to the interests of the Crown, against the will of the Duan. In the Rajahs' lands the Rajahs have likewise the same rights as the Nabobs in the Jagguer lands; but with the same limitations.

3rd. He is Agent for the Crown or rather Executor to the estates of all the feudatories who die.

The dependance which the Duan has on the Nabob consists in being obliged to apply to him for forces, for keeping in order the Rajahs or the Colsah inhabitants who do not regularly and punctually pay their debts to the Crown.

Whether Orme ever saw Stephenson again, whether they ever talked upon any other points, I cannot say, but perhaps Stephenson was too infirm to enter into lengthy discussions. Three years later, on the 7th September, 1768, "Governor" Stephenson died at his house in Queen's Square; and was buried in the family vault at Keswick in Cumberland. He left no will and the administration of his property was granted on the 23rd September "to John Stephenson, Esq., the natural and lawful brother and next of kin of the said deceased." John Stephenson died in 1771, aged 72, at Mount Pleasant. He left a very lengthy will, of which the most important provisions are the following:

I, John Stephenson, late of East St., Red Lion Square, London, but now of Tottenham High Cross, Esquire, make my will. Body to be buried in my family vault at Keswick, Cumberland, where my late brother Edward Stephenson is interred. I give and bequeath, unto Rev. Mr. Christian of Keswick, clerk, £50; to Henry Littledale gent, £500; to William Battie, doctor of Physic, £20; my steward Joseph Clarke of Bodybury, Kent, Hannah Wilson of Keswick, my Steward William Graham of Sikeside, Cumberland, Hannah Basford, John Fletcher, (servant of my son Edward Stephenson) each £20 for mourning. To Anthony Askew, of Queen's Square, London, doctor of physic, and my cousin Rowland Stephenson, of Lombard St., London, Banker, my two Executors, £500 each. To James Farrer, of Bread St. Hill, gent, and Thomas Lewis of Theobald's Row, London, carpenter, my Trustees, £500, each.

William Battie and Anthony Askew to have care of my son. To James Farrer and Thomas Lewis, heirs and assigns, all my freehold and copyhold;

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2 See the Will of John Stephenson given below.
3 P. C. C., A. A. 1768.
4 Gentleman's Magazine for 1771, p. 239.
manors, messuages, lands, etc., for uses herein after expressed:—viz: £1000 yearly for use and support of Edward Stephenson, my son, during life and heirs ..... if my son die without issue ... then to Anthony Askew, ......

For these details I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Winder, who also tells me that Edward Stephenson built "Governor House," Keswick, and that a descendant of the family is still living in Paris at a place called "Governor's House." The following inscription is cut in stone on the chancel floor of Crosthwaite Parish Church.

The discovery of a work by Aryadeva in Sanskrit.—By Mahāmāhōpādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College.

[Read January, 1898.]

When in Nepal I paid a visit to His Excellency Dēva Shamshēr Jang Rānā Bahādur, Commander-in-Chief of the Nepal Army. At the interview were present a Hindu Paṇḍit and a Buddhist Bāḍā. There was a collection of Manuscripts and I was asked by His Excellency if I knew anything of these Manuscripts. There were some volumes of the Čatāsāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā, a MS. of the Astasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā written in the reign of Rāmapāla who is said to have been a king of Eastern Bengal and who reigned about the year 1000 A.D.; a MS. of a work on the influence of the heavenly bodies on human diseases. But there was a bundle of palm-leaves which I could not identify at first sight. It had no beginning and apparently no end. I solicited the permission of His Excellency to give me an opportunity of examining the MS., once more. It was therefore deposited with the Head Master of the Durbar School, Bābū Phaṇibhūṣāna Adhikārī. I called on him a few days later, examined the MS. very carefully and took a copy of it in Bengali. It was written in old Nēvārī and was in many places altogether obliterated. The first leaf was missing. There were eight leaves from 2 to 9 but the obverse side of the 7th was altogether illegible. There were altogether 125 verses from 6 to 131. Of the 6th verse only the last two caraṇas remain. Of the 3rd caraṇa the first letter was missing. That letter I had no difficulty in guessing. It was Ma because the second leaf begins with the letters ḍhayāne. After the 131st verse the following statement occurs:

श्लोकिति द्वारे देशपाराहारामिति || खपरारायेनुभा खात (?) इतिरिति

The name of the work is not given but it is stated in the colophon that it was the work of Aryadeva a name familiar to every reader of Buddhist Literature, and especially of the Siyuki. He was a disciple
of Nāgarjuna and one of those great men who helped the spread of the Mahāyāna doctrines of Buddhism. Beal says, “he had a great contempt for external forms of worship. ‘A Spirit’ he said, is ‘Spiritual.’ We are not surprised to find therefore, that his teaching was of a mystical character.” I find, the same thing exemplified before me. Thus he speaks of the bathing in the Ganges in my Manuscript:

Thus this lump (of flesh, meaning the human body) is produced by and is full of impure substances. How can it be purified by bathing in the Ganges? An impure waterpot though washed again and again by water, cannot be pure; so the lump full of impurities can never be pure. A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore the bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fishermen are very meritorious, not to speak of the fishes and others who are immersed in water, day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin even is not dissipated because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of love, hatred, &c.

Thus in the course of five short verses, Āryadeva denounces the uselessness not only of bathing in the Ganges but of all bathings and pilgrimages. They are not only incapable of conferring merit but are also incapable of dissipating sin.

The ninth verse of the MS. corresponds to the first verse of the Dhammapada in Pali but the Pali verse has six caraṇas while my verse has four only. The last letter of the second caraṇa is manojavāh in my MS. while in Pali it is manōmayā.

The work appears to be a complete one as at the end Āryadeva says:

चिन्तामुद्रमाधया यत्वयोगाचिंतं सुभम्
चिन्तामुद्रमाधयाय तेनात्म सुखिनो जना:
Let people be happy by making their hearts pure by the merit which I have acquired by making my heart pure.

Then comes the colophon; after the colophon we have the name of the scribe and then a portion of the well-known formula श्रीमान्य: विचय: प्राणाः विचयानां तथा। The writer apparently had no space in the leaf to complete the couplet and at first sight I could not make out that the work came to an end there.

*19th verse is not in the MS.*
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वाला मन्त्रिन्त कुलेषु वैराग्य यान्ति मध्यमाः।

खमावश्च विमुच्छन्ते कुप्ष्योऽचलायम् ॥ २० ॥

विविक्ते समयं संवेदने देवतापुजनाविधिम्।

शुद्धमानोक निःशृङ्गः भोजन्ते मन्त्राविद्वितम् ॥ २१ ॥

श्रोच्यं बोध्यं तथा दौर्यं ब्रह्मचर्योगतः।

व्यानामाणुः वक्तान्मां रोशयेद्व तथागतान् ॥ २२ ॥

यवत् सब्ज्ञिति वालां तभिम्या खण्ड योगिनाम्।

काचीनेव तु सम्ब्रह्म न वर्जो न च मुच्यते ॥ २३ ॥

संसारं चैव निवर्त्यां मन्यन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिनः।

न संसारं न निवर्त्यां मन्यन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ २४ ॥

विकल्पो चि मद्यायांचः संसारोद्धिपातसः।

वृविकल्या मद्यालागां मुच्छने भवबन्धनात् ॥ २५ ॥

शृङ्गविशेषः वाध्याने विधिवैष्ठी धर्म्मकः।

तत्त्वविद्यात्वा निर्मुद्दा विचरेतुत कल्याणकः ॥ २६ ॥

त्वथेकः स्थायिकः स्थायः परमामो रज्जते।

तथैव चिंतरलनुत कल्याणारागर्गतिम् ॥ २७ ॥

प्रश्नः ते कल्याणारागर्गतिविष्णुं चित्तरलकः।

आदिशुद्धमुद्यस्त निजस्मपापायिविशभिम् ॥ २८ ॥

तत्त्वदेवेण कर्त्यां यथावलविगुद्धितम्।

समिदेवविनयेन चित्तनिमिच्छकारिया ॥ २९ ॥

रामाकिंविवसंयुक्तः योगिनः शुद्धेतसा।

कामिताः खण्ड कामिन्यः कामामोच्चालाव्या: ॥ ३० ॥

यथा खगर्द ध्याना गाह्विको विष्म विग्नः।

करित्व चि विरे साध्यं न विष्येशाभिमुखते ॥ ३१ ॥

हादश्योऽज्जानवाः चक्रां च चिमरस स्मरन्।

वैदिकविवस्मुद्याय भयोत्त्विधिमति ज्ञूति: ॥ ३२ ॥

वैदिकविवस्मुद्याय समुदायं सम्मोहों हस्ताचितसा।

तद्रास्ति यदं कार्त्त्वं जगदुवङ्कारश्रयः ॥ ३३ ॥

आदिशुद्धमुद्यस्त निजस्मभावायिविशभिम्।

जगताऽ भविन संप्रशान वद्वो न च मुच्यते ॥ ३४ ॥
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विचिन्य विचिन्योगी देवतामुग्याविस्तरम्।
रागेवर रागचितेन रुच्यते न च मुच्यते। 35।
किं कुस्म्हः काणणा बध्या विचिन्या भावश्रृः।
विस्मयाः(ि)तो यथा कालिदियोवः तु निर्विशेषः। 36।
काळार्जनं बलेनेव कालकेनेव कालकामः।
रागसिव तथा रागसुधारणं मनोयिष्यं। 37।
यथेष्व रजको बश्रे मलेनेव तु निम्नाल्कः।
कुश्यादिद्वाधारानं मलेनेव तु निम्नाल्कः। 38।
यथा भवति संसुद्रो रजोरिष्णयः।
सेवतस्तु तथा विदेशेऽवालोधविनायकः। 39।
लोकःधिकरो जले दिशामो मन्येव तु सैवकः।
पारीक्ष्ठं तजेवायं तारयेव नरति खरमः। 40।
वद्वत् पारीक्ष्ठं निःसं प्रज्ञोपायविधानः।
सुज्ञानो सुच्चते कामं मोचवधरारणि। 41।
दुविंतः सेवित: कामं कामो भवति यथमः।
स यव सेवितो विजः कामो मोचप्रसःथाकः। 42।
प्रसिद्धं सहसानोऽव द्वारं विषयविनायकः।
तदेव प्रशिंभं पौतं सुलरा विषयविनायकः। 43।
जले चारें वधारिं इतबं पिवति प्रशिंभः।
सिवाम विन्यासस्तं तमुक्तं प्रसिद्धं। 44।
वधेव विविधवः विस्मयमयमः।
दुमेन्तं हतप्रमदि बालानातु विषयते। 45।
इत्द्वेभि विविधरं द्विधिं द्वितुमः हुमे।
निर्विशेषं बिस्मायं भाविष्यं प्रज्ञातिनिर्मिशम्। 46।
यथा विष्णुः क्षणोपये तेजबच्चादिसंख्यतः।
दौप्येऽिन्धवःसिम्भव: श्याभिषिमिरणायः। 47।
वतवैण्यं यथा सूच्यं सहकारसः।
श्रावः-मूल-प्रोपितं महावीद्विधायकः। 48।
हस्तोपचूमप्यौस्मायमां नारसिम्धिस्तु मूतं।
प्रज्ञोपायसमायः महीर्धातुः तथा विदु:। 49।
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द्रत्सन्त मद्यसंयुक्त समांसं विषयं ब्रजेन्।
तदेव विद्वेद्वसुमुक्तस्तु रसायनं। । व५०।।
रसस्य यथा तथसं निदेहवाचकऽ ब्रजेन्।
शान्तदेवर्षिणि लोपः लोपः कल्याणकारकः। । व५१।।
वैनयानाभिन्नार्थां मधुकशा पदेयरे।
संग्राममधुसुलनेन (क्षु ते यां) दूः एव व्यवस्थित। । व५२।।
मधुयानाभिन्नधनुष्कुल कल्याणकारकविभिन्नः।
हृपणयथानुपाद्यो जगतुड़ारणानि। । व५३।।
मधुसुलचो मधुपायः स्याबुधिर्वाचतः।
जिला दुस्सन्ग्राम मायुयन्दपरागतः। । व५४।।
पशवोगृहिः च विद्वेद्वसु मुक्तमत्तथं।
जगद्धिरिविदा धनुष् विरलं जगन्।। व५५।।
श्रीतस्तातिदुःखानि सच्छन्ते मुक्तमात्मजातः।
जगद्धिरिवर्ततः न सच्छन्ते कथं नु ते।। व५६।।
नारकाश्रयं दुःखानि सोहनानि कपालुभि।
श्रीतस्तातिदुःखानि कल्याणकारि विचाररेतु।। व५७।।
नायिकास्वरों कुर्यान्तोपवासं न च विषयाम्।
स्वानभौचं न क्षेत्रस्मान ग्रामधमं विचारवेतु।। व५८।।
नायिकान्तरास्मान्यां कृपान्तोपवासं न च विषयाम्।
मांसश्रीतिकेशानि माध्यमिललसम्भवम्।। व५६।।
इत्यमशुचिविशमतं। पिङ्के ह्युधिविशिष्टित।
कथं सन्त तार्कऽ कायों गद्यः खानेन स्वाधित।। व५०।।
न ह्युधिविशिष्टिता चाहितोप्राप्त पुन: पुन:।
नायिकान्तरास्मान्यों: पिङ्के न विषयाति।। व५९।।
प्रत्ययोपाद्यः गद्यां नैव स्वाशुद्धिस्वरूपाः।
शास्त्रकारियं एकां तौर्यसः खानेन निष्पादलम्।। व५२।।
धर्माण यदी भवेतु खानातु कैव्यर्थः खलार्थ्यः।
नायिकान्तरास्मान्यां माध्यार्थनातु का कथा।। व५२।।
पापचायोपाद्यः खानेन नैव स्वार्थितिनिष्पादः।
ततो रागादितुद्वित्तु दृश्यं तौर्यसः विनाम्।। व५३।।
1898.]

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रागो देशव भोच्च इर्मा ठम्बा सबचा ।
पापानां मूलमध्यांत नैषा खानेन श्रीमवम् ॥ ६५ ॥
शाकाशीकृष्णाय सम्भवनीष जन्मगम् ।
अविद्याहृतकः सोपिष्म अविद्या आन्तिरिष्यते ॥ ६६ ॥
रौथशुद्धिः सुभाष सुभाषैर्मु निर्वर्तते ।
नैराध्याय्यशालात् सापि निमूतमसबिदित ॥ ६७ ॥
सर्पुद्धिं रज्जो रज्जुद्धिः निवत्तते ।
सर्पुद्धिं: पुनस्त्रृं नैव शारदिः जन्मित ॥ ६८ ॥
सर्पुद्धिं शायास्त्रापि वच्चानापिरवर्तते ।
न भूयः समवेत्तच दशवोज इवाक्षरः ॥ ६९ ॥
नैराध्याय्यस्वंस्थः: पिघः प्रवतिनिम्भेः ।
तस्य सत्ताने धमने: कथं वालेविकल्कयः: ॥ ७० ॥
चन्दनध्वन्नाय्यभापि यपश्चातिकिल्कयः ।
सुबेहीयणवेयनापि दिवसाचित्थविशिष्यः ॥ ७१ ॥
पुर्व्वाण्विक्षेपारस्थः: श्रवदन्वनिकिल्कयः ।
वारणचत्यशारदि सवन्त्यका विकल्पतम् ॥ ७२ ॥
स्रीतोष्णवर्धापेच्छ तथीवमुक्षणय ।
श्रवमेंत्यभोगोदयं सुभाषभ्राह्यादित: ॥ ७३ ॥
अविद्याक्षेत्रालिनिः चिवचित्तामाधिः: पुमान् ।
प्रहः: चालितु विवान् कोविदिया इवेदयुजः ॥ ७४ ॥
न वारतिथिनवचन्तयश्यापेच्छ्यातु ।
विन्द्रविविकस्तु मरस्ति मित्रततूकश्चित्रः: ॥ ७५ ॥
वेदन्तिन्त्रिमार्गलं यायात्ततू सभावतः ।
सुसमाहित्ययोगेन सर्पुद्धिं वहत् ॥ ७६ ॥
चतुर्विरोधर्र बुधः सद्यो वच्चसूलः ।
प्राश्चरति सर्पमध्यस्त प्रव्यन्ति: सर्पर्वर: सूखम् ॥ ७७ ॥
कायः: श्रीलक्षो राजा वच्चसूल्लभामसः ।
एवं सम्भवं यदा योगी विचरेतु कस्त्तायामकः ॥ ७८ ॥
सिद्धान्नन्तो निर्विवक्ष्योत्स सियक्ल्यस्तु धीरोषः: ।
वृत्तेद्येश्वराधारी सर्वास्तु सर्व्ववस्तो ॥ ७९ ॥
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सर्वाचारमञ्जिलाकारी यथा सर्वचेतन्यम्
उत्तियो वा निष्प्रायो वा चक्रमो वा स्मरण्या ॥ ५० ॥
ब्यमञ्जिलान्निर्वियो वा सर्वव्रेक्तावनाणि
स्वाधिकृतप्रोगादिमा मन्त्रपूक्तमं विद्यति ॥ ५२ ॥
वर्णन सर्वसौरिविं सर्वसुदुलभेवच ॥
जन्मनीचिवतत्त्वस: संप्राप्तित न संग्रहः ॥ ५२ ॥
यथा प्राणान्त्रो लोको योगिनोकेन वाच्यते ।
वाधनेऽथ वीप्रविशेषः योगिनोपदेशोऽतः ॥ ५३ ॥
महाप्रजा महोपाया महा पपाधिमोचत: ॥
महायानसमुदिर्यं महास्माभ्रोमः ॥ ५४ ॥
यत्कल्याणसंख्याये न प्राणं बश्मिमांते: ॥
जन्मन्येव बुद्धवं प्रायो न च संग्रहः ॥ ५५ ॥
महायानसंह महाब्याल्गु पुष्पयानसं सम्भवः ॥
सर्वज्ञानन्तरं रस्यं सद्यो जन्मनिव स्वायते ॥ ५६ ॥
वायममशुतिविचन्ता दु सहयानन्ते दु महः ॥
वायातुवपरायेदाधामेषः प्रकाश्यते ॥ ५७ ॥
अन्त्ये वैधिमोहोपमन्यथा वैधिविशेषः ॥
वन्या चित्रविशुद्धिं फलमन्यिद्विशोच्यते ॥ ५८ ॥
समीपं निर्मलादेखं विरं निर्मलवच्चुः: इ
यथा भावसंहस्वस्थम्भ क्षुण्डक्षृतिमन्त्यम् ॥ ५९ ॥
विधातानाभाजान्ति विस्पष्टयुज्येतसा ।
योगिनाद्व तथा चान्त प्रद्यानित्यमहः ॥ ६० ॥
सूर्यज्ञानसमसाराण्यसूर्यज्ञानानि यथा ।
सद्या प्रज्ञाज्ञानः सम्भवः सार्थसाधनः ॥ ६१ ॥
प्रज्ञाज्ञानसमसाराणं सूर्यज्ञानानमं सन: ।
प्रज्ञासुरं चक्रसं तथ्यम: विद्यति योगिनाम् ॥ ६२ ॥
काश्यविचनिं परमेघः यथा स्वल्पति प्रावः ।
आदिमयानसंहशुद्धः स वै विलुप्तसाद्यकः ॥ ६३ ॥
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यथैवेकप्रदीपोऽवं कर्मसंस्मारणिषः ॥ ६४ ॥
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Note on a Dialect of Gujarāti discovered in the District of Midnapur.—By
George A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.

[Read July, 1898.]

Several interesting facts have come to light during the progress of the Linguistic Survey. Amongst them may be mentioned the discovery of a number of people who speak a dialect of Gujarāti in the Dāntān thanā of the Bengal District of Midnapur.

Amongst the languages returned to me as spoken in that District was Siyalgiri. The Siyalgirs are a criminal, nomadic tribe, numbering about 120 souls, who have a language of their own. They are not mentioned by Dalton or by Mr. Risley in their Ethnographical works. This language was unintelligible to the other inhabitants of the District, and was believed "to resemble Santāli." This was an easy supposition to make, as there are some 118,000 Santālis in the District, whose language is equally unintelligible to the multitude.

In order to obtain materials for the second part of the Survey, specimens of every language spoken in each District are being collected. The specimens are all to consist of translations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and in order to assist the preparation of these, books of translations of the parable which had been already made into the principal languages of India have been distributed to the translators. Included in these last was a Gujarāti version. In sending the Siyalgiri version to me, the Collector of Midnapur drew attention to the remarkable points of resemblance between it and the Gujarāti version to which I have just alluded. An examination of the Siyalgiri specimen fully justified the Collector's remarks. The very first sentence is almost pure Gujarāti. The resemblance was so unexpected that I thought it advisable to make further enquiries, so as to make sure that the specimen is a genuine one. There can now be no doubt on that point. The translation had originally been obtained through the kind offices of Babu Krishna Kisor Acharji, the Secretary of the Midnapur District Board, and that gentleman has been good enough to send me the following note on the subject.

J. i. 24
A Sub-Inspector of Schools under the District Board was deputed to Dantan with copies of the English and Bengali versions of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and he got the parable translated into the Siyalgiri dialect with the help of two men belonging to that tribe and of the Sub-Inspector of Police, Dantan.

These two Siyalgiris were both by their age and intelligence, best able to translate the parable, and as they could speak both Bengali and Hindi the parable was fully and correctly explained to them before they translated it, and so it is certain that they perfectly understood what they had to translate.

I then went through the translation very carefully, and by comparing it with the specimens of other dialects given in the printed book became convinced that it was altogether a separate dialect resembling Gujarati.

Neither the Sub-Inspector of Schools nor the Sub-Inspector of Police knows Gujarati, and I do not think the two Siyalgiris who translated the parable of the Prodigal Son into the language spoken by them have ever heard of Gujarati or know anything of Gujarati.

In these circumstances there is I should think no room for doubt that the specimen sent correctly represents the dialect spoken by the Siyalgiris.

I have since obtained some additional particulars relating to the Siyalgiris which I beg to give below with a view to facilitate their identification with any other tribe in India.

Unfortunately there is nothing like tradition prevalent among them as to whence they came and when they came to Dantan. This is apparently due to their having been a wandering tribe for many generations before they came and settled in this district. People like the Siyalgiris generally have a short memory, and they do not appear to have any songs or ballads in their language throwing any light on their previous history.

They do not even know whether there are any other sections of their tribe living in any other part of India.

In this district the Siyalgiris are found in the following villages:—
1. Nimpur. 
2. Gomunda. 
3. Lalmohanpatna. 
4. Dhukurda. 
5. Saipur.

And also in Suga and Simla in District Balasore.

From the information that I have been able to collect regarding this tribe it would seem that they first appeared in this district about 150 years ago.

During this period both their manners and customs have become thoroughly Hinduised.

They are now divided into four classes:—
1. Jānā. 
2. Pātrā or Pātar. 
3. Dās. 
4. Har.

All these are Hindu patronyms.

How they became so subdivided—either by intermarriage with their Hindu neighbours, or by their desire to raise themselves up to the level of
the latter by assuming their patronyms—is not known. But the contempt with which they are treated by the Hindus, owing to their thieving propensity, precludes the possibility of intermarriage between these two classes of people. Indeed the name of Siyalgiri has become a bye-word—a term of reproach—and whenever a Hindu takes to thieving as his profession he is said to have turned a Siyalgiri.

The Siyalgiris have Brāhmaṇs for their priests, and so they have lost all traces of their original religion—if they had any when they first came into the district. These Brāhmaṇs do not appear to have come with them, for most of those who officiate as priests at the religious ceremonies performed by the Siyalgiris belong to the class of low-caste indigenous Brāhmaṇs, and in society they occupy the same position as the Brāhmaṇs of Muchīs, Chamārs, and other similar castes.

They worship the same gods and goddesses as their Hindu neighbours. But their widows remarry and they bury their dead.

They do not appear to have any peculiar custom as to inheritance. As most of them are generally very poor and leave very little property when they die, the Siyalgiris abide by the decision arrived at by their priests in the event of any dispute arising as to inheritance in any particular case.

I do not think these details will be of any material help in tracing the origin of this tribe whose appearance in Midnapur, occurring at a time beyond the memory of the present generation, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Their features also do not give any clue as to their origin. If they had any peculiarity it has disappeared altogether, and the Siyalgiris can now be hardly distinguished from ordinary Bengali peasants.

It is therefore through their dialect alone that their origin can now be traced, and it is for these reasons that I give here the Siyalgiri equivalents for "salt" and "curry"—the two most common necessaries of life—which they call निडु (mītu = sweet) and खालन (Khālan for Hindi Sālan) respectively.

The other peculiarities of their dialect will appear from the specimen already submitted.

An examination of the specimen shows that the language is a variety of the language of the Bhils. The Bhils speak a corrupt form of Gujarāti, and Siyalgiri agrees with Bhilli when it differs from the standard form of that language. Thus, the Gujarāti for "I" is hū, but the Bhilli is mō, and the Siyalgiri is mu. There are some words which, so far as I am aware, are not in Bhili, and which I have been unable to identify as belonging to any known language, Munda, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, or Aryan, of India. Such are badithēi meaning "against," āgā meaning "father," and khām-loyān "to hear."

I may mention that an excellent grammar and vocabulary of the Bhil language has been prepared by the Rev. C. S. Thompson.* The

* Ahmadabad, United Printing Press, 1895.
habitat of the Bhils is to the south of Mewar, where the Central Provinces, Rajputana, and Gujarát meet. As already stated, their language is a dialect of Gujarátí, but, according to Mr. Thompson, there is, in the vocabulary, a substratum, of about six per cent. of words, which, while not corrupted from Gujarátí or Arabic and Persian, have no connexion with the Dravidian Languages of Southern India, or with Gondi, Santali, or Kol. The Siválgi takes seems to have preserved some of these words, which have been lost to Bhilí. It would be interesting, if possible, to trace the wanderings of this tribe from their original home.

The following is the Siválgi version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son:

एक मातृना बय दिक्रा थे। तिनः बिचे मान्
Ek maradnä baya dikrá the. Tinha bice nänha
A man-to two sons were. Their-of among (by) younger

dikra apnu babbane kahē. 'bāb! māra hinkša
son his-own father-to it-was-said, 'O-father! my share

मार दे। रच्च बख्चन। दिच खालच खालच करि
māra dē. Inha babhain hinkša ālaha ālaha kari
me-to give.' By him thereupon share separate separate having-done

दिद । शोड़ा दन रचिन्
didha. Thōrā dan rahnin nänha dikrā
was-given. Few days remaining (with his father) younger son

आपनु खब दिच लेन् एळक्ष पारच मिय । खाउर लिंये
apnu khab hinkša lein ēglasta pārha giya. Āur tithe
his-own all share taking distant country-to went. And there

घनु खरचप्पच करिन् आपनु ख्वच जड़ाद
ghanu kharach-patra karin apnu khab urāi
much expenditure doing his-own all (whole property) wasting

दिद ।
didhu. Sō khab kharach-patra kidhi tō
was-given He all expenditure doing that
(being thrown away), (having ran through the whole property)

देखेहे बरि अकाल परि-गिया। दिच बरि दुखी
dekhēhe bari ākāl pari-giya. Hiya bari dukhī
country-in great famine fell. He great distressed
G. A. Grierson—Gujarati Dialect discovered in Midnapur.

1898.]

thai-giya. Tinha ēlātō jānu tōc gāmrāmi ēk became. He then going. that village-inhabiting one

mān-khān hēla jhāli riha. Tinha ēpnu bīlē man-of-rank shelter taking remained. By him his-own field-in

ghusri chārān sūkārī dīrī. Ghusri kō bhrūryā khaīn swine-to-feed sending was-given. Swine what husks were-eating

tār dar bāpāṇa phēt bharāū khōjē. Tinē those giving his-own belly to-fill it-was-sought. Him-to

kāhā, mārā bābān kēltā jhānā darmō-pāun cākēr it-was-said, ‘my father-of how-many men wage-getting Servant

darkār ghanu chēya khādu pāve, ā mu ḫyākhē bhākhē need more than food get, And I here of-hunger

mar. Mu hāta uthīn māra āgākēnē parhā jānu. am-dying. I from-here rising my father-of in-vicinity will-go.

Tinha kahis, “bāb! mu gēkхиā bāditēhi tūhu āgal To-him will-say, “father! by-me God against thy before

pāp kīdhu. Mu āu tār dikrā būli ēlakhi sin has-been-done. I again thy son being-called described

pāris kōnī. Minē tu ēk darmō-pāun cākēr kari will-be-able not. Me-to thou a wage-getting servant making

rākhh.” ‘Pāchu tinha uθīn ēpnu āgākēnē giya. keep.” ‘Afterwards he having-risen his-own father-to went.
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Tinha  eglastē  rahē  tekra  āgā  jōvān  pāvē.
Him  at-distance  remaining  by-his  father  to-see  it-was-got.

Inha  dayābahi  lāsin  jāin,  unghē-mē
By-him  being-kind (affectionate)  running  going,  by-the-neck

leīn,  bucrā  didhā.  Dikrā  tinēh  kahū,
taking,  kisses  were-given.  By-the-son  him  to  it-was-said,

bāb!  āu  gōkhāi  badithēi  tērā  āgal  pāp  kidhū.
'O-father!  by-me  God  against  thy  before  sin  has-been-done.

nu  āur  tār  dikrā  buli  olakhī  pāris  kōni.'
I  again  thy  son  being-called  described  will-be-able  not.'

Bab  āpnā  cākērnē  kahū,  'hētu  khān  luskār
By-the-father  his-own  servant-to  it-was-said,  'soon  good  cloth

li  āin  inē  parāhā  dē.  Inhā  hāîe  šī
taking  bringing  him-to  put-on  give.  His  hand-to  ring

aur  gore  khāmrā  dē.  Hēmē  inēh  āin  khādu-khāun
and  feet-to  shoes  give.  (Let)-us  him-to  taking  dinner-eating

khusī  rahein.  Jēsō  māra  dikrā  mari-giya,  jībat  thāin;
merry  remain.  For  my  son  dead-went  (was),  alive  is.;

hāji  giyata  pāota  lāyaha.'  Tār  bād  khusī  thāyan
lost-went  (was)  found  has-been.'  After-this  in-happiness  to-remain

lagā  |

lagā.
began.

Tinha  mōtō  dikra  bilmō  huta.  Tō  āun  ghīrē
His  elder  son  field-in  was.  By-him  coming  house.
G. A. Grierson—Gujarati Dialect discovered in Midnapur.

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dancing music to-hear was-got. Then by-him a servant-to

calling it-was-asked, ‘this all what (is),’ By him

him-to it-was-said, ‘thy brother having-come (by)-thy father

preparation has-been-done, because by him him-to
dinner has been prepared

in-healthy-state to-see it-has-been got.’ By him anger was-done.

House-to went not. Afterwards (by) his father out-side

coming consoling (him) was-done. He answer making his-own

father-to says, ‘so many years-from thy service has-been-done.
thy word at-any-time been-disobeyed not. Still thou me-to

at any time a goat-of kid-to give-not, so that my

friends-to taking (we)-may-make-merry. Thy this son
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jō kahabin khātē rahin tār khābja khālū, hiya by-whom harlots with remaining thy property eaten-up, he

jab āwa tu in-guriyē khādū-khān taiyār kidhu.' when came by-thee for-him dinner prepared was-made.'

Sō tinhē kahū, 'dikrā tu mār barobbar raha. By him him-to it-was-said, 'O-son thou my always art.

Māru jēṭlu thā sō khab tāru. Khusī My all-that is it all (is) thine. (Being) merry (for his return)

jāïn riha. Tār ēyab bhāiya mari giyata, jībat thāin right is. Thy this brother dead went (was), alive being

āwa; hāji giyata, pāwa.' has-come; lost went (was), has-been-found.'
On Primary Suffixes in Kāḍmīrī.—By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.,
Ph.D., I.C.S.
[Read August, 1898.]

These are treated in the Kṛdanta-prakṛiyā of Icvara-kaula’s Kaḍmīra-ṇabdāmrta. They form nouns (including adjectives and participles) by direct accretion to verbal roots. Many of them would be properly classed as verbal forms.

1. खान् Ān. This is used to make present participles. It does not change for gender or number, and is added direct to the root (ix. 1. 2).1 Thus, —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Present Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कर kar, do.</td>
<td>करान् karān, doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बौज्ञ boz, hear.</td>
<td>बौज्ञान् bozān, hearing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the root ends in a vowel, the letter व w is inserted (3). Thus, —

| वि di, give. | वि वि vīvān, giving. |
| खि khi, eat. | खि खि khīwān, eating. |
| चि ci, drink.| चि चि cīwān, drinking.|

Note that all verbs ending in र i change र i to य ya, except नe ni, take, वि di, give, खि yī, come.

This form is frequently used adverbially (4). Thus परान् परान् कथन् parān, parān, karun, coming, coming, he made it.

This form corresponds to the Sanskrit present participle.

2. रथ ṯīth. Used to form a past participle absolute or conjunctive participle, corresponding to the Sanskrit conjunctive participle in ला tvā, or य ya (भ tya). Thus, —

| कर kar, do. | करिष्ठ karith, having made. |

1 References, here, and elsewhere, to Icvara-kaula’s Kaḍmīra-ṇabdāmrta.
J. 1. 25
A preceding long अ (not short ए) is modified. Thus,—

दार dār, place.

दक्षिङ्ग dārith.

शो अ and ए ए become ज u and द i respectively before this prefix (14,15).

Thus,—

बोज़ bōz, hear.

बूजिङ्ग būzith, having heard.

मेन mēn, measure.

भोजिङ्ग mēnith, having measured.

If a root ends in र i, the final र i, together with the suffix become यथायथ (ix. i. 7, 8). Thus,—

हি hi, take.

हि khi, eat.

हि khyāth, having taken.

हि khyāth, having eaten.

Exceptions are—

नि ni, take.

निः nith, having taken.

दि di, give.

दिः dith, having given.

दिः yith, having come.

When the root वुद वुद, fly, signifies mokṣa, final release, it becomes बूजिङ्ग wužith, having obtained final release; but वुजिङ्ग wužith, having flown (ix. i. 9).

The root मारवाव mārarav, cause to forget, usually forms मारवाविश्व māraravith, regularly, but in the phrase ‘to cause to forget death,’ it becomes मारवाविश्व māsawith. Thus,—

मारवाविश्व marun māsawith, having caused (so and so) to forget death (ix. i. 10).

The suffix कथ्य kāth, may be added to this form. Thus, कारिः काथ karith kāth, having done (ix. i. 6).

3. द i (ix. i. 11-15). This is used instead of द i, when the word is repeated to represent frequentative action. In this case both a preceding अ a and a preceding ए a are modified. Thus,—

क र kar, do.

क र kār kār, having made over and over again.

मार mār, beat.

मार mār mār, having beaten repeatedly.

कार kār, boil.

कार kār kār, having boiled repeatedly.
As in the case of डथ ith, preceding र थ and रो थ become र थ and रु respectively. Thus,—

पेट tāt, pound.

फोज बूज, hear.

So also we have—

बाहं bā, sit.

When a root ends in र थ, the final vowel together with the suffix become य या (े) ; or the form in य थ may be used (12). Thus,—

विच khī, eat.

विच ci, drink.

Exceptions are, as usual,—

विच ni, take.

विच di, give.

विच yi, come.

4. बल wun² (fem. बल wā; plur. masc. बिन wani, fem. बल wā) used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 25-27). Thus,—

कर kar, make.

If a root ends in र थ, च व aw is inserted and the र थ changed to व य. Thus,—

विच khī, eat.

विच ci, drink.

Exceptions are,—

विच ni, take.

विच di, give.

विच yi, come.
5. बीलू wöl" (fem. वाली wājēn; plur. masc. वालि wöl', fem. वाली wājēnē) is also used to form nouns of agency. For examples, see below (ix. i. 28-31).

6. ग्राक g rákh (fem. प्राक् grākannya, vide ante, p. 34). Also used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 28-31).

These two last suffixes are really secondary ones, (see Sec. Suff. No. 9, 10). They are added to abstract verbal nouns, especially to that in जन un (No. 16), the जन un being changed to जन an. Thus,—

कर kar, make. करनन karun, making. करनवोल्द karanwól", or करन्ग्राक karangrákh, a maker.

पर par, read. परनन parun, reading. परन्ग्राक paranwól", or परन्ग्राक parangrákh.

If the abstract noun is feminine (see No. 31m) and ends in न n, that न n is changed to न n or न न.

जान zān, (31m) know. जान zānवोल्द (जानवोल्द) zānवोल" zān (fem.) or जाननन zānnun zānwól", or जानवोल्द zānnanwól", (masc.) knowledge. जान ग्राक zāngrákh, (जानग्राक zāngrákh), or जानग्राक zānan- 

grákh, a knower.

These two suffixes can only be used with feminine abstract nouns when the verb expresses a condition of the body or mind. Thus जान zān, know, expresses a condition of the mind, and therefore we can say जानवोल्द zānwól". But the verb प्रज graž, roar, which also has a feminine abstract noun (see No. 31g.) प्रज graž, cannot form प्रजवोल्द grazwól", because the verb does not express a condition of the mind or body. We can only use the masculine abstract noun, thus, प्रजनवोल्द grazanwól".

If a root ends in र i, the र i becomes य y before जन an, and जन an becomes जन an. Thus,—

किथ khyanawól", a eater.

किथ cyanawól", a drinker.
Exceptions are,—

- नि ni, take.
- दि di, give.
- यि yi, come.

7. नाल nal.
8. लाल lal.
9. अल al, l.

These three are used as follows with the roots दि di and द्रव dāv in special senses, all obscene. Thus,—

- दिन दिन, an unchaste woman.
- माधिन नाल, “मात्रगमी;” बन्धिन नाल, “सवसगमी;”
- कौरिन नाल, “कस्यागमी.”

- माधिन दाल, an unchaste woman.
- माधिदाल, “मात्रगमी.”

10. अ (fem. अ; plur. masc. अ, fem. अ). This is the termination of past participles. This form is now, however, always used as a past tense, and the true participle is described later on (No. 12) (ix. i. 36-39). Examples are,—

- कर kar, make. कर, (it was) made.
- पर par, read. पर, (it was) read.
- खन khan, dig. खन, (it was) dug.

This suffix is added to all transitive and impersonal verbs (i.e., verbs of the first conjugation), and, as a verbal form, is used when the logical subject (in the case of the agent) is in the first or third person.

It cannot be used when it is in the second person. Thus, कर kar may mean, ‘it was done by me,’ or ‘it was done by him,’ but cannot mean ‘it was done by you.’ So कस, it-was-laughed by me or by him.
In the case of Intransitive Verbs, it follows the conjugation of these verbs, and is only used in the case of those verbs which are known as "Listed Verbs" (vide A List of Kâñmîri Verbs, ante, Vol. LXV, Part I, page 306). These I shall in future call verbs of the second conjugation. It is then used only in the 3rd person. Thus,—

त्राल त्साल, flee.

Non-listed Intransitive Verbs, which I shall in future call verbs of the third conjugation, do not use this form in उ”, but take the Aorist form in वौव, or वौव ओव, used in their case for the Past third person sing. Thus,—

वौव व्याथ, be fat.

The final वौ is dropped before suffixes, and we thus get वौव व्याथयाव, (not वौव व्याथ), he was fat.

The final वौ is dropped before suffixes, and we thus get वौव व्याथयाव-स, I was fat.

The following verbs are irregular (ix. i. 37, 38),—

दि चि, drink, makes चि चि अव (it was) drunk.

क्षि चि, eat, चि क्षि अव (it was) eaten.

ि नि, take, नि नि अव (it was) taken.

Besides this there are other irregular forms, such as बुन धुट, from धिट, 'give'; which will be subsequently described under the head of verbs.

This suffix, उ”, is frequently met in other nouns, which are not verbal forms, e.g., व्याथ व्याथ, fat.

11. चि अव, or चि अव (fem. र्य द्यो; plur. masc. र्य द्य, fem. र्य द्यो).

This is the termination of the Aorist Participle of verbs of the first and second conjugations, and of the Past Participle of verbs of the third conjugation. As regards its use, see No. 10. The final वू and नि य are omitted before suffixes. The form is an old past participle, and can be used with all verbs.

12. बुन माट (fem. मान माट; plur. masc. मान माट, fem. मान माट). This is used to form the true Past Participle. It is compounded with No. 11, in the case of verbs of the first and second conjugations
and with No. 12 in the case of verbs of the third conjugation, and both members of the compound change for gender, number and case.

The word is also written and pronounced सूत mut, (fem. सूँ mats; plur. masc. सति mati, fem. सू राम अ) (ix. i. 40).

Examples of the use of this participle are,—

A. First Conjugation. (Form 10).

कर्म टू kara matu, or कर्म सू टू kara mutu, made.

Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>कर्म टू kara matu</td>
<td>कर्म टू kara mats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>कर्म सिति kara matis</td>
<td>कर्म सिति kara matsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>कर्म टू kara matu</td>
<td>कर्म टू kara mats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>कर्म सिति kara matis</td>
<td>कर्म सिति kara matsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>कर्म सू नं kara matyan</td>
<td>कर्म सू नं kara matsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>कर्म सू टू kara matyan</td>
<td>कर्म सू टू kara matsau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note,—1. The irregular declension of the first half of the compound.

2. The feminine termination of the singular, सू राम अ mats. We should (according to iv. 51) except सां राम अ matsa, but my pandit assures me that सू राम अ matsa is the correct form. Compare p. 59, ante.

The above declension is as given by my pandit, and is not given by I-k.

B. Second Conjugation. (Form 10).

चर्म टू tsga matu, or चर्म टू tsga mutu, fled.

Sing. Masc. चर्म टू tsga matu
Fem. चर्म सू टू tsga matsa (vide ante, pp. 32, 33).

Plur. Masc. चर्म सू टू tsga matu
Fem. चर्म सू टू tsga matsa.
C. Third Conjugation. (Form 11).

Singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>व्यथ्यभामत् vyathyëmati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>व्यथ्यभामत्स्य vyathyëmatis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>व्यथ्यभामत्स्य vyathyëmati.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>व्यथ्यभामत् vyathyëmati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>व्यथ्यभामत्स्य vyathyëmatyan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>व्यथ्यभामत् vyathyëmatyan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following forms are irregular:

- From past participle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>यि yi, come.</td>
<td>अमत् amatś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आत्र आत्र enter.</td>
<td>त्सामत् tsamatś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नेर nér, issue.</td>
<td>द्रामत् dramatś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रस pras, give birth.</td>
<td>प्यामत् pyamatś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जिञ्जः zi, be born.</td>
<td>जामत् zamatś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मर mar, die.</td>
<td>मुमत् mumatś, or मुद्रमत् mudamatś.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of all these, except मुद्रमत् mudamatś, the first number of the compound does not change for number or case. Thus,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing. Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अमत् amatś.</td>
<td>अमति amati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अमत् amatś.</td>
<td>अमति amati.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The forms for गृहमू मुद्मु मृत्त are.

Sing. Masc. गृहमू मुद्मु मृत्त.
   Fem. गृहमू मुद्मु मृत्त.
Plur. Masc. गृहमू मुद्मु मृत्त.
   Fem. गृहमू मुद्मु मृत्त.

In other words गृहमू मुद्मु मृत्त is only used in the Masculine.

13. मृत्त mutu, see No. 12 मृत्त mutu.

14. अनय anay. This gives the force of the past conjunctive participle, negatived (ix. i. 51).

Irregular are,—

नि ni, take.
दि di, give.
धि yī, come.

15. अनि anī. This is the first of a series of forms, connected with the Sanskrit participle in अनिय amī. It is used as an impersonal future passive participle, like the Latin faciendum (ix. i. 50). Thus,—

Irregular, as usual are,—

नि ni take.
दि di, give.
धि yī, come.

J. i. 26
16. तन्न un.
17. धन गन्न.
18. तन्न un्न.

These three are used indifferently for one another (ix. ii. 2, 3). The first is of the first declension, and the second and third of the second. Their declension is as follows:

**Singular.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>करन्न karunan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>करनाः karanas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>करनन्न karanan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.1</td>
<td>करन karan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>करन्न karan or कश्यन karun.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>(not used).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>करनन्न karan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.1</td>
<td>करनन्न karani.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the root ends in इ, the first and third forms are not used (ix. i. 21, 24). We only have forms like,

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>करन karan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>करनन्न karan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>करनन्न karanau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.1</td>
<td>करनन्न karanau.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>(not used).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>करनन्न karan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl.1</td>
<td>करनन्न karani.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>धिन्न khi, eat.</td>
<td>धिन्न khyan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धिन्न hi, buy.</td>
<td>धिन्न hyan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धिन्न ci, drink.</td>
<td>धिन्न cyan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exceptions, as usual, are,

| धिन्न ni, take. | धिन्न or धिन्न nyun. |
| धिन्न di, give. | धिन्न or धिन्न dyun. |
| धिन्न yi, come. | धिन्न or धिन्न yyun. |

This is used,

(a) As an adjective.

(b) As an abstract verbal noun.

(a) As an adjective, it is equivalent to the Sanskrit participle in अनीय: aniyah. Thus, कश्यन karun or करन्न karan, means 'it is to be

1 The oblique form is that form which the agent case assumes before postpositions.
made’ (masc.). Its feminine is करण karaṇa. Examples of its use are,—

रच पाठ कङ्ग पशन (or परङ्ग) yih pāth (masc.) chuh parun (or paranu), this lesson is to be read.

रच पाठ सङ्ग परङ्ग yih pāthi (fem.) chēh paran this book is to be read.

This adjective is used in a peculiar idiom with the verb गत्स गत्स gatsh, go, be proper (Cf. French ça ira). The past of this verb, in this sense is गत्स गत्स gatshu, not मारु gauv. It is only used in the future and past tenses, not in the present. Examples of the idiom are (ix. i. 42).

च गकङ्ग मारु (or मारु) tsē gatshakh māranu (or mārunu) you deserve a beating, literally you will go with propriety to be beaten.

च गकङ्ग छङ्ग मारु tsē gatshhi suh māranu, you ought to beat him, literally, he will go to be beaten by you.

च गकङ्ग स जनान मारु tsē gatshhi suh māranu, you should beat that woman, literally, that woman will go to be beaten (fem.) by you.

च गकङ्ग सङ्ग नविवाङ्ग मारु tsē gatshu suh nēchyuvu māranu, you should have beaten that boy, lit., that boy went to be beaten by you.

च गकङ्ग स जनान मारु tsē gatshu suh māranu, you should have beaten that woman.

The same form is used with the verb लग्न lag, be proper, in much the same sense. This is only used in the Future and Past Conditional tenses (ix. i. 43). Thus,—

तु लमि च गकङ्ग लग तु tsē gatshu, you should go there. Here the participle is impersonal, and the phrase is literally, the going there by you will be proper. If the object is feminine, the participle must be feminine. Thus,—

च लमि मारु स जनान tsē lagi māraṇu suh māranu, you should beat that woman, literally, that woman will be proper to be beaten by you.

So, also in the Past Conditional तु लमि च गकङ्ग लगिहे गत्स गत्सन् one (I, you, &c.) should have gone there.

The root पज्ज paz, be proper, is used in exactly the same way (ix. i. 44). Thus, पज्ज छङ्ग सङ्ग मारु tsē pazihē suh mārun you should have beaten him. Lit. He would have been proper to be beaten by you.
Instead of the agent case, the genitive can be used, in all these idioms (ix. i. 45). Thus we may say,—

\[\text{क्षोृ गक्षिल्लु मङण्} \text{cyōn\* (instead of} \text{tse)} \text{gakshi sūh māran\*}.\]

\[\text{क्षोृ गक्षिल्लु स ज्ञान भारण्} \text{cyān\* (fem.) gakshi s\* zanān\* māraṇā.}\]

So also in the plural,—

\[\text{क्षोृ गक्षिल्लु नित्म सारृ नित्म} \text{cyān\* gats\*n tim māran\*, you should beat them.}\]

\[\text{क्षोृ गक्षिल्लु नित्म सारृ नित्म} \text{cyān\* gats\*n tim māran\*, you should beat them (fem.).}\]

Pronominal suffixes can also be added to the main verb (not to the participle) (ix. i. 46). The formation of these suffixes will be dealt with in the chapter on verbs.

\[\text{गक्षुस् नक्षुन् gats\*u-s karun\*, it should have been done to him.}\]

\[\text{गक्षुस् करन् gats\*u-y karun\*, it should have been done for thee.}\]

\[\text{लग्यस् करन् lagy\*s karun, it should be done for him.}\]

\[\text{पजाम् करन् pazy-am karun, it should be done for me.}\]

(b) As a substantive, the form is used as a masculine Abstract Verbal Noun, or Infinitive (ix. ii. 2, 3 and ff). Thus,—

\[\text{कर} \text{kar, make.} \]

\[\text{करन् karun, kar\*n karun\*, or karn\* karun\*, the act of making, to make.}\]

The accusative singular is used with the post-position क्यूत or क्यूत k
cut\* (ix. i. 17) to form a dative. E.g., परनस् किन्त paranas k
cut\*, for reading. Thus,—

\[\text{परनस् किन्त प्रध paranas k\*t pr\*yg, a couch for reading. k\*t k\*t\* is an adjective.}\]

We thus have,—

\[\text{परनस् किन्त प्रध paranas k\*t pr\*yg, a couch (masc. sg.) for reading.}\]

\[\text{परनस् किन्त गर paranas kiti\* gar\*, houses (masc. pl.) for reading.}\]

\[\text{परनस् किन्त चूँकित paranas kiti\* c\*k\*, a chair (fem. sg.) for reading.}\]

\[\text{परनस् किन्त चोक paranas kiti\* c\*k\*, chairs for reading.}\]
In all the above it will be seen that the essential meaning of the verb is active. A couch for reading means a couch for reading something,—e.g., a book,—and the verb is not changed whatever the gender of the object may be. Thus पुथि pūthī, a book, is feminine, but we still say

रच्छ पृथि (or द्वय पृथि) परनस्क वित nā yih pūthī (or yith pūthē) paranas kyut1 pragy, a couch for reading this book.

We may also use the dative of other verbal nouns in the same way. Thus, जेटनस्क वित tōtanas kyut1 or (No. 30d.) जेटनस्क वित tōtās (masc.) kyut1, for grinding to powder; ग्रजनस्क वित्त grazanas kyut1 or (No. 31g.) प्रज़ वित्त grazi (fem.) kyut1, for roaring.

But if the verb is used passively then it agrees with the subject in gender, and the form is no longer substantival but adjectival. Thus, ‘a book for reading’ means ‘a book for being read,’ and we must say,—

परञ्च विच पृथि parān kits1 pūth1

On the other hand we say परनस्क विच चूक paranas kits1 cuk1, because the phrase means a chair for reading, and not a chair for being read.

Note that when the verb is used passively, it is in the form of the nominative feminine, not in the accusative, although preceding विच kits1.

We may also use the nominative masculine before विच kits1 (ix. i. 22, 23) when the verb is used passively. Thus पश्चन (or पश्चन or परञ्च) विच पश्चन parun1 (or parun or parun1) kyut1 pōstukh (masc. sg.), a book for reading. We thus get the following adjectival forms when the verb is used passively,—

Masc. Sg. परञ्च विच पश्चन parun1 kyut1 pōstukh, a book for reading.

(We cannot say परञ्च विच पश्चन parun1 kyut1 pragy, a couch for reading).

Masc. Pl. रणन स्कितिप्रशब्र ran2n1 kit1 lākh, vegetables for cooking.

Fem. Sg. परञ्च विच पृथि parān kits1 pūth1, a book for reading.
Fem. Pl. करानि किस्म काम् karaṇi kīsa kāma, businesses (fem. pl.) to be done.

These are all capable of declension. Thus,—(acc.) परनि किस्म parana kīṣma paranas kīsis pūṣakas chuh thawān, he places a book for reading.

The oblique base of the form in चन्द्र anu is used to indicate a purpose (ix. i. 18). I note that in poetry the form ends in चन्द्र anu, not in चन्द्र ani. Thus,—

परमि (or poetical परमि) गाथा चुढ़ parani (or poetical paranē) gatśān chuh, he goes to read. रणि गीति ranani gauv, he went to cook.

When the word समक्ष samakṣ, meet, is used in this form, it means to pay a visit of condolence. Thus, समक्ष गीति samakhani gauv, he went to pay a visit of condolence. Otherwise the ordinary dative of the verbal noun in उन् un is used. Thus, समक्ष वहि samakhaṇa pūṣka yūd, he stopped to meet him (ix. i. 19).

This verbal form is used to form Inceptive and Desiderative compounds. Thus,—

Inceptive compounds, are made with the infinitive in चन्द्र anu or उन् unu, and the verb सि hi, take (viii. i. 57). Thus, चन्द्र चुढ़ धातु ले सुह suh chuh khaṭh lekhuḥ hyavān, he begins to write a letter; चन्द्र वहि करनि karun hyavān chuh, he begins to do. If the object is feminine, the feminine infinitive is used. Thus, चन्द्र चुढ़ जनान मार्ग सुह suh chuh zanānā māraṇī hyavān, he begins to beat the woman. These forms are however, almost always used in the past tense. Thus, करनि करनि karun hyatun, he began to read, (and is doing it now).

Another way of forming inceptive compounds is to use the oblique form of the infinitive with the verb लग lag already mentioned. Thus,—

इन्नि करानि लग suh karani lagu, he began to do.
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suh lag风筝 kâ̄th lekhani, he began to write the letter.

suh lag风筝 jâ̄gân mà̄râni, he began to beat the woman. It will be observed that this form of the verbal noun does not change for gender.

Similarly, Desiderative compounds are made with the verb râ̄k yitsh, wish. Thus,—

suh chuh kâ̄th lekhun风筝 yitshan, he wishes to write the letter.

suh chuh jâ̄gân mà̄râna风筝 yitshân, he wishes to beat the woman.

suh chuh zanân风筝 mà̄râna风筝 yitshân, he wishes to beat the woman.

In the formation of this abstract noun the following irregularities appear (ix. ii. 4). Only one form of the infinitive is given, but the others follow the same rule,—

†tal, fry.  †talun or †talyun.

†baz, fry, serve.  †bazun or †bazyun.

Some verbs only use their Abstract Noun in the Feminine, and, moreover, are then sometimes irregular in their formation (ix. ii. 24 and ff.). They are the following:—

Abstract Nouns.

tsar, be inwardly wrathful  tsarin风筝, inward wrath.

(impersonally).

tsuv风筝, quarrel (impersonally).  tsuvnum风筝.

[These two, when used with other verbs, take the regular feminines in phrases like,—

amis hê̄k风筝 tsarâna风筝, he began to be angry. Literally, being angry began to him].

mîrav风筝, bear (of pain, impersonally).

mîrav风筝, bear (of pain, impersonally).

martz风筝, be impatient (used impersonally).
19. अन् $a\ddot{n}$.
20. इन् $i\ddot{n}$.
21. अन् $\ddot{a}n$.

These are all Feminine forms of the masculine verbal adjectives, and of the masculine abstract nouns or infinitives, in इन् $u\ddot{n}$, अन् $a\ddot{n}$, or अन् $u\ddot{n}$ (Nos. 16–18). No. 19 is the regular feminine of all three, and is discussed under the head of those suffixes.

It is also specially used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the following verb.

चेन $\text{ts\ddot{e}n}$, know by a sign, चेनबृज् $\text{ts\ddot{e}n}a\ddot{n}$ the giving of a sign (ix. ii. 43).

In the case of the following verbs it is only used in the fem. pl. (अन् $a\ddot{n}$) (ix. ii. 42),—

कड़ $ka\ddot{a}$, bring out. कड़न्त $kada\ddot{a}$, blaming.
पांग्चर $p\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}r$, blame. पांग्चरन्त $p\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}ra\ddot{n}$, blaming.
श्रुक $cruk$, weep. श्रुकन्त $cruka\ddot{a}$, weeping.

A few verbs (mostly connected with female ideas, and mostly used impersonally) have no masculine forms, and are also discussed under the head of Nos. 16–18.

They have only feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in इन् $i\ddot{n}$, or अन् $\ddot{a}n$. For easy reference, I repeat them here.

The two following form their abstract or infinitives in इन् $i\ddot{n}$, and in no other way (ix. ii. 24). That is to say they have no infinitive in इन् $un$.

चर $ts\ddot{a}r$, be inwardly wrathful, whether referring to a man or a woman, always used impersonally, and always in the feminine. Thus, तस्म $\text{ts}\ddot{a}r$ (fem.), of him or her inward wrath was felt, i.e., he or she was inwardly angry. Abstract noun or infinitive चरिभ तस्रीरन्त $tsari\ddot{a}$, not चरन्त $tsarun$ or चरन्त $tsara\ddot{n}$, inward wrath. चरन्त $tsarun$, does occur, but it is the abstract noun or infinitive of another verb, चर $ts\ddot{a}r$, increase.

Other examples of the use of this curious verb is तस्म $\text{ts}\ddot{a}r$ (fem.) he or she is inwardly angry. तस्म $\text{ts}\ddot{a}r$ (fem.) he or she will be angry.
tsuv, (ix. ii. 24) quarrel, also used impersonally, and in the feminine. Abstract noun or infinitive tsuvin, quarrelling.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, suh chuh suh tsuvan, he is quarrelling.

Future tense, suh tsuvi, he will quarrel.

Past tense, only used in the feminine,—


Note, that in the Past, it is always used impersonally, and in the feminine gender though it may refer to males.

We thus see that tsar is always construed with the genitive (tas), but tsuv, in the Present and Future as an ordinary Intransitive Verb, and in the Past as an Impersonal Verb.

The two following verbs, form their abstract nouns or infinitives in mörav, (viii. iii. 25) bear pain, used impersonally and in the feminine in the past tenses only. Abstract noun or infinitive möravin.

Examples of the use of this verb,—

Present tense, suh chuh möravan, he is bearing pain.

Future tense, suh möravi, he will bear pain.

Past tense, tami mörav (fem. impersonal) (pain) was borne by him, he bore pain.

marts (ix. ii. 25), be impatient. Abstract noun, or infinitive, martsin.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, tas chheh martsan, of that man, or of that woman, there is impatience.

Future tense, tas martsi, of that man, or of that woman, there will be impatience.

Past tense, tas marts, of that man, or of that woman, there was impatience.

It is thus construed exactly like tsar.
The following verbs optionally form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in ज्ञू, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in जन un (ix. ii. 26).

खृस khas, pluck the hair. In the case of this verb, श्रृः khasun (masc.) is used when men are referred to, and श्रृः khasa (fem.) when women are referred to (sensu obsceno).

फिस phits, forget; श फों, be inwardly angry; पृः phuh, be inwardly angry. In the last two the fem. abstract noun is used of the wrath of females.

वज्र wazav, moisten; बुत wuts, be burnt.

The following verbs optionally form the feminine abstract noun in र्सू in, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in जन un (ix. ii. 27-32).

चार sār, feel (see No. 26); शत khut, dig from below; तुव tuv, close (of a flower); दुव duv, sweep; दल dal, pass over; त्रुः truk (see No. 30a), bite in pieces; यक thēk, praise; नत nats, dance; त्रत nat, tremble; नम nam, bend; धुव wuv, appear (as water from a spring); धु धु wuth, twist; धुप wup, burn inside; स्विव liv, smear (makes स्विव livi, or स्विविपः lipi); स्वाव lyav, lick; कर kar, do (करिञ्जः kari, however, only means a mason’s trowel); वत wat, twist (वटिण् watin means a collection); फर phar, steal (फरिञ्ज्ञ pharirin means a female thief). Thus, शारि sārin, feeling.

If the secondary suffix शत al (sec. suf. No. 6) is ever used with any abstract verbal noun, it cannot be used with the masculine form, but only with the feminine form in र्सू in (ix. ii. 27). This शत al is only used with a few verbs. Thus, थेडळः thēkin, a praiser; नातिलः natil, a trembler, and so on.

22. अन an, (masculine). Used to form masculine abstract nouns in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 41). Thus,—

ती ci, drink. अन cian (masc.) drinking.
ती khi, eat. अन khyan (masc.) drinking.
ती hi, place. अन hyan (masc.) placing.

20. अन an (fem.). Used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 35, 37) कपत kapat, cut; दन dän,
shake out dust; नहाव, obliterate; घिल pil, arrive; फिर phir, turn over (pages); मजार māz, be intent upon; मिलव milav, unite; नुसर mutsar, open; गुर मुर, shell (pease, &c.); घव lyav, lick; वु wuth, twist; वु वु, be not extinguished; खंडर ōdār, mix; खंड khanda, divide; टीट टीट, make small; झंटर zīthār, make long; टीट टीट, have insufficient means of livelihood; चोट pīthār, blame and instruct; फुट phuṭār, break; बोट baḍār, make great; बोट baṅgār, divide; नोट nōtār make thick; बोट wōwār, shave metal.

Thus, कपटन kapatān (fem.) cutting.

The verb गिलव gilav, whirl about, forms गिलन gilan, which means ‘an attempt’ (ix. ii. 36).

The verb नव nav, be new, forms नवारन nōvaran, raking up an old story against a person (ix. ii. 38).

The verb जार lār, touch, forms जारन lāran, which means ‘trembling’ (ix. ii. 40).

Some people use this form with the roots तंत्र tānār, dilute; तंत्र tānār, make hot; खंजर syagar, make straight (ix. ii. 39).

24. रब rab. This is optionally used in the case of the root मस mas, to form a masculine verbal abstract noun (ix. ii. 5). Thus, सार मसर विभ, forgetting.

25. च, this is optionally used to form feminine verbal abstract nouns from the three following roots (ix. ii. 6).

दंद dōdar, rot. दंद dōdar, rotting.
जोजर zōzar, wither. जोजर zōzar, withering.
खसर sōsar, decay. खसर sōsar, decaying.

26. च is used optionally to form feminine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (viii. ii. 62, 63, 68, 72, 79).

तच tach, pare, तच tach, scratching (also तच tach); रच rach, protect, रच rach, protection; टोंट टशाद tshād, search, टोंट टशाद tshād, searching; टोंट टशाद, search (with a nasal), makes either टोंट टशाद tshād, or टोंट टशाद tshād; चान chān, sift, चान chān; दोन dōn, card cotton, दोन dōn; चार
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thâr, be quick, चांधः thâr; चांधः bûbar, be quick, चांधः bûbar; चांधः sâr, feel, चांधः sâr (vide p. 210); चांधः handar, be cold, चांधः handar.

27. च a (masc.) ; used optionally to form masculine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 7).

होन्प chûmb, husk; चप्पः zûs, cough; पगार bagâr, fry in oil; चप्पः bêh, sit; चम lam, pull; चोष lûs, be weary; चून wun, be unlucky.

Thus, चम चोन्प, the act of husking, and so on.

28. च a (fem.) used optionally to form a feminine abstract verbal noun in the case of the verb चूग wûgg, to howl like a dog, in a special meaning (ix. ii. 57).

Thus, चूग चूग, lying awake at night on account of some care.

चूग wûgg, means a dog’s howl.

29. चांधः āv. Used optionally in the case of the verb चांधः lad, send, build, elevate, push, when it means ‘build,’ to form a masculine abstract noun. चांधः ladâv, also means, the wages of building (ix. ii. 8).

30. —— (masc.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form abstract nouns. In such cases roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular and plural. These roots are classed according to their final letters. In the case of causal roots ending in चांधः āv, the चांधः āv is dropped.

(a) क k, certain verbs in क k and क kav, make optional verbal abstract nouns by changing the क k or क kav to क kh (ix. ii. 9). These verbs are,—

चूक chûkav, wash.
चूक tshûk, become speechless.
चूक tak, bite in two with a noise.
चूक tuk, bore like a rat.
चूक tokav, cause to disappear.
चूक thûk, bury.
चूक trûk, cut to pieces, eat (vide p. 210).
चूक thûk, be weary.
पाकव pûkav, cook.
चूक phûk, blow up fire.
चूक brak, clench with the teeth.
Thus, चोख, the act of washing. चोख, speechlessness and so on. The root फुक phuk becomes फुक phokh, when it means 'to puff.' Otherwise it is simply फुक phukh, the blowing of a fire.

(b) ग g. This case is exactly similar to the preceding one. It occurs in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 10). Thus,—

**Optional form of Abstract Noun.**

| दगव | दोग, husk. | दग | दोग, husking. |
| रग्र | राग, paint. | रग्र | राग, painting. |
| लगव | लाग, water plants. | लगव | लाग, watering. |

(c) त ts (ix. ii. 11). It occurs only in the case of the verb,—

बाँट वाट, cheat; abstract noun बाँट वाट, cheating.

(d) ठ t (ix. ii. 12).

सेत तसेल, powder; लए लए, rob; बाँट वाट, join. These can form abstract nouns in ठ थ. Thus, चेट तसेल, pounding to powder.

(e) ड d (ix. ii. 13).

गांड गांड, tie; optional abstract noun, गांड गांड, tieing.

(f) न n (ix. ii. 14).

कहन कहन, dig; तशेन तशेन, cut; optional abstract nouns, कहन कहन, digging, तशेन तशेन, cutting.

(g) प p. The following verbs optionally make their abstract nouns in प (ix. ii. 15).

कंप कंप, tremble; कर कर, cut with scissors; तसू प, chew (Cf. No. 31n.); जप zap, mutter prayers; टप टप, kick of a horse, &c.

Thus, कंप कंप, trembling, and so on.

(h) म m (ix. ii. 16).

ब्रां म bram, be in error; abstract noun, optionally, ब्रां bram.

(i) र r (ix. ii. 17).

चार cār, tie tightly.

चीर cīr, wring out.

तार tār, cross over (active).

पुकार phukār, speak in anger, bubble up (of steam).
Thus, optional abstract noun, चार cār, tying tightly.

(j) च (ix. ii. 18).

चल tśēl, force inside (active).

त्झ tshal, cheat.

ज़ zāl, scrape.

तोङ tōl, weigh.

दल dal, split (active).

मेल mēl, meet.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चम्ल tśēl, forcing inside.

(k) च (ix. ii. 19).

ज़ुव zuv, live.

दुव dūv, sweep.

ताव tāv, heat.

वोहव wōhav, curse.

These optionally form their abstract nouns in च v. Thus, ज़ुव zuv, life; वोहव wōhav, cursing.

(l) च (ix. ii. 20).

रस ras, be juicy.

होङ hōsav, incite.

Thus, रस ras, juiciness; होङ hōs, inciting.

(m) च (ix. ii. 21, 22).

गङ gōh, grind.

टगङ tsgōh, suck.

गङ gōh, grinding; टगङ tsgōh, sucking. The former also makes गङ gas, grinding.

31. —— (fem.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form feminine abstract nouns. In such cases, roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular. These roots are classed according to their final letters.
In the case of causal roots ending in चा आँ, the चा आँ is dropped. The following are the verbs:

(a) क k (ix. ii. 56).
   चक chak, scatter.
   चिक chik, sprinkle.
   चमक camak, shine.
   ठक ta k, run.
   चुङ्क phāk, smell.
   चेक cēk, doubt.

Thus, चेक्ख chākh, (fem.) a scattering, a sowing of seed; चेक्ख cēkh (fem.), doubting.

(b) ख kh (ix. ii. 75).
There is only one, and it is irregular. लेख lekh, write, makes लेफ lēph, a writing (nom. pl. लेफ lēph).

(c) ग g (ix. ii. 57).
   जाग zāg, be watchful.
   झाग jāg, emit a loud cry.
   घम dag, beat.
   खंग mang, ask.
   खाग lag, be with.
   जाग lāg, imitate.
   शंग wung, bark (of a dog).
   झंग Frog, sleep.

Thus, जाग zāg, watchfulness. शंग wung, is, specially, a dog’s howl. शंग wung, means the lying awake at night owing to some care.

(d) छ ch (ix. ii. 61).
   चाच tach, pare.
   मन्दाँ ch mandach, be ashamed.

Thus, चाच tach, scratching. The first may also form तां tach (62).

(e) ट tō (ix. ii. 58).
   पट्ट pats, trust with a loan.
   रोट्ट rōt, be preferred.
   चोट्ट rūt, be pure.
Thus, श्रृङ्खला pātsh, trust (of all kinds), रोग rōtsh, preference.

(f) त t (ix. ii. 59).

रक्त yitsh, wish.

प्यestic pritsh, ask.

Thus, श्रृङ्खला yitsh, wishing. We say श्रृङ्खला क्षण pritsh - gārā karā-n-as, asking, &c., was done by him for him.

(g) ज z (ix. ii. 64).

प्रज्ञा graz, roar.

Thus, प्रज्ञा graz, a roaring; प्रज्ञा क्रिया grim grazi kyutu, for roaring (ix. i. 17).

(h) र t (ix. ii. 65).

चर tāt, break wind with noise.

चर tshaṭ, winnow.

फुट phut, be broken.

Thus, चर tshaṭh, winnowing.

(i) द th (ix. ii. 66).

चर tyāth, be bitter. The abstract noun, चर tyāth, means necessity, necessariness.

Thus, चंभि क्रिया tamāk tyāth, the want of tobacco.

(j) ध d (ix. ii. 67, 68).

माउंड mād, mix.

चर tshād, search.

The latter makes चर tshād, or चर tshād - . [The verb चर tshād, search, without the nasal, always makes चर tshād - .]

(k) न t (ix. ii. 69).

न्यात nyat, shear.

ज्ञात latav, kick.

Thus, चंभि nyāth, a shearing; चंभि lāth, a kick.

(l) द d (ix. ii. 70).

पद pad, break wind.

पद pyad, be cognisant of.

पद pōnd, sneeze.

Thus, चंभि pōnd, a sneeze.
(m) न n (ix. ii. 71).

ज्ञान āman, change for the bad.
ग्यान zān, know.

Thus, ज्ञान āman, a change for bad.

(n) द p (ix. ii. 73).

छाप tsāp, gnaw.

Thus, छाप tsāp, a gnawing (Cf. No. 30g.).

(o) फ ph (ix. ii. 74).

छफ wuph, fly.

Thus, छफ wuph a flying.

(p) ङ b (ix. ii. 76).

रंब ramp, be beautiful.
धुब gūb, be beautiful.

Thus, रंब ramp, beauty.

(q) औ y (ix. ii. 77).

प्रय pray, be pleased with.

Thus, प्रय pray, love.

(r) र r (ix. ii. 78).

छावर āwar, cover.
छखर dakhār, depend upon.
दुर tūr, be cold.
धातर thāhar, be quick.
दोर dūr, run.
मूर mūr, husk.
लर lār, touch.
सक्हर sakhar, set forth.

लर lār, means absconding. The verb दृह दृह dūntshār, separate, forms दृह dūntsh, separating (ix. ii. 60). The verb, वद wadār, bury makes वद wad (ix. ii. 67).

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(s) ल (ix. ii. 80).

गागल gāgal; | be disturbed in one's work.
ग्रागल grāgal,

tāl, go away with indifference.
तंबल tambal, change one's mind.
मोकल mōkal, be released.
वोल wōlal, adorn.

Thus मोकल mōkal, release.

(t) द व (ix. ii. 81).

दव dav, run.

Thus, दव dav, running.

32. वष iः (ix. ii. 33). This is used optionally to form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives, in the case of the following verbs.

चक tśok, be angry; तप tap, become hot; लग lāgg, be lame.

Thus, चकिः tśokī, anger.

The ✓ भीलव milav, unite, irregularly forms भीलविः milami� (ix. ii. 34).

33. अक ak (nom. sg. अख akh) (fem.), used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the verb पोठ pōth, be fat; e.g., पोठख pōthakh, fatness (ix. ii. 45).

34. अत at (nom. sg. अत ath) (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 44).

एर्ज arz, earn; बाव bāv, declare one's intentions; वोपाज wōpaz, become; ग्राप grap, decay; स्या dyad, succeed; गर gar, make; वट wat, twist; चाहल cahal, be cold; वाय hya, be able.

Thus, एर्जत arzat; nom. sg. एर्जेस arzath, earning.

35. य अय (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 46).

वक्हन wakhan, tell; चार khār, ascend; जाग zāg, be watchful;
वाल wāl, take down; नाड nadda, dance; होक hōkh, be dry; अमन अमन, change for the bad.
Thus, वक्खनय wakhanay, telling. The verb भाग mag, ask, forms भागाय māgay, asking (ix. ii. 47).

The verb बोगār bāgar, divide, forms बोगाय bāgay, division, or बोगायā bāganay (ix. ii. 48, 54).

The verb जेन zēn, conquer, forms जय ziy, victory (ix. ii. 49).

From the verb शाव sāv, sleep, comes the derivative, उदासाय udasāvay, waking, lying awake (ix. ii. 50).

The simple word शाव sāvay, means ‘happiness’ (ix. ii. 51).

From the verb याम अमन āman, change for the worse, already mentioned, we also have यामनाय āmanay, a false charge (ix. ii. 52).

From the verb याग लाग lāg, cultivate, we have यागनाय lāganay, cultivation (ix. ii. 53).

From the verb शाद sād, accomplish, we have शादनाय sādanay, a chief cause (ix. ii. 55).

36. अवभ wawañ (fem.) (with unmodified vowel). This is added to a verb to signify wages (ix. ii. 82, 83, 84). Thus,—

करवभ karawañ, (fem.), the wages of doing; परवभ parawañ, the wages of reading; जोनवभ lōnawañ, the wages of reaping; रोजवभ rōzawañ, the wages of remaining.

If the root ends in a vowel the suffix is रवभ wawañ. Thus,—

(ति ति) दिववभ diwawañ, the wages of giving; निववभ niwawañ, the wages of taking; अववभ khyawawañ, the wages of eating; अववभ cyawawañ, the wages of drinking.

37. अन्हार ānḥār, used to signify fitness (ix. ii. 91). Thus,—

करन्हार karanṭhar, fit to be done.

गान्धार ganḍanṭhar, fit to be bound.

If the verb ends in a vowel, the suffix becomes अन्हार anahār. Thus,—

अन्हार khyanṭhar, fit to be eaten.

अन्हार cyanṭhar, fit to be drunk.

अन्हार hyanṭhar, fit to be placed.
But as usual,—

निनाहर ninahār, fit to be taken;
दिनाहर dinahār, fit to be given;
यिनाहर yinahār, fit to come.

The verb लग lag makes लगहर lagahār, which simply means 'worthy.'
On Secondary Suffixes in Kāśmīrī.—By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.

[Read August, 1898.]

The following account of Secondary Suffixes in Kāśmīrī is based on the fourth part of Īcvara-kauka's Kaśmīra-çabdāmṛta. Some of the so-called suffixes are evidently merely nouns in composition, but I have thought it best to retain them.

The following suffixes express Relationship.

1. पुत्र puṭr (iv. 1). This Suffix (the Skr. पुत्र: pūtṛ) added to a noun in the form of the instrumental singular case (the न of the first declension being dropped), signifies son, e.g.,—

   दर dar, (instr. दरन daran) a certain caste, दर-पुत्र dar-puṭr, the son of a man of that caste.

   कोल kau, a certain caste, कोल-पुत्र kau-putr, the son of a man of that caste.

   तुक tuuk (instr. तिक tiku), a certain caste, तिक-पुत्र tiku-putr, the son of a man of that caste.

   काव kāv, a crow, काव-पुत्र kāv-putr, a young crow.

   कट kat, a ram, कट-पुत्र kat-putr, a young ram.

   Apparently irregular are,—

   मां-पुत्र maṁ-putr, a young ram; कार-पुत्र kār-putr, a chicken;

   कोल-पुत्र kōlar-putr, a young pigeon; and पचिन-पुत्र pachin-putr, a young bird.

   This Suffix can only be used with generic terms, such as the above. It cannot be used with proper names (iv. 2).

Note.—The word त्सूर puṭr, either means the son of a thief (त्सूर tśūr), or may be applied to children as a term of endearment (iv. 3).

1 References here and elsewhere to the Kaśmīra-çabdāmṛta.
When the Suffix is added to the word ५िः २० जिङ्, a kiss, तिः-ङ्गुः ३० जिङ्-गुः, or जस्प-ङ्गुः जीर्ण-ङ्गुः, means simply a kiss (iv. 4).

2. क्षत kāth. This word also means son, but is rarely used, except in abuse, or anger (iv. 5), e.g.,—

उर-क्षत te३३-काः, son of a thief.
गान-क्षत gान-काः, son of a pimp.
पोंग-क्षत pोंग-काः, son of destruction.
बाज-क्षत wाज-काः, son of a cook.
रास-क्षत rास-काः, son of adultery.
को-क्षत kो-काः, (कुण्) a bad son.

We also, however, find ख-क्षत sो-काः, a good son (कुण्) and ख-क्षत् sोका-काः, a son of happiness (कुण्).

3. कतः katu. This Suffix, on the contrary is used as a term of praise, with words signifying castes or professions (iv. 6), e.g.,—

बन-कतः ba३-काः, a real son of a brāhmaṇ (i.e., a good brāhmaṇ).

So दूर-कतः dar३-काः, कोश-कतः kau३-काः.

जान-कत चाँ३-काः, a real son of a carpenter, a good carpenter.

Apparently irregular in not having a final a for the first member, are words like,—

खन्त्-कतः sोन३-काः, a real son of a gold-smith, a good gold-smith.

मन्त्-कतः मन३-काः, a real son of a shell-worker, a good shell-worker, cf. No. 38.

We find also (from गृं पुष, a buffalo, ante, p. 63), खृष्य-कतः ma०-काः, a buffalo-calf.

4. तुर turu, fem. तर lār. This Suffix is associated with the relationship of first-cousin (iv. 8, 9, 10). Thus,—

पद्य-बो३ रोध pोधरुः bोधृ, the son of a paternal aunt (lit., brother by a paternal aunt).

मामतुष्ण बो३ मासतुरुः bोधृ, the son of a maternal aunt.

मामतुष्ण बो३ मामतुरुः bोधृ, the son of a maternal uncle.

पद्य-वध pोधरु बेने, the daughter of a paternal aunt.
Irregular is दितिः देविः pit&० बोया (fem. पितर बेनी), the son (daughter) of a paternal uncle.

So also we have दितिः देविः कहानू पोफतर बोया काकान, the wife of the son of a paternal aunt.

Similarly for the other wives, दितिः देविः कहानू मसातर बाया काकान; मामा मार रे रे भानाथा, the wife of the son of a paternal aunt.

5. श्रेः thर, fem. ज़ a indicates, with a change in the termination of the root-word, the relationship of nephew (iv. 11, 12, 13). Thus,—

बाबाहर bābahēr, brother's son (बोया bōya, a brother).
बाबा bāwēr, brother's daughter.
बाआनाथ byanāthār, sister's son (बेनी bēnī a sister).
बाभना byanēr, sister's daughter.
बाहार dyaḥarēr, son of a husband's brother, (धिरू dryuyā, a husband's brother).
बाखर dyaḥara, the daughter of a husband's brother.

The following Suffixes form adjectives of possession.

6. जाः al, fem. जा al. This Suffix is restricted to natural possessions, i.e., when a thing or quality is spoken of as not only accompanying an object, but as actually forming part of it (iv. 15–19), cf. No. 9. When added to verbal nouns, they must be in the feminine form, see p. 210.

As usual, the noun to which the suffix is added takes the form of the instrumental singular, but before ज a, र a becomes व y, and ज a, for ज an, is dropped. Thus,—

From. We have.
दाख dākh, a beard. दायल dārāl, fem. दायल dārāl, bearded.
गोक gōk, a moustache. गोकश gōkshal, moustached.
दाख dākh, a hair-curl. दाख dākh, curly-headed.
बब, bab, bosom. बबल babal, bosomed.
कोच kōch, belly. कोचल kōchal, bellied.
hyang, a horn.  
hyagal, horned.

thāk̪h, blow of a horn.  
thākal, striking with the horn.

thōl, blow of a horn.  
thōlal, striking with the horn.

tāph, a bite.  
Tspal, biting.

phaç, brightness, cleanness.  
Phaçal, well-dressed.

gēṅ, a wrinkle.  
Genal, wrinkled.

syas, a wart.  
Syasal, warted.

pōnd, a sneeze.  
Pondal, one who sneezes.

machi tēca, moles.  
Machetecal, covered with moles.

Tōs, a cough.  
Teosal, one who has a cough.

Tōt, crepitus ventris.  
Tōtal, one who breaks wind.

hātsh, an accusation (fern.).  
Hatsal, one who brings an accusation (not an accused person).

zyav, a tongue.  
Zyaval, a calumniator. The word does not mean possessing a tongue, which is zeviṣast, or zeviwo, (No. 9).

When this suffix is added to the words bēnē, a sister, and kōr, a daughter, the compound implies incestuous sexual connexion, thus, bēnēl, kōryal. To convey the idea of possessing a sister or a daughter we must say bēnēwōl, kōryōl, (No. 9).

The word dār, a beard, optionally takes the suffix yāl thus dāryal, or dāryāl, bearded (iv. 19).

The word yad, a belly, becomes yadal, having a large belly, pot-bellied (iv. 30). On the other hand yād, means 'gluttonous' (iv. 31). So from hār, a quarrel, we have hār,
quarrelsome (iv. 32), and from जात jat, hair, जात्स jatsal, very hairy (iv. 33).

7. लद lad, fem. लद lad. This suffix is sometimes used instead of एल al, but usually in a bad sense (iv. 20, 21). Thus,—

- फाक phak, a stink. फाकलद phakalad fem. फाकलद phakalad stinking.
- तशोक tshök, slyness. तशोकलद tshökcalad, sly.
- चोक chok, a sore. चोकलद chokalad, full of sores.
- बाक bak, a cry. बाकलद bakalad, prating.
- डोळ dökhl, pain. डोळलद dökhalad, pained.
- द्राग drág, a famine. द्रागलद drágalad, afflicted with famine.

This termination cannot be substituted for एल al in every case. For instance we cannot say गोश लद gōshalad, देस लद dakhalad, or बब लद babalad. But with some words both एल al and लद lad can be used. Thus besides गान्न gānal, we can have गान्नलद gānalad, wrinkled; besides शस्त्र syasal, शस्त्रलद syasalad, warded; and besides त्सास tsūsal, चासिलद tsūsilad (sic). When the word फाक phac means eccentricity, it takes the termination लद thus फाकलद phakalad, mad, eccentric. When it means brightness, it takes the termination एल thus फाकल phakal.

8. योर yor\(^a\), fem. योर yor\(^a\). This suffix occurs in the following words. It is added as usual to the instrumental in the first two cases. In the last it is irregular (iv. 22, 23):

- पाज paz\(^a\), truth. पाजयोर paziyor\(^a\), fem. पाजयोर paziyor\(^a\), truthful.
- अपाज apaz\(^a\), untruth. अपाजयोर apaziyor\(^a\), fem. अपाजयोर apaziyor\(^a\), untruthful.
- मांज्यम manzyum\(^a\), मांज्ययोर manzyumyör\(^a\), a go between, a medium.

The last word is really a compound substantive and its fem. is मांज्ययाचयं manzymeyāreṇī.

J. i. 29
9. बोल vōla, fem. बाज़ू vājēn; a suffix signifying possession, when the thing possessed accompanies the possessor, but does not actually form part of it (iv. 24). (Cf. No. 6).

As elsewhere, the suffix is added to the instrumental singular. Thus,—

बार dyār, (masc.) wealth. बारवोल dyārawōl, fem. बारवाज़ू dyārawājēn, wealthy.

कुर lar, (fem.) a house. लारवोल larivōl, लारवाज़ू larivājēn, possessing a house.

शाय चाय, (fem.) a place. शायवोल चायिवोल, शायवाज़ू चायिवाजें, possessing a place.

कुर kūr, a daughter. कोरिवोल kōrivōl, कोरिवाज़ू kōrivājēn, possessing a daughter.

नेच नेच, a son. नेचिवोल नेचिवोल, नेचिवाज़ू नेचिवाजें, possessing a son.

But,—

गुपुन gupun, a quadruped. गुपुनवोल gupanwōl, possessing herds.

गर gar, a house. गरवोल garwōl, the master of a house.

gαρवाल garawōl, possessing a house.

10. ग्राह grākh, fem. ग्राहक grakañ. This may be used instead of बोल vōl in the same sense (iv. 24). Thus,—

लार lar, a house, लारिवोल larigrōkh, fem. लारिवाज़ू larigrākañ, possessing a house, and so on.

11. घाट hat, fem. घाटक hatak. This suffix denotes inconvenience experienced by the mind or feeling, but not by the corporeal body (iv. 25). The usual rule is followed in adding the suffix. Thus,—

न्यान्द nyanḍar (fem.), sleep, न्यान्दरिहृत nyanḍarīhat, fem. न्यान्दरिहृत nyanḍarīhat, afflicted with sleep.

त्रेस (masc.) thirst. त्रेसहात trēsahāt, thirsty.

बोच bōch, hunger. बोचहात bōchahāt, hungry.

कृद kṛud, anger. कृदहात kṛduhāt, angry.

गुम guma, sweat. गुमहात gumahāt, sweaty.
1898. G. A. Grierson—On Secondary Suffixes in Kāśmirī. 227

नाफ़ ताफ़, sunshine.

दर तूर, cold.

वार अर, pity.

In the two following the adjectives formed do not necessarily refer to mind or feeling,—

ज्वबः लावः, dew.

ज्वहः तावः, warmth.

E.g., नावप्रश्न बुद्धाश् तावाहा अबाराष, warm ground.

12. बान व्याल, fem. बान व्यालः. This suffix is added in the case of the words संद्रब्ध मन्दाचः, shame; मोद मोदः, respect; मान मानः, honour, in the same meaning as बौहः वेलः (iv. 26). Thus,—

संद्रब्ध मन्दाच व्यालः,

मोद मोदः व्यालः,

मान मानः व्यालः,

13. बान अनः, fem. बान अनः, added to the words दंदः दंदः, a tooth, and नस्त नस्तः, a nose, in a bad sense (iv. 28).

Thus, दंदान दंदानः, fem. दंदान दंदानः, having an ugly tooth.

नस्तान नस्तानः, having an ugly nose.

14. जः अः, fem. जः अः. This is used with the same words in the same meaning (iv. 29).

नस्त नस्तः, fem. नस्त नस्तः.

दंद दंदः, fem. दंद दंदः.

15. जः अः, fem. जः अः, a variant of the preceding (iv. 29).

नस्त नस्तः, fem. नस्त नस्तः.

दंद दंदः, fem. दंद दंदः.

16. बान अः, fem. बान अः, added to वास वासः, age, gives वास वासः, meaning ‘very old.’ Added to रस रसः, malice, we have रस रसः, malicious (iv. 34, 35).
17. रुप it, fem. रुप it, is used as follows (iv. 36–38).

From रुप rup, the eye. रुप it, fem. रुप it, having the evil eye.

रूप rup, beauty.

ऊँ न लुब, desire.

च्वर syav, tongue.

18. रुप it, fem. रुप it, as in अखब lyakal (fem.) abusive, अकल lyakal, or अकल lyakal, abusive (iv. 39).

The following suffixes form Abstract Nouns.

19. ar, (masc.) added to adjectives (iv. 41). This termination is added in the usual way to the form of the case of the agent, i becoming y. Thus,—

बियु byuyu, stale. बियर biyar, staleness.

बल tsaru, much. बसर tsaryar, excess.

फह्य phahuru, hard. फह्य phaharyar, hardness.

नूव uhu, new. नूव नर navyar, newness.

पण papu, ripe. पण्य papyar, ripeness.

फाफ phaphu, stammering. फाफ phaphyar, stammeringness.

गोभ ugo, heavy. गोिy gobyar, heaviness.

अमृत omu, unripe. अमृत amyar, unripeness.

गोय goy, silent. गोय gacyar, silence.

गोय tsosu, acrid. गोय tsasyar, acridity.

फाल phari, hard (fem). फाल pharyar, hardness.

The last adjective is only used in the feminine.

The main word is also subject to the following changes,—

(a) If the adjective is of three or more syllables, ar becomes ār (iv. 42). Thus,—

मकुल mokulu, free. मकुल mokajyar, free.
(b) This rule is, however, not universal (iv. 44). Thus,—

- अपाजः apazः, untruthful. अपाजः apazar, untruthfulness (see h. below).
- क्रहः krhanः, black. क्रहः krhaः, blackness (see h. below).
- काभुः kâtsurः, tawny. काभुः kâtsaryar, tawniness.
- काभुः kâwurः, dark-blue. काभुः kâwaryar, dark-blueness.
- क्रपुः krpunः, miserly. क्रपुः krpâः, miserliness (see h. below).
- काभुः kâyurः, pinewood. काभुः kâyaryar, the nature of pinewood.
- कोदः khôwurः, left (not right). कोदः khôwaryar, leftness.
- गेजयः ãgyöymः, light black. गेजयः ãgyâmìyar, light blackness.
- सतुः sãturः, skilful. सतुः sãtaryar, skillfulness.
- विसमः wisamः, uneven. विसमः wisamyar, unevenness.

(c) The word ठोंठः tòhः, dear, beloved, forms ठाउः tâthaः or टाइः tâchyar, belovedness (iv. 43).

(d) When the word च्यः hac, a mother-in-law, takes अरः ar, the word च्यः hacar is only used in low abuse. The right word for the condition of a mother-in-law is चम्यः hacatönः (No. 27) (iv. 45).

(e) The suffix is optional in the case of the following (iv. 46).

- कोभः kôbः, hunchbacked. कोभः kôbः or कोयः kôbyar, hunchbackedness.
- गापः gâpः, silent. गापः gâpः or गायः gapyar, silence.

(f) When the adjective ends in u-mdtrः preceded by कः kः, खः khः, or गः gः, these letters become छः cः, छः chः, and जः jः respectively (iv. 47). Thus,—

- नुकः nyukः, little. निचः nicyar, litteness.
- ठकः takः, sharp. ठचः tacyar, sharpness.
- छोकः hôkhः, dry. छोचः hôchyar, dryness.
Exceptions are (iv. 48), vide ante, pp. 32, 182,—

(g) Under similar conditions, टः t becomes चः c, ठः th becomes छः ch, ठः d becomes झः j, and थः n becomes झः n (iv. 49). Thus,—

| सा  | मोतः, fat. | मोचः mōcyar, fatness. |
| सां  | गातः, dark. | गचः gacyar, darkness. |
| धां  | ड्रोथः, hard. | ड्रांचः drāchyar, hardness. |
| शुङ  | माठः, lazy. | माचः maichyar, laziness. |
| शङ  | मोठः, blunt. | मोन्धः mōnjyar, bluntness. |
| बङ  | बडः, great. | बाजः bajyar, greatness. |
| प्रोङ | प्रोनः, old. | प्रोन्व prōnar, oldness, (see h, for elision of y). |

(h) Under similar circumstances, नः t becomes नः ts, ठः th becomes ठः tsh, ठः d becomes शः, and नः n becomes नः n, after all of which यः y is elided (iv. 50, 51). Thus,—

| सा  | तातः, hot. | तातः tatsar, heat. |
| सां  | मातः, madness. | मातः malsar, madness. |
| रां  | रातः, good. | रातः rātsar, health of body (iv. 41). |
| वां  | वाथः, open. | वाथः watshar, openness. |
| थङ  | थाडः, high. | थांचः thazar, height. |
| मङ  | मांदः, sick. | मांजः manzar, sickness. |
| तङ  | तानः, thin. | तानः tañar, thinness. |
| गुमङ  | गुमानः, slightly dirty. | गुमानः gumānār (see a) slight dirtiness. |
| तमङ  | तमानः, black. | तमानः tamañār, blackness. |
| तुरङ  | तुरङः, cold. | तुरङः tūrañār, coldness. |

blind.

half-clean.

From the word पनुन् panunv, own, we get irregularly पान्नार् pānañār, selfness.

Similarly य y is elided in other cases after modified consonants.

Thus, in प्राण prāñar in (g) above, so,—

३०४ tshōr, empty.
३०५ atshv, weak.
३०६ pazv, true.

(i) So also, when u-māṭrā is preceded by च l, the च l becomes ज j (iv. 52). Thus,—

३०७ khālv, open.
३०८ wūlv, fickle.
३०९ kumolv, delicate (see a).
३१० wōzolv, red.
३११ zāyolv, fine.
३१२ pīolv, soft.

(j) Similarly we have (iv. 53),—

३१३ trakurv, hard.

(k) Similarly च h becomes छ c (iv. 54). Thus,—

३१४ hyuhv, like.
३१५ tsūhv, acrid.

(l) Similarly च s optionally becomes छ tsh (iv. 55). Thus,—

३१६ kūsv, youngest.

३२० imī (fem.). This is optionally used instead of च ar, after बड़्य baḍv, great, thus बड़ीनं baḍinī, or चासर् baiyar (No. 19, g), greatness (iv. 56).
21. यार (fem.). This is optionally used instead of यार, in the two following words (iv. 57).

- crūts, pure.
- tsheyat, impure.

22. ज़ (fem.). This is added to words ending in योर. Thus from (iv. 58).

- manzyum-yoru, a go-between (see No. 8).
- manzim-yarz, the fem. form of manzyum (the fem. form of योर is used), the office of a go-between.

23. इल (fem.), used to form abstract nouns from substances, not from adjectives (iv. 59).

Thus, panditli, a pandit, panditil, the condition of a pandit.

- Chan, a carpenter.
- Chanil, the condition of a carpenter.
- Gor, a priest.
- Guril, the condition of a priest.

This suffix cannot be used with every word. Sometimes No. 24, must be used. We cannot for instance, say, from दोसिल, a plasterer, दोसिलिल, the office of a plasterer. We can only say दोसिल दोसिलिल (iv. 60).

The word लात्ष, a eunuch, is irregular. It forms लात्षिल, or लात्षिल (iv. 62).
24. खज्जः ओऽ (fem.), used optionally instead of the proceeding (iv. 59, 60). Thus,—

पांडि ताजः pandītāz, the condition of a pañdit.

चनाजः chānāz, the condition of a carpenter.

गोराजः gōrāz, the condition of a priest.

दोस्लाजः dos'lāz, the condition of a plasterer.

25. रोजः ilāz, (fem.), is a compound of the two preceding which is sometimes used (iv. 61).

मालः matu, a madman.

मांतलः matīl or मांतिलाजः matīlāz, the condition of a madman. If मालः matu is used to mean 'mad,' (as an adjective), its abstract noun would be सज्जः mātsar (No. 19, h).

ब्रेष्ट brēsth, ignorant.

ब्रिहिलाजः brīhilāz, ignorance.

So गूरिलाजः gurīlāz, बाटिनलाजः chānīlāz.

26. वाय way, (fem.), used to mean the wages of any act (ix. ii. 85-87). Thus,—

चानावः chānavay (fem.), the wages of a carpenter.

दोसीवः dosīvay (fem.), the wages of a plasterer.

From नाव nāv, a boat, we have नावः nāvay, the hire of a boat.

From बोर bōr or बार bār, a burden, we have बाँवः bārāvay, the wages of a porter.

27. तोन् tōnu (masc.). This gives a meaning of relationship.

It is added, as usual to the agent form (iv. 63). Thus,—

मोलः mōlu, a father.

माजः mājā, a mother.

बोयः bōyu, a brother.

पुथः puthrā, a son.

हाचः hač, mother-in-law.

मालितोऽ māliōnu, fatherhood.

माजितोऽ mājītōnu, motherhood.

बायितोऽ bāyītōnu, brotherhood.

पुत्रतोऽ putrātōnu, sonhood.

हाचतोऽ hačatōnu, mother-in-lawhood.
28. यो न्व pōn², used instead of No. 27 when the relationship is not intimate (iv. 63). Thus,—

बस् व्यास, a comrade.
दाय दाय, a nurse.
पोज पोज, low.

व्यासपोन व्यसपोन, comradeship.
दायपोन दायपोन, nurhood.
पोजपोन pōjपोज, lowness of position (in a household).

29. जन ut (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 64).

शेर शेर, an enemy.
मध्य बिखर, a friend.
पितुर पितुर, a father.
कमक xgm, a saint.
बन्ध बन्ध, a relation.

शेरर ut, enemyhood.
मध्यर बिखर, friendhood.
पितुरर पितुरट, fatherhood.
कमकर xgm, sainthood.
बन्धर बन्ध, relationship.

30. जन un (masc.), used with the following word (iv. 65).

मेश राम, a corpse.

मेशन मातुन, the condition of a corpse.

31. जम us (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 66, 67).

मोन्द मोन्द, a widow.
मोन्दस मोन्दस, widowhood.
दोब dōb, a washerman (Cf. दोब, a washerman's club, p. 34).

मोन्दस मातुन, the condition of a washerman (No. 23).

32. बद bad¹ (masc.), used in the following (iv. 68).

सौन सौन, a co-wife.

सौनबद सौनबद, co-wifehood.

[So also पितुरबद पितुरबद, fatherhood; बाजपद बाजपद, brotherhood, commensality (iv. 69).

The suffix is used with the numerals 100, and above (iv. 70), as follows:

हाथ hāth, a hundred.
सास sās, a thousand.
लाच lāch, a hundred thousand.

हातबद hātabad, hundreds.
सासबद sāsabad, thousands.
लाचबद lāchabad, hundreds of thousands.
Applied to vegetables, it means a bundle,—

हाख hākh, spinach. हाखबाद hākabād, a bundle of spinach.

मूज muj, a radish. मूजबाद mujibād, a bundle of radishes.

गोज़ोज gōj, a turnip. गोज़बाद gōjibād, a bundle of turnips.

In all the above, as usual, the suffix is added to the form of the agent. मूज muj, may also be सूज सूज, and it would then form सूजबाद सूजबाद. Cf. No. 82 post.

33. बाठ bath (fem.), used in the following, बाठबाठ ḍājībāth, commensality (see No. 32), (iv. 69).

34. उठ ul, fem. जू जू, used to form adjectives as follows (iv. 72–87).

गाठ gāṭ, wisdom. गाठल gāṭul, fem. गाठग gāṭg, skilful.

काण्ड kāṇḍ, a large spring, also a large round earthen vessel.

काण्ड kāṇḍul, fem. काण्डग kāṇḍg, circular.

गाण्ड gāṇḍ, a knot.

गाण्ड gāṇḍul, fem. गाण्डग gāṇḍg, in quantities, wholesale.

गथ gath, current of a river.

गथ gāṭul, fem. गथग gāṭg, excessive, very much.

गद gad, (not used).

गद gādul, fem. गदग gādg, very much.

ताथ tāṭh, a weight (usually of grain) weighing twelve seers.

ताथ tāṭhul, fem. ताथग tāṭhg, large enough to hold a tāṭh.

दूगः dog, a fist.

दूगः dogul, fem. दूगः dogg, shaped like a fist, lumpish.

पौटः pōṭ, a child.

पौटः pōṭul, fem. पौटः pōtā, an image, an idol.
möl, price.  

sād, taste.  

kötsh, bag.  

chōkh, cleansing.  

tsāth, cutting.  

pāth, trust.  

tsōth, the anus.  

rāth, night.  

dōh, day.  

mūn, wool.

35.  

yul, fem.  

ij, used to form adjectives as follows (iv. 88-95).  

tap, ringlets.  

jat (pl.), matted hair.  

dāh, burning.  

ras flavour.  

möl, fem.  
mölyul, 

costly, high-priced.  

sād, fem.  
sālyul, 
taste, nice to eat.  

kötsh, fem.  
kötshyl, 
a porter.  

chōkh, fem.  
chōkyl, 
clear, distinct.  

tsāth, fem.  
tsātyul, 
a thief.  

pāth, fem.  
patyl, 
a raft (fem. a mat).  

tsōth, fem.  
tsōtyul, 
a sodomite.  

rāth, night-time.  

dōh, day-time.  
munul, fem.  
muntj, 
woollen (with short antepenult).  

rasyul, fem.  
rasyyl, 
full of flavour, imparting flavour.  

E.g.,  

rasyul chuh gyawān  

rosyul chuh gyawān, he is singing sweetly.
matsh, consolation.

srefi, affection.

mis, a rag-nail, a piece of loose skin at the nail, a dolly-idler.

vyak, sand.

māj, a mother.

yun, fem. in, occurs as follows (iv. 96).

dir, dirt.

The termination also implies measure or weight (iv. 109). Thus,—

trākh, a weight or measure of four and three quarter seers.

sēr, a seer.

khār, a measure of sixteen trākh.

dōtrākh, a measure of four trākh.

dal, four tolahs.

pāzuv, half a trākh.
It will be observed that all the above are more or less irregular. The suffix is also used with the words for sixty and seventy (iv. 111).

- चेठ gēth, sixty.
- सतत्व satath, seventy.

We cannot do this with other numbers. Thus we say मन चेठ दाँड़ dahan handu (genitive) dāḍ, a bullock worth ten.

It is also used with pronouns (iv. 112). Thus,—

- त्युत् tyūt, so much.
- युत् yūt, how much.
- कुत् kūt, how much?
- युत् yūt, this much.

We also have (iv, 113).

- वरिष्ठा warithy, a year.

37. उन् unu, is used as follows (iv. 97-98).

- कुट् kūṭu, a beam.
- दाङ्द् dāḍu, a bull.

38. र् r, is used with the following words to signify profession or calling (iv. 99-108).

- रंग् rang, colour.
- सोङ् sōn, gold.
- मन् man, a precious stone.
- त्साम tsam, skin.
- दांड़ dāḍ, a bull.
- कांड kāḍ (not used).
- दास्त् dās, destruction.
- फहास phās, discord.
- बंग् bāng, Indian hemp.
- बम् bām, an impediment.
- लम् lam, delay.
- लाब् lab, interest.

- रंगर् rangar, a dyer.
- सोङर् sōnar, a goldsmith.
- मनर् manar, a lapidary.
- त्सामर tsamar, a leather worker.
- दांदर् dāḍar, a vegetable seller.
- कांदर् kāḍar, a baker.
- फहासर phāsar, a causer of discord.
- बंगर् bāngr, a hemp-smoker.
- बमर bāmar, an impediter.
- लमर lamar, a delayer.
- लाबर labar, a money lender.
sāl, invitation.  
śālar, a member of a bride-groom’s party.

lūth, plunder.  
śūtar, a plunderer.

bram, delusion.  
śram, a deluder.

Irregular is,—

lūb, covetousness.  
śūrd, a coveter.

[Others write these words ṛngur, ṛnu, sōnur, &c. Thus making the termination ur, not r.]

39. ḍgar, (masc.), fem. ḍgar, used to signify a profession relating to anything sold (ix. ii. 88, 89). Thus,—

lāēgar, (lāē is fem. pl.), a seller of parched grain.

gandanggar, a book binder.

kangān-(plur.)-gar, a comb-seller.

mandanggar, a man who kneads cloth in water (to soften it).

This is not used with words which have other forms, like ṛnu sōnr, in preceding list.

From ḍānē, paddy, we have, irregularly, ḍāgar, a paddy seller, vide ante, p. 70.

40. yum, fem. im, used to form ordinals (iv. 114.)

ākh, one.  
akyum, fem. ākim, first.

dah, ten.  
dahyum, fem. dahim, tenth.

wuh, twenty.  
wuhyum, twenty-first.

hāth, a hundred.  
hatyum, hundredth.

sās, a thousand.  
sāsyum, thousandth.

kats (masc.) ), how many? katsyum, fem. kātim

kats (fem.) ), (plur.) katsim, which out of many?

yiti (masc. plur.), how many.  
yityum, fem. yitim, which out of many.
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तौपति titi, that many. तौपति tiyum, fem. तौपतित tiitim, that out of many.

शैंत yiti, this many. शैयित yityum, fem. शैयित yititim, this out of many.

41. र i, fem. र i, denotes place of origin (iv. 117). Thus,—

घोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गो�...
The word ख्रृज्ज az, to-day, makes ख्रृज्ज azyukw, of to-day.

44. युम yumw (or युम), fem. युम imw. This termination is added to the post-position पार pār, beyond (cf. No. 70). When phrases like कामिपूरी kamipār, beyond (the hills). May also be written पारिम and so throughout.

राहिल, रात्त, yesterday.

परसु parusw, the day before yesterday.

दाच्यून dachyunw, south.

खोवरं khowur, north.

The word ख्रृज्ज az, to-day, makes ख्रृज्ज azyukw, of to-day.

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The word ख्रृज्ज az, to-day, makes ख्रृज्ज azyukw, of to-day.
So also we have,—

ब्रोथ brōth, in front.
पाठ pāth, behind.
ह्यूर hyür, above.
पाठ pyāth, above.
ताल tal, below.
बोन bōn, below.
अंटर andar, within.
न्यार nyār, outside.
मान्य manz, in.

ब्रूथयुम brūthyum, of the front.
पत्युम patyum, of the rear.
हिरयुम hīrıyum, of above.
पेठयुम pēthyum, of above.
तालयुम talyum, of below.
बोनयुम bonyum, of below.
अंटरयुम andaryum, of within.
न्यारयुम nyāryum, of outside.
मान्ययुम manzyum, internal (Cf. Nos. 8 and 22).

45. क्षुव khyal, fem. क्षे khe, signifies multitude (iv. 121).

गाव gāv, a cow.
गोव khyal, a herd of cows. Vide ante, p. 67.
गुर gur, a horse.
गुर khyal, a troop of horse.
गुपन gupan, cattle.
गुपन khyal, a herd of cattle.
त्यूर tyūr, a ram.
तिर khyal, a herd of rams.
जाना zanā, a woman.
जाना khyal, a group of women.
महानयुव mahanyuv, a man.
महान khyal, a crowd of men.

It will be observed that the termination is added to the Nominative Plural.

46. अय ay, used as follows (iv. 122).

लुक्क lūkh, people.
लुक khyal, a crowd of people.

47. अन un, fem. अनā, the genitive termination. It is used to form adjectives also (iv. 123). Thus,—

पान pān, self.
पनुन panun, fem. पनन् panañ, own.

Note that in this word the long vowel of the base is shortened.
48. ः udः, fem. ः zः. This is used as follows (iv. 124).

यर par, another.

यर parudः, fem. यर parazः, another's.

49. य thः, used to form adverbs of manner (iv. 125), with elision of a preceding ः k (iv. 131). So also in other cases. Thus,—

तिय tih, that.

यिय yih, who.

क्याय kyāh, what?

रय yih, this.

हुह hul, thus.

50. ण thः, fem. ण tshः, forming adjectives of manner (iv. 126).

Thus,—

तिय tyuthः, fem. तिय titshः, of that kind.

यिय yythः, fem. यिय yitshः, of what kind.

किय kynthः, fem. किय kitchः, of what kind?

यथ yuthः, fem. यथ yitshः, of this kind.

हथ huthः, fem. हथ hutshः, of that kind.

51. पाठ pāthः or पाठन pāthin, used pleonastically after adverbs of manner, and similarly after other words (iv. 127, 128, 129). Thus,—

तिथपाठ titha pāthः, in that way.

यिथपाठ yitha pāthः, how.

क्याथपाठ kyatha pāthः, how?

रयपाठ yitha pāthः, thus.

हथपाठ hutha pāthः, in that way.

So also तिथपाठन titha pāthin, &c.

So also we have,—

बिय biya, other.

बोशय sōrya, all.

हल halः, crooked.

बिथपाठन biya pāthin, otherwise.

सारियपाठ sōrya pāthः, in every way.

हल्पाठ hal pāthः, crookedly.
In the same way the termination can be added to the genitive of any noun.

E.g., तसंद पाठः \textit{tasand} पाठः, like that.

गुरः \textit{guru} संद पाठः, like the horse.

So also we have phrases like क्यलक्षपाठः \textit{kyath}-\textit{tān}-पाठः, in any manner. तास तान = Skr., \textit{apī}.

52. रग \textit{rag}, used to form \textbf{adverbs of manner} as follows (iv. 130).

\begin{enumerate}
\item तामिरङ्ग \textit{tamirang}, in that manner.
\item यामिरङ्ग \textit{yamirang}, how.
\item कामिरङ्ग \textit{kamirang}, how?
\item यमिरङ्ग \textit{yamirang}, thus.
\item हुमिरङ्ग \textit{humirang}, in that manner.
\item आमिरङ्ग \textit{amirang}, in that manner.
\item आकिरङ्ग \textit{akirang}, in one manner (from एक \textit{ākh}, one).
\item द्वायिरङ्ग \textit{dwayirang}, in two ways (from द्व \textit{ṭaḥ}, two).
\item त्रेयिरङ्ग \textit{tréyirang}, in three ways (from त्रिः \textit{trīḥ}, three).
\item सारिरङ्ग \textit{sārirang}, in every way (from सोर \textit{sōr}, all).
\item यात्सिरङ्ग \textit{yatsirang}, in many ways (from यात्स \textit{yatsū}, very).
\item सिल्हाविरङ्ग \textit{silhāvirang}, in many ways (from सिल्ह \textit{sīlhāḥ}, very).
\end{enumerate}

53. \textit{ि र्} to form \textbf{adverbs of place} from pronominal bases (iv. 132). Thus,—

\begin{enumerate}
\item ततः \textit{tat}, there.
\item यतः \textit{yat}, where.
\item कतः \textit{kat}, where?
\item यतः \textit{yat}, here.
\item हतः \textit{hut}, there.
\item गतः \textit{gat}, there.
\end{enumerate}

So also we have (iv. 155), formed from words which are not pronominal bases,—

\begin{enumerate}
\item ब्रथः \textit{brōth}, before.
\item पाठः \textit{pāth}, behind.
\end{enumerate}
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\[ \text{खौर} \text{ khowur}^\text{a}, \text{left.} \]
\[ \text{खौर} \text{ khowur}^\text{r}, \text{(p. 53), on the left.} \]

\[ \text{दचिन} \text{ dachyun}^\text{a}, \text{right.} \]
\[ \text{दचिन} \text{ dachin}^\text{i}, \text{(p. 54), on the right.} \]

\[ \text{तल} \text{ tal}, \text{below.} \]
\[ \text{तल} \text{ tal}^\text{i}, \text{below.} \]

\[ \text{पाठ} \text{ pyath}, \text{above.} \]
\[ \text{पाठ} \text{ pyathi}, \text{above.} \]

54. \text{चन an, चनी anî, चनस anas, चनन anan, added pleonastically to the adverbs of place mentioned in No. 53 (iv. 133, 135). Thus,—}

\[ \text{कत्यन katyan, कत्यनी katyanî, कत्यनस katyanas, or कत्यनन katyanan, where?} \]

\[ \text{तत्यन tatyan, तत्यनी tatyanî, तत्यनस tatyanas, or तत्यनन tatyanan, there.} \]

\[ \text{यत्यन yatyan, यत्यनी yatyanî, यत्यनस yatyanas, or यत्यनन yatyanan, where.} \]

\[ \text{अत्यन atyan, अत्यनी atyanî, अत्यनस atyanas, or अत्यनन atyanan, there, &c.} \]

55. \text{र i, to form adverbs of motion from (iv. 132). Thus,—}

\[ \text{तत्यत tati, from there, thence.} \]
\[ \text{यत्यत yati, from where, whence.} \]
\[ \text{कत्यत katî, from where? whence?} \]
\[ \text{रत्यत yiti, hence.} \]
\[ \text{हत्यत huti, thence.} \]
\[ \text{अत्यत ati, thence.} \]

56. \text{पाठ pyath}^\text{a}, added pleonastically to the adverbs of motion from, mentioned in No. 55 (iv. 134). Thus,—

\[ \text{ततिपाठ tatipyath}^\text{a}, \text{thence.} \]
\[ \text{यतिपाठ yatipyath}^\text{a}, \text{whence.} \]
\[ \text{कतिपाठ katipyath}^\text{a}, \text{whence?} \]
\[ \text{रतिपाठ yitipyath}^\text{a}, \text{hence.} \]
\[ \text{हतिपाठ hutilpyath}^\text{a}, \text{thence.} \]

This is merely the post-position of the ablative. Cf. Hindûstâni कहाँ से kahā sē.

57. \text{चर or used to form adverbs of place as follows (iv. 136).}

\[ \text{तर tör there; चर yōr, where; कर kōr, where? चर yōr, here चर hör, there; चर or, there.} \]
When the suffix य, even, is added, ब ब becomes ज उ. Thus,—

तूँ तुर्य, even there; तूँ यूर्य, even where; कूँ कूर्य, even where?

यूँ यूर्य, even here; जूँ जूर्य, even there.

58. तु, or तु तुठ, used to form adverbs of place (iv. 136). Thus,—

तत्तू तत्तू तत्तू, tatuth, there; यत्तू यत्तू यत्तू, yatuth, where; कत्तू कत्तू कत्तू, katuth, where?

With emphatic य, these become, तत्तू तत्तू तत्तू, even here; यत्तू यत्तू यत्तू, even where, and so on (p. 88).

59. चौर चौर, used to make adverbs of motion from (iv. 137). Thus,—

तेराबू, thence; चौर चौर, whence; चौर चौर, whence?

60. चित्त चित्त चित्त, used to make adverbs of time (iv. 138). Thus,—

तेर चित्त, or चित्त चित्त, then; चित्त चित्त, or चित्त चित्त, when;

This termination is not used with other pronouns. The word for 'now' is च्यु वृः. ‘Even now’ is च्यु वृः (iv. 139). ‘When?’ is also कर कर (iv. 140).

61. ई, or ई, used to form adverbs of time (iv. 141, 143). It is really the case of the agent, sometimes masc., and sometimes (to agree with विज्ञ wizi understood) fem. Thus,—

From—

रात्रू रात्रू, night time. रात्रू रात्रू, by night.

We also have रात्र रात्र, with the dative post-position (iv. 142).

दूलू दूलू, day time. दूलू दूलू, by day.

न्याहाप्पोलू, break of dawn. न्याहाप्पोलू, at daybreak.

सुलू, earliness. सुलू, early.
We have also कालक्षण kālakṣaṇ, the day after to-morrow. काल kāl, time. काल kāl, at the (right) time.

विज्ञ vizā, time, takes this suffix, which is in this case, clearly the agent singular, in the following phrases.

कमिविष्जः kamivisi, when? तमिविष्जः tamivisi, then; यमिविष्जः yamivisi, when; &c.

62. अ, used to form adverbs of time in the following. It is really the accusative singular (iv. 144).

कोज़ kōj, the forenoon meal. काजिसः kājis, at the time of the forenoon meal.

भिज्ञः mimyuzā, the afternoon meal. भिज्ञिसः mimizis, at the time of the afternoon meal.

63. अन an, used to form adverbs of time, especially with regard to the divisions of the day (iv. 145).

मन्द्युषः mandyuṣā, midday. मन्दिनानः mandiñan at midday.

dupaharā, dupaharan, at morn.

कालचन kālacan, evening. कालचन kālacanan, at evening.

बतांगः batanyang, the time of the night meal. बतांगः batanyaggan, at the time of the night meal.

बतादः batadab, the time of going to bed after the night meal.

बद्राठः adṛāth, midnight. बद्रातनः adṛatan, at midnight.

पत्युमः पाहर patyumäpahar, the last watch of the night. पतिमपाहरनः patimpaharan, in the last watch of the night.

We even find this with foreign words, as,—

सुबः subāḥ, morning. सुबनः suban, at morn.

सामः cām, evening. सामनः cāman, at eve.

64. अ a, used to signify distribution, with the prefix प्र प्राथ (iv. 146). Thus,—

प्रधः pradh, a day. प्रधः pradhāḥ, day by day.
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(Also दोह dōh, day by day, iv. 147).

पहर pahar, a watch.  प्रथपहर prāthpahar, at each watch.

वारिष्ठ warīhy, a year.  प्रथवारिष्ठ prāthvārīhy, yearly.

प्रथ prāth, also simply governs the accusative.

Thus,—

पक्ष ओक, one.  प्रय ओकिम prāth a, one by one.

विज्ञ wiz, time.  प्रय विज्ञ prāth wizi, each time.

महानव mahanuv, a man.  प्रय महानव prāth mahanivis, man

by man.

जनान जनान, a woman.  प्रय जनान prāth zanāni, woman by

woman.

When य, even, is added to the phrase प्रथब्रह prāthdōh, the

प्रथ prāth is always dropped. Thus, always, दोह dōhay, even day by
day (iv. 148).  प्रथब्रह prāthdōhay, is not used.

65. पथ pāth, is also used to signify distribution, as follows

(iv. 149).

दरपथ दह dōhapāth dōh, day by day.

वारिष्ठपथ वारिष्ठ warīhypāth warīhy, year by year.

जनिपथ जनिज zanipāth zani, person by person.

66. यस us, used as follows (iv. 150, 151, 152).

यह yih, this.  यह yihus, this year.

व्रोथ brōth, before.  व्रोथ brōthus, next year.

पथ pāth, behind.  पथ pārus, last year (with change

of t to r).

प्रस्त pror, belonging to the

year before last.

प्रस्त prāryus, in the year before

last.

67. किन kin, used to form adverbs of direction from (iv. 153);

added to No. 55. Thus,—

सतिकिन tatikin, thence;  यतिकिन yatikin, whence;  कतिकिन

katikin, whence?  यतिकिन yitikin, hence;  हतिकिन hutikin, thence.

व्रोथ brōth, before.  व्रोथ brāth, from before.

पथ pāth, behind.  पथ pat, from behind.
68. कृ नि kani, used to form adverbs of direction from (iv. 153), with No. 59. तोरकः नि tø rakani, from there; योरकः नि yø rakani, from where; कोरकः नि kørakani, whence? चोरकः नि hørakani or चोरकः ò rakani, thence.

So also we have, signifying cause,—

तमिकः नि tamikani or तवकः नि tawakani, for that reason.
यमिकः नि yamikani or यवकः नि yawakani, for what reason.
कमिकः नि kamikani or कुवकः नि kawakani, for what reason?
यमिकः नि yimikani or यवकः नि yiwakani, for this reason.
हमिकः नि humikani (not हुवकः नि huwakani), for that reason.
अमिकः नि amikani or अवकः नि awakani, for that reason.

It is also used with words of time to signify uncertainty (iv. 154). Thus,—

अजङः नि azkani, perhaps to-day; पगङः नि pagøhkani, perhaps to-morrow; कङः नि कङः नि kālíkyāthkani, (see No. 61), about the day after to-morrow; जङः नि जङः नि ātrakani, about the day before yesterday; दङः नि dāhumkani, about the tenth (lunar) day; चारकः नि hørakani, about अशूष्ठ.

69. पतः pata, used to form adverbs of time after (iv. 153). Thus,—

तमिपः नि tamipata, after then.
तवपः नि tawapat, after then, and so on, as in No. 68.

70. पारि pāri, to indicate direction from or in (iv. 156). Cf. No. 44). Thus,—

कमिपारि kamipāri or कपारि kapāri, in or from what direction?
तमिपारि tamipāri, or तपारि tapāri, in or from that direction.

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In or from what direction.
In or from this direction.
In or from that direction.
In or from that direction.

And so on. So also,—

From four, we have in or from all round, i.e., all four directions.

But in or from four directions only (iv. 157).

As usual these nouns take the case of the agent.

71. kun, added to adverbs of place to signify direction (iv. 158). Thus (No. 57), törkun, in that direction; yörkun, in what direction? körkun, in what direction? hörkun, in that direction; orkun, in that direction.

Turykun, even in that direction; yurykun, even in what direction.

Again (No. 58), tat'kun, in that direction; yat'kun, and so on.

In these last the final t of the first element may be changed to th. Thus,—

Tathkun, in that direction; yathkun, in what direction; kathkun, in what direction? yikhkun, in this direction; huthkun, in that direction; athkun, in that direction.

With emphatic y we get, tathykun, even in that direction; yathykun, even in what direction, and so on.

Similarly we have,—

Gám, a village.

Gar, a house.
kol, (fem.), a river.

war, a garden.

hyar, hyur, or hyur, above.

bôn, below.

The suffix can also be used as a post-position added to the accusative. Thus,—

mol, a father.

maj, a mother.

So tamis kun, towards him; yamis kun, towards whom.

72. uv, (fem. av), signifies composed of (iv. 159). Thus,—

son, gold.

souva, fem. souva, made of gold.

mets, earth.

metsyova, fem. metsyova, made of earth.

kath, wood.

kathuv, made of wood.

In all the above, the suffix is added to the form of the agent, but a final a is elided.

73. buzy, fem. the same, signifies dependent on (iv. 160). Thus,—

lukh, people.

lukabuzy, dependent on people; belonging to other people.

khod, a hollow.

khodabuzy, dependent on a hollow; i.e., buried in the ground.

kolay, a wife.

kolayabuzy, dependent on a wife; having only one relation,—his wife.
74. लयक u, fem. लेव, used with अः as, half, as follows (iv. 161).

अदलयक u, incomplete: e.g.

अदलेक कौम u, an incomplete action.

अदलेक लर u, an incomplete house.

75. रिंग, used as follows (iv. 162) to make diminutives.

अबर, a cloud.

अदर, smoke.

वाव, wind.

76. लाठ, (fem.), used to form diminutives of words signifying breath or light (iv. 163). Thus,—

प्रान, life.

चाह, breath.

गां, light.

तसोग, a lamp.

77. तर (fem.), used to form diminutives of words meaning cloths (iv. 164).

कपुर, kapur, cotton cloth.

पट, pat, woollen cloth.

78. चाल (fem.), used to form diminutives, especially of clothes (iv. 165).

कपुर, kapur, cotton cloth.

तसोग, a cake.

बुर्जा, a bhurja leaf.

पट, pat, a tablet.

क्रिहन्माज, the liver.
79. तिलिम tilim, also forms similar diminutives (iv. 165).

Thus कपर्तिलिम karpertilim; चूढिलिम tśōcētilim; मुखिलिम burjatilim, &c.

It is smaller than a thing formed with No. 78.

80. रेम्फ़ remph (fem.) (vide ante, p. 62), used to form diminutives, and in pity (iv. 166). Thus,—

\[ gur, \] a boy.

\[ gur\textsuperscript{a}, \] a horse.

\[ mahanyuv, \] a man.

\[ tsūdh, \] an apple.

81. रेवरिम्फ़ remph, (fem.), indicates connexion, including the idea of partition (iv. 167). Thus,—

\[ kapur, \] cotton cloth; कपरेविम्फ़ kaparrēvīmph, a piece of cloth.

मातामालरेविम्फ़ mātāmālrevimph chēh, there is some slight relationship with his maternal grandfather.

82. झाँड zand (masc.), added to words signifying vegetables or wood, to signify a little (iv. 168). Thus,—

\[ hākh, \] spinach.

\[ kāth, \] wood.

\[ pōs, \] a flower.

\[ zyun, \] firewood.

\[ syun, \] vegetables, meat, &c., (eaten with rice).

83. काँज़ kān (fem.), used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168).

Thus,—

\[ hākakān, \] a little spinach; काँज़ kāthakān, a little wood; पोशज़ pōṣakān, a few flowers; so झाँड zin\textsuperscript{a}, a few vegetables (not meat. If meat is included in the idea, zand cannot be used).

\[ mujezanj, \] a few radishes.

\[ mujēzan\textsuperscript{a}, \] a few radishes.

\[ kūdka kān, \] kāthakān; \[ kūdka kān, \] kāthakān; \[ kūdka kān, \] kāthakān; \[ kūdka kān, \] kāthakān; \[ kūdka kān, \] kāthakān.
84. तुलम् tulu (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus; — राकुतलहु hākatulu, a little spinach; काठतुल kāthatulu, a little wood; पोसतुल pōsatulu, a few flowers. So जिनितुल zinītulu; चिनितुल sinītulu; सुष्मितुल mujētulu.

We may also add शा ā (iv. 170). Thus राकुतलवा hākatulwā, a little spinach.

85. थोप thōpu (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

राकथोप hākathōpu; काठथोप kākathōpu; पोसथोप pōsathōpu; जिनिथोप zinīthōpu; चिनिथोप sinīthōpu; सुष्मिथोप mujēthōpu.

86. फल phalu, used to signify a little more especially of any kind of grain (iv. 169). Thus,—

दानेद dānē, paddy.

दाफल dāphalu, a little paddy.

वृकया tumul, rice.

वृकफल tumalaphalu, a little rice.

कार kara, peas.

कारफल karaphalu, a few peas.

मोग्यो मुखत्यो mōggaphalul, a little mung.

So also,—

चाँच tēروح, charcoal.

चाँचफल tēروحफलu, a little charcoal.

बाथ bathu, cowdung fuel.

बाथफल bathiphalul, a little cowdung fuel.

मेथ mēthu, earth.

मेथफल mēthaphalul, a little earth.

फल phalu, in the plural, means 'grains,' and is not used as a diminutive. Thus,—

दाफल dāphal, grains of paddy; लमाफल tumalaphal, grains of rice, &c.

शा ā may be added to फल phalu. Thus (iv. 170) बतफल bataphalwā, a little boiled rice.

87. मोय mōy or मोयā mōyā, may be used to form diminutives with any of the words mentioned in Nos. 75 to 86, except kinds of wood and grain (Nos. 82 and 86) (iv. 170). Thus; —

चंचमयā abphārāmōyā or चंचमयā abārāmōyā, a small cloud; दुख्मयā dhāmorāyā, slight smoke; वाहवयā wāwamōyā, slight wind; राकतयार
hākamōyā, a little spinach (only used of cooked spinach). hākatulā (cf. 84) means both cooked and uncooked; pōsamōyā, a few flowers; tsañemōyā, a little charcoal; mētse-mōyā, a little earth; batamōyā, a little boiled grain.

88. भन् han or भना hanā, used exactly like No. 87 (iv. 170). Thus,—

बराहन abarahān or अबराहन abarahānā, and so on.

89. बल् bal, is added to any word to indicate the presence of water, or a place for offering sacrifices to minor deities or spirits (iv. 171, 172, 173). Thus we have.

वयाहबल vyathabal, wherever the water of the Jhelam flows. E.g., (to a man going to bathe) तृष्णा -कुं गहर्ष? वयाहबल tsaḥ kṣaṇ gatšakh? vyathabal. Where are you going? (Answer) to vyathabal, i.e., to bathe in the Jhelam.

So gangabala, name of a well-known bathing place. mār-bal, vide ante, p. 67, the water of the river Mār. pokharibal, a tank (with water in it), name of a well-known tank. krir-bal, a well; awarinebal, a place where a funeral pyre is set up (always on the bank of a river); simcānabal, a burning ghat, (always on the bank of a river).

sababal, a place where a wedding dinner party is carried on wūrabal, the place where the cooking fires (wūr) for a bridegroom’s party are used; kōdabal, a brick or potter’s kiln; rāzabal, a burning ghāṭ (rāz is the superintendent of a burning ghāṭ. Hence, here used for a ghāṭ). graṭabal, the site of a Persian wheel. yārabal, the place where water (Skr. वारि vāri, ) is offered to ancestors; i.e., according to Kāśmiri custom, a bathing place.
An Account of Travels on the Shores of Lake Yamdo-Croft.—By Sarat
Chandra Das, C.I.E., Rai Bahadur.

[Read February, 1897.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. Early accounts of Lake Palti.

In 1730, Orazio Della Penna, a Capuchin missionary, visited this
great lake of Tibet and described it as follows:

"The easternmost place is called Kambala, which is the name of a
great mountain, on the slopes of which are many places, and in the
plain at the foot to the south is a great lake called Iandro, which is
eighteen days' journey round, according to those who have made the
circuit, but within are some hilly islands. The same lake has no outlet
that I know of, and during a day and a half's march round it, I can
vouch that I saw none; while as regards the remaining portion, I have
the authority of those who have made its circuit."

This was the famous ring-like lake of Palti, which has appeared in
all maps since the days of D'Anville. The peculiar lake of Palti,
Piate, or Yam-dok-chu, with its great central island, like a large ring,
first appeared on the map prepared by D'Anville, from the survey of
the Lamas, under Jesuit instruction, which was published by Du-Halde
in 1735. It has been repeated on all subsequent general maps. Giorgi,
in his 'Alphabetum Tibetanum' (1762) says, that Palte lake, otherwise
called Jang-so or Yam-dso, according to native report is of very
great size, so that a man could not journey round it under eighteen days.
It is three days' journey from Lhasa. From the middle of the lake
rises a continuous chain of hills and islands. On the southern side is a
monastery, the abode of a great queen, who is born a second time,
called Toreepano. She is honoured as a real goddess by the Indians
and Nepalese, who worship her under the name of Bovani. The
Tibetans believe a certain holy spirit is reborn in its divine essence in
this hideous female, just as in the Grand Lama. Whenever she issues
from her house, or from the island, or journeys into the city of Lhasa, a procession precedes her. Mr. Bogle, it will be remembered, made the acquaintance of this female divinity; and Dr. Hamilton cured her of an illness, and visited her constantly:

“The holidays at the new year drew nigh, and the Lama’s relations came from parts of the country to pay their respects to him. His cousin the Teshu-tzay Debo (Tashi-tse Doba), with his wife and family, his nieces, the two annis whom I saw at Teshu-tzay, their mother Chum Kusho; their true brothers, Pyn Kushos; and a half-sister Durjay Paumo (Dorje Phamo), a female Lama, who is abbess of monastery near the Piate Lake, and is animated by the spirit of a holy lady who died many hundred years ago.

“They stayed about two months at Teshu Lumbo, during which time Mr. Hamilton cured Durjay Paumo and Chum Kusho of complaints which they had long been subject to.

“The mother went with me into the apartment of Durjay Paumo, who was attired in a Gylong’s dress, her arms bare from the shoulders and sitting cross-legged upon a low cushion. She is also the daughter of the Lama’s brother, but by a different wife. She is about seven-and-twenty, with small Chinese features, delicate, though not regular, fine eyes and teeth; her complexion fair, but wan and sickly; and an expression of langour and melancholy in her countenance, which I believe, is occasioned by the joyless life that she leads. She wears her hair, a privilege granted to no other vestal I have seen; it is combed back without any ornaments, and falls in tresses upon her shoulders. Her chanea, like the Lama’s, is supposed to convey a blessing, and I did not fail to receive it. After making presents and obeisances, I kneeled down, and stretching out her arm, which is equal to “the finest lady in the land,” she laid her hand upon my head.”

Mr. Manning is the only Englishman who ever saw Lake Palti, and it appears from his narrative that he was not aware that the hills on the opposite shore formed an island. In his diary he wrote:

“Pursuing our course, and gradually descending, the valley at length opened into a large stony plain, at the end of which stood a considerable town on the margin of an extensive lake, or little sea, as it is called. From the opposite or further margin of the lake rose diminutive mountains in a continued chain, which bounded the whole prospect in front.”

On the 1st of January 1866, the Pandit, trained and sent on his travels by Colonel Montgomerie arrived at the banks of the Palti or Yamdok-chu lake at a small post called Piahte-jong.

1 Markham’s Mission of George Bogle, pp. 244 & 245.

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He describes the breadth of the lake as varying from two to three miles, and says that it is reported to be very deep. In the centre of the lake there is a hill at the foot of which, are situated a number of villages. The circumference of the lake is about 45 miles; it is crossed in wicker boats covered with leather.

The Pandit rode along the banks from Piahte-jong to the village of Demalung, from which point the lake stretches to the south-east about 20 miles, and then turns west.

This is the Pandit's account of the lake, extracted from his diary. He further reported to Colonel Montgomerie, that he was informed that the lake encircled a large island, which rises into low, rounded hills, 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, and covered with grass to the top. Between the hills and the margin of the lake, several villages and a white monastery, were visible on the island. The Pandit was told that the lake had no outlet, but he says, its waters were perfectly fresh. Mr. Manning on the contrary says, in the text, that the water of the lake is very bad. The Pandit's observations make the lake 13,500 feet above the sea; and the island rises to 16,000 feet above the sea.

2. A Short Account of Tibet.

Tibet, to speak in the language of Captain Samuel Turner, strikes a traveller, at first sight, as one of the least favoured countries under heaven, and appears to be in a great measure incapable of culture. It exhibits only low rocky mountains, without any visible vegetation, or extensive arid plains, both of the most stern and stubborn aspect. Its climate is cold and bleak in the extreme, from the severe effects of which, the inhabitants are obliged to seek refuge in the sheltered valleys, and hollows, or amidst the warmest aspects of the rocks. Yet perhaps providence, in its impartial distribution of blessings, has bestowed on each country a tolerably equal share. The advantages that one possesses in fertility, and in richness of its forests and its fruits, are amply counterbalanced in the other by its multitudinous flocks and invaluable mines. As one seems to possess the pabulum of vegetable, in the other we find a superabundance of animal life. The variety and quantity of wild-fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds, in Tibet are astonishing.

The climate of the country north of the Himalayas within the distance of 60 miles, in a direct line from the Kangchenjunga, is extremely cold. The summits of the mountains within this zone remain covered with snow
all through the year. Owing to the high altitude and the rudeness of the winds which prevail there, the ground composed as it is of sand, gravel and loose stones, remains hard as if baked in winter. The climate and soil being alike inhospitable, in this part of the country, there is little habitation of men. The country is occupied by herdsmen and shepherds and also by *Kyang* (wild ass), wild sheep, antelopes, rabbits, wolves and other smaller wild animals. There are snow leopards but no tigers or snakes in Tibet. In the southern parts of Tibet are built cities and castles, and groves of poplar, willows, and stunted trees have been planted. The mountains are destitute of everything except grass and dwarf shrubs.

Sowing takes place in the beginning of May; the Tibetans gather little wheat, much barley which is their staple food, and some peas which they bruise and give to their horses and cattle. The latter crop is gathered in September. These harvests as well as that of rape from the seeds of which oil is extracted, yield sixty fold, and in good season eighty fold. The people grow carrot, turnips, radishes, garlic and onions. In the south and south-eastern parts are found, walnut, peach, apricots, wild apples and wild vines which yield a few grapes. There are some few flowers. The poplar, elm, willow and ash abound in most of the parks and groves of Tibet.

There are many gold mines in the provinces of U-Tsang, Chang, (wild ass), wild sheep, antelopes, rabbits, wolves and other smaller wild animals. There are snow leopards but no tigers or snakes in Tibet. In the southern parts of Tibet are built cities and castles, and groves of poplar, willows, and stunted trees have been planted. The mountains are destitute of everything except grass and dwarf shrubs.

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Mines and minerals. Silver abounds in the last province which borders on China. There are also mines of copper and nickel. Sulphur, vitriol, cinnabar, cobalt, turquoise, stones, amber and alabaster are abundant. The hills of Tibet have, from their general appearance strong mark of containing those fossils, that are inimical to vegetation. Tibet is very poor in iron. It is not that there are no mines of that useful metal in Tibet. It is probable that the Tibetans either do not know to work those mines or that they have no fuel, enough to fuse the metal. In the neighbourhood

\[1\] During my residence at Tashi-lhunpo, I took observations from the thermometer. I had a Fahrenheit thermometer and a pair of maximum and minimum thermometers. The thermometer during the month of October, was on an average 37° in the morning; at noon 45° and in the evening 40°. During the month of November there was frost in the morning and evening, and the thermometer stood below 30° in the morning and 36° at noon in the shade. A serene, clear sky prevailed, during day and night not a cloud was to be seen in it. The genial warmth of the sun in the transparent atmosphere made the days very delightful. The weather in the months of October and November was clear throughout, cool, and pleasant and the prevailing wind blew from the south and south-west.
of Tashi-lhunpo there is a lead mine. In the province of Chang-thang, about twenty days' march north and north-west of Tashi-lhunpo, there are immense mines of rock-salt which is universally used for all domestic purposes in Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan.

People in Tibet generally suffer from sore eyes, and blindness. The high winds which prevail nine months in the year, sandy soil, and glare from the reflection of the sun, both from the snow and sand, are evidently causes of the same. Coughs, colds, and rheumatism are frequent in Tibet. Simple fevers occasionally arise from temporary causes. They are easily removed, sometimes without treatment.

Liver diseases with the exception of Pekan, which is produced by sedentary habit and continual drinking of tea-soup made with rancid butter, are occasionally met with. Tibet is not exempt from venereal diseases. People suffer from it apart from other causes, more on account of the grossness of their food and for want of cleanliness in their habits of living. Smallpox, when it appears in Tibet strikes the people with too much terror and consternation. They pay less attention to those who are infected, thinking their case hopeless. All communication with the infected is strictly forbidden, even at the risk of their being starved, and the house or village is afterwards erased.

During the time I was laid up at the monastery of Samding I observed that the physicians there used roots and bark of roots for making powders and decoction for administering to their patients. The bark, leaves, berries, and stalks of many shrubs and trees are used in a pulverised state or in decoction. Some are astringent, some are of bitter taste, but the generality is employed to strengthen digestion and to work as tonics.

The Tibetans drink tea prepared in the manner of soup with butter and salt and leave a little in the cup, with which they make a dough with barley meal, and afterwards eat it. For dinner and supper they make the barley meal paste with tea and eat it with boiled mutton, kid or beef of yak when available. They are fond of a gruel made of dried meat, barley meal, radish, or dried curd. The Lamas seldom eat fish or fowl. All classes of people eat raw meat, though occasionally. Only the rich eat rice, bread and meat with sauce, as dainty dishes, called Gya-zê prepared after Chinese fashion. They drink malt beer: ardent spirit is seldom taken. The people generally use dried dung of cows, donkeys, horse and sheep, for fuel. Firewood is used when it is available in some districts. They cook in earthen-ware vessels. The Tibetans are skilful potters.
For clothing purposes they have only cloth of wool, serge, or yarn, blankets, which are seldom more than a foot in breadth, and skins with the hair on. In winter they use robes lined with lambskin. Silk robes lined with fur are used by the rich nobles and official Lamas.

They live in walled houses made of stone and sun-dried bricks, built with flat or terrace roof. Their houses are spacious and several storeys high. The grand Lama's residence at Lhasa is thirteen storeys and covers the entire summit of a hill. The temples are generally furnished with gilt turrets and domes made after the Chinese style. The houses are generally whitewashed with a kind of lime, their inside is often neatly plastered and contains paintings. The roof rests on wooden beams and is generally made of slate or clay beaten on branches of trees placed on the beams. The floor of their houses are generally kept clean.

Mr. George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner whom Warren Hastings sent to the court of the Tashi Lama, brought back with them a very good opinion regarding the character of the Tibetans. Visiting Tibet full one century after Turner's time, I returned with the same kind of impression of the character of the people. Humanity, and an unartificial gentleness of disposition, are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan. Without being officious, they are obliging; the higher ranks are unassuming, the inferior, respectful in their behaviour; nor are they at all deficient in attention to the female sex; in this respect their conduct is equally remote from rudeness and adulation. The women of Tibet in higher life enjoy an elevated station in society. To the privilege of liberty, the wife adds the character of mistress of the family, and companion of her husbands. Among the humbler classes the company of all, indeed, she is not at all times entitled to expect, different pursuits, either agricultural employments, or mercantile speculations, may occasionally cause the temporary absence of each; yet whatever be the result, the profit of the labourer is expected to flow into the common store; and when one of the husbands returns, whatever may have been his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home. The custom of polyandry which prevails here links whole families together in the matrimonial yoke, checking the increase of population in this singularly unfertile country. It also tends to prevent domestic discords, arising from a division of family interests, and to concentrate all the spirit, and all the virtues, inherent in illustrious blood. Jealousy causes unhappiness and dissensions where several men, not brothers, live in the company of one wife. The several husbands are then called Ṇamdo-pyūn, i.e., brothers on account of a joint wife.
In higher life courtship is carried on with little art, and quickly brought to a conclusion. The elder brother of a family, to whom the choice belongs, when enamoured of a damsel, makes his proposal to the parents. If his suit is approved, and the offer accepted, the parents, with their daughter, repair to the suitor’s house, when the male and female acquaintances of both parties meet and carouse for the space of three days, with music, dancing, and every kind of festivity. At the expiration of this time, marriage is complete. Mutual consent is generally the bond of union, and the parties present are witnesses to the contract which is formed for life. In case when one man marries one wife mutual consent is supplemented by a pecuniary contract which makes it dissoluble.

The country round the lake does not exhibit a varied prospect; it is all a leafless, dreary scene; one uniform russet brown covers alike the valleys and the hills. On the summits of the hills, here and there, springs are seen arrested in their fall, and converted into solid monuments of ice. These contribute greatly, together with the universal nakedness of both hills and valleys, to impress the traveller with an idea of the extreme bleakness of the region, and the rigour of its climate. The atmosphere, indeed, is in an extreme degree keen and pure. The dryness of the soil and scantiness of vegetation, contribute little towards charging the air with humidity. It remains clear even to brilliancy throughout the year. In winter the water of the lake becomes frozen. Its expanse becomes uniformly smooth, presenting a most noble sheet of ice.

In the narrowest parts of the lake there are ferries. During summer and autumn small boats made of an entire skin of a yak ply across them, carrying one or two sheep, goats or persons. In winter on the frozen surface, dust and powdered cow-dung are thrown to make the passage of sheep and goat over them less slippery.

The smaller lakes freeze to a great depth which afford ground for skating, but the people of Tibet are ignorant of that kind of amusement; they, however, are very good sliders.

II.—ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS.

1. A VISIT TO SAMDING, THE GREAT MONASTERY OF THE LAKE COUNTRY OF YAMDO.

On the 15th of May, 1882, while I was proceeding to Lhasa, in the company of Lhacham Kusho, the wife of Śāyāṇé Phala, one of the four Ministers of the Grand Lama, of Lhasa, I suddenly fell ill at Nangar-tse.
The kind-hearted lady gave me an introduction to her cousin Dorje Pha-mo, the incarnate female hierarch of Samding. In handing over the letter to me she said:—“Fear not Pandubla, Dorje Pha-mo will be as kind to you as myself. We have no hand in the inevitable consequence of Karma. You must submit to it, but I am glad that you have fallen ill here instead of at another place, for here we can send you to Dorje Pha-mo. Come directly to our house when you recover.” She warned my two attendants Pador and Lama Tomola surnamed Tshingta not to desert me. Her two sons exhorted Pador to be a faithful and devoted servant to Pandubla (myself), and serve him to the last. It was about 9 A.M., when I slowly rode towards Samding. At a distance of about two miles from Nangar-tse, we crossed a sluggish stream which flowed towards the Yamdo lake. The rivulet was teeming with a small fish and overgrown with a kind of sedge, over which green moss was scattered. The plain over which we travelled was extensive towards the north and south.

Crossing three or four limpid, but sluggish streams, all on their way to join the great lake, we arrived at the eastern side of Samding monastery, which, perched on the top of a barren hill, looked very picturesque. The flight of stone steps from the foot of the hill to the top of it, along which a zig-zag pathway wound up, lined by a stone wall about six feet high and three feet broad, filled me with the greatest dismay: how could I ascend to that height when my heart throbbed even while I was seated on the pony! Arrived at the large Chhorten (stūpa) where pilgrims generally halt and encamp, Tomola asked two men, who were coming down from the monastery, if Dorje Pha-mo was accessible to pilgrims, and if the two physicians were at the monastery. Being answered in the affirmative, I dismounted from the pony, and sat down gasping on a stone step. After a few minutes’ rest we commenced our wearisome ascent. Taking rest at every bend of the stair, I reached its top about 300 feet in height. The top of the steps, however, was not the end, for a narrow pathway thence lead us further up to the foot of the monastery. From the eastern edge of the hill we now came to the north-western face of it, whence we enjoyed a grand view of the inner lake of Yamdo. Ascending a few steps, we arrived at the northern gate of the monastery, which faces the inner and higher lake called Dumo-tsho, the demon’s lake. I saw with surprise several men walking round the monastery and continually twirling Manikhorlo (prayer wheels), for I thought men, excepting women pilgrims, had no access to the monastery of which the presiding head was an incarnate nun; but the number of monks seemed to be large among the circumambulators. I was led along a narrow lane towards the north-east corner of the monastery. A few minutes after I was waiting...
seated on the plinth of the building. Amchi Chhenpo the senior physician arrived, and with an appearance of kindness and sympathy, while feeling my pulse said "mi-tog, mi-tog do not apprehend (danger), do not apprehend; you have come from a great distance, I will give you good medicine." He appeared to be about 70 years in age, quite grey, but with a frame still strong and sturdy, of middle stature, with agreeable features, broad forehead and dignified looks. Helped by Tomola, I followed him, and after ascending two ladders we arrived at the portico of his residence. The old man, while twirling his prayer wheel with the right hand, and frequently taking snuff with his left, observed the working of my lungs with attention as I walked and climbed up. He gave me two powders to be taken with warm water and ordered his cook to serve me with a cup of plain tea. Shortly after being refreshed we went to the place of the venerable lady Dorje Pha-mo, carrying Lhacham's letter. Tomola represented my case to her through the Amchi Chhenpo, and paid five tankas with a scarf for her blessings and protection. Dorje Pha-mo was at this time performing some religious service. She received the letter and immediately consulted certain books on divination to examine my fortune. She then informed Tomola that she had found my illness to be serious though not fatal, in consequence of which, the speedy observance of some efficacious religious service would be urgently needed. As I had come from Tashi-lhunpo, and with a letter from Lhacham, she would be glad to see me later on. She also conveyed to me her leave to freely ask for anything we might require for subsistence during our stay at Samding. This assurance was most cheering, and enlivened my drooping spirits. Tomola went to the evening congregation of the monks leaving me in the old physician's charge. He presented the assembly with enough of tea and butter, and also a few pieces of silver, together with a scarf, requesting them to pray for my recovery. The monks with one voice prayed that the gods might extend their mercy to me, a pilgrim from a distant land. Next day Tomola arranged to entertain the monks of the monastery who were about eighty, with food.

The monastery of Samding was built on the narrow neck of land which connects the peninsula of Donang with the main land of Tibet. It has the holy lake of Yamdo on its west and the accursed Dumo, the demon's lake, on its east. Dorje Pha-mo is venerated for her power to suppress the demons which, it is believed, infest the latter.

The peninsula of Donang and the smaller islands of the great lake are frequented by great abundance of water-fowl, wild geese, ducks, and storks called Tung-tung, which, on the approach of winter take their flight to the milder regions in the Himalayas.
Large numbers of swans, the largest species of the crane kind, come here in summer and autumn and lay eggs, some of which are as large as a turkey's egg, in the sands and in the crevices of rocks near the banks. During the rainy season sounds resembling those of a falling avalanche, or what are called "Barisal guns," are heard from Samding and the neighbouring places to come out of the smaller lake in consequence of which it is called Dumo-tsho—the lake of the demon.

2. Journey on the shores of Lake Yamdo-Croft (Palti).

On the 23rd of October (1882) on my way to the ancient monastery of Sam-yea, I revisited the place called Dsara tsan-chhur (the nook of the genii), so called on account of its being a hiding place of robbers who waylay travellers. Passing it with feelings of dread and danger, we entered into the tortuous winding of a rugged and gloomy valley, which passed, we began to see light as the glen widened. We then got a peep into the table-land of Nangar-tse and descried the famous monastery of Samding, the late scene of my sufferings. Its white walls and sombre roofs could be distinctly seen At about 10 a.m., we arrived at the solitary village of Rhingla. Formerly when Rhingla was prosperous, a branch monastery of Samding existed here. It is now in ruins with the exception of a chhorten. There are two or three families here who make pottery. We cooked our breakfast in the house of an old potter of 70 whose two sons were engaged in turning pots. They employed a concave wooden pan, on which pots were turned by being twirled with the hand. During the rotation of the pan with the pot the potter shaped the latter with a wooden knife, and sometimes with his fingers. After breakfast we resumed our journey. Crossing the Dsara chhur which rising from Kharula empties itself in the Yamdo lake we ascended along the gentle slopes of a hill to take the road to Talung.

The contrast between the elevated and the lower platform of this lake country is most striking. The latter, which extended up to the margin of the lake, being covered with an extensive carpet of deep verdure, afforded refreshment to the eye, while the former, the abodes only of vultures and kites, was of a most repulsive and inhospitable aspect. The inlets of the Yamdo lake from this side were also numerous. We passed by a walled enclosure, adjoining which there were some ruins. We were told that this enclosure was solely used as a pony market, and that the annual pony fair of Talung formerly used to be held here. There were many dok sheds, now deserted, probably owing to the shepherds and herdsmen having retired to more fertile parts of the country. We now found ourselves in a gravelly plain.
filled with scattered blocks of rock and boulders. The way, which threaded sometimes along the edge of the mountains and sometimes through the middle of the plain, was very rough. I therefore rode very carefully. The village of Talung (country of ponies), which has a hillock in its middle, from a distance presented a very imposing appearance. We arrived at this at 5 P.M. A castle-like monastery with painted windows and corner towers adorns its top. The village is large, containing upwards of two hundred houses, scattered over the flat. At the foot of the central hill there is another monastery belonging to Sakya. The barley-fields were all stony and evidently sterile. Far behind were the dōk-pa sheds. The yaks of the place appeared to be of good breed and large size. The people, from the way they had cultivated the lands, seemed very industrious. This year's crop had been much damaged by the frost and hailstorm of September. The villagers refused us shelter in their houses, suspecting Phurchung to be a Duk-pa (Bhutanese). The Bhutanese are called Lhopa (the Southern) at this place, and are very much dreaded, as they often make raids on this place for plundering the villagers of their cattle and grain. The skies were filled with rain clouds, and a slight shower fell. After making fruitless negotiations for securing our night's shelter under a roofed house, at last we came to the gate of the Sakyapa monastery, where many monks, the elders of the villages, and the villagers, including children and women, were standing in anxious expectation of the arrival of Je-tsun kusho of Sakya, who was just returning from a pilgrimage to Mon-chho-nag and other places of the South. The band was playing hautboys, drums, and the gigantic trumpets (called Dung-chhen). Gopon (our guide) winked at us not to speak, so we kept quiet, while he conversed with the villagers and succeeded in convincing them that we were not Dukpas. A kind-hearted Gelong (monk) conducted us to the interior of the monastery compound through a lofty doorway. The hall through which we passed was about 18 feet wide and about 15 feet high. Here the spectators were drawn up in two rows, and the Lamas of the monastery, dressed in their church costumes, were present to receive their revered lady, Je-tsun kusho. The Gelong agreed to accommodate us in the house of one of his friends. The namo (hostess), though very good-natured, still suspected us of being bad men from Bhutan, but being repeatedly assured by Gopon that we were not Bhutanese, she accommodated us in an out-house where ponies are halted, and furnished us with good chhang (malt beer). The stall was far from being comfortable; but since leaving Gyan-tse I had been a stranger to comfort. Phurchung gave me a wretched meal. I slept well amidst the clamour of the religious service occasioned by the arrival of Je-tsun kusho.
24th October 1882.—We resumed our journey a little before sunrise. The streamlets were frozen and the ponies slid several times on the slippery ice; the wind was howling and extremely chill. My face, tightly bandaged with a piece of Assam silk cloth, was well protected; but my feet within the boots began to freeze, and I could hardly draw out my hands from inside the long sleeves of my lambskin vestments. There were no villages near the way. Far behind were the dokpa tents, whence the howling of mastiffs was alone heard. From this distance the village and the monastery of Taling were visible. After two hours' journey we came to the edge of the Yamdo lake, a nook of which we had now almost doubled. We crossed the Shandung-chhu inlet of Yamdo with much difficulty owing to its being frozen. The Shandung monastery and the valley for some time formed the only object of importance within view. The morning sun had lengthened the shadows of the cliffs that overhang the Yamdo; so that we had to journey a long way under their shade, and could not enjoy the genial rays of the sun. To add to the discomforts a very chill, unwelcome breeze blew, freezing our extremities. We had a glimpse of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which is noted for its supplying the whole of Tibet with a class of fantastic dancers called Achi-Lhamo actors. Some of these professional players and dancers annually visit Darjeeling. As we came nearer we obtained fuller views of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which commanded a singular view, as it was situated like an eagle's eyrie amidst the bleak and sombre cliffs of Yamdo. Passing along the circuitous margin of another nook of the lake, we entered another broad valley with a stream in its middle flowing towards the lake. The large village of Ri-o-tag, I was told, was on this side of Yamdo. After an hour's ride we came within two miles of it. The plateau through which we now passed was several miles long and broad. To our right we saw at a distance of eight or nine miles the ruins of Ri-o-tag Jong. About a mile towards our right hand side we were shown a place near a village where we could breakfast, shortly passing the village we crossed the Ri-o-tag stream after which we crossed a saddle-like eminence. Beyond the latter is a stream flowing to the Yamdo, on the banks of which we halted for breakfast. This was a grassy patch of ground filled with cavities and mole hills. Phur-chung prepared me a dish of boiled phing (vermicelli made of peas) and mutton with rice. At 10 a.m. we resumed our journey. We were now ascending an undulating plateau. This rose, as we proceeded, in successive retiring terraces, the undulations being in an ascending slope. These were covered with grass, now yellowish brown at the approach of winter. Presently the tortuous winding of the Yamdo came in view as
we ascended a gentle acclivity. An hour's ride brought us to the top of this ridge, which ran in a lateral direction from right to left till obstructed by the lake. From this eminence we saw the villages of Yuröp, Kegutag and Khyunpo-dö situated on the side of the lake. The country, though very thinly populated, yields extensive pastures, as could be judged from the healthy appearance of the numerous cattle—yak, sheep, goat, and donkeys grazing here and there. At 3 p.m. we saw a man coming towards us at a swift pace. Gopon accosted him, and after a short conversation found him to be his friend's son. As the man was going on urgent business to his home at Ri-o-tag, he said he could not come back to Shari in the evening, but begged us to pass the night at the house of his father-in-law, who was the richest man of Shari. Riding slowly down a gentle slope, we came to a flat dip, where we met a shepherd tending about three to four hundred sheep. He saluted me and pointed out to us the village of Shari, situated on the lee side of a ridge standing between Yamdo and a small lake about six or seven miles in circumference. The margin of this fresh water lake and the slopes on all sides were covered with excellent pasture, on which a number of cattle were grazing, while the lake itself abounded with wild ducks and swans, besides other water-fowl, all of which would have been very tempting objects for sportsmen. The village of Shari, which commands an excellent view of the smaller lake, being situated on an eminence on its bank, contained two rich families, the huts of whose misser (serfs) were scattered round their spacious houses. A long and well repaired mandang (votive pile of inscribed stones) with a pretty chhorden (stupa) near it formed the frontage. Alighted near the chhorden, I sat on its plinth, and sent Gopon to negotiate for our night's accommodation. His acquaintance, who was unwell, was afraid of receiving us in his house, evidently from apprehension of smallpox. Gopon, however, after much entreaty, obtained his leave for our occupying the Manilhakhang (temple of the mani prayer wheel), and a maid-servant with a kettleful of tea came to conduct us to it. The Manilhakhang was a pretty turret-like stone house, measuring 8 feet by 10 feet inside with a small spire rising from the middle of its flat roof. Its outside was decorated with a dusky red cornice, and the stones of its bonded walls were painted with Buddhist figures, so it presented an inviting appearance. On entering I was received by a grey-headed man, and a small table was placed before me and tea poured in a China cup for my refreshment. The centre of the room was occupied by a mani cylinder (prayer-wheel) about three feet in diameter and six feet high. Its outside was covered with mantras (charms) in the Lantscha (Rañja character of Magadha) and the ever present mystic expres-
sion—*Om mani padme hum*. I spread my rug to the east of the cylinder, and accommodated myself in a space about four feet wide. The old man, whose sole occupation was to turn the prayer-wheel, had his bed at the opposite side. He continually muttered *Om mani padme hum*. The floor was good and remarkably clean; the walls were painted, containing basso-relievo figures from the Buddhist pantheon. There was no forage nor gram for our ponies. Phurchung cooked for me, and Gopon, after regaling himself with several bottles of *chhang* (malt-beer), went to sleep on the lawn-like margin of the lake, tethering the ponies to graze in the pasture. His friend had assured him that our ponies would not be removed by anybody during the night. The wind blew rather strongly during the first part of the night. I gave some rice and tea to the old man, who, considering me a sacred personage, prostrated himself several times to salute me, though I vainly tried to explain to him that being a layman I did not deserve such homage from anybody. When he came to receive my *chhag-wang* (benediction from the touch of the hand), I told him that I was no incarnate being, and could not place my palms on his grey head, but being equally subject to misery like himself, I could touch his forehead with mine as a token of sympathy with him as a brother man. I also pointed out to him the hands of Pema Juñ-nē (Padma Sambhava) the saint, where he could apply his forehead for benediction. But this only impressed him with still more pious feelings, and he called some of his acquaintances, a few shepherds, to prostrate themselves before me, which they did. The old man told us of the condition of the monastery of Shari Gonsar, situated on the top of a hill behind the village, and also of the village where we ought to halt next day. I passed the night very comfortably.

25th October.—I awoke early in the morning, about 4 o'clock, refreshed and in good spirits. The ponies saddled, we started for Khame-dō, our next stage. The wind began to blow afresh with much fury, and the chill was simply tormenting. My body, though well protected by lambskins, could not escape the penetrating effects of the cold, and began to freeze. After crossing two large inlets of the Yamdo, we came to a nook of the great lake. While traversing the little promontary overhanging this nook, we met a woman of about 40 cutting wild plants resembling brushwood. The cold was so severe that I could hardly bring out my hands from within the fur sleeves, yet the woman was doing her work as if it was a summer morning with her. The nook passed, we came to a solitary village with three or four huts belonging to two dök-pa families. Some yaks were grazing on the margin of the lake, which here presented a very desolate and
solitary appearance. Some pointed rocks interposed here and there. This passed, we crossed a small La (hill) and descended towards another lake which, with its grassy flat shores and the undulating slopes above them, looked very lovely and cheering. The dark blue expanse of water, now ruffled by the wind, rose in gentle waves. This was the lake Rombu-dsa, which is fed by a few inlets. Our way partly lay along the dried margin of the lake, which was sandy, and partly in grassy paths above the highest water mark. We passed a caravan of yaks and donkeys carrying heaps of fuel, consisting of fragrant weeds and some wood. After a slow ride of two hours along the margin of this lake and a flat valley beyond it we entered into a gorge, from which we had a glimpse of the Yamdo lake. Here there are two roads to Khame-dö one by the side of the great lake, and the other viâ Melung village across the Lonagla Pass. I was told that the latter was rather difficult on account of the steepness of the La. I, however, preferred the more difficult route, having been informed that I would have to use the saltish water of the Yamdo at breakfast if I went by the easier one. Half an hour's ride from this gorge brought us to the village of Melung. It was past 11 a.m. when I dismounted at the door of the Gambu's (village headman) house. He received me with much politeness, and begged to know how he could serve us. We bought chhang for our use and hay for our ponies. I preferred to sit in the yard, which was filled with cowdung, the Gambu's house being very low and the ceiling covered with soot. The Nabo's (host) brother sat near us and had a chat with Gopon about the Chinese Ampa's movements, as Ülag (road service) was demanded from them. After breakfast we resumed our journey, intent upon reaching the next stage, which according to Gopon would be the village of Khame-dö. Our guide always sought places for halting where he had acquaintances; so that sometimes we halted after marching long distances, and sometimes after very short marches. Passing a dried-up water-course filled with boulders and broken stones, we ascended the steep slopes of Lonagla, also filled with splinters, rocks, and gravel. There were evidently no pastures, but still a few yaks and sheeps were grazing at this barren place. Gopon picked up some flints, and told us that the village derived its name from the flints, as mé in Tibetan means 'fire' and lung a "valley." Hence Melung is fire or flint valley. The La was high, and our ponies were knocked up. From the village to the top of the Pass it was about a mile's distance. The La crossed, we entered another spacious and flat valley intersected by sparkling brooks. On the slopes of the hills here juniper and other fragrant plants grow in abundance. The pastures for yaks and sheep were of luxuriant growth. The grass of this pleasant valley, now
growing yellow, refreshed our eyes. There was a remarkable contrast in the appearance of the opposite sides of Lonagla. Crossing the bends of several tiny streams, and passing across the valley, we arrived at the village of Kha, where the men and women were engaged in threshing corn. Heaps of sheaves lay in their yards. We now found ourselves in an extensive open country, more resembling a plain. As we proceeded onward, we caught a glimpse of some jong (castle) standing on a distant isolated peak. The valley was filled with numerous villages. The villagers, intent on their work, did not care to inquire about us, but only now and then stared at us with some curiosity. The dogs of this place were very fierce and powerful, and kept barking as long as we remained in their sight. Passing many houses on our left, and walking a distance of about a quarter of a mile, we entered the large village of Khame-do, which stands on the flat slope of the ridge extending to the back of the village of Kha. At the entrance of the village there were several Mandangs. After inquiring from several villagers where we could get accommodation for the night, we were pointed out the house of one of the richest residents of the place who usually received guests. Several seats made of slabs resembling marble were placed in the courts of their residences as well as in the open ground. The houses of the villagers were very good looking, large and white-washed. The barley stalks were stout and long. Gopon told me that some of these altar-like seats were made by potters and painted with lime. The villagers use them for basking in the sun. At 5 p.m. we came to the gate of the rich resident whose guest we were to be. After much knocking we succeeded in getting the door opened by an old woman, who, after inquiring what we wanted, disappeared. After a while the nabo, an old man of nearly seventy, made his appearance and showed us his stable, where we could pass the night. It was on account of our guide's foolishness that we failed to get better accommodation here, for he offered only to pay one tanka (six annas) as house-rent, whereas this miserly landlord asked for more. I paid the nela (rent) immediately, which pleased the old man, who at my request supplied us with two stuffed cushions and a screen. The latter was very useful, as at the time a strong wind blew and we had no other protection against it, for the stables in Tibet are not like those in India. They are stalls open on three sides. When my rugs were spread and I took my seat as a respectable man, the nabo drew near and began to converse with me about the harvest which the people had just reaped. The crop of this year, he said, was damaged by the September frost. We bought from him a Phagri (sheep burnt like a pig after slaughter). This yielded us very fat mutton. Our host was one of the rich-
26th October.—I rose from bed at sunrise. Our miserly nabo came early to take back from us the curtain and the fine articles which he had lent us. We parted with him after an exchange of polite expressions. He begged us to come to his house on our way back. We resumed our journey at 6 A.M. A villager joined us near the precipitous rock which stands at the entrance of the village on this side. He proved a pleasant companion for a few miles. We passed along the side of another small lake, and were shown the large village of Ling, the seat of the Jongpon of this side of the Yamdo District. This fellow talked of certain orders that were received by the Jongpon of Ling from Lhasa to examine strangers travelling within his jurisdiction. He also said that similar orders were sent to Sam-yea. We crossed two little streams with him by wading across them. When we came to the bank of a third stream, which was the largest, he parted with us after showing us the rab (ford). My pony, in wading through the half frozen stream, once sank up to his knees, Gopon extricated us with much exertion. The pony had several stumbles besides. We now entered the extensive table-land of Kamoling, the Arcadia of Tibet. Here were grazing hundreds of ponies belonging to the Government of Lhasa. The head of the Government stables has one of his establishments here. It took us several hours to cross a bend of this large pasture land. Its breadth was ten to twelve miles, but its length appeared very great. There was no water in the several water-courses which intersected the plain. In some of the streamlets bulging crusts of ice were seen. We were very thirsty. At noon we arrived at the village of Shabshe, containing nine or ten families.

We cooked our breakfast in the court of a poor woman's house, filled with goat's dung and some goats' hair-bags and hay. Our good namo kindly lent us some fire-wood. The object of our preferring dirty huts and stables in a village to clean flats and river banks was that we got fuel, water, water-vessels, &c., from the host, which, as a rule, were generally included in the nela (house-rent). The namo was a very well-behaved and obliging woman. Though very poor, she seemed to be in good spirits and cheerful. She has three children by two joint husbands. We bought one-fourth of a sheep at one tanka from one of her neighbours, and some barley meal, of inferior quality.

After breakfast we resumed our journey. As there were several
ways leading in different directions, our good namo kindly accompanied us a short distance to show us the way to Sam-yea. There were other villages scattered in this upland plain, which passed we came to the little village of Tan-tha, situated at the foot of the La, we were about to ascend. Climbing up a short distance, we came near some well-constructed re¬chuse’s cells, now empty. These from a distance appeared like some monastic establishments. Gopon showed to me the monastery, situated on a dome-shaped hill near the lake, but half a mile off from the place. The ascent from here was very tiresome. But all these fatigues vanished when the height gradually widening the horizon brought sublimer scenes to my enchanted eyes. I really thought that the view from the top of Thib-la, of the snowy country of Tibet, of her far-famed lake and river, and of an immense congregation of snowy mountains which skirts like silvery fringes, on the vanishing line of the dark blue sky in the horizon, cannot be equalled by the sceneries of the glorious Himalaya. The numerous windings of this scorpion lake, as Yamdo is called, the countless hills and mountains which they surrounded, and the waving line in the horizon where the snows of Noijon Kang-Zang mingle with the blue summits of distant mountain ranges, were all visible from Thib-la. The valley of the deep and meandering Tsanpo, the dark pine and fir forests which here and there broke the monotony of the bleak mountain scenery, and the snowy mountains of Lhobra, bore a striking contrast to the scenery on the other side. Both defy description. On the southern flanks of this lofty pass, which appeared to be more than four thousand feet above the lake, a kind of broad-leafed plants, called yeshi kogo, grow. The dried leaves rustled as they were blown by the wind. The wind blew so strongly that I found it difficult to stand. This increased the fatigues of this exceedingly trying journey along the steep slopes of Thib-la. The down-hill journey was worse than the up-hill one. At 5 p.m. we arrived at the village of Thib. There were about ten houses in this little village, all clustered together and only separated from one another by narrow lanes and barley fields. Heaps of hay and unthreslied barley lined these little avenues. There were some willows of stunted growth in the village. We were conducted to the house of a well-to-do villager. The namo received us very kindly. One of her husbands was in the field reaping barley crop. Her elder husband was gone to Lhasa. We were accommodated in the upper floor of her house which was spacious enough. A part of the house was under repair. The night was very fine and the skies bright, and the little village with its white-washed houses and fields was bleached with moonlight.
An ancient inscribed Buddhistic statue from Črāvasti.—By Theodor Bloch, Ph.D.

[Read March, 1898.]

The statue with which I am dealing in this paper, was discovered by General Cunningham during the working season of 1862-1863 among the ruins of the modern Set-Mahet, in the Gonda District, Fyzabad Division, of Oudh. It was presented by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Elgin to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1863, and is now in the Indian Museum. It is a colossal standing figure, 11' 8" high, made of a sort of reddish sand-stone, the same material which the Mathura sculptures of the Kuśāṇa period are made of. The head, the halo, and the right arm are almost entirely gone; the left hand is slightly damaged. The body is represented clad in a large garment, which leaves bare the right shoulder only. It is tied round the waist by a girdle, and reaches down to the ankles; round the left shoulder it is laid in the fashion of a Roman tunica. The feet are naked, and a peculiar object of uncertain meaning is represented standing between them. The statue has always been described as an image of Buddha, but from what follows it will become clear that this is not quite correct. It is a figure of a Bódhisattva, and not of a Buddha. But, in any case, we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.

The most important part of the statue, however, is its pedestal. This is due to the fact that it contains in three lines an inscription in ancient characters of what Prof. Bühler in his Indian Palaeography has called "the Northern Kṣatrapa type" of the last century B.C. or the first A.D. This inscription has been edited before by R. L. Mitra,

in this Journal, Vol. XXXIX (1870), Part I, p. 180, and Plate VII, No. XXI, and by Prof. Dowson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. V, p. 192 and Plate 3, No. XXXII. Both these editions are very unsatisfactory indeed, and it is for this reason that I now re-edit this ancient document.

The pedestal which contains the inscription, measures 3' by 6’; the inscription consists of three lines of writing, the size of which varies between $1\frac{3}{4}''$ and $1\frac{1}{2}''$. Unfortunately the greater portion of the first line and a few characters in the beginning of the second are entirely gone; the remainder, however, is in a fair state of preservation. The lost portion contained the date, and it is owing to its loss that we are to resort to paleographic evidence for the purpose of forming an idea as to the age of the record itself and of the statue on which it is inscribed. I have already above stated my opinion on this point in describing the characters of the inscription as belonging to the “Northern Kṣatrapa Type.” This type is to be found in the inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Čūšasa or Čūḍāsa, the son of Ranjubula, whose reign in the North-West of India preceded that of the Kušāna Kings Kanishka, Huviška, etc. Of Čūḍāsa, hitherto three inscriptions have been found, viz.:

2. An inscription from the Kaṅkāli Tilā at Mathurā: Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199, No. II (with facsimile);

Compared with the considerably larger number of Kušāna inscriptions, the characters of these documents differ in the following points:

(a) the letter ya when forming the second part of a compound (saṁyuktāksara) is expressed by its full sign, not by the ligature: so in No. 1 (Mathurā Jail Mound Inscription) throughout, viz., svāmīsya, mahākṣatrapasya, Čūḍāsasya (A. S. R., Vol. III, Pl. XIII); in No. 2 and No. 3 no compound letter with ya occurs;

(b) the upper cross-bar of the letter ṣa consists only of a short horizontal line attached to the left hand vertical line of the letter, while in the Kušāna ṣa, as a rule, it reaches as far as the right hand

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1 See also Cunningham, l.c., p. 339, and Vol. XI, p. 87.
2 With the exception of Mathurā Lion Capital, of course, which is inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī.
3 This is, correctly spoken, only an inscription of a son of Rājūvūla. His name is lost, but, in all probability, he was Čūḍāsa. A photo taken from an impression of this inscription is in the Indian Museum.
vertical line. This rule also holds good throughout in all the three inscriptions, viz., No. 1, 1. 1: kṣatrāpasya, 1. 2: puṣkariṇī (twice); No. 2, 1. 2: kṣatrapasa, 1. 3: ghōṣena (twice); No. 3, 1. 1: kṣatrapasa, 1. 2: vṛṣṇēṇa, 1. 4: vaprūṣa;

(c) the more archaic form of ca is preserved, against the Kuṣāṇa form of this letter, which is nearly like a ša turned upside down: compare e. g. the ca of Čoḍāsasa with čiçini of Nos. II and XI, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199 and 201;

(d) of compound letters, as a rule, the top of the second lower-most letter is marked by the serif;, this letter being not merely a continuation of the down-stroke of the first. Thus, in No. 1, 1. 1: mahākṣatrāpasya, čoḍāsasya, 1. 2: paṇcima, staṁbha;¹ in No. 2, 1. 2: svāmisa, mahākṣatrapasa, saṁvatsarē; in No. 3, 1. 3: yastā, 1. 4: jvalatā;

(e) the writing, as a rule, is done with greater care and shows a preference for angular forms, against the cursive, slovenly executed letters of the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions. This will become clear at once by glancing over the facsimile-plates of Prof. Bühler’s articles on Mathūrā Inscriptions in Ep. Ind., Vols. I and II.

The same peculiarities of writing which, I trust, will be considered sufficient proof of an earlier age of the Northern Ksatrapa type, as compared with the Kuṣāṇa type, occur also in a number of cognate inscriptions from Mathūrā or the country around it. Thus, e.g., in the Anyor Inscription in A. S. R., Vol. XX, Plate V, No. 5, and in Mathūrā Inscriptions, ed. Bühler, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, No. 33; Vol. II, No. 4, 5 and 7. Among the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions, I know of only one document which exhibits the same characteristics. It is the inscription on the Elephant Capital from the Kaṅkālī Tilā at Mathūrā, figured in Plate V of A. S. R. Vol. III.² This inscription is dated in the reign of

¹ Of this inscription I have only seen the facsimile in Plate XIII of A. S. R., III, which is not altogether reliable as to these minor details.

² See also p. 20 of text. Of this interesting sculpture, the Indian Museum also possesses a photograph. In the Inscription it is said to be a Naṃḍa-viṣāla, which may mean, that the pillar was “as big as Nandin,” but which also may be a technical term of unknown meaning. It is a Jaina sculpture, as may be seen from the concluding line of the inscription, which records that the monument was erected Arahamtanam pujaẏē ‘in adoration of the Arhants.’ The inscription, according to the photograph, reads:

(line 1) [Mabhād[a][a]]jasya Devaputraḥ Huviṣkaṣya saṁ 30–8
(line 2) ḍa 3 dī 10–1 ātāyē purvāyē naṁdi-viṣāla
(line 3) pratiśṭhāpatī Givadāsa-cṛṣṭhi-puṭrēṇa cṛṣṭhinā
(line 4) [A]ṛṣṇēṇa Rudradāsēṇa Arahamtanam pujaẏē.

This means: “On the 11th day of the 3rd half-month (pākṣa) of the cold season, in the year 38, (during the reign of) Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka, on this date (pecified as) above, this (pillar which is) as big as Nandin (?) has been set up by.
Huviśka, in the year 38 (38 in text; the plate gives 18), and here too the ancient form of sa is preserved throughout; but ya in compound letters is given in its full form only once, in āryyēna (line 4), and the rule as to the serif on top of the second part of compound letters never appears to be observed. Thus, this isolated document cannot prove much against what I have said above as to the difference between the Northern Kṣatrapa and Kuśāna type of writing.

Now it is the former, not the latter, type to which the characters of the inscription from Črāvastī almost decidedly belong. This will be clear even from the facsimile given by Prof. Dowson.¹

Thus: (a) the letter ya in compounds is expressed by its full form throughout with the only exception of pusya in line 1, where we have a ligature of exactly the same form as e.g. in the various compound letters sya in No. 12, of A. S. R., Vol. III, Plate XIV; thus, in line 1: bhiksusya, line 2: saddhyavihārisya, bhiksusya, Balasya, tṛepitakasya, line 3: acaryyānāṁ;

(b) sa is written in its ancient form, with a small cross-bar, throughout: viz., line 1: bhiksusya, Pusya, line 2: bhiksusya;

(c) ca occurs in its archaic form throughout: viz., line 2: dāṇḍaḍca, Čāvastīyē;

(d) the rule as to the serif in compound letters is observed almost throughout: see line 1: purvaye, bhiksusya, line 2: saddhyavihārisya, bhiksusya, Balasya, tṛepitakasya, bōdhisatvō, chātraṁ, dāṇḍa, Čāvastīyē, line 3: acaryyānāṁ, sarvastivādināṁ. There is only one exception from this rule, viz., the letter cca in dāṇḍaḍca (line 2). This letter exhibits a cursive form, which looks very much like cya, but there remains no doubt as to the correctness of my reading, as may be seen from the context;

(e) the shape of the letters is decidedly more angular and reminds one strongly of the letters in Çōḍāsa's inscriptions. In addition to this, I must call special attention to the da of dāṇḍaḍca (line 2), which is of a much more archaic form than that usually met with in Kuśāna, or even Northern Kṣatrapa inscriptions.

It is for all these reasons that I am inclined to believe that the inscription contained a date referring to the reign of one of the Kṣatrapa the Seth, the noble Rudradāsa, the son of the Seth Çivadāsa, in adoration of the Arhants.” Both the Donor’s and his father’s name are compounds made with Çiva, the pillar is described as being as big as Nandin, the famous vehicle of Çiva; but the concluding words dedicate the monument to the Arahants. Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Çaivism as its greater rival, Buddhism.

¹ I regret that it is impossible at present to publish a photograph of the Statue or a facsimile of the Inscription.
predecessors of the Kušāna Kings. The inscription, accordingly, and so also the statue itself, belong to the last century B.C., or the first century A.D., for the question as to the date of those Northern Ksatrapa Kings depends entirely on the date of Kanişka and his successors, a point, on which, to my mind also, Mr. Ferguson’s phantastical conclusions have been too readily accepted by Prof. Oldenberg and others. In any case, there remains no doubt that the statue is one of the oldest Buddhistic images which hitherto have been found in India.

I now publish my transcript of the inscription, made from the original stone:

Transcript.

(line 1). ...................................

\[90 \ 7 \ रत्ने पूर्वे भित्तुस्य पुष्य.

(line 2). \([\text{सं}]\) सद्यविद्वारसिष्य भित्तुस्य बलस्य चिपितकस्य दानं बोधिसत्तोः कार्य दाण्डक्ष श्रावस्तियें भावतो चंकः

(line 3). कोसंबकुटीये वच्यामां सर्वद्विवादिनं ₄ परिष्ठः

Translation.

“(During the reign of—, in the year—, season—, half-month—, on the) 19th (day), on this date (specified as) above (this statue of) a Bōdhisattva (together with) an umbrella and a stick, (being) the gift of the monk Bala, a teacher of the Tripitaka, (and) fellow-wanderer of the monk Pusya-(mitra), (has been set up) in Črāvasti, at the place where the Blessed One (i.e., Buddha) used to walk, in the Kōsimbakuṭi, for the acceptance of the teachers belonging to the Sarvāstivāda-School.”

The language of this inscription is the well-known mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prakrit which is met with in all the Mathurā Inscriptions of the Kušāna period and thereabout. Practically it is the same

1 The date must have contained a reference to the reign of a king. The broken portion of line 1 is much too long for a simple date, expressed, moreover, only by sam and similar abbreviations, as is the rule throughout in Mathurā and other cognate Inscriptions.

2 Only the second portion, viz. ya, of this compound letter is visible. It is, however, evident that this ya belonged to the Genitive-termination of the proper name beginning with Pusya, which may be conjectured to have been Pusyamitraśya.

3 Traces of the first v of Bōdhisattvō are still visible on the stone.

4 The letter vā of Sarvastivādinām has been added later. It is very small and hardly visible on the facsimile, but clear enough on the stone. Apparently the “additional letter ta between sarvasti and dināim, shown in R. L. Mitra’s copy” as mentioned by Prof. Dowson (l. c. p. 192) is this letter vā.
language in which the gāthās of the Lalitavistara or similar Buddhistic books are written, and which I consider with Prof. Bühler, Kern and others to be the result of persons who spoke Prakrit and were unlearned in Grammar, trying to write Sanskrit. In fact till very late at the end of the Buddhistic period, all the Buddhistic Inscriptions are notorious for their neglect of the rules of spelling and grammar, and also the Buddhistic Sanskrit Literature, with a few rare exceptions, cannot certainly be called classic as to its style, whatever its merits else may have been. The fact that the mixed dialect is exclusively used in the inscriptions of Kaniska and even earlier certainly proves the correctness of the Buddhistic tradition which places the translation into Sanskrit of the Buddhistic Scriptures into the time of Kaniska. In the Crāvastī Inscription, we meet with the following instances of mixed forms, being half Sanskrit and half Prakrit:

(a) the Loc. Sing. of feminine nouns in ā or ē is -aye (i.e., -āye) or -iye; thus: ētaye purvaye (l. 1), Čāvastiye (l. 2), Kōsanbaktuīye (l. 3);
(b) of masculine nouns in ē or ē, the Genitive Sing. takes -sya; thus: bhikṣusya (II. 1 and 2), saddhyavīhiśiya (l. 2);
(c) compound letters are sometimes given in their Sanskritic, sometimes in their Prakritic form; thus camkamē (l. 2), parigahē (l. 3) for Skt. camkramaē and parigrakaē, against saddhyavīhiśiya (l. 2; Sanskrit sadhryagvihārin) and acaryyānām l. 3 (Skt. ācāryānām). Another instance is Čāvastiye (l. 2) for Skt. Čravastīyān; this form, however, curiously enough re-occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (see Petersburg Dictionary s. v. Čāvasti);
(d) long vowels before compound letters are shortened as a rule, in accordance with Prakrit; thus: acaryyānām Sarvastivādinām (l. 3) for Skt. ācāryānām Sarvāśṭravādinām. The long vowel of chātraṃ dandaq-ca (l. 2) for Skt. chattram dandaq-ca which is perfectly clear on the original stone, is due to the vernacular pronunciation, and agrees with such forms as antevāsi for Skt. antevāsi in various other Mathurā Inscriptions, and the genitive termination -āsu instead of -assā in Bharhut.¹ The sandhi of dandaq-ca (i.eid.) is, of course, an instance of the opposite tendency;
(e) a form of peculiar interest is saddhyavīhiśin in line 2. It corresponds to sādhivīhiśīn in Sanchi Inscriptions, I, 209 (Ep. Ind. II, p. 379), where it has been translated ‘fellow-wanderer’ by Prof. Bühler (l. c.). Its first part is in Pāli saddhiṁ, which in the dialect of this Inscription becomes saddhya. This clearly shows that Pāli saddhiṁ does not go back to Sanskrit sārdham, as has been hitherto assumed by most scholars, but to Sanskrit सुध्रयक sadhryak, as has been first recognized by Prof. Pischel.

The Inscription records the gift of a Boddhisattva by a monk Bala to some teachers of the Sarvastivada School, who resided at Pravasti. He is called "a fellow wanderer (saddhyaviharin) of the monk Puṣya—(probably Puṣyamitra)" and a Trāpiṭaka or in Sanskrit Traipitaka, i.e., "one who has studied or teaches the Tripiṭaka." A similar term, pēṭakin, is met with as early as the Bharhut Inscriptions,¹ and in later time we find the same title in the Inscription No. 6 from Kanheri (Arch. Surv. Rep. Western India, Vol. V, p. 77), a document written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D., where we read of a "traipitakopāddhyāya-bhadanta-Dharmavatsa."² This clearly proves that the Tripiṭaka must have been studied in India till at least the end of the 5th century A.D. The existence in these days at and near Mathurā of the school of Sarvastivādins, to which the recipients of the gift belonged, is well-known to us already from cognate inscriptions, and does not call for any remark.

By far the most important statements of the inscription, however, are the description of the gift itself, and of the locality where it was set up. The former is described as "a statue of a Boddhisattva, an umbrella and a stick" (Boddhisattvā chātraṃ dāṇḍa=ca, line 2). The Boddhisattva of course is the statue on which the inscription is engraved; the umbrella apparently surmounted the statue, similar ones being frequently met with among the sculptures from Gandhara. In Bharhut, Sanchi and Gaya the presence of Buddha is generally indicated by a throne (vajrāsana) surmounted by an umbrella, and these also remain associated with him in later Buddhistic art. It is evident that the umbrella belongs to Buddha because he is a cakravartin, just as the wheel, the sign of the unrestrained progress of the law, marks him as an apratihatacakra or "universal king." According to the Lalita Vistara, the two signs of royalty, the umbrella and the two chowrees appeared already at his birth; we read here (p. 96) that at that time antarikṣe dve cāmarē ratnacchatram ca prādur abhūt, and among the various relievos from Gandhara representing this scene, which are now in the Indian Museum, there is one on which the artist literally followed the poet’s words and sculptured a chowree hanging in the air. The stick (dāṇḍa=ca) I believe to have been a portion of the umbrella by which it was connected with the halo surrounding the head; it may have been laid out with jewels

² I believe traipitaka and upādhyāya are two different titles of Dharmavatsa. He was one who had studied the three Pītakas, and he had acquired the academical degree of Upādhyāya or "teacher." Traipitaka also occurs very often as a distinguishing title in Taranatha’s Tibetan History of Buddhism in India, where Schiefner translates, "Dreikorhhalter."
or some precious stones, for if it was merely a piece of wood or iron, no reason seems to me why the inscription mentions it specially. The umbrella, then rightly might have been called a *ratnaçhatta*.

The statue itself is described as an image of a Bödhisattva, not of a Buddha. To everyone who is acquainted with the ancient Buddhistic scriptures, it is well known that these two terms are never used promiscuously, but strictly distinguished from each other, and that such a supposition would be quite out of place here, may be easily seen by comparing this word with the other *Bhagavatō cañkamē* in the same line of the Inscription, where Buddha is spoken of as *Bhagavān*. This can be easily confirmed by looking over other ancient inscribed statues of Buddha. Here, with one exception only, the term *Bödhisattva* is never employed in describing the image, but such other terms as *Buddha, Tathāgata, Bhagavān, Čāstā*, etc., which also in literature signify the teacher after he had reached the state of enlightenment, in distinction from the preliminary stage of a *Bödhisattva* or, as it is generally explained, “a being that in this birth is destined to reach the bōdhi, without being born again.” I refer to the following inscriptions:—

1. An Inscription on the pedestal of a large statue of Buddha, in Anyor near Mathūrā: A. S. R. Vol. XX, p. 49 and Plate V, No. 5: the characters of the Inscription belong to the Northern Kaśtrapa type. The statue is described in line 1 as *Buddha-pratimā*;

2. An Inscription, incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman: Epigr. Indica, Vol. II, p. 212 and No. 42 of Facsimile Plate. The date of the Inscription *Sam 74* with all probability refers to the Kuśāna

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1 I must at least mention one other possible, though highly improbable, explanation of the words. On the Mathūrā Lion Capital a *samanachatra* is mentioned which Prof. Bühler hesitatingly translated by ‘a stūpa of a monk;’ see Journ. Roy. As. Soc., New Ser., 1894, p. 536, note 6. He refers to the modern chatri which is used for a certain class of tomb-like monuments not uncommon in Northern India, which, however, to my mind do not seem to have any structural resemblance with a Buddhist stūpa, but rather look like Muhammadan Maqbrāhs. But, granted the correctness of this explanation, then we might take *chatram* in our Inscription as ‘a stūpa’; *danda* might refer to something similar to the *yasthi* in the Sue Bihar Inscription; see Dr. Hoernle’s edition in Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 327, probably ‘a metal rod containing the seven precious substances, and deposited inside the stūpa.’ This explanation, though scarcely probable, would however, prove important for the question as to whether the statue has been found by General Cunningham in situ, or not.

2 A few isolated instances adduced by Prof. Windisch in his *Māra und Buddha*, p. 211, cannot prove anything for the time to which this statue belongs.

_J. i. 36_
Era. The statue is described as Bhagavatō ākṣaramuninā (read:—muninō) pratimā;

(3) An Inscription on a statue of Buddha from Mankuar: Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 45. The Inscription is dated in the 129 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to 448-449 A.D. The statue is described as Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-matā-viruddhasya...pratimā;

(4) An Inscription under a figure of Buddha in the Kanherī Caitya Cave No. III: Arch. Surv. Rep. of Western India, Vol. V, p. 77, No. 6. The Inscription is written in characters of the Western alphabet of the 4th or 5th century A.D. The figure is called Bhagavat-pratimā (line 3 of inscription);

(5) An Inscription on the base of a statue of Buddha from Sarnath, near Benares, now in Indian Museum: Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 281. The Inscription, on palaeographical grounds, may be allotted roughly to the 5th century A.D. The statue is labelled as pratimā Čāstukā.

These are the only ancient Buddha statues, as far as I know, which contain Inscriptions giving us a clue as to the meaning of the image. But there is one remarkable statue still left which I have already been alluding to above. It is a statue of a seated Buddha from Budh Gaya, figured by General Cunningham in his Mahābodhi, Plate XXV, and described ibid., p. 53. This statue is also now in the Indian Museum, but unfortunately an inspection of the original sculpture does not give any more help in deciphering the mutilated Inscription on the base. On the contrary, some more letters have still broken off, and not even the whole context of Cunningham’s facsimile is now to be found on the stone. But so much at least seems to me certain that its purport was to record the fact that a certain Bhikṣu set up this statue of a Bodhisattva, who was represented as seated on a simhāsana, traces of which are still visible on the sculpture behind the neck of the figure. Thus, I believe, the words in line 2 of the Inscription, viz., Bodhisattva-pratimām simharālaṁ pratiśṭhāpayati are best accounted for. Here then again we have a statue of a Bodhisattva, not of a Buddha.1

How then is this discrepancy to be accounted for? There is nothing in the head-dress to distinguish the Gaya Image from any

1 I do not agree with General Cunningham referring the date 64 of line 1 of the Inscription to the Ākṣara Era. The form of some letters of the Inscriptions, especially of sa, is much later and the true date probably lies 150 or 200 years behind. I am unable to make anything out of the name of the Maharāja mentioned in the beginning of the record.
ordinary Buddha statue of about the same time or even later. With
respect to the Črāvasti Image, we must leave off this point at all, as
the head unfortunately is broken. But the point, on which both the
Gaya and Črāvasti image are alike to each other, while they differ
from any ordinary Buddha statue, is the shape in which the garment
is laid round the body, leaving naked in both the right shoulder. The
ordinary type of Buddha represents the teacher dressed in the saṁghāṭi
that large vestment which covers the whole body of a Buddhist monk,
reaching to the ankles and leaving bare only the neck and the shaved
head. It looks, indeed, very much so as if Buddhist artists in trying
to revive the figure of their divine Lord in painting or in stone, did not
imitate any other type among the Hindu Pantheon, but tried to depict
the Lord so as the pious mind believed him to have been, and the
model from which the first statues of Buddha were made, was the appear¬
ance of an ordinary Bhikṣu, just as the Jainas made the images of
their Tīrthaṅkaras look like an ordinary Yati. If General Cunningham,
therefore, with respect to the Črāvasti statue says that “the right
shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures” (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I,
p. 339), this is decidedly wrong. The evidence adduced above rather
leads us to believe that wherever we find a Buddhist statue which has the
right shoulder bare, this is to be taken as a sign that the statue represents
not a Buddha, but a Bodhisattva.

It is not my intention here to press this argument. The evidence,
I admit, is but scanty, and the subject is one which still labours under
great difficulties. I merely want to point, in connexion herewith, to
two other facts which tend to corroborate the result thus arrived
at. The first point is taken from the Gandhara sculptures. Here
the type with the right shoulder bare, occurs only in connection with
a particular position of the hands which is generally described as

1 I know of one more Buddha statue of very much the same style as the
Črāvasti Image. It is only the upper part of the statue, shown on a photograph in
the Indian Museum together with the statue described in A. S. R. X, 5, which Dr.
Führer in his List wrongly calls an image of Āryāvaghoṣa, but which really seems to
be an image of a Nāgarāja. Here the head is preserved; it is without any ornament
or dress, the hair represented in the same conventional way as in the Mankuar Image
where Mr. Fleet erroneously speaks of “a close fitting cap.” The usṇīṣa or ‘skull¬
born’ is also seen on this fragment. The vestment is very much like the Črāvasti Image.

2 There is, of course, one more point in the shape of the dress of this statue
which is against the ordinary fashion of Buddha images, viz., the girdle round the
waist. The vestment of the Črāvasti image is decidedly not the saṁghāṭi, while
those from Gandhara and Bihar, referred to further on, appear to be clad in this
garment.
dharmacakramudrā, and which Prof. Grünwedel in his valuable "Handbuch der Buddhistischen Kunst in Indien" (Berlin, 1893, p. 146 ff) has from independent reasons, tried to establish as a characteristic of statues representing not Čākyamuni, but the future Buddha Maitreya. Maitreya, according to Buddhist Mythology is not a Buddha yet, and I question the correctness of Prof. Grünwedel's words who calls these statues representations of "Maitreya as Buddha." To my mind, it would be more appropriate to speak of them as "statues of Maitreya," and from the result which I have arrived at above, it is extremely probable that the fact that such statues wear the right shoulder uncovered by their vestment, is due to their being representations of a Bōdhisattva, in this particular case the Bōdhisattva Maitreya.¹ The next point in connexion herewith refers to the Bihar Buddhist statues. Among these, I have met with the type of Buddha with his right shoulder bare only in connection with a peculiar attitude of the hands commonly called "bhūmisparpa-mudrā."² This holds good almost throughout, as far as I know. Now it is my opinion that this particular attitude where Buddha touches the earth with the top of the fingers of his right hand, while the left lies in his lap, always is intended to depict him as sitting under the Bōdhi-tree (which indeed is always represented on such statues), and calling the earth as a witness during his great struggle with Māra. This opinion of mine rests on the fact that in some of the Bihar images belonging to this type the demons of

¹ There remains of course one doubtful point. Some statues of a different type, representing figures in royal dress, and formerly called "statues of princes," have been explained by Prof. Grünwedel as representations of Maitreya. How then is this difference in type to be accounted for? I can see no reasonable explanation. My above statement rests on careful examination of the Indian Museum collection of Gandhara sculptures, among which there are about 200 images of Buddhas or Bōdhisattvas, coming partly from Swat, partly from Yūnsfzāi (Jamālgarhī, Takht-i-Bāhī, etc.). I have come across only one exception, i.e., a figure seated cross-legged, the right shoulder bare, and the right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. On the base of the statue, a small relievo of the Indrasālaguhā scene is sculptured (see my note in Proceedings, A. S. B., 1898, July, p. 186 ff). My statement referring to the Bihar sculptures also is based on the Indian Museum collection; the number of Buddhist statues among them may be given approximately as 200. Their date, as will be known, is the time of the Pāla Kings of Magadha.

² A fair specimen of this type may be seen in Plate II of this Journal, Vol. LXIII, 1894, Part I. It is a photo-etching of a statue excavated by Dr. G. A. Grierson near Rajgir, the ancient Rājagrha. In the description given by Bābū Čarnt Candar Dās on the authority of Luma Sherab Gya-tsho (p. 37) this attitude is called the dyāyānā āśrama which seems to be wrong. Also the tree above the head of Buddha is wrongly called the Kalpavyūka. Other similar statues may be seen in Cunningham, Mahābōdhi, Plate XXI 7, D, E, F, and Plate XXVI.
Māra's army are still represented, while on the majority of them no sign of Māra or his warriors is visible. Further it must be noticed that in Sarnath and Ajanta, wherever the attack of Māra is represented, Buddha's attitude is exactly the same as in those Bihar images above described. And this holds good also for Gandhara, where Buddha's attitude in the Māra scenes is always that of bhūmisparā, as called by me above. This point again tends towards the same direction. For when Buddha was attacked by Māra, he was not yet a Tathāgata or a Buddha, he was only a Bōdhisattva, and wherever the scene is described in Buddhist Literature, he is spoken of by that term. Thus, here again, the right shoulder has been left uncovered, because the artist did not intend to represent the Divine Teacher after he had reached the perfect state of enlightenment, but merely in a preliminary stage, as a Bōdhisattva. The evidence, accordingly, derived from epigraphical as well as sculptural facts, tends to show that wherever we meet with a statue of Buddha which represents him with his right shoulder uncovered, we must consider this a priori as a sign indicating that the image is not meant for a Buddha, but for a Bōdhisattva.

But to return to the Inscription, we must now take into consideration the important statement as to the locality where the statue was set up. As we have seen already, the image was erected in Črāvastī (spelled Čavasti), in the Kōsamdbakuṭi, "in the place where Buddha used to walk" (Bhagavatī caṃkampē). Črāvastī, or in Pāli Sāvatthī, contained the Jētavana, a place on which Buddhists look with the same veneration as a Christian does on the house of Lazarus in Bethania. In this garden or park there were two buildings, as we learn from the famous medallion in the Bharhut Stūpa, labelled as: Jētavana Anādhapēṭikō dēti kōti-samāhātēna kētā, i.e., 'Anāthapindaka gives the Jētavana (to Buddha), having purchased it for a layer of kōṭis (i.e., gold pieces)' (see Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Plates XXVIII and LVII). One of

1 See Plates 67, 68 of Dr. Burgess, Ancient Monuments, Part I.
2 There are two representations of Māra's attack on Buddha in Ajanta. One is a sculpture, figured in Plate LI of Burgess and Fergusson Cave Temples, the other the famous painting, a drawing of which may be seen, e.g., on page 93, woodcut No. 31, of Grünwedel's Handbuch.
3 But on the specimens seen by me, about 3 or 4 in number, the right shoulder is covered. All of them are, however, very poor with respect to workmanship.
4 Dr. Hultzsch takes kētā as Pāli form of skt. krētā, but it is a gerund, corresponding to skt. kṛṣṭvā; its prototype would be kṛṣṭvā, and it corresponds to kṛṣṭvā in the story of the Avidārēṇidāna (Fansboll, Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 92). I also do not agree with his translation of the words Kōsamdbakuṭi as "the Hall at Kaunāmbī;" see his edition of the Bharhut Inscriptions No. 39, on page 230, Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI, for 1892.
those two buildings is described as Kosambakuti; it is the building mentioned in our Inscription, as has been recognized long ago by General Cunningham. The second building is called ganidhakuti, and is referred to directly in the tale of the Avidudeniuna (Jataka, ed. Fansboll, Vol. I, p. 92), where we read that Sudatta (i.e., Anathapani) erected this building in the centre of the park (sô majjhe Dasabalassa ganidhakutim kārēs). Further it is stated in the same place, that he also erected ‘places to walk, to sleep, and to stay during the day’ for Buddha (cañkamaṇa-rattiṭṭhāna-dīvāṭṭhānāni ca), one of which doubtful was the Bhagavato cañkama, where the statue was set up, according to the Inscription.

It thus is established beyond doubt that the statue originally was erected in Čravasti, and the only point that remains for our discussion is the question whether we are entitled to identify the locality where the statue was discovered by General Cunningham in 1863, i.e., the modern Set-Mahet with the site of the ancient Čravasti?

It has been done so by General Cunningham; see his account on Sahet-Mahet, or Čravasti, in Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 330 ff., and Vol. XI, p. 78 ff. This identification up to lately, seems to have been generally adopted, and is repeated by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, p. 306. Recently, however, it appears to have come into discredit again. I refer to V. A. Smith’s report on the Remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District (Allahabad, 1896) where in note 3, p. 4 he states: “I greatly doubt the correctness of the accepted identification of the site of Čravasti. I have a strong suspicion that Čravasti should be identified with Chārdā, or Chahārdah, in the Bahraich district, about forty miles north-west of Sēt-Mahēt (Sahēt-Mahēt). The latter place, which is commonly reputed to be the site of Čravasti, will probably prove to be Sētawya, which was situated eastward from Čravasti.” It is for this reason that I take up the question here again.

It would be wrong to infer from a statement contained in the diary of the Journey of Hiouen Thsang, that the image discovered by General Cunningham is the same statue which the Chinese pilgrim saw in Čravasti. He tells us that (St. Julien, Hiouen Thsang, Vol. I, p. 296) “les bâtiments du Kia-lan (convent) sont complètement ruiné; il n’en reste que les antiques fondements. On ne voit plus qu’une petite maison en briques qui s’élève toute seule au milieu des décombres; elle renferme une statue du Bouddha.” Though this description closely agrees with the site where the General found the statue in 1863, yet from what immediately follows in Hiouen Thsang’s account, we learn that the statue which he saw, was made of sandel-wood, while Cunningham’s
statue is made of stone; and if we compare his account with the
narrative of Fa-Hian (p. 75 of Beal’s translation), it becomes evident
that both refer to the same statue. This was recognized origi¬

nally also by General Cunningham (see Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I,
p. 340), but later on, he changed his opinion, and said (Arch. Surv. R.,
Vol. XI, p. 86) : “When Hwen Thsang visited Sravasti in A.D. 636,
he found the Jetavana so completely ruined, that nothing more than
the foundations remained. ‘One small brick temple containing a
statue of Buddha rose alone amid the ruins.’ This solitary temple I
have identified with No. 3,\(^1\) because the Inscription which I found inside
dates back to the early period of Indo-Scythian rule. The statue must,
therefore, have been enshrined in this temple several centuries before the time
of Hwen Thsang; and as I found it inside the temple in 1863, it is certain
that it must have been there in A.D. 636, when the Chinese pilgrim visited
the Jetavana.” This rather bold statement has been accepted without
hesitation by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains, p. 310,
where he says that “this very statue of colossal size, (i.e., the statue
seen by Hiuen Thsang) was found in 1863 by General Cunningham
inside a small ruined brick temple.” We may, of course, admit an
error on Hiuen Thsang’s side, but we have no reason whatever to do so.
And, on the other hand, the fact that the statue does not seem to have
been noticed by Hiuen Thsang, does not appear to me to value much.
It may have been buried below the ground as early as in his time, and
it may be owing merely to this fact that the statue has still been
preserved to us in a country where stone material always, on account
of its rarity, has been valued high and greatly demanded, while, on
the other hand, further excavations conducted by General Cunningham
and Dr. W. Hoey at the same site have been very resultless as to
ancient sculptures or inscriptions.

While thus the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims become useless
to us in deciding the question whether the image stood at Set-
Mahet already at their time or not, we can, on the other hand, not
derive an argument against the question at issue from the fact that the
statue was made from the same material which was in use at the same
time in Mathurā. For, as General Cunningham rightly observes (Arch.
Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), “we know that the sculptor’s art was in a
very flourishing state at Mathurā during the first centuries of the
Christian era” and the same fact holds also good for a number of other
ancient sculptures that have come to light in the country around
Mathurā. We are perfectly justified in putting all these sculptures,

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\(^1\) This refers to Plate XXV, same Volume.
which, by no means, all have been found in Mathurā itself, but some of them at a considerable distance away, together under the class-term of Mathurā sculptures, just as we speak of Gandhara-sculptures, and such a term rests on much stronger grounds than many a similar one introduced by Indian Archaeologists. If, indeed, we find a statue with an Inscription, approximately 19 centuries old telling us that the place where the statue was set up, was Crāvastī and their being no visible signs that the statue has been transported from some other place, such as Inscriptions in later characters, etc., we must primarily infer that the site where it stands is the same place as that mentioned in the Inscription, until by some independent reasons we have come to the conclusion that such an assumption cannot be upheld. Such independent reasons, in our case, would be the distance in miles and the direction according to the horizon, as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims between Crāvastī and other places visited by them.

The next place to which both Fa-Hian and Hiuen Thsang travelled from Crāvastī, is Kapilavāstu, the birth-place of Buddha. The latter place, by the discovery in 1896 of the famous Pañcāra Edict of Aśoka, has been identified beyond doubt with a modern site in the Nepalese Terai to the north of Uska Bazar station. How far its distance from Set-Mahet in English miles is, I am unable to make out with certainty; its direction according to the horizon from Set-Mahet is to the East. The distance recorded by Fa-Hiang between Crāvastī and Kapilavāstu is about 14 yojanas in a south-easterly direction; 1 Hiuen Thsang gives 500 li in a south-eastern direction as the distance between the kingdom of Crāvastī and the kingdom of Kapilavāstu. 2 Both accordingly record the direction as lying to the south-east, while the actual direction between Set-Mahet and Pañcāra seems to be to the east. The question accordingly is: are we, on account of this discrepancy, justified in assuming that the statue has been brought to the place where General Cunningham found it, from somewhere else, while the actual site of Crāvastī must be searched for somewhere to the north-east of Pañcāra?

1 From Crāvastī to Na-pi-ka, the birth-place of the Buddha Krāuka chanda; 12 yōjanas to the south; from this place to Buddha Kaṇakamuni’s birth-place (viz., the modern Nigliva in Tahsil Taulehva, Nepal): less than 1 yōjana to the north: from this place to Kapilavāstu: less than one yōjana eastward; see Chapter XXI and XXII (p. 85-86) of Beal’s translation.

2 St. Julien, Vol. I, p. 309 “en partant de ce royaume (i.e., She-lo-fa-si-ti = Crāvastī), il fit environ cinq cents li au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de Kie-pi-fo-sa-su-tu (Kapilavastu).” I expect that the distance in lis and yōjanas agrees nearly with the actual distance in English miles between Set-Mahet and Pañcāra, but I have no means to work out this question, and I refrain myself, for this reason, from taking it into consideration. 500 lis or 14 yōjanas both come up approximately to 80 English miles.
To my humble opinion, such an assumption would be very difficult to maintain. Suppose, a pious Buddhist Monk or layman who had got hold of the statue at the place where it was standing previously, desired to make it a gift to some of his co-religionists who were then residing at the place which is now called Set-Mahet. For this purpose, he removed the statue, 11’ 8” in height, and of a considerable weight some thirty or even fifty miles. Is it not then entirely in opposition to the usual custom in India that he took all this trouble and, in connexion with it, the considerable expenses upon himself without recording even his name on the statue? Črāvasti in 636 A.D. when Hīuen Tsiang visited the place, certainly was already very much devastated, and only few Buddhists were residing there. But it must have been absolutely depopulated and no one must have been there to claim the possession of the image which even on its size would have excited the religious veneration of an ordinary Hindu or Buddhist, if he was allowed to take the statue away, and nobody dared to object, as it has been done now-a-days hundred of times to Archaeologists and Collectors of sculptures for the various Museums. And is it really in accordance with the usual custom in India that, whenever a religious man wants to gain merit by setting up a statue or building up a temple, he utilizes some old broken stone which he has come across with at some distant place? On the contrary, in such a case, no respect whatever for any object of antiquity is shown—a feeling which indeed is entirely new to the ordinary Indian—and the donor rather boasts himself of having made a new statue, however ugly, out of some other piece of venerable antiquity.

These considerations make me inclined to trust the authority of the Inscription on the statue discovered by General Cunningham and to look upon the discrepancy in the direction as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim as a minor point of no considerable importance. There is some more Epigraphical evidence as to the site of the ancient Črāvasti which I may be permitted to add here, though, unfortunately, it does not help us any further. Črāvasti is mentioned also in the following Inscriptions:


(2) Dīghwa-Dubauli Copper-plate Inscription of Māhārāja J. i. 37
Buddhistic statue from Črāvasti

(No. 4, Mahāndrapāladēva; date [Harsa]-samvat 155=761-762 A.D.; Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, 1886, p. 112; line 7 ff. of Inscription: Črāvasti-bhūktau Črāvasti-maṇḍal-āntāṭpadī-Valayikā-viśaya-sambaddha-Pāṇiyaka-grāma. The plate is in the possession of a Brahmin in the Saran District, Bihar, but seems to have been brought there from some distant place.

(3) Kaṭak Copper-plate Inscription of the third year of Mahārāja Bhavagupta II.; date 11th century A.D.; Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 357; line 38 ff., of the Inscription mentions a Brahman who had come to Kaṭak from the bhaṭṭa-village Kāsillī in the Črāvasti-maṇḍala (Črāvasti-maṇḍale Kāsillī-bhaṭṭagṛama-vinirṛgaṭīya).

All these localities, however, mentioned as lying in the maṇḍala or bhukti of Črāvasti, I have been unable to identify; for that Vālayikā in the Dīghwa-Dubaulī Inscription (No. 2) may be the modern Bāllī in the North-West Provinces, is nothing more than a mere guess. If it is possible to identify those places, they would certainly help to settle the question, but I am unable at present to do this.

To sum up the results of this paper, we learn from the Inscription on the base of the statue discovered by General Cunningham in 1863 at the modern Set-Mahet:—

(1) that the statue was erected in the last century B.C. or first century A.D., and consequently is one of the oldest Buddhist images found in India;

(2) that it represents a Bōdhisattva, and not a Buddha, this being recognisable also in the shape of the robe leaving the right shoulder naked;

(3) that, finally, the statue originally was set up in Črāvasti and that the place where General Cunningham found it, viz., the modern Set-Mahet, has to be considered on the authority of the Inscription as the site of the ancient Črāvasti, notwithstanding a certain discrepancy in its actual direction from Kapilavāstu (Paḍeria), as compared with the direction recorded by the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hīuen Thsang.
A new Inscription of Maharaja Bhoja I., from Marwar, dated Harṣa Samvat 100.—By Theodor Bloch, Ph. D.

[Read April, 1898].

This Inscription which is edited here for the first time, is engraved on a copper-plate discovered by Debiprasād, a Munsif of Jodhpur in Marwar State, Rajputana. It is stated to have come to light some fifty years ago during a heavy rainfall in a village called Sewa,¹ in Pargana Didwana of the Marwar State, where it was lying buried under the earth, and whence it is said to have come to Daulatpur, in the same State; it is now deposited in the Darbar Hall of Jodhpur. I edit the Inscription from impressions kindly supplied to me by Debiprasād, Munsif of Jodhpur, who discovered the plate in Daulatpur and arranged for its being deposited in Jodhpur.

Judging from the impressions, the plate measures 1' 9" by 1' 4½"; its weight is said to be 30 seers. It is inscribed on one side only in characters of exactly the same type as the two Inscriptions of the same dynasty, already known to us, viz., the Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Maharājā Mahāudrapāla, and the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Plate of Maharājā Viniyakapāla.² The average size of the letters is ³⁄₄". The seal, measuring, according to the impression, 9½" by 6½", is soldered unto the proper right side of the plate; it resembles in shape exactly the seal of the two other plates, mentioned above. It contains an Inscription, consisting of 10 lines of writing in relievo, above which there is, in an arch, the figure of a standing goddess, doubtless the Bhagavati mentioned in the Inscription as tutelary deity of Maharājā Bhoja. The same figure is also to be seen in the upper portion of the seal of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society’s Plate. The latter which I had an opportunity to inspect, leaves no doubt that this goddess Bhagavati is intended for Durgā or Pārvati, as she is represented

¹ Written सेवा and دیدرہ respectively, in the vernacular alphabets.
² Edited by Mr. Fleet in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XV, pp. 105 and 138, with facsimile.
as holding a mirror and water-jar (darpana and kalaça) in two of her left hands, both of which are among the attributes of this goddess.

The language of the Inscription is Sanskrit. With respect to orthography, the same peculiarities re-occur here, as in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates; viz., the letter b is everywhere expressed by the sign for v; parambhagavati (or parambhu°) stands for paramabhaqavati (in lines e and k of the seal, and lines 4 and 6 of the text); samvatsrö, in the date (line 16), is written for samvatsarā or samvatsarāṇām; ança is written for aica (in lines 10 and 14).

The Inscription opens with the well-known Genealogical list of Mahārājajas from Devaçakti down to Bhōja; the same pedigree, in exactly the same words, is repeated on the seal also, and may be seen, too, in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates of Mahendrapāla and Vināyakapāla. Thereafter, we learn, that the Mahārāja-Cṛi-Bhōjadēva, from his victorious camp, pitched up at Mahōdaya (line 1) issued a command to his officials in the village Sīvā, belonging to the district (visaya) of Dēndrānaka, which lay in the country of Gurjjarattrā (Gurjjarattra-bhumau; lines 6 foll.), informing them that a certain Bhātta-Harsūka (line 8) had reported to him, that the above-named village (viz., Sivā-grāma) had been granted by the present King Bhōja's great-grandfather, Mahārāja Vatsarāja, (line 9: parama-deva-pādaṇām propitāmaḥ, etc.) to his (sc. Haisuka's) grandfather, Bhātta Vāsudeva. This Vāsudeva again by a special deed (pratigraha-pattṛṇa), had made over the sixth part of its revenues to a certain Bhātta Viṣṇu (line 10). Mahārāja Bhōja's grandfather, the Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭa, confirmed the original grant; but in the reign of the present King Bhōja (deva-rajye, line 11), both the original grant (gāsana) and the record of its being sanctioned by Nāgabhaṭa (anumati) had been lost. The Mahārāja Bhōja, therefore, after he had come to know about the grant, its sanction, and enjoyment, consented that the said village should be enjoyed by the Brahmans, the descendants of Bhātta-Vāsudēva, who belonged to the Kātyāyaṇa-gṛotra and were students of the Āṣvalāyana-[pākhā] of the Rg-veda, as well as by the Brahmans, the descendants of Bhātta Viṣṇu, who belonged to the Kātyāyaṇa-gṛotra and were students of the Āṣvalāyana-[pākhā] of the Rg-veda, in the same way as it had been enjoyed before, and as the division of the shares had been already settled (prāg-bhōga-kramēṇ=āvai yathāṃṣam, line 14). Then follows a āloka (line 15 ff.) which tells us that the gāsana was drawn up by Prabhāsa, and that

1 This is the meaning of the word prayukta according to Prof. Bühler's suggestion; see Mr. Fleet's note 9, Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 127. The translation of the first line of the verse accordingly would be: "(This is the writing) of the long-enduring gāsana, drawn up by Prabhāsa."
the Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa acted as dātaka. The date of the assignment (nibaddha) of the grant is the year 100, the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna. As in the case of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates, the date must be referred to the Harṣa Era, corresponding therefore to 706–707 A.D.

The new information which this Inscription furnishes regarding the history of this family of Mahārājas, is but scanty. It gives us the date Harṣa Samvat 100 (= A.D. 706-707) for Mahārāja Bhōja, and mentions the name of a Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa who has been left out in the later lists, apparently because he never ascended the throne. Of greater interest, however, are the localities mentioned in the Inscription. The village Sīvā, the agraḥāra of the Brahmin families descending from Bhatta-Vāsudēva and Bhatta-Viṣṇu, is described as lying in the Gurjjaratrā-bhūmi, in the Dēṇḍavaṇaka-viṣaya. The former I am unable to identify; but the latter apparently is identical with the modern Didwānā, the name of a town and pargana in Marwar State in Rajputana. The place is shown in the map accompanying Webb’s Currencies of Rajputana, and also on Plate 27 of Constable’s Hand Atlas of India; it is situated midway between Jaypur and Bikanir. Accordingly, the village Sīvā must be identical with the modern Sēwā, the place where, if tradition can be trusted, the plate came to light some fifty years ago. The villages granted in the two other Inscriptions of the same dynasty, lay respectively in the modern districts of Faizabad in Oudh, and of Benares; but we now learn that one part at least of the dominions of this family of petty chiefs (Mahārājas) lay also on the other bank of the Jumna, about 500 miles distant from their Zamindāri in Oudh and 700 miles from Benares.

I now edit the Inscription from impressions supplied by Dēbiprasād:

Text.

The Seal:

(a) परमवैश्ववो महाराजश्रीरेवशः

(b) देवस्य पुलचत्तादायुधाय: श्रीभूषिका-

(c) देवस्य श्रुत्वः परममाहिन्नरो महाराज-

(d) श्रीवराजरेववशस्य पुलचत्तादायुधाय: 蹏

1 For other instances of a Yuvarāja acting as dātaka, see Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla (Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 245), and Mungir Plate of Dēvapāla (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 258).

2 Expressed by a symbol, not in numerical figures.

3 This has been already suggested to me by Dēbiprasād.
The Plate:

(1) वीं साति [॥*] महाराजश्रीनागरमन्दिरकल्लाम्यताका वाराकरम्यायः

(2) वो महाराजश्रीदिवसग्राहिदिवसक्ष्म पृतच्छत्तादातर्थात्: श्रीभुविकादिशा-सुवान: परमः

(3) मादिबरो महाराजश्रीदिवसग्राहिदिवसक्ष्म पृतच्छत्तादातर्थात्: श्रीसुन्दरी-देवसुवानः

(4) परमभगवतीभानो महाराजश्रीनागरमन्दिरकल्लाम्यताका वाराकरम्यायः पृतच्छत्तादातर्थात्: श्री-मादिबरो

(5) यामुन्य: परमादिवभानो महाराजश्रीनागरमन्दिरकल्लाम्यताका वाराकरम्यायः पृतच्छत्तादातर्थात्: श्री-

(6) मादिबरो महाराजश्रीनागरमन्दिरकल्लाम्यताका वाराकरम्यायः पृतच्छत्तादातर्थात्: श्री-

(7) कवियसम्बद्धविकादिशामध्याश्रयो समुपपालस्वानिव यथाव्रानविलास-ग्राहितास्विनम्

(8) समासापयति महान्युण्डन विचयिता उपरिविलितादिशास्वायस-मेल ब्राह्मणाः

1 Read परमभगवती

2 The reading नी is quite obvious here as also in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates. Mr. Fleet's reading नी seems erroneous.

3 Read परमभगवती

4 Read मन्य।
(9) चित्राकाण्ड पूर्वदेशः देशः देशन्वर्त्त: पारमेवपालान् प्रपितामहः
महाराजः विवेकः

(10) राजदेवेन महाराज; ज्ञैन भवानवाणीवति
शासनः दत्तो शुल्कः [1*] तेन
चास्य वशायन् भविष्यस्वेव ग्रहः

(11) तिमाद्रपरमे दत्त: [1*] पितामहः महाराज; ज्ञैन भवानवाणीवति
हृदः [1*] देवराजः तु तत्काशः ननामः

(12) तिमा विगतिमुग्धातैव दिल्ली2 विचित्रां शासनमुनिमति प्रतिग्राहमः
भोगममा ज्ञाना मया पितृहो पुष्यामि

(13) छहद्वे काव्यसंगीतायाय लाभवस्त्रस्ववत्ताचारी
भवानवाणीवति चाशुः शासनः
काव्यानन्दग्लाशः

(14) लाभवस्त्रस्ववत्ताचारी 1/5 भविष्यववत्ताचारी
भाषामेव विश्वासः

(15) भवविश्वासः मनथः [1*] प्रतिवाचिनिमितिमायाध्विविधीयः!
शाशनः
या यथा समुपनेया श्रद्धा
प्रभासनः ग्रहणः([-]

(16) श्यासनस्य स्वरायते
अधि; श्रीमङ्गलो नाथे [चा] युवराजः दूतः

1 Read ब्रह्म.
2 Read योगः.
3 Read अनेकत्रसिद्धः.
4 This ought to be either अनुमतिप्रतिग्राहः or अनुमतिप्रतिग्राहः.
5 Read 1/5 चैत्रस्ववत्ताचारी.
6 Read प्राध्युन्धूर.
7 Read निविष्ठः.
8 Read विष्णुभूतः.
9 Metre Anuśṭabh.
10 Read विष्णुभूतः.
11 Expressed by a symbol.
12 Read निविष्ठः.
The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Biyāt.—By H. Beveridge, Esq.,
I.C.S. (retired).

[Read November, 1898.]

This work, which is still in manuscript, owes its origin to the
Emperor Akbar. We learn from the introduction to the Akbarnāma
that when Abū’l-faṣl undertook, under Akbar’s orders, to write the
history of the emperor’s reign, considerable pains were taken to collect
the necessary materials. Among other things inquiries were made
among members of the royal family and old servants of the Court,
and all who had knowledge of past events were directed to put their
recollections into writing. It was in obedience to this order that
Bāyazīd Biyāt, who was then holding an office in Akbar’s kitchen,
dictated his memoirs to a clerk of Abū’l-faṣl. The same order pro¬
duced the charming memoirs of Princess Gulbadan, Akbar’s aunt, and
apparently also those of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer. There is a copy of
Bāyazīd’s Memoirs in the India Office, MS. No. 216. This was
Erskine’s copy, and is the one which I have used for this article.
Major Baverty had another copy which he quotes in his Notes on
Afghanistān, but which, he informs me, is no longer in his possession.
I hope that other copies may turn up, and also that some scholar will
one day undertake the editing of the text. If any one undertake the
task, he will do well to consult MS. Additional 26,610 of the British
Museum. This is a nearly complete translation of the Memoirs by
Mr. Erskine, and which might almost be printed as it stands.

Bāyazīd Biyāt belonged to a Turkish tribe, but was a native of
Persia and was brought up in Tabrīz. This appears from p. 77b where
we are told that ‘Ali Quli Shaibānī (Khān Zamān) was a neighbour of
Bāyazīd’s in Tabriz when he was little, and also from p. 102a where
it is stated that Bāyazīd grew up with ‘Ali Quli in the Āwa quarter of
Tabriz. Bāyazīd was the younger brother of Shāh Bardī Biyāt, the saint
and poet, who forsook the profession of arms to become a water-carrier
and whose tomb is at Bardwān.1

1 See Professor Blochmann’s article on Bahram Saqqā, the name assumed by
Bayazid dictated his memoirs at Lahor in 999 (1590-91). He was then an old man, and though still in service,—he was Bakawal Begi, or Steward of the kitchen,—he had had a paralytic stroke and was unable to write with his own hand. The facts that he was old and frail and that he had to dictate his recollections from memory account for their rambling character and for the inconsecutive style of the sentences. The Memoirs contain much valuable information, and in particular they give elaborate lists of Humāyūn’s followers. They are also occasionally picturesque, as for instance, in the detailed account of the meeting between the two brothers, Humāyūn and Kāmrān, after the latter had been blinded, but as a whole they are badly written and less interesting than the memoirs of Jauhar. They are styled on the fly-leaf of the MS. Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn, but this title is not given by the author, who speaks of them only as a mukhtasār or abridgement, and it is not an adequate description of the contents, for the latter part of them is taken up with events of the reign of Akbar. They begin with Humāyūn’s flight into Persia in 1543 and come down to the time of writing (1590-91). Abūl-fazl has evidently used them a good deal, though he nowhere expressly mentions them, and they are frequently quoted by Erskine in his valuable history of Humāyūn’s reign. Bayazid tells us that nine contemporaneous copies of his book were made, two of which went into Abūl-fazl’s library. I hope that some of them will be found one day in India. Bayazid’s name occurs in the Āin under the title of Bayazid Beg Turkman as a commander of three hundred (Blochmann’s translation, p. 501), and his son Iftikhar is mentioned lower down (p. 516), as belonging to the class of commanders of two hundred.

The Memoirs begin with Humāyūn’s arrival in Sistān, and describe his journey to Harāt, and contain a copy of the elaborate despatch on which Shāh Ţahmāsp gave directions to the governor of that city for Humāyūn’s reception and entertainment. Bayazid, however, did not meet with Humāyūn, till the latter had joined the king of Persia at Zangān, and had gone hunting with him at Solomon’s Throne (Takht-i-Sulaimān), south of the Caspian. After mentioning (at p. 11b) his own presence at the feasts and hunts, Bayazid tells us that when Humāyūn took leave of Shāh Ţahmāsp and proceeded towards Tabriz, he himself was in the service of His Holiness Saiyid Muḥammad ‘Arab, the Shāh’s Imām or chaplain, who had been entrusted that year with the conveyance of the royal donative to the shrine of Imām Rizā at Mashhad. Apparently when Humāyūn went westward, Bayazid proceeded on the opposite direction towards Mashhad, for he was there
with his father when Humayun arrived on the first Shawwal 951, (16th December, 1544). It was the day of the 'Idu-l-fitr or the breaking of the fast of the Ramazan, but the weather had been so bad from rain and snow that the people of Mashhad had not been able to see the moon. Humayun, however, was able to satisfy the Qazi that he had seen the moon when crossing the Zaqi Pass on the previous evening and so after 9 a.m. all the inhabitants proceeded to the 'Idgah. Humayun stayed several days in Mashhad, putting up in an upper room (bālākhāna) behind Imam Riza’s dome. One night he encircled the shrine and visited the tombs of the poet Mir 'Ali Şehr and others, and in his zeal insisted upon acting as a servant of the shrine and on snuffing the lamps. This incident is also mentioned by Jauhar, (Stewart’s translation, p. 60), but is referred by him to Humayun’s first visit to Mashhad. Perhaps Humayun performed the ceremony twice. From Mashhad Humayun proceeded towards Afghanistan, and joined the Persian army on the banks of the Hilmand. He sent a force to take the castle of Bast, on the Hilmand near the junction of the Arghandab, and Bayazid went with it, though apparently not in any official capacity. From Bast, Humayun went to Kandahar and besieged it for some months. Bayazid was here also, and accompanied Bairam Khān on his embassy to Kabul. On the way they were attacked by the Hazāras, and Bayazid records the feat of Muhammadi Mirzā, a grandson of Jahān Shāh, the last king of the Turkmāns of the Black Sheep. Muhammadi was on a horse which had been sent by Tahmāsp as a present to Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshan, and he leapt with it a ditch which was eighteen cubits wide, in order to attack a Hazāra archer who had wounded several of the king’s troopers. He killed him, but not before the archer had discharged his arrow and wounded the horse on the chest. Notwithstanding the wound, the horse carried Muhammadi for ten miles further and then dropped. Here Bayazid incidentally mentions that the famous Bairam Khān, whom he styles Baharlū, claimed to be descended from the same family as Muhammadi. At Kabul, Bayazid saw the child Akbar, who was then living with his grand-aunt Khānzāda Begām, and heard Māham Bāgha say, that he was born in 949 (the 946 of text must be a mistake), that he was then 3½ years old, and that this date had also been written up in Kabul by his Majesty Humayun.

The embassy returned to Qandahār after about two months, and apparently Bayazid did not return with it, but joined his brother

1 I cannot find this name on the map, though there is a place Zarki marked N. of Mashhad. Probably the pass was to the west of Mashhad on the way from Nishāpūr.
Bahrām Saqqā who had not then become a darvesh and was in Gardiz, 65 miles S.-E. Kābul, in the service of Mirzā Kāmrān. Later on, p. 19a, Bāyazid tells us that Kāmrān took Gardiz, Naghaz, and Bangash from his brother Shāh Bardi and gave them to Khīzr Kāh Hāzāra with instructions to guard the line of march from Qandahār and Ghaznī. Shāh Bardi alias Bahrām Saqqā received in exchange the districts of Ghūrband (N.-W. Kābul), Zohāk and Bāmiān, but when he came to pay his respects to Kāmrān on his way thither, Kāmrān requested him to put off his journey to Ghūrband till the affairs of the army had been settled. So Bahrām and his brother Bāyazid stayed at Kābul till Kāmrān had reviewed his troops and till the arrival of Humāyūn. This was followed by the desertion of all Kāmrān’s officers. Shāh Bardi was one of them and joined Humāyūn along with the famous Bāpūs Bēg and with Bāyazid. Humāyūn entered Kābul on the 10th Ramaqān 1 952, (16th November, 1545), and had the pleasure of meeting again his wives and sisters, and his little son Akbar. Bāyazid records that Muayyid Bēg Dūldai Barlās died only a week after the taking of Kābul, and that this was the cause of universal joy, every body saying that he was the Satan of mankind, and was the cause of Humāyūn’s losing India, and that now there was hope that Humāyūn would recover that country. This is the same Muayyid who was so brutal as to cut off the hands of about 2,000 men who formed the garrison of Cūnār and had capitulated. 2 Bāyazid is charitable enough to express the hope that Munkīr and Nakīr, the two angels who question the departed, may not have been so severe on Muayyid as were his fellow-men.

In the spring of 1546, Maryam-makānī, Akbar’s mother, arrived from Qandahār and the circumcision of Akbar, then between four and five years old, was celebrated in March of that year with great splendour, the city being illuminated, &c. for forty days. It was on the occasion of this āinbandī or festival that Bāyazid’s brother, Shāh Bardi, came under a spell, 3 or was drawn to religion so forcibly that he gave up his profession of a soldier and became a water-carrier under the

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1 There is, as Erskine observes, Hist. II. 325, a discrepancy about this date, but he seems wrong in saying that Bāyazid gives the year as 953. His own copy has 952; and that this is correct appears from the statement on p. 224, that the festivities at Kābul took place in the beginning of 953.

2 The statement that Muayyid was the cause of Humāyūn’s losing India is corroborated by Jauhar, (pp. 15 and 16 of Stewart), who says that it was owing to Muayyid’s advice that Humāyūn crossed to the south-west of the Ganges, a step which led to the disaster of Causā.

3 Memoirs p. 19a jazāba rasīda lit., an attraction or drawing occurred. There is another reference to this brother at p. 98a.
name of Bahrām Saqqā. His brother adds that he composed a diwān or collection of poems which has been acceptable to all, both the elect and the general public, and that he went off to Turkistān, reciting, or making a rosary of (tasbīḥ numūda) the Persian diwān of Shāh Qasim Anwar, and the Turki diwān of Shāh Nasimī. We shall hear of him again as a water-carrier in the streets of Agra.

After some days of feasting the royal party went to visit Khwāja Rāg-rawān, the site of the moving sand, and there the princes engaged in wrestling-bouts. Humāyūn wrestled with Imām Qulī Qūrčī, and Mīrzā Hindāl with his cousin Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir. After that they went to Khwāja Sīh Yārān, the Place of the Three Friends (Jarrett's Āin II, 409 n), to admire the arghawān tree blossoms of the Dāman-i-kōh. About this time Caghātāi Sūltān who was a Mughul prince of great promise and an universal favourite died, and one Mir Amani made a pretty chronogram about him. After describing him as a rose and saying that in the season of the rose he meditated a journey, the verses wind up thus:

"I sought the date from the bereaved nightingale and she said weeping, the rose has gone out of the garden" (gul az bāgh birūn shud). Here if we take 50, the numerical value of gul, from 1003, the value of bāgh, we get the date 953. With this, Bāyazid ends the first chapter of his memoirs.

The next opens with an account of the trial and execution of Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir which took place in the end of 953, (January 1547). It seems that a regular indictment was preferred, consisting of nearly thirty articles. One of them went as far back as the taking of Cāmpānir in 1535 and was as follows:—"On the taking of the Fort of Cāmpānir we (Humāyūn) had come into the treasury and had commanded that no one, unless sent for, should come to the treasury-door, but you came without orders and sent your respects through a bakdwal (Steward) who had brought us a special dish of soup. We left coins of all sorts on the tray and sent soup to you, and you had

1 Perhaps tasbīḥ making a seven fold copy.
2 A native of Tabriz which may account for Bahrām’s attachment to his poetry. He was a mystic poet and died 837 A.H. or 1434 near Harat. There is a good account of him in Beale’s Oriental Dictionary, but the date of his death there given seems wrong.
3 See Professor Browne on the Ḥanafī sect in J. R. A. S., January, 1898, pp. 62 and 67. Nasimī was put to death for heterodoxy at Aleppo in 820 (1417). Nasim is a district near Baghdad. The poet’s real name was Saiyid ‘Imādū-d-dīn. See Rieu’s Catalogue of Turkish MSS. 165a.
4 Bādīsūni has a similar chronogram on the death of Bairām. Lowe’s translation, p. 41.
the audacity to lift off a *Muzajfari* (a silver coin) from it and to make over the tray and all its contents to the *bakāwal*. This was disrespect according to the imperial constitutions (*tūrū*).” Another was of a more serious nature, viz., that he had conspired with Shāh Ḥusain of Sind against Humāyūn, and that so Humāyūn had been driven to take refuge in Persia. Yādgār Nāṣir was found guilty and Muḥammad ‘Ali Taghāi (apparently Humāyūn’s mother’s brother), the governor of Kābul, was ordered to put him to death. But he refused, saying that he had never killed a sparrow, how then could he kill Prince Yādgār Nāṣir. Munʿīm Bēg suggested the employment of Muḥammad Qāsim Mauji, and he the same night had the Mīrzā strangled with a bow-string. Yādgār was buried in front of the citadel gate, but his body was afterwards exhumed and interred beside his father in Ghaznī. Some time after this, Humāyūn, we are told, had a drinking party and when he got up was so unsteady that his foot slipped. His butler expressed sorrow that his master should take anything that could reduce him to such a state, and Humāyūn accepting the rebuke, vowed that he would never touch intoxicating drinks again. We are told that he kept his vow for the rest of his life. He also sent for the grave seigniors who had been his boon companions and told them that it should not have been left to his butler to warn him against evil courses. He now resolved to go to Badakhshān in order to coerce Mīrzā Sulaimān who had failed to present himself at Kābul. On the way he punished some men who had offended him. One of them, Mastī Fīrāq, he ordered to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. The man cried out that he had the holy Koran under his arm, and that they should first take this away in order that it might not be damaged. Search having been made, it was found under his armpit, and his piety was rewarded by a pardon. In Badakhshān Humāyūn fell dangerously ill and when he recovered found that Kamrān had taken advantage of his illness to resume possession of Kabul. Humāyūn hurried back and succeeded in driving out Kamrān for the second time. The latter fled to the north and was afterwards besieged in Tāliqān (in Badakhshān) by Humāyūn. After a while he had to surrender and applied to his brother for leave to go to Mecca. Humāyūn was, however, too soft-hearted to insist on such an abdication and so recalled Kamrān after he had gone a little way on his journey, and had an interview with him at Tāliqān. Bāyazīd gives a full and curious account of the ceremonies with which Kamrān was

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1 Probably the tray (*khvān*) here meant is that containing the food or soup, and the insolence consisted in the rejection of what the king had sent, and making over the coins to a servant.
received, and describes the entertainment which followed. There is also a description of this meeting in Princess Gulbadan's Memoirs. One story which Bāyazīd tells is about a conversation during the festival between Husain Quli Sultan, the keeper of the seal, and Kāmhrān. There was various discourse, he says, and Husain Quli told Kāmhrān it was reported that at a meeting held by 'Ubaidu'llāh Khān, the question had been put whether a man who had not in his heart hatred to 'Ali as big as an orange, could be called a Musulmān; that afterwards this subject had been brought up again in a meeting at which Kāmhrān was present and that Kāmhrān was reported to have remarked that it behoved a servant of God to have such a hatred as big as a pumpkin. Kāmhrān was indignant at Husain Quli's remarks and asked him if he took him for a heretic. To this the other replied that he was only repeating what he had heard, and that the recital of an infidel's language did not make the repeater an infidel. As the Uzbaks were strong Sunnis it is not unlikely that the question was really put, and as Kāmhrān was a Sunni or at least was desirous of pleasing the Sunnis and had married into an Uzbak family it is likely enough that he improved upon the question in the manner stated. This story is one of those which Abūl-fazl has borrowed from Bāyazīd.1

The entertainment lasted for three days and was followed by a council meeting in which the propriety of making an attack on Balkh was discussed. It does not appear that Kāmhrān was present at this council, or that he was invited to express his opinion about the expedition. Very probably he was not asked for he himself had been a supplicant to the ruler of Balkh and had obtained some assistance from him in his contests with his brother.

It is suggested by Erskine that the help which the Uzbak chief had given to Kāmhrān was one of the motives for the attack on Balkh. There was considerable difference of opinion among the councillors, and in the end it was resolved that they should all march south to Nārān where the roads to Balkh and Kābul separated and that they should there decide what they should do. On the way Humāyūn turned off to visit the fountain of Band Kushā near Ishkamish (in Badakhshān and E.-S.-E. of Kundūz. On the map there is a place marked Cashma (spring or of fountain) about 7 miles N. E. of Ishkamish). There he sent for the blacksmiths and bade them prepare an iron pen, saying that when his Majesty his father Babar returned

1 It is also told by Shāh Tahmāsp in his Memoirs. See Teufel's paper in Z. D. M. G. and Paul Horn's trs. Strassburg 1892, p. 37. But Mr. Horn has erroneously made the orange a pomegranate. See Text, Z. D. M. G., Vol. 46, p. 596.
from Samarqand, he had written the date and the number of his companions, and that it was proper he should make a similar record. So he engraved the date, &c., with his own blessed hand. Abū'l-fażl also tells this story, (Akbarnāma I, 282), and says that the occasion of Bābar's putting up the inscription was the submission to him of his brothers, Khān Mirzā and Jahāngīr. It was, he says, in accordance with this precedent that Humāyūn engraved the inscription, for his brothers, Kāmrān and 'Askari, had just been reconciled to him and performed homage. But I have been unable to find the passage in Bābar's Memoirs. At p. 101 of these Memoirs Bābar records the cutting of an inscription near a spring, but this was in the neighbourhood of Farghāna, and again at p. 233 there is a reference to the cutting of an inscription, but this too is not the Ishkamish one. If Abū'l-fażl's statement is correct, he must, I think, have got it from some other source than the Memoirs.

It does not appear that there was any fresh discussion at Nāran about going to Balkh, it having already been decided apparently that the expedition should not take place that year. At Nāran therefore the brothers separated, and Kāmrān received Kūlāb as his fief. Humāyūn went on to Pariān where he repaired the fort constructed by his ancestor Timūr. From Pariān he paid a visit to some silver mines. He sent for miners and had an experimental working made but found that the produce would not repay the cost of excavation. After this he resumed his march to Kābul, and on coming to the Ushtarkarām (?) pass he lost his way. The servants who were ahead went to find out the road but could not. At last a man was seen going along on foot. He was hailed and asked his name (p. 41b). "A servant of God," he replied. "We are all servants of God," rejoined Humāyūn, "tell us your real name." My name is "Khāk" (earth), replied the man. Humāyūn on this said, "What is your proper name? what sense is there in the word khāk?" He then replied, "Then call me what you like." Humāyūn who had been already put out by losing his road, now got very angry and said, "Shall I call you a kite or a muck-rake (Gūh dalāl)?" "During the five or six years," says Bāyazīd, "that I had been in attendance on him, I had never seen him so put out before." After this colloquy the man became their guide and brought them to the village of Ushtarkarām. Humāyūn spent the following winter in Kābul and then set out early in the spring of 1549 on the expedition against Balkh.

1 The visit of the four brothers to the fountains is also mentioned by Jauhar, Stewart, p. 92.
It is strange what a fascination Central Asia seems to have possessed for Babar and his descendants. We find Babar spending the best years of his life in fruitless attempts to regain possession of Farghana and to establish himself in Samarqand, and now we find his sons engaged in the same bootless warfare, and neglecting the far more promising field of India. A war against the Uzbaks seems to have been to this family what a campaign against the Persians was to the Greeks, or a crusade to the European nations in the Middle Ages. Humayun made his attack in company with his brother Hindal and his cousin Sulaiman. Kâmrân and 'Askârî sent word that they would come, but they failed to put in an appearance. Kâmrân indeed took advantage of Humayun’s absence on this expedition to capture Kabul for the second time.

We are told by Bâyazîd, (p. 94b), that Sulaimân of Bâdakhshân fought 72 battles with the Uzbaks, and was always successful, but if so he was the only Timuride who ever got the better of them. And he too eventually found that the Uzbaks were too strong for him, for he lost his son Mirzâ Ibrâhîm, who was made prisoner by the Uzbaks in one of his father’s expeditions and was taken to Balkh and put to death there. And Sulaimân himself was eventually driven out of Bâdakhshân in his old age and forced to take refuge with Akbar. Where Babar had failed, even with the powerful help of the king of Persia, it was not likely that his unstable son Humayun should succeed. His campaign against Balkh ended in disastrous failure, and his sufferings during the retreat remind us of those experienced by his father when he fled from Samarqand after having been driven out by Shaibâni Khân. Bâyazîd was present in the campaign and was now a direct servant of Humayun, having begun his career as a servant of Jalîlu-d-dîn Mahmûd of Aubâh, the king’s butler, and having afterwards served Hûsain Quli, the keeper of the seal.

As Humayun was marching towards Aibak, one of his followers shot a leopard. The seal-bearer remarked that this was a bad omen, and cited the instance of the Uzbaks who on account of a similar occurrence had once put off an expedition to Khurasân. But Humayun got over the argument by observing that the Uzbaks were his enemies and that so what was a bad sign for them was a good one for him. Aibak was taken after a short resistance and Khwâja Bâgh, the guardian of Pir Muham-mad, the ruler of Balkh, was made prisoner. Humayun took the singular step of asking the Khwâja how he should proceed in order to be successful in his expedition against Balkh. The Khwâja naturally replied that he was an enemy and so his opinion should not be taken, but Humayun persisted, saying, that the Uzbaks were honest men and
would tell the truth, and that the Khwaja was the most honest of his countrymen. On this Khwaja Bāgh gave him the disinterested advice to cut off the heads of all his prisoners including himself. Humāyūn’s answer was that they were all Musulmāns and that he could not put to death so many of his co-religionists. The Khwaja then proposed a treaty with Pir Muḥammad, but Humāyūn also rejected this suggestion. He then continued his march via Khulm to Balkh. At first his enterprise seemed likely to be successful, but his soldiers got discouraged by the continued absence of Kāmrān and apprehended that Kāmrān would attack Kābul in their absence, and get possession of their families who had been left behind in that city. So when victory was apparently within their grasp the invaders retreated southwards to Dera Gaz. The attempt to execute a change of position in the face of an enemy had the same disastrous effect that followed a similar manœuvre before the battle of Qanauj. The retreat became a flight, and Humāyūn had much difficulty in effecting his escape. The hardships he encountered on the way back to Kābul are minutely described by Bāyazīd, but he has not the descriptive power of Bābar or even of Jauhar, and he seems too anxious to magnify his own performances. As Erskine remarks in his MS. translation, (p. 47), Bāyazīd is much the hero of his own tale. One extract, p. 496, may however be given.

“When we came to the foot of the Sih Paj Pass, which is one of the passes in the Hindū Kush, his Majesty halted and said that for some days he had not slept. He then laid his blessed head on Mādar Sultān’s knees and told him to sing him to sleep by repeating anything he knew. Mādar begged that Bāyazīd might be ordered to join his voice, and Bāyazīd did so. As his Majesty had represented that he was hungry, Bāyazīd endeavoured to get him some food. There was a shield which had been cast aside as out of repair. It had a steel boss and Bāyazīd made ready on it some horse-flesh and a stew and presented it to his Majesty when he awoke. He partook of it and often said afterwards in Kābul that he had never eaten anything so delicious as that dish (āsh).” Humāyūn returned to Kābul on 1st Ramazān, 956, (23rd September, 1549), in time to save the city from being taken by Kāmrān. With this event Bāyazīd concludes the second chapter of his Memoirs.

The third chapter begins with an account of the defeat of Humāyūn by Kāmrān in the Qipcaq Valley. Humāyūn was wounded in this engagement and had to retire to the hills, while Kāmrān followed

1 Erskine renders this “mother of Sultān,” but it is hardly likely that any women were with the party.
up his success by taking Kābul which now fell into his possession for the third time.

The next event recorded is the negotiation for Hūmāyūn’s marriage with Shāhzāda Khānām, the daughter of Mīrzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān. The story is told at wearisome length, the only interest in it being the revelation of the haughty and masterful character of Ḥārām (or Khānām) Bēgām, the wife of Sulaimān. She was indignant that persons of such inferior rank as Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn and Bībī Fāṭīma should be sent to demand the hand of her daughter, and tauntingly told Fāṭīma that her business in Kābul was the enticing away of men’s daughters. “Did you think of getting my daughter in that way?” she said. “Why has none of the Bēgams or Āghācas come; if my daughter’s name is not great, the reputation of his Majesty the king is great.” Ḥārām became mollified after a while and sent a message to Hūmāyūn that she would be proud to give him her daughter if he came for her. Presumably the marriage never took place for we hear no more of it, and the fact that Ḥārām’s son Ibrāhīm was afterwards married to Hūmāyūn’s daughter, Bakhshi Bānū, would surely prevent a marriage between Hūmāyūn and Ibrāhīm’s sister. Ḥārām in her message to Hūmāyūn spoke of his traversing the defiles of the Hindū Kūsh and this leads Bāyazīd to observe (p. 59a) that the name of these mountains was changed to Hindū Kūh by Akbar in 994, (1586), because he perceived that the range extended from the limits of Bengal to the borders of Tabrīz, and because the shrines of Tabrīz saints are to be found on its slopes.¹

After this comes the account of the night attack by Kāmrān on Hūmāyūn’s camp and the death of Mīrzā Hindāl. Bāyazīd records the cynical remark made by Mun’īm Khān upon this event. Coming up to Hūmāyūn, he inquired why he was weeping. “Because I have heard that Mīrzā Hindāl has been martyred,” replied Hūmāyūn. “You lament your own good,” said Mun’īm, “you have one enemy less.” Upon this his Majesty stinted his tears. Hindāl’s death took place in 958, (1551), and the word “Shabkhūn,” (night attack) gives the chronogram. Here Bāyazīd digresses to tell a story about Akbar, belonging to this year. The young prince was having his lessons with the son of Mullā Ḥisāmū-d-dīn, a famous doctor of Samarqand, in a tent in his mother’s

¹ Bāyazīd adds a “God knows,” to this rather unintelligible explanation. There are Tombs of Tabrīz Saints in India, e. g., of Jalālu-d-dīn at Pandua, in the Maldā district. Akbar may have thought of him because his own name was Jalālu-d-dīn and may have thought that by calling the range Hindū-Kūh he was grounding a claim to it. At all events, this fact that he invented the name Hindū-kūh is interesting.
garden. Mun‘im came there to pay his respects, and the child put up his foster-brother, Adham Kōka to ask for a holiday. Mun‘im made the desired request to the teacher, and as he was then prime minister and all-powerful, the tutor at once gave Akbar his liberty. This came to Humayûn’s ears and next day when Shamsu-d-din Atka brought Akbar to salute his father, Humayûn observed to the child, “Yesterday you got Ḥājī Muḥammad Sulṭān to ask your teacher to set you free, do not such a thing again.” When the prince had gone back to his school, Humayûn turned to Mun‘im Khān and said “I heard that you got him the holiday, but I mentioned the name of Ḥājī Muḥammad to my son because he is yet young and possibly it might remain in his heart ‘Mun‘im Khān got me a holiday, and then told the king,’ and this might lead to your harm some day when I am no longer here. As for Ḥājī Muḥammad, he is a man without any decency and so deserves any harm that may come to him.”

Bāyazid adds that he heard this story in Jaunpûr in 978 (1570-71) when Mun‘im Khān was Khān-khānān.

Bāyazid describes the blinding of Kāmrān but he was not present on the occasion and his narrative is by no means so detailed as that of Jauhar. He, however, gives a most affecting description of the interview between the two brothers afterwards when they met at midnight, and the blind Kāmrān was led out as far as the tent-ropes to meet Humayûn. But it has been so well translated in Erskine’s History (II, 416), that it is unnecessary to repeat the account. I shall only remark that what Kāmrān said to the bystanders after acknowledging that his misfortunes were due to his own fault is somewhat different in Bāyazid from Mr. Erskine’s rendering. According to the latter, Kāmrān said, “If it be known that his Majesty has shown favour to me, let it also be known how little I have deserved it.” Apparently what Kāmrān said was, (Bāyazid 646) “If people consider that his Majesty has dealt kindly by me, I attest the fact.” (man sijil kardam). Mun‘im Khān was now appointed guardian of Akbar. He took him to Jūḥ Shahī, which is the old name of Jalalâbâd. The Jalalâbâd fort was built by Mun‘im Khān and received its name in compliment to Akbar, (one of whose names was Jalâlu-d-din), and who got Jūḥ Shahī as his appanage in succession to his uncle Hindâl, whose daughter also he married. Bāyazid gives the chronogram of the building of Jalalâbâd, which also served, with the addition of one letter, for the date of the building of the Jaunpûr bridge ten years later. One Qâsim Arslân was the composer of the chronograms but they do not seem to be correctly given in the MS. Apparently they should run Bāniy-i-ān Mun‘im Khān, and Bāniy-i-ā in Mun‘im Khān which would give respectively 972 and 982.
Bāyazid was now in the service of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Aubah, as his sūmān or butler and he relates how Jalālu-d-dīn sent him from Kābul to Jalālābād with a quantity of ice, grapes, riwāj, lemonade and sugar-candy, as a present to Akbar. In spite of the heat of Jalālābād, he says, the ice arrived intact as the box had bran in it and was wrapt in felt. Akbar was highly delighted with the ice, ate a portion, and had some put into his water bottle, and also distributed it to his officers. He then questioned Bāyazid about public affairs. Bāyazid had brought a letter from Jalālu-d-dīn in which he asked where Akbar would take up his quarters when he came to Kābul. Akbar asked Bāyazid what season it was in Kābul, and when he replied that the white roses were in bloom in the Shāh Ārāi garden, Akbar ordered that his dinner should be prepared in that place. Afterwards Akbar proceeded to the Bāgh Wafā at Adānīpur, which was a famous garden made by his grandfather, and again questioned Bāyazid about public affairs, and about Balkh and Samarqand. He wrote a reply to Jalālu-d-dīn and Bāyazid went off in the evening with it to Kābul. He travelled with great expedition for he arrived next day on the Shab-i-barāt, (6th August, 1552), before the people had lighted up for the festival. This was good going as the distance (from Adānīpur) is about 180 miles and he tells us that old soldiers were astonished at his coming so quickly. He was alone too, and the roads were bad. He now gives a cook’s chronicle of how he prepared dinner for Akbar in the Awarta Bāgh (? middle garden) and how Akbar arrived next day at noon and was regaled by him with pheasants’ wings (qūl-i-qairgha) and how the prince sent the remainder of the birds to the Bēgams.

At p. 696. Bāyazid incidentally mentions that Mun‘īm Khān’s father, Mīram Bēgh, was guardian of Mīrzā ʿAskarī, and had charge of Qandahār, and that on the occasion of an attack by the Hazārās he sacrificed his own life in order to let the prince escape. This is a valuable supplement to Blochmann’s account of Mun‘īm Khān which says (p. 317) that nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of Mun‘īm’s father, Mīram (or Bārām) Bēgh.

At p. 72a we have it recorded that in the spring of 960, (1553), two sons were born to Humāyūn in one month. One was Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was afterwards ruler of Kābul, and whose mother was Cūcak Bēgam, and the other was Muḥammad Farkh Fāl whose mother was Khandīsh, the daughter of Cacaq Mīrzā of Khwārizm, but who only survived for a few days.

The fourth chapter of the Memoirs commences with a very full list of the officers who accompanied Humāyūn, Akbar, and Bārām to India.
From p. 77b we learn that Bāyazīd left without notice the service of Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn on account of some injury which he received from the Khwāja’s brother. He went to Bangash where ‘Āli Quli Shaibānī was, whom he had known in his childhood at Tabrīz, but eventually he proceeded to Kābul and became the servant of Mun‘im Khān. The brother of the Khwāja here referred to was Jalālu-d-dīn Mas‘ūd who was afterwards put to death along with his elder brother, by Mun‘im Khān. See Ma‘āṣīrū-l-umārā i. 617.

For several pages after this the Memoirs are occupied with an account of the siege of Kābul by Sulaimān Mīrza of Badakhshan, and his son Ibrāhīm. It seems that on Humāyūn’s death Sulaimān considered that as the oldest member of the great Timūr’s family he was entitled to a share in Humāyūn’s dominions. Bāyazīd, according to his own account, took a prominent part in repelling the attack, and was wounded by an arrow. Sulaimān did not take the town, but a compromise was made whereby his Imām was allowed to read the khutba in his name for one day in Kābul.²

At p. 87b we are told that Mun‘im Khān came out of Kābul as soon as the siege was over and proceeded towards Bagh-dih-afghānān. On the way—in front of the royal baths—he met Khwāja Mirākī, the dīwān of Maryam-makānī, who had stayed outside during the siege and had sided with Mīrza Sulaimān. Mun‘im at once had him pulled off his horse and hanged at the door (ishāk) of a costermonger’s shop. The interest of this entry lies in the fact that Khwāja Mirākī was the grandfather of Nizāmu-d-dīn the historian.

P. 88a tells that Sultan ‘Ādilī, the successor of Sikandar, died near Allāhābād, and that the famous Hēmū vowed to God that if he defeated the Mughuls he would become a Musulmān. On the next page Bāyazīd expresses his satisfaction that God erased from the infidel’s heart the recollection of this vow after he had defeated Tardī Beg. As the glory of Timūr, he says, had descended to Humāyūn, and then been transferred to Akbar, God, on the field of Pānīpat, put forgetfulness of his vow into Hēmū’s heart. The same page describes how Bairām Khān put Tardī Beg to death. He had an old grudge against him, and used his defeat by Hēmū as a pretext for assassinating him. He sent for him, we are told, to his own house, then left the room on pretense of a necessary purpose, and sent in men who put Tardī Beg to death on the carpeted floor of the dīwānkhana. A few pages further on (92a) we are told that the reason for Bairām’s dislike of Tardī Beg

¹ Blochmann calls him the son of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, 384.
² The account by Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V, 249, may be compared with this.
was that when they were in India together before Humayun's expulsion, Bairam, then only Bairam Beg and the Muhrdär (seal-keeper), had wanted to sit on the same carpet (zulca) with Tardi Beg who was at that time governor of Etawā, and that the latter had refused to make room for him.

Hemmū's head was sent to Mun'im Khān in Afghānistān (at Qūruqsāī) and he sent it on to Bāyazīd at Kābul with instructions to place it over the Iron Gate, and to have the drums of rejoicing beaten. It was 3 or 4 hours of the night when the head arrived and Bāyazīd at once went up to the citadel to give the good news to the Bēgams. They sent out a number of their servants to inquire how it was certain that it really was Hemmū's head, to which Bāyazīd replied by sending them Mun'im Khān's letter to read.

P. 90a tells of Bāyazīd's being sent for and reproved by Maryam-makānī's orders for not clearing out a house for a servant of hers. He pleaded Mun'im Khān's commands and was forgiven. On this occasion Māh Cacak Khalifa acted as interpreter or perhaps as go-between. After this the Bēgams, including Salīma Sulṭān and Bīka Bēgam went off to India.

P. 93a mentions that Haram Bēgam, the masterful wife of Sulaimān, left Badakhshān on account of some disagreement and came to Kābul. Her husband went to Mun'im begging him to induce her to return. He was successful and Bāyazīd escorted her a part of the way back.

P. 95a records the death of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, son of M. Sulaimān. He and his father, who had been in 72 fights with the Uzbaks and had always been successful, went against Balkh, but this time Ibrāhīm got separated from his father, was taken prisoner and put to death. The date was 966.

P. 98a describes a visit paid by Mun'im Khān and other grandees of the Court to the shrine of Khwāja Qutbuddin Bakhṭyār Kāki on the occasion of the saint's anniversary. The shrine was in old Dihli, i.e., near the Qūṭb, which according to some, derives its name from the saint. Qutbuddin Kāki was from Ush in Farghana, which perhaps accounts for his popularity with Babar's descendants, and his anniversary, i.e., the day of his death, is the 27th November. There is a long account of him by Firishta at the end of his history and Abūl-fażl has also a paragraph about him, (Jarrett III, 363). Bāyazīd's elder brother, the saint and poet Bahrām Saqqā, was living in New Dihli in the cell of Nizāmu-d-din Auliya near Humayun's tomb, but he too went off to the "Ūras" in the discharge of his self-imposed duty of water-carrying. On his way back he got a fresh attack of
jazaba, (attraction), and was insensible for several hours. Bāyazīd here refers again to his brother’s poetry and gives three specimens of it. He says that his brother took to writing verse at the order of Shāh Qāsim Anwar who appeared to him in a dream at Samarqand.

P. 99a. Afzal Khān asked Bāyazīd to try and procure the release of Bairām Khān’s diwān Muẓaffar ‘Ali Tarbatī who was imprisoned in the house of Darvēsh Muḥammad Khān Uzbak. Bāyazīd mentioned the matter to his master, Mun‘īm Khān who bade Bāyazīd remind him of the request when he went to Court. Next day when the Khān-khānān (Mun‘īm) was in the house of Māhām Bāghā, Bāyazīd gave him a reminder. Māhām was present and observed that the matter was not of such great importance, and that it was only necessary to send some one to Darwēsh Uzbak’s house to release Muẓaffar. The Khān-khānān, however, said that his Majesty must first be consulted, whereon Māhām volunteered to mention the matter. While they were talking, Akbar came in from the chase, and after borrowing a needle from Takhta, the mother of Dastam Khān, proceeded to extract the thorns, which had got into his feet in the jungle. Māhām represented Muẓaffar’s case and his Majesty granted the prayer and added that Muẓaffar was reported to be able to write tuḥra and that the Khān-khānān might, if he liked, take him into his employment. Akbar, we are told, was highly pleased with the Khān-khānān for not acting in even such a small matter as the release of Muẓaffar without consulting him.

In pp. 100-101 we have a description of a game of cards at which Akbar was present. Bāyazīd played the game on board a boat with Muqm Qara. Bāyazīd won, and as Muqm had no money to pay his losses, Bāyazīd stopped playing. Thereupon Muqm had to pledge his pōstīn or great coat and to sit playing in the cold. Mr. Erskine remarks that the joke seems to have consisted in Muqm’s suffering from the cold. At 101b we are told of Māhām Bāghā’s kindness to the author and of her giving him a house in Agra. There was a nim tree in the grounds and Bahrām Saqqā, his brother, got him to put up a saqqi-khāna or water-house under it. Darwēsh Nazīr, one of the Saqqā’s disciples, put up a saqqi-khāna at the Fort Gate, and when Akbar rode out he used to take a drink, and also used to listen to recitations from the Saqqā’s Diwān.

P. 102a tells a story about Akbar’s sending for eighteen rupees of which the only point seems to be the exhibition of Māhām Anaga or Bāgha as a sort of centre of affairs. Akbar sent a eunuch to Khwāja Jahān for the money. He and other officers were in attendance on Māhām Bāgha, and he peevishly said to the messenger “from

1 Blochmann, 398.
whose *jāgīr* shall I take it?" Māham got over the difficulty by
telling Ṭakhlā, the mother of Dastam, to fetch the money from
her Turkish waiting woman. Akbar was at this time, (968, 1561),
devoted to the amusement of cock-fighting and in connection with
this we are told a story about Shamsu-d-din Atka. This again is
prefaced by a reference to Akbar's orders that every one should shave
their beards. Shamsu-d-din's beard (or perhaps his hair) was not long
but still he had not cut it in accordance with the royal orders which he
had only received when on his way from the Pānjāb. Akbar remarked
upon this, and Shamsu-d-din replied by way of jest, that his hair had
been longish but that when he came to Mutttra, he had had it cut after
the fashion of the Hindūs of that place. The courtiers applauded
the joke, the point of which was its allusion to Akbar's Hindū pro-
clivities. At this time it was the custom that every one who came
to pay his respects, should bring a game-cock and Akbar told Shamsu-
d-din that he must do the same. Next day Shamsu-d-din appeared, but
without a game-cock. When however Akbar noticed this Shamsu-d-din
replied that he had one. "Where?" said Akbar, and Shamsu-d-din
answered "under my arm." Akbar signed to the attendants to search
if this was so, and when they did so the bird set up a crow. Akbar now
ordered a certain cock of his to be brought. "Let it be a fighting one,"
remarked Shamsu-d-din, "for mine is famous in Lāhor." When the
royal game-cock was brought, Shamsu-d-din uncovered his and it was
found to be a hen bird (*Mākiyān*). The two birds, the cock and the
hen, fought and Akbar was greatly delighted.

In the end of 968, (August 1561), there was a hurricane (*jikar,*
dust-storm, Vullers s.v.) in Agra and the bridge of boats was broken.
A fire too broke out in the carpet-house (*fārāsh-khana*) of Māham
Begha, and some of Akbar's dancing girls who lodged near it were
burnt. The Khān-khānān went to condole with Akbar who seemingly
was cynical enough to say that the burning of the girls was a small
matter (*sahl ast*) and that they should go and console Māham for
the loss of her property. This is followed by a story of how Akbar
was unable to get his horse across the river owing to one of the
pontoons having got detached, and how Bāyazid, who is rather fond of
blowing his own trumpet, contrived to make the horse jump across
the gap.

P. 104a describes an entertainment given by the Khān-khānān
when the guests took opium and also " coloured their teeth," (*dandān*

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1 See Blochmann, 193 and Bādāoni II. 303. But Bāyazid's phrase is *hukm-i-
mīy-i-sar guzāshkān* and perhaps this means to leave the hair loose.
rang kardand). Erskine supposes (in his translation) that this is a euphemism for drinking wine. It may also refer to the eating of betel or to smoking. Evidently it was something unusual or improper, for Bāyazid excuses himself for joining in the teeth-colouring by saying that he always tried to go in for good fellowship.

P. 105a records that Bāyazid got the title of Sultan from Akbar.

P. 105b describes the assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn by Adham Khān. When Akbar was roused by the noise and came and saw the body and Adham, he called the latter kāndū, (filth), or perhaps gāndū, (sodomite), and struck him a blow on the ear and stunned him. (According to Abu'l-faqīl the expression used by Akbar was “son of a bitch”). After putting Adham to death, Akbar went to Māham’s house and said to her “Māmā, we have killed Adham.” Shortly afterwards he put his uncle, Khwāja Mu‘azzam to death for murdering his wife. A few days later Akbar had a conversation with the Khān-khānān, and asked him what the people said of his reign. The Khān-khānān replied, “My king, (may you live 120 years!) the people love you and admire your perfect justice in killing Adham Khān for the murder of the Atka, and in putting to death Mu‘azzam Sultan for murdering the daughter of Bibi Fāṭima.” His Majesty rejoined, “I have done something better than this; it is strange that you don’t mention it, but you know it all the same, though from certain considerations you don’t refer to it.” “What thing is it,” said the Khān Khānān, “that I know and from certain considerations do not speak of?” Akbar replied, “What I have done better is this, that I have brought all the Atka’s relations from Lahor, and have scattered them like the stars of the ‘Daughters of the Bear,’ giving them fiefs all over Hindūstān.”

The Memoirs now become rather tedious and uninteresting, though here and there we can glean valuable information.

At p. 108b, we have a reference to one Jabār Bardi Bēg who had served under Bābar and had for many years been a darwēsh and had settled in Badakhshān. He was now returning thither after visiting the tomb of Humāyūn. Many pages are taken up with an account of Mun‘īm Khān’s return to Kābul and his defeat at Jalālābād. At p. 117b,

1 The expression is dar rang-i-bānātu-n-nā‘sh parvīshān kardā haryakrā bahar gōshā-i-Hindūstān fājīr fārmāda im. Binātu-n-nu‘sh is the Arabic name for the constellation of the Great Bear whose stars stand apart and are not clustered like those of the Pleiades.

2 Probably Akbar thought that Mun‘īm did not refer to this act of justice or generosity because there was an old quarrel between Mun‘īm and the Atka and it was even supposed that Mun‘īm was the instigator of the murder. See Blochmann, p. 321.
there is a reference to one Mirza Shab, the son of Jammat-ashiyani. However this is not Humayun but a prince of the Deccan. There is a long account of Abu-l-ma'illi. This man killed his mother-in-law, Maham' Cucak, the wife of Humayun and mother of Muhammad Hakim. He was afterwards made prisoner by Sulaiman and put to death by Muhammad Hakim.

P. 1226 speaks of a woman named Agha Sarw-qad (cypress-form) who was formerly in the harem of Babur and was now apparently the wife or mistress of Mun'im Khan. She came from Khan Zam'an's camp to Mun'im's in the capacity of a spy or go-between.

P. 1246. We read of Akbar's hunting elephants near Cunar, just as his grandfather had done.

P. 1286. Bayazid repairs a saffa or portico in Benares which had been erected by Humayun.

P. 130a gives an account of one of Akbar's meetings for religious debates. The mullas of Rûm (mullayân-i-rûm) are mentioned as having been present, and probably this means Romish priests. One Mirza Muflis—a kingdom-less prince, and who is said to have been an adept at logic,—was present and was being pressed with a question by 'Abdu-l-lah Sultanpuri. His rival Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabi was also there, and in his turn propounded a question to the Prince. The latter who had not replied to 'Abdu-l-lah's question, and was probably posed by it, (see Lowe's Badaoni, 190) seems to have lost his temper and cried to 'Abdu-n-nabi "Slave (Ghulâm-i-kor)! be a little patient till I have answered the big slave, and then I will answer you." Mirza Muflis, (to whom there is a reference in Blochmann, 541), went to Mecca and died there in 989, (1581), and Bayazid witnessed his interment.

P. 131a. tells of the wonderful feat of a man called Mir Faridun, who had some years before swallowed eighty misqals of baras or barask (an intoxicating drug or drink made apparently from Indian hemp) and who now, to please the Khan-khanan and his friends took 140 misqals of the stuff. He also drank Koknar (a preparation of opium) instead of water, and yet for several nights remained in company, and acted as if the drugs had no effect on him.

P. 132a. Bayazid came to grief, very deservedly for destroying a Hindu temple at Benares with pillars bearing an inscription 760 years old. He converted the building into a Madrasa, etc. Raja Todar Mal was annoyed at this and got the inhabitants to complain against him. The result was that Bayazid lost his appointment and was for several years a darwesh. After some years he became Mir Mal or keeper of the Seal (Blochmann VI), and subsequently he was made governor of Cunar.
P. 135a. has mention of Rājā Gajpatī, (Blochmann, 399), who is called Rājā of the country of Açīna (.species?) and is said to have held the jāgīr of Būjpūr and Bhiyā, &c., extending over both banks of the Ganges. At that time he was loyal.

P. 147a. Gives an account of Mun‘īm Khān’s removing his headquarters from Tānda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangāla), and of the pestilence which broke out there. He says that the nature of the country is such that a pestilence (wabā) breaks out there every thirty years (qarn) and that on this occasion the plague was assisted by drunkenness (kaif). Mun‘īm Khān was himself a victim, dying there, according to Bāyazīd on the night of Monday, 18 Rajāb 982. On the same night Muḥāfīr, the deposed king of Gujrat, and who afterwards escaped and gave Akbar so much trouble, arrived at Gaur, having been sent there by Bāyazīd from Cūnār according to Mun‘īm’s orders. Bāyazīd tells how he himself went afterwards to Gaur and of the difficulty he had in taking charge of Mun‘īm’s property. In this connection he mentions the names of two women, viz., Sār (Sarw) Āghā, Mun‘īm’s widow, whom he describes as a reliable woman and one who had been in the harem of Bābar and Humāyūn, and another lady, who was the mother of Khwāja Shāh Mansūr, who was Mun‘īm’s bakhsū. Bāyazīd said he had no wish after Mun‘īm’s death to remain on active service. He gave up his post of governor of Cūnār but held for a time the position of dārūgha of the Treasury. In the beginning of 986, (March 1578), he got leave to go to Mecca and left for that place with his wife and children. He was, however, detained for two years in Sūrat on account of a charge of malversation which was brought against him by his enemies. He got over this difficulty and was able to go to Daman, but there he had fresh troubles with the Portuguese and had to pay a heavy ransom before he was allowed to sail. They reached Aden in fourteen days and there a small boat came out to them, which had been sent by Gulbadan Bēgām and other ladies who had been to Mecca and were on their return. Bāyazīd sent the Bēgams news of India, &c. He spent a considerable time in Mecca, and lost his wife and one of his sons there. He buried mother and child in one grave, and occupied it himself for one or two hours so that it should not be too small or narrow. He sent his other children home, hoping that he himself should end his days in Mecca and might be laid beside his wife. But he had to return to India in consequence of hearing that his family had been made prisoner by the Portuguese at Daman. He left in 990, (1582), but had to wait long in Mocha harbour for a favourable wind. At last the “olive season” (mausīm-i-zailūnī)

1 It should be 983. The English date is 23rd October, 1575.
came and brought a wind and they were just about to start when a boat called a "tawari" (see Blochmann, 241) came in from Diu and reported that all Gujrat was in a blaze owing to the insurrection of Mużaffar. In this extremity Bâyazid consoled himself and his friend as they were sitting in the ship's cabin (dabüs) by taking an omen from Ħāfiz, the result of which was to satisfy them that the descendants of Humâyûn would eventually prevail. He was eight months on board ship and after a voyage of two months arrived at the port of Kûda (qr. Gödri, or perhaps Ghoga). Bâyazid was in danger here but ultimately escaped to Sûrat. Apparently Mużaffar let him go on account of their old acquaintance when Mużaffar was his prisoner at Cûnûr. He liked the climate of Sûrat and was willing to stay there but his sons Sa'ādat Yār and Iftikhâr who were in Akbar's service, wrote to him that the Emperor was expecting him. He therefore waited upon Akbar in Fâthpûr Sîkri in the end of 992, (December 1584), and was graciously received, getting a house and the pargana of Sanân, for which however he was to pay a rental of 14½ lakhs. Râjâ Todar Mal did not like Bâyazid and tried to screw a higher rental out of him. He got the pargana in partnership with his sons, and apparently it was not lucrative.

In 994, (1586), Bâyazid was raised to the rank of a mansâb of 2001 and next year he was made Steward (bakâwal) and chamberlain (Īshaq Āghā). But he was soon after attacked with paralysis and had to give up all his appointments. But in 998 he returned to work and was made a Treasury dârûgâhā and amin. In 999 Akbar gave him (probably in consideration of his bodily infirmity) permission to sit in the royal presence, and declared before a number of courtiers that Bâyazid was an honest man and had served the state for nearly two qarn, i.e., for 60 years. The Memoirs were completed on Sunday, 1st Ramazân, 999, (13th June, 1591), and with this statement and some verses the book closes. Previous to this Bâyazid describes some buildings that he erected at Lâhûr, and gives an account of the distribution of copies of his book.

1 He must have got further promotion for Abu'l-fażl, (Blochmann, 501), ranks him among the commanders of 300. Probably this was when he became Bakâwal Bêg in 995.
The Cātēqvara Inscription of Anāgga-bhīma II of Orissa.—
By NAGENDRANĀTHA VASU, Editor, Viṇṇakūṣa.

[Read August, 1898.]

In my article on the copper-plate grant of Nyśimha Dēva II. of Orissa, read in May, 1896, in our Society's meeting, I merely alluded to this Inscription, expressing, however, my desire to publish it in full in a later issue. Now, compliant to that promise, I bring in my present article.

This Inscription, which was first noticed in the Viṇṇakūṣa in 1894, is incised on a stone-slab in the temple of Cātēqvara (or Čiva) at Kisnapur village in the Padmapur Pargana, District Cuttack, and situated nearly 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack and 2 miles to the north of the road from Cuttack to Chandbali. On both sides of this large temple, there are other temples of smaller size dedicated to Kṛṣṇa-Rādhikā and Pārvatī, but these latter from their very appearance and architecture are evidently of a later period than that of Cātēqvara. From the resemblance of architecture the temple of Cātēqvara may be classed as coeval with other temples, built in several places of Orissa during the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. The whole temple is built uniformly of basalt stone locally called baul-mālā. The ornamental beauty and superior workmanship of the architect, are not a little exhibited in the temple, but much of its former beauty is, for want of repair, in gradual decay. The interior of this high temple is all dark, and now affords an unmolested habitation for innumerable bats, through the callous indifference of its votaries. In the sanctum of the temple, there is a deep excavation in which lies the Linga immersed in perpetual waters, save at the time of festivals when the water being drawn out the Linga makes its appearance.

A few people now inhabit the village Kisnapur, and they too, for the most part of them, are Bhūpas, i.e., votaries to the God Cātēqvara. Formerly the temple of Cātēqvara had been vested with a large

1 See Viṇṇakūṣa, Vol. VI, p. 229.
devōttara property, but the votaries had alienated a great part of it, and consequently the income having greatly deteriorated, no longer are the offerings and ceremonies conducted in their former grand scale. One thousand bighas of land and 300 bharaṇas of paddy per year, are all that now exist to defray the expenses of the temple. A considerable sum is added to the income by the gifts from the visitors, during the two festivals of the Cīvarāṭrī and the lunar Caturḍaśi of the bright fortnight in the month of Kartika, when a vast concourse of people floods into the place.

The tradition as to the origin of the temple, runs as follows:—

The site, on which the temple of Cāteqvara now stands, was a tank. In the vicinity, a village school-master taught his pupils, in his little Cātugdla, i.e., school. Mahādēva, the great god, himself came in the guise of a cāta, i.e. pupil, and began to learn with other boys. Now, all the other boys had to be harassed much for their school fees, and paid them after several demands made; but Mahādēva, the disguised cāta paid even before the first demand. Moreover, he would not be prevailed upon to disclose his, parentage even at the injunction of the school-master. Doubts now began to grow deep in the mind of the teacher, as to the identity of this extraordinary boy, and one evening he secretly followed the cāta, when returning from the Cātugdla. Then to his great astonishment the boy came direct to the tank, and to the ecstasy of surprise of the beholding teacher, plunged into the waters and disappeared! The night following, the teacher was visited by Mahādēva in a dream and addressed to the following effect:—"I was hitherto learning of you with a view to reveal my greatness, go and celebrate my name to the world, henceforth I shall be called Cāteqvara, the divine pupil." After this miracle, many came to study there and went out profound scholars. By and by, the fame of the virtue of this place reached the ears of the Utkala-rāja, who thereupon, caused the tank to be filled with earth, erected the beautiful temple upon it, established the present Cāteqvara-Līṅga within the temple, and dedicated a vast property towards its maintenance.

In this temple, we find an inscribed slab, bearing the inscription of Anaṅga-bhima II of Orissa, which forms the subject matter of my present article. On the 7th of November, 1893, I went there with my friend Artatrāṇa Miḍra of Maudā, to visit the temple of Cāteqvara. The votaries at our request brought the inscribed slab out of the temple and placed it upon the outer door. The darkness of the night was then fast approaching upon us, and I hurriedly took some rubbings of the inscription in pencil. Subsequently, however, another set of tracing of the same has reached my hand.
The size of this slab is 32½" × 22½". The average size of the letters is 3½" × 2½". The Inscription is in 25 lines, running through the entire length of the slab leaving a margin only of 1½ inches on all sides. The letters belong to the ancient Bengali type of Kutila character, and resemble much the characters of the Maghaṇavara Inscription published in this Journal for 1897, and those of the Bramhaṇavara Inscription, published in our Society's Journal, by Mr. Prinsep.

The Inscription was written by a poet named Bhāskara, the principal object of it being to record the erection of a Čiva temple (of Cātēçvara) by Anāṅga-bhima II.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit and generally correct.

As regards orthography;—the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v; p, y and v are sometimes doubled with the superscript sign r, e.g. in lines 2, 3 and 4. A curious mistake is committed in line 16, where thaddiggajah is written for yaddiggajah.

Opening with the words “Om adoration to Čiva,” the Inscription first invokes the ocean as the abode of Viṣṇu and the birth-place of the Moon, who adorns the crest of Mahādēva. It then glorifies the family of Cōḍagānga born in the lunar dynasty, and gives the following list of Kings:—(1) Cōḍagānga, (2) his son Anāṅga-bhima I., (3) his son Rājendra (Rajarāja), and (4) his son Anāṅga-bhima II., together with the names of two distinguished ministers, namely Gōvinda of the Vatsa Gotra and the renowned Viṣṇu, the terrible foe of the Muḥammadan ruler Tūmghāna (Tuğrīl-i-tūghān Khān).

Transcript.

L. 1. 

स बस्सिनू मैनाक: स्वरति जनकनोडजलिंतं

यदतः वैज्ञानिक: स्यति मुखजामात्यत्वोऽि

सुरेष्वसल्मस्थवसनमनुभूय वधित य-

स्वाधातं सोयज्ञवति सति-

L. 2. 

तमेकसमुभग: ॥ ॥ [1]

वस्माद्वृद्धिसृष्टयमार्धान: क्षणान्तिन्धिर्निर्धितविलोचनानां ।

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, Plate XXIV.
3 Metre: Čikharini.
N. Vasu—Cāteṣvara Inscription of Anayga-bhima II. [No. 4]

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**L. 3.**  

\[ \text{तिन्जीलालीप्रचंभनस्रवस्तहिमाराणप्रबंधः} \]  

देणादिपिकमदन्दितीयसंभासिनो य-  
\[ \text{विनिक्षिप्त प्रतिन्धपत्य: प्रापिता मोदलयो} \]  

रथमिलं करणपञ्चे कलितवान् प्रानेव वे-  

**L. 4.**  

श्रोडगङ्गालिपीन्द्र-  

\[ \text{मायवऽ गर्हितिनो जेताभिगिताविवेकू} \]  

\[ \text{दुर्गादिपिकमदन्दितीयसंभासिनो य-} \]  

\[ \text{विनिक्षिप्त प्रतिन्धपत्य: प्रापिता मोदलयो} \]  

**L. 5.**  

\[ \text{रिष्याय:} \]  

\[ \text{सीरामदेवार्जितेन मनसा निर्मितनहोततः} \]  

\[ \text{चं प्रकीर्तनवृहत जनकानीतीयां मुकःसुः युरं} \]  

\[ \text{वश्चदुर्गादिपिकमदन्दितीयसंभासिनो य-} \]  

**L. 6.**  

\[ \text{रक्षाभेषे-} \]  

\[ \text{वङ्गायपप्रकर्षारावर्व: प्रवार्थिमिष्ट वार्थिवे:} \]  

\[ \text{चन्द्राऽनोदितिवि मश्चलायपपरस्त विनिचित्त तन्मोहता} \]  

\[ \text{मन्ये निर्मितनिविविते सुकुस्तो निवर्ज्जसोमारास:} \]  

**L. 7.**  

\[ \text{कृत्तरायमनःन्यपति: पुष्करापत्यव ततो} \]  

\[ \text{न स्वस्तः कलिकालक्ष्यामयमस्कल्सोहलायिते:} \]  

\[ \text{कोपं मन्यकपलापदेवदकरिख्याऽन्वितायमार्गा} \]  

\[ \text{श्रामिकपदे चपे कलंतता सामाज्यमासारितं} \]  

1 Metre: Upajāti.  
2 Metre: Sragdharā.  
3 Metre: Mandākrāntā.  
4 Metre: Čārdūla-vikriḍita, and of the following verse.  
5 Metre, Sragdharā.
L. 8. चजगणोभिषेकायुभामानो
राज्य: क राज महिमा वर्णसावनेन,
सािमाज्यभावने विद्धे घुरिशः।
सेवानत्प्रतिमान्तीभिक्षुपापेक्षामानः
प्रीतावसंविशिष्टः।

L. 9. धे गंगराज्ञानसः।
दत्तादपण्डुराधामिग्वः वर्णानि
राजेन्द्र इनमणि तेन तत: चितवीः।
ज्ञत्तसौ तमनक्षीमन्तप्यति यथा प्रत्यापानः
व्यालासंबलित: सुवर्शिणिकोक्त्यानांनवः।

L. 10. 
चार्येनमहिनिः यदि घना सुर्धन्ति धार्शीकाः
नास: पूर्णियं तथापि विद्यो यदानन्दसिम्राम:।
चैवोक्तो विस्मीकृतारं यदि तल्लोचित्संपुष्माख्यानी
केहि चेतु विलुप्तान्तः।

L. 11. तत्तभिषितयो धिष्ठमृत्तिकानां घनः।
यत् पादाननवध्याविधीयसाक्ष: धिष्ठमृत्तिकसंवभुत:।
प्रश्नार्थिवर्त्तितपालभावपल्लक: का पद्यव्रायः।
तस्याय चित्तमालवर्गभिस्मानानु:।

L. 12. पादाङ्कैः
विष्याविष्याविष्यापरः कालितवान् साधिकम्यवाहारात्।
श्रेष्ठक्षणशानि यथा यशसा निम्नाय किं वृक्षे
सामाज्य विकल्पिताध्ययपरेीक्ता: अविनेश्चतम्।
ये यातः: प्रार्थः।

L. 13. र्वाक्षं श्रिं रश्मालाश्च श्राश्च: पुरो
रेघ्वं दूर्मोत्तिर्विलसरक्षेत्रभास्काः स्वितः।
व्यायं यदमीच्छियु न चिरादासाय: विशां:।
प्रामाण्य निर्मितिप्रसादायताः प्र-।

1 Metro, Vasanta-tilaka; and of the next verse.
2 Metro, Çārdula-vikriñīta; and of the next five verses.
J. i. 41
बिन्धादररिहसीमभीमतिनी कुशे तेत्रमोनिधि-
विन्धुरिंजालसागसारिति भयावतन्त्रः प्रयतः।
साबायं सपरिश्रेष्ठं न तथा वैखानसानामिं
विश्रं

L. 15. विन्धुसंग्रहं यथा परिसंग्रहं तुम्भागध्ययिते: ॥ [14]
काणौत्रंसिततायककथा सुमधानेकाविनो विन्ध्रतः
किं ब्रमो चतुराय्नोऽन्नसमरे तत्त्वं वीरक्षतः।
यस्याभोकनकौतकवसांनि-

L. 16. ना योभालेकाविसा-
महस्मौरमिष्टंतिमित्रभुस्येष्ठभूवक्त: ॥ [15]
साविका: परितः स्फुरि: घर्ग्य: भिलमति यमाम।
प्रेक्षुधि:पथिपुष्करिकरंत्यरेक्रेक्षकमा-

L. 17. क्षमवे ।
सम्मास: काठेषु मौलिषु पदनास: कुलवाग्मतं
वद्धा यत्न न काचिदुत्तवस्य: सामायवंषी \\ ॥ [16]
चापीत जियद्वयबन्धरयन्त्र: सौधेन्तः जियत्
दिक्षां जिय-

L. 18. देवदेव कल्य त्रिश्वारहकङ्क्यां जियत् ।
ब्यासे यत्न तनाति यत्न चरणं वैनेदमामोदते
यत्न जैत्यति यत्न वा निवसति खचन्मेतः ब्रह्म: ॥ [17]
तपनसन्तामवातादेवतांसितीमुः श्रवजः
कुजजालजु-\n
L. 19. काणौत्रंसितिविन्धं सभुव: ।
विन्धकित्वनोख्योऽभ्यक्तविविद्गाणिन खनं
जमति जनितकेवलैते तदा यशोभरसः:\ ॥ [18]
चनने पुराणस्मधान्यनोऽथा गामिनि-
काठेषु घाटितावस्यां-

1 Read कर्षी।
2 Read यद्वगमाण।
3 Metre, Srugdharā.
4 Metre, Çārdūla-vikridita. 5 Metre, Hariṇī.
L. 20.  
शष्टिमस्य श्रीमतः ।
बिजासवसतीश्रृतां कलयता व्यावहारिना
श्रीवेदनवारिजे वर्णिता: स खोलं वृम्। 1 || [19]
प्रायान सरसां श्रीवैसत इतस्सेवित यथा कथा-
क्षेत्रभोजगहीरागर-  
L. 21.  
र्नूक्षरप्रथमामृतोभयः।
ञ्चतःसौरभारश्रीकरमेयः पाथयमहरिः
सन्धिसबन्धुवधनं परिक्षानम्बोधिवेलानिताः। 2 || [20]
वाचनीचिकित्सकोक्तिमैथुन सं कटाचै-
थं चयी वदनताम।  
L. 22.  
रसं वुचुम।
बैरं यदीयहुःद्ये विन्दुरार वार्ता
यं धाक्षनीतिरपि निम्नरसालिलिङ्गः। 3 || [21]
उद्यदृष्टादयपयावचे--
भक्तस्यविन्दुस्वर्णितकृत्तितिन्ः।
चकार तव प्रतिपत्तिसम्प-  
L. 28.  
दाः
खरं पुरायापि पुनर्भवानि यः। 4 || [22]
कनककलाखभारं भारयामाखं भाखा-
नजनि रञ्जनिजनि सारिकः पुष्करः।
अजनपटचुमा स्यौङ्गच च वोमग्रंजा
विरचित्रमुनेरं धाम।  
L. 24.  
कामान्तकस्य। 5 || [23]
निम्नरसालिलिङ्गुपविन्दुस्वर्णितः
भक्तस्ययावतू योगेति पर्यंतैः।
वदनमिदुदंखलोभक्षणप्रतिच्छा-
भिष्ठ कलयतु तावद्वैयताद्विश्रेष्ठ। 6
लोक।

1 Metre, Prthvi. 6 Metre, Vaṇḍasthavila.
2 Metre, Çārdila-vikridita. 7 Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.
3 Metre, Vasanta-tilaka. 8 Not clear.
Verse 1. Hail to the Ocean, the sole lord of all the rivers, where the mount Mainaka is enjoying the pleasures of the paternal lap of the Himalayas, where even the lord of Lakṣīṁī himself lives as a son-in-law in his father-in-law's house, and who has undergone that process of churning as a svadha sacrificer.

Verse 2. From that ocean was born the moon, the wonder of all eyes, the love for whose virtues procured him a place in the eye of Murāri and on the crest of Purāri.

Verse 3. From the moon was born a race of kings, the blazing fire of whose prowess stopped the rutty streams on the foreheads of the elephants of their adversaries in the field of battle; swelled by the streams of their fame, the sea, heaved up at every moment and thus enjoying the pleasures of the companionship of the heavenly river Mandākini, still displays those sports in wavy frolics.

Verse 4. In the line of these sovereigns of renown, the radiant halo of the person of Narahari incarnated itself as King Cōdagaṅga, whose sword used to give deliverance to the hostile kings, when they turned, so to say, Sannyāsins on the banks of the sacred river, which flowed from the oozings of the elephants in fury of war.

Verse 5. Who, in the battle-fields, used to clutch with the palm of his hands, first the locks of the goddess of fortune of his adversaries, and then his sword; who first deprived the breasts of the wives of his enemies, of their pearls, and then deprived the temples oozing juice of rut, of the unruly and maddened elephants, of their pearls.

Verse 6. When the hostile kings, frightened by the sharpened arrows of the leader of the noisy army obtained deliverance by his arrows it seemed, as if, to avenge their wrongs, these kings proud of their deliverance, were penetrating through the reign of the sun which travels in the sky and which resembled the king in his fiery character.

1 Metre, Vasanta-tilaka.
2 Svadha means oblation offered to the Pitrs or spirits of deceased ancestors.
V. 7. His son was Anāṅga-bhīma, who remained untouched by the ink-like sea of sin of the Kali-yuga; who obtained possession of the empire not by taking to any conspiracy or a host of elephants but by the mere love of other kings.

V. 8. Gōvinda, who was superior to other Brāhmans, took his birth in the Vāṣa Gōtra. The Vedas voluntarily served him, i.e., he obtained a great proficiency in the study of Vedas. This is not a great glory on his part, as the king appointed him to bear the burden of the whole empire.

V. 9. From him (sc. Anāṅga-bhīma) King Rājendrā (i.e. Rājarāja) took his birth, the nail-like swan of whose feet-lotus slept soundly on the moss-bed of locks of those hostile kings, who bowed down to him in submission.

V. 10. Whose son was called Anāṅga-bhīma, whose bounty triumphs, even if the golden Sunna be melted by the fire of prowess and the clouds take up the melted gold and rain constantly to drench the quarters and slake the thirst of the needy, those showers of rain can never satisfy, but his bounty always satisfied the desires of all those who received it from him.

V. 11. Whose fame, when it whitens the Heaven, Earth and the Nether worlds, wipes away the glory of the heavenly Ganges which consists in her pure whiteness; whose praises when uttered by the throat makes away with the usefulness of the garland of pearls, the lustre of the nails of whose feet was the crown of hostile kings, who did not any more feel the necessity of wearing a turban on their head.

V. 12. Whose toes slept (like the domesticated birds) on the forehead of kings, which were, as it were, the tops of houses; whose ministry was accepted by Viṣṇu (a Brahmin) who appeared like a second Viṣṇu, whose fame unified the empire of the kings of three Kalingas.

V. 13. Of the hostile kings, they that sought his protection at the very beginning of the combat, without shooting even an arrow, and they that, confident of the overwhelming strength of their mighty hands, raised their swords, it is strange that both these classes of adverse kings obtained, before long, the eternal happiness by gaining the feet of Viṣṇu, i.e., those that died in the field went to heaven and there obtained final emancipation at Viṣṇu’s feet, and those that sought protection were very glad to appear before the minister Viṣṇu and at his feet established peace.

V. 14. The Vaikhanasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the Tuṅghāna King (i.e.,
Tughril-i-Tughân Khân), when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the banks of the Bhimā, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores.

V. 15. What more shall I speak of his heroism! He alone fought against the Muhammadan King, and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes.

V. 16. Whose innumerable elephants and horses frolicked in all directions; whose white umbrellas when carried on the roads covered all the quarters; who lived in Kaṭaka and trampled over the heads of the principal kings, wherever any work of the imperial goddess of fortune of the King of Utkala had not made its progress.

V. 17. Think for a moment, how small is the earth to hold his fame, of what extent is the sky to spread his fame; how small is the vault of heaven again where to give a free scope to it; how small is the horizon where his fame rests like a garland, and how small is the whole universe to contain his fame.

V. 18. All the universe being whitened by his fame, Mahādeva takes Yamunā (mistaking her for the Ganges) up to adorn his crest; the fair ladies hold the blue water lilies (now white) in their garlands;

V. 19. On the shores of the sea, which are the favourite of Puruṣottama, he created several Golden-mountains (Sumeru) by the performance of the Tulā-puruṣa gift; and by erecting there hundreds of comfortable pleasure-houses attracted even Indra’s eyes which were fixed at the lotus-like face of Cāči.

V. 20. He constructed several roads with hundreds of ponds, here and there, about them. The sea-breezes coming to these tanks rested for a while on the bed of the blooming lotuses and thereby after refreshing themselves of the fatigue of the journey, and bearing provisions of aqueous particles, fragrant with the sweet scents of the lotuses, floating in them, followed the travellers.

V. 21. Whom Logic saw with side-long looks, whose lotus-like face the Vēdas kissed, at whose heart the news roamed voluntarily; and whom the doctrine of administration of justice embraced heartily.

V. 22. He, who was rich in reputation, renewed with his clear sight into the Vēdas, all the Purāṇas now destined to be directed in the wrong ways through the gross-blunder of the expounders of them.

V. 23. He built this temple to Īśvara the destroyer of Kāma. The sun supports its golden pinnacle, the moon himself is its crystal jar full of water, and the beauty of the banner of its spire is the heavenly river Mandākinī.
V. 24. As long as the principal mountains do heave themselves up the sea, and thereby protect the three worlds, so long do their temple proclaim the fame of its consecration here and sing the eulogy.

V. 25. The poet Bhāskara composed this eulogy whose fame could not be measured by the fourteen worlds, whose intellectual powers were not satisfied even with the study of the fourteen branches of learning, and whose pithy sayings are not to be depreciated even in fourteen manvantaras.
The date of the Jagannatha Temple in Puri, Orissa.—By Babu Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L., Deputy Magistrate, Gaya, Bengal.

[Read August, 1898.]

The great temple of Jagannatha at Puri is widely known in India; but nothing definite is known about the time of its erection. Touching this point I adduce below some arguments based on recently discovered inscriptions.

The Gagavamśa copper-plates of Orissa contain the following important passage:—

What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a god as Purusottama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon, and whose head that heaven (above)? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gaṅgeśvara.

"The ocean is the birth-place of Lakṣmi, so thinking in his father-in-law's house (the ocean) Viṣṇu lodged with some shame, though he

Translation:—

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1 Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. LXIV, (1895), p. 139; Journal, Vol. LXV, (1896), p. 240. This pantheistic idea and even the very similes of the text may be traced as far back as Rgveda (X, 90, 13-4).
got full adoration. Thus ashamed, the god Purusottama was glad to
get this new house; and Lakṣmi, too, gladly preferred living in her
husband's new house to living in her father's house."

This passage shows that—

(1) a great temple was erected in Orissa dedicated to Purusottama,
(2) that it was erected by order of Gaṅgāśvara, alias Cōḍagāṅga, and
(3) that it was erected on or near the sea-coast.

Purusottama is another name of Jagannātha, whose Kṣettra and
Māhātmya are still called Purusottama-Kṣettra and Purusottama-Māhāt-
mya. The description thus leaves no doubt that the temple erected by
Cōḍagāṅga can be no other than the present temple of Jagannātha.

Cōḍagāṅga, however, ruled long, for nearly seventy years. His
anointment (abhiseka) took place formally in 999 Čaka (17th February,
1078 A.D.). But he is believed to have practically ruled from two years
back, 997 Čaka, so far as the numerous inscriptions quoted in Dr.
Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report of 1895-96 (particularly those of Mu-
halingam) can be relied on. Similarly, if the date of Vajrahasta's acces¬
sion be taken as 960 Čaka, then Cōḍagāṅga, his grandson, came to the throne
in 997 Čaka (960 + 29 + 8), or 1075-6 A.D. Orissa has been specifically
described in the inscriptions to have been conquered by Cōḍagāṅga. Consequently the temple of Jagannātha must have been begun to be
constructed several years after his conquest. When the Orissan conquest
took place is not known, but at least 8 or 10 years might be reasonably
assumed to have elapsed before it was taken possession of. We thus
arrive at the anterior limit of 1085 A.D., as the date before which the
temple of Jagannātha could not have been built by Cōḍagāṅga.

The posterior limit can be arrived at only indirectly. In the
Govindapura inscription of Gayā edited by Prof. Kielhorn, it is said—

Translation:—

"Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of
good renown, Manoratna went to the sacred Purusottama, and on the

2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 190; Professor Kielhorn has thrown doubts on
the English equivalent arrived at (see his note on the covering page 3, Vol. IV,


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noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (and) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at full-moon time."

This inscription is dated 1059 Çaka or 1137-38 A.D. It was composed by one Gaggadhara, son of Manoratha. The extract shows that the composer's father paid a visit to Puruṣottama, and gave gifts on the shore of the sea. This visit may be presumed to have taken place 12 or 15 years back from the date of the inscription, or about 1122-25 A.D. The Puruṣottama-Kṣettra and necessarily the temple must have existed by that time, and must have attained considerable fame to deserve such specific mention. Thirty to thirty-five years might be allowed for this sanctity and the temple can be fairly supposed to have existed by (1125-35 or) 1090 A.D.

That the Kṣettra and the temple existed before the end of the eleventh century receives some corroboration from another inscription. In the Nāgpur praçaṭi of the Mālava rulers I find the following passage:

देवासी पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाशुश्रुष्ये च निष्वया
वेनेन्द्र विविदितबलिविविधा विश्वं सामाज्यासितं।
येनाधारिः वसुशमरेति दश्यत: सान्द्रमन्दान्तां
वस्य प्राच्यपशोनिष्ठी बुधजन्मेवाणख्तुति: प्रस्थुता। ॥

Translation by Prof. Kielhorn:

"Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Puruṣottama to whom fortune resorted, who relieved the universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.'"

The king referred to is Laksma Deva of Mālava, and the verse extracted is one of several describing his digvijaya. The verses preceding this refer to the invasion of East India, and the immediately preceding verse 43 refers to his conquest of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, while the immediately succeeding verse 45 refers to the eastern ocean. The allusion to the "holy Puruṣottama" in the extract, and its juxtaposition with Aṅga, Kaliṅga and the eastern ocean points clearly to the Puruṣottama-Kṣettra and consequently its temple. The inscription is dated Samvat 1161 or 1104-5 A.D. Hence the Puruṣottama temple would have existed some time before this, or say circa 1090 A.D.

To resume, the above discussion is intended to establish the following conclusions:—

(1) that the present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Cōḍagaṅga of Gāṅga dynasty,
(2) that it existed by about 1090 A.D. and might have been built between 1085–90 A.D.,
(3) that the conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Cōḍagaṅga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075–1085 A.D.).

The above arguments are not conclusive, but in the absence of positive proof from any recorded inscriptions, they appear to me to carry much weight.
Notes on the language and literature of Orissa, Parts III and IV.—By Babu M. M. Chakravarti, Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.

[Read December 1897.]

Part III. Oriya Songs and Religious Poems.

In Part II, I have given some glimpses of the Sanskrit compositions in Orissa during the medieval Hindu rule. The vernacular compositions began to flourish from the close of this Hindu rule. This change was brought on through various causes. The first cause lay in the study of Sanskrit itself. Sanskrit drifted more and more from the colloquial speeches, and a study of the Sanskrit language came to mean years of hard labour. The elaborate and minute analysis and classification of Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics proved a heavy burden for ordinary readers, and the study of Sanskrit literature became more and more unpopular among the leisured classes. If reading of Sanskrit works was found to be troublesome, the writing of works in that language was found to be still more so. The non-Brāhmaṇ scholars continued to study Sanskrit literature on account of its high cultivation, but for compositions they turned their attention to the simple and familiar vernacular.

In Orissa this tendency was aided by its close connexion with Telīṅgānā. By the 14th and 15th centuries the language of Telīṅgānā, i.e., the Telugu, had been well developed and an abundant Telugu literature had been produced. Through trade and through dynastic influences, Telugu songs, Telugu poems and Telugu grammars came to be well known in the southern part of Orissa. The leisured classes saw that the vernaculars were capable of being well-developed, and in this respect Telugu literature served as an excellent model. Thus a number of the non-Brāhmaṇ scholars took to cultivation of their spoken speeches.

A further help in this direction was received from the spread of

1 Parts I and II are published in Journal Part I, 1897.
Vaiśṇavism. The sanctity of Puri attracted a considerable number of devotees, and several mathṣṣ of Rāmānuja and other sects sprung up on its sands. About 1510 A.D. Caitanya, the great Vaiśṇavite apostle of Bengal, first visited Orissa, and later on settled in Puri. Here he gathered a considerable following and by and by came to exercise much influence. Though a good Sanskrit scholar, he aimed to impart his religious instructions through the vernaculars. With the Pañdits he argued in Sanskrit, but to the laity he preached in their spoken dialect. His disciples came chiefly from the lower classes, and carried out this practice of vernacular preaching more extensively. In this way religion which had hitherto been a strong prop of the monopolising Sanskrit learning, ceased to be so. In contradistinction to Brāhmīns, grew up a body of Vaiśṇava gurus and mahantas whose influence gradually increased over the land, and with whose increasing influence the vernaculars came more and more to the front. The Vaiśṇava devotees translated the Sanskrit religious works, composed new devotional poems, and by saṅkirtans and vernacular songs considerably developed the power of the vernaculars. To the Vaiśṇavites are due almost all the early vernacular compositions both in Orissa and in Bengal.

Another cause for the change lay in the overthrow by the Mahomedans of the paramount Hindu power. In 1568 A.D. the last independent Hindu king Teliqga Makunda Dēva was defeated and killed; and Orissa was overrun by the victorious army of Sulaimān Kerānī of Bengal. From that year for nearly two centuries Orissa remained subject to the Mahomedan rule, first under Pathans and next under the Mughals. On the transfer of the supreme power the influence of the Brāhmīns and of the Sanskrit language received a check. The Hindu religion itself lost the powerful support of the ruling power. In the towns the Persian and the Persianised Hindi (Urdu) came into vogue. They showed the people that Sanskrit was not the only highly cultivated tongue in India. Hence a certain amount of freedom was produced which was favourable to the cultivation of vernaculars. In the towns and in the courts of petty Hindu chiefs many turned their attentions to compositions in Oriyā.

To summarise, the difficulties of compositions in the dead Sanskrit, the example of the early developed Telugu, the influence of Vaiśṇavism and the supersession of the Hindu rule by the Mahomedans—all tended to swell the tide in favour of the vernaculars. Original Sanskrit works by the Oriyās practically ceased. From the 16th century downwards, one finds no real Sanskrit compositions by non-Brāhmīns. Even among the Brāhmīns the writers confined themselves chiefly to tikās or ex-
planatory notes on Sanskrit classics. Small pieces, such as Gundīcā-bijaya or Gundīcā-campu (description of Jagannātha’s car festival), or Hāsyārṇava (collection of comic verses) hardly deserve the name of works. Gradually even this Sanskrit scholarship declined and Brāhmīns fairly well acquainted with Sanskrit classics or philosophy grew smaller in number. Young students were obliged to go to Benares for studying Sanskrit grammar or Vēdānta philosophy, or to Nadiyā in Bengal for studying Nyāya or logic.

It should not however be understood that because compositions in Sanskrit dwindled, Sanskrit language itself ceased to influence. Both Telugu and Urdū did not escape the influence of Sanskrit study, and so could make no change other than a general inclination towards the use of the vernaculars. The vehicle of expression alone changed; the intellectual atmosphere underwent no great change. Sanskrit classics, specially the later ones such as the Naiśadhiya and the Ciçupāla-vadha were considered models to be closely imitated; while Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics supplied the rules of elegant compositions in Oriyā. Thus whether in versification or in the sentiment underlying them, in the outer forms or in the inner ideas of Oriyā poetry Sanskrit continued to dominate. At the time of discussing the later Oriyā poets, this preponderating influence of Sanskrit classics and rhetorics will be more fully seen.

The earliest compositions in Oriyā were

(A) Songs or

(B) Translations of the Sanskrit religious works.

These are generally in poetry. Certain prose works, such as Mādalā Paṇjī or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple and Vaiṇçāvalīs or genealogies of royal families had been begun from old time. They have however no literary merits and their historical value I will treat at the end of this article.

SONGS.

Songs are the articulations of man’s heart deeply moved, and are as common to the civilised as to the savage. They are based on a single sentiment, or a single incident, and do not require long continuous thinking. Hence they precede serious compositions, and take their birth from the early childhood of a language. Oriyā could not have been an exception, and Oriyā songs must have been current from an early period. The earlier songs are lost. The only song which I am inclined to think as pre-Mahomedan is Kesaba Kö-ilī (केशव कोरिल) of Markanda Dāsa. This is known widely in Orissa, and is taught to children in the pāṭhčalās. From its wide popularity it would appear
to be more than three hundred years old. Hunter's list \(^1\) puts its date as 500 years old; but the reasons for this conclusion are not given. The song is based on an incident of the Bhāgavata. Črī-Kṛṣṇa had gone to Mathurā leaving his mother Yaḍōdā. Yaḍōdā felt unhappy at the separation and poured out her grief addressing the cuckoo. The verse runs easy, and the subject—a mother's lamentation for her absent son—appeals to Indian hearts. No wonder therefore that the song is so popular in Orissa.

The other songs in current use are much later; but from the works of the chief Oriya poets the names of several earlier songs can be traced. These songs passed into favourite tunes, and came to be thus noticed. Among the oldest may be named Rukmāṇī Cautisā (रुक्माणी चौतिसा)\(^2\) Madhupa Cautisā (मधुप चौतिसा) and Biprasimha Cautisā (बिप्रसिम्ह चौतिसा).\(^3\) Several other old songs are quoted as tunes by Upendra Bhāja and in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa.\(^4\) It is a matter of regret that most of these songs are now known only by their names.

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1 Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, App. IX, p. 206. Here Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa is credited wrongly with the authorship of another song—Gyānōdaya Kō-ili. This song was really composed by Lōkanātha Dāsa, a disciple of one Trilōcana, and is much later. It deals with the mystical doctrines and symbols of Yōga, and some of the stanzas are really creditable, e.g.

> जगमु ज्योति सुखार।
> अर्थियां विद्यां निराकार।
> ज्योतिपरे ज्योति गोपा।
> यामिनी पारि जानु चक्षु दीप लो।
> यतन कृति जीवितु वेव।
> युगे युगे योगो चौद्रु वेव लो। २०।

"Luminous is the door to the universe where shineth the formless. Light unto light darkening, behold, the lamp is burning the whole night. Watch ye with care, then age after age ye can be a Yōgi [26]."

2 Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa's Rasakālōṭā, 25th Chānda; Upendra Bhāja's Baidēhīsabilāsā, 46th Chānda.

3 Mathurā Māṅgaḷa, 5th Chānda for Madhupa; and for Biprasimha, see Mathurā Māṅgaḷa 27th and 30th Chāndas, Upendra Bhāja's Baidēhīsabilāsā, 45th Chānda.

4 Upendra Bhāja mentions Jūdusīṁha Cautisā (जुदुसिंह चौतिसा), Baidēhīsabilāsā, 43rd Chānda; Hamsadūta Cautisā (हंसदूत चौतिसा) Baid. Bil. 44th Ch.; Gōpajibana Cautisā (गोपजीवन चौतिसा) Do. 47th Ch.; Chapō-i (चपोई) Rasapaṇcakā 1st Paṇcakā. Similarly in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa one comes across Bā Cautisā (बा चौतिसा) Adyakāṇḍa 16th Ch.; "Calā-i Rathā" ("चलाइ रथ") Ayōḍhyā Kā. 11th Ch.; "Kusumā Saṁvara" ("कुसुम संरव") Āranyaka Kā. 17th
The existing songs begin with those of Upendra Bhanja. Many of the later songs are now being compiled and printed. About four hundred such songs have now been published referable to some 70 or 80 authors. Among them the most prominent authors are Upendra Bhanja, Sadananda Kavisuryabrahma, Makunda Deva, Banamiali Dasa, Raja Jagadeva, Gopalakrsna and an unnamed chief calling himself Astadurganatha (or owner of eight forts). The first two authors will be separately noticed in Part IV. Makunda Deva appears to be the king of Khorda who was imprisoned by the British for the Khorda rebellion of 1804. Raja Jagadeva was of Parl Khemdi, District Ganjam; but his name I do not find in Mr. Sewell's list of Khemdi kings. Banamiali Dasa and Gopalakrsna were two Brahmans who appeared from their songs to have been devout Vaisnavas.

Excluding from consideration the recent ones, the Oriya songs are mostly Cautisda's, that is in four or more couplets. Occasionally they are either Chandas (like the ordinary poems) or Chapois (in six couplets), or Bolis. As a rule, the songs deal with incidents of Radha and Krsna. Loves of human lovers and mistresses are rarely treated, and then the author is most likely of a royal family like Upendra Bhanja. This exclusiveness in the treatment of the subject-matter originated in the paramount influence of Vaisnavism and is noticeable not simply in songs but also in the other classes of poetry as I will point out later on.

The songs while mostly devoted to Radha and Krsna, deal not with their pleasures but with their pains and describe either the pangs of newborn love or the pangs of separation from the beloved. Radha and Krsna have been reduced to human level, and even of this anthropomorphised love, not the spiritual but the physical aspect, is generally dwelt upon. Several of these songs are composed in the true lyric vein, but as they generally contain descriptions of acts and feelings which would not be

and Uttar Ka, 39th Ch.; Urdhaba Cautisa (चातुर्व चौतिल) Lañka Kã, 4th Ch.; “Kota-i Gundica” (“कोटार गुँदिचा”) Lañka Kã, 6th and 40th Ch.; Nandabai Cautisa (नन्दावार चौतिल) Lañka Kã, 18th and 64th Ch., etc., etc.

1 Sewell's sketch of the dynasties of S. India, pp. 45-6.
2 Chanda songs are referred to in Mathura Mangala.

केवल चंद्रवर्णी शान्तिनीकृत गाण्डियाशि।
डड़िशा भाटि, घाँटिका वाणि, रचन गमि गमि। 23rd Stanza 14th Ch.

"Some lady, with face handsome as the moon, was singing the Chanda song. (Seeing Krsna) she missed a line, and ran, leaving singing and dropping her glances (in surprise)."

3 Bicitra Ramayana, Jadu Boli (चदु बोलित) Lañkã Kanda, 34th Ch.; Dadhimanthana Boli (दद्धि मान्थन बोलित) Do. 41st Ch.
tolerated in modern society, it is impossible to quote them here. One of
the least objectionable is the following song from the pen of Banamāli
Dāsa; it will give some idea of the Oriyā songs. The poet compares
love to a sharp knife.

[राग भैंभोट | ताल भुला ']
प्रीति कुरी शाया दिशा रे | वाजिव च्वातिरे कर्मुक्ता रे | घोषा ।
बेहदलुक्त यहने वताद | अक्षुन्न तर्किरे देख ।
मार कारिगर यहने गद्विक्ष, तर्किरे काञ्जु किस्म पिखा रे । १ ।
चालिवड तीलमा से धार | नेत्र ग टेकइ तर्किर ।
नवीन दर्शन परि भटकइ, कबु दिने देख दिशे नूखा रे । २ ।
ते चुरीकिरे येङ कुर्ज़व । चाति कुट एवु तेजिव ।
न पारिसे धरि निले नाह विव, विरचिमानं द्वारा खिचा रे । ३ ।
बोले वनमाली से कुरी । साग बड़ गुंधे कारारि ।
याहा साँगे येते पौरति करइ, तेतिक ज़रइ कुर्ज़ा वुखा रे । ४ ।

Sangita Sagara, first Taranga, p. 28.

"Love is like unto a sharpened knife; its iron hand strikes at the
heart; [chorus]. With care heating the love-iron, and with eye-tears
toughening it, behold, the love god smith has made it carefully, its
rust, alas, being poison-drinking. [1]. Very, very sharp is its edge, on
which eye cannot be kept; it shines like a new mirror, looking new
every time one sees through. [2]. He who touches that knife will have
to forego caste and rank; he who fails to seize it is sure to die, so deadly
to separated lovers. [3]. Banamāli says that this knife (of love)
belongs neither to the old nor to the young; how much (stronger) the
attachment, lo! so much (greater) is the uproar. [4]."

A few words about the music of these songs might here be added. Oriyā music is essentially southern. In the mediæval times Tanjore
was famed for its dancing and singing; and Teliṅgāna was not behind
hand. The Telugu music attained its greatest developments during
the later Vidyanagara rule. Telugu songs are still regarded as
among the sweetest in the Indian vernaculars. Orissa which was long
subject to the Telugu influence naturally borrowed from Teliṅgāna its
music. The rāgas or major tunes are almost exclusively Telugu which
adopted mostly Sanskrit names, such as Dēṇākṣa, Kāmōḍi, Bhairava,
Mukhāri, Mangala, Gurjari, Ghanṭārava, Kauṭika, Dhanāgré, etc. In
course of time the major tunes were often modified by local peculiari-

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ties. These modifications might be considered as minor tunes, and fall roughly under two denominations:

1. **Bānīs** (बानी)
2. **Bṛttaś** (ब्रट्या)

The difference in musical notation between the two classes I cannot say. Some of the rāgas slightly modified are occasionally treated as Bānīs such as Cakrakēli (चक्रकेलि), Asārhasukla (आसर्हासुक्ल), Kalāsā (कालासा), etc. But the bulk of the Bānīs are evidently derived from favourite songs such as Munibara (मुनिबर), Rukmāni Cautisā (रुक्मानी चौतिसा), Biprasimha Cautisā (बिप्रसिंह चौतिसा), Jadusimha Cautisā (जडुसिंह चौतिसा), Gōpajibana Cautisā (गोपजीबन चौतिसा), Cāpo-i (चापो), etc. Bṛttaś are similarly derived from favourite songs or poems such as Abakāsa Bṛtta (आबाकास ब्रट्या), Dhaga Bṛtta (धाग ब्रट्या), Bāgabata Bṛtta (भागबत ब्रट्या), Kṛṣṇakālā Bṛtta (कृष्णकाला ब्रट्या), etc.

In the latter part of the Mahomedan rule, the up-country music was gradually introduced into Orissa. The tālas or time-beating thus came into use. I find in the Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa¹ one tāla named as Adim Gurgir (अदिम गुर्गिर), which looks like an Urdu or Persian name. The well-known tāla Khēṃtā (खेमंता) is also mentioned in the above poem.² This appears to me to have been introduced before the Mahomedan conquest, and then apparently from the South. The Khēṃtā was known to Jagannātha Dāsa who refers to it thus in his Bāgabata:

**खेमटानादे गीत गाइ।**
**के धाँघ, सिंद्रनाद बागः।**

10th Skandha, 19th Adhyāya, Printed Ed., p. 117.

(Speaking of the Gōpa boys and their sports says) “some ran singing to the Khēṃtā tāla, and some ran roaring like lions.”

**RELIGIOUS POEMS.**

Along with the songs, the Oriyā religious poems are among the earliest. They had their origin in the religious yearnings of the people. When Sanskrit, the depositary of all sacred and mythological informations, became a dead language, it naturally failed to satisfy the desires of the populace. Hence translations into vernaculars came to be necessary, and numerous attempts were made to meet the popular demands. Such attempts must have been made from an early

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¹ Sundarā Kāṇḍa, 9th Chānda.
² Ādya Kāṇḍa, 7th Chānda; Laṅkā Kāṇḍa, 27th Ch.
time, but the earliest ones are lost. The existing works cannot be
put before the 16th century A.D.

The chief religious poems in current use are:—
(1) The Črimad-bhāgabata (क्रिमदभागवत) of Jagannātha Dāsa.
(2) The Rāmāyaṇa (रामायण) of Bālarāma Dāsa.
(3) The Mahābhārata (महाभारत) of Sāralā Dāsa.
(4) The Harivaṃśa (चरिवंश) of Acyutānanda Dāsa.

Generally speaking, these poems are not literal translations but
summaries and free adaptations of the Sanskrit original. The verses
are usually simple and unornamented; the details are lengthy and
tedious. Though they contain occasional passages of good descriptions
and fine sentiments, they cannot be ranked high as literary compositions.
Their importance lies firstly in the fact that they have supplied the bulk
of religious and mythological informations to a strongly religious people
from generations to generations. They have influenced all castes and all
ages. By children their stories are heard with rapt interest; by adults
they are learnt and talked about; by women and old men they are
listened for days and months devoutly and patiently as the passport to
some worldly good or heavenly bliss. Secondly, they form important
land marks in the development of the Oriyā literature. Before their
time the Oriyā was a rude uncouth dialect, poor in ideas, poor in words.
These religious authors nursed it, imported words into it or coined
words for it, and gave it some polish. They showed that the Oriyā
language could be made fit for expressing complex thoughts and abstract
feelings, and by their own imperfect efforts made it capable of being
utilised in various kinds of versifications. They prepared in fact the
way for the later Oriyā poets Dinaṅkṣa Dāsa, Upendra Bhaṅja, and
Abhimanya Sāmantasimghāra. Any sketch therefore of the progress
of the Oriyā intellect would be materially incomplete if it fails to give
some accounts of these old religious poems.

The most influential of these has been the Črimad-bhāgabata or
briefly the Bhāgabata. Very little is known about it and its author.
The work itself gives no clue to its time excepting the fact that it must
be later than Čridhara Svāmi, much later because his name is referred
to with high veneration.1 Čridhara Svāmi was a Gujarāti Brāhmin

1 Śrīdharma Svāmi. The Purāṇa Čridhara Svāmi has člokās eighteen thousand. Its fikā in thousands one-fourth (of the
Purāṇa), Čridhara has expounded in writing.”
whose *tikā* or commentry on the Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the best known. He is believed to have flourished by the 14th century A.D. Hence the Oriyā Bhāgabata must be much later than 14th century A.D. Starting from backward I find that it must be earlier than sana 1143 or 1736 A.D. in which year was copied a MS. of the fourth Skandha.\(^1\) It is earlier than Baidēlisabilāsa, one of the earliest poems of Upēndra Bhaṇja, for the Bhāgabata is referred to as a tune (Brāṭta) in its 27th Chānda. He preceded Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa whose principal work the Rasakallōla is probably based on the tenth Skandha 1st to 52nd Adhyāya of the Oriyā Bhāgabata. Dinakṛṣṇa refers to a tune Rukmaṇi Cautisā (Rasakallōla 25th Chānda), and this tune is derived from a song which is likely to have been based on the popular vernacular Bhāgabata (10th Skandha 56th to 58th Adhyāya). If Dinakṛṣṇa’s time be taken at the middle of the 17th century, as I shall show later on, the Oriyā Bhāgabata must be still older and cannot be later than the close of the 16th century.

This is borne out by the general tradition, according to which Jagannātha Dāsa, the author of the Oriyā Bhāgabata, is identifiable with the Jagannātha Dāsa who founded the Atibāra subsect of Oriyā Vaiṣṇavas, and who was a disciple of Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇavite preacher of Bengal. This tradition is strongly corroborated by the Jagannāthacaritāmṛta which attempts to give a biography of the Atibāra founder somewhat like Caitanya’s in the Caitanyacaritāmṛta. In that work the author Dibākara Kara remarks in the 5th Adhyāya:—

**Sloka kevala bhāgavatārya | pade karti bhāyačarita || 16 ||**

**Puruṣo yeud gosaih varahi | yeveda bhāya kṛti kahiti || 17 ||**

**Se pade thika thika kāri | lekhīna bhāṣā bhūnasī | 18 ||** Ms. folio 28.

“Having understood the slokas of Bhāgabata, I rendered them into Bhāṣā. The lines which my Gosāi (i.e., Jagannātha Dāsa) had said before in Bhāṣā, I correctly understood, and wrote following this Bhāṣā.”

As Jagannātha Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya, he must have flourished in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century, and the Bhāgabata was probably finished towards the latter part of this 2nd quarter. The Jagannāthacaritāmṛta has not yet been printed. The manuscript which I am using consists of 136 folios with four lines on

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**Drata śriomdākva vā sahāpurasya ... śvākhyā bhāya || o ||** MS. Rāmakrṣṇa dīr sahāra-rajakṛṣṇa 19 Chātra 1942 slāṁ e pūrko dīr śvākhyā bhāya || Ms. Folio 127.
It is a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Oriya verses. It purports to be a biography of Jagannatha Dasa, but the first seven Adhyayas treat more of Caitanya than of Jagannatha, while the 20th Adhyaya is exclusively devoted to a description of the Purusottama Ksettra. The author Dibakara Kara was a Brahmin Vaishnava of the Atibara subsect. His time is unknown, but from the respect in which he is held by the Vaishnavas of that subsect, he cannot be less than 150 to 200 years old. The biography is more full of quotations, eulogies and miracle descriptions than of facts, and after a wearisome reading, I have been able to cull the following few details about Jagannatha Dasa.

Jagannatha was born at Kapilecvarapura Sasana, District Puri. His father was Bhagabana Dasa Purana Panda (reader of Puranas), and his mother was named Padma. The time of his birth is noted as noon of bhadra ukla ashtami. As he grew into boyhood, he took up the usual studies of a Brahmin, and he is said to have read up to his eighteenth year. Apropos of the Bhagabata, it is said in the 1st Adhyaya:

"Having studied the Ramayana, he applied his mind to (studying) the Bhagabata;—the twelve skaudha-ed Bhagabata with all its notes and commentaries."

After finishing the studies, Jagannatha Dasa took up his father's pursuits, viz., reading Puranas in the temple of Jagannatha. Here Caitanya often met him and was so much delighted with his reading and religious devotion that he made him a disciple. Gradually Jagannatha became the favourite of Caitanya who gave him the surname Atibara or "the greatest." This displeased the other disciples, most of whom left Puri. Caitanya grew more and more fond of him and recommended him to king Pratapa Rudra of Orissa. Soon after Caitanya disappeared (i.e., died), Jagannatha Dasa continued to reside in Puri. He showed various miracles to the king and converted him.

1 In the 5th Adhyaya the author thus speaks of his own ancestors.

"My name is Dibakara, a Bipra (Brahmin by caste). Nima Deba is my father, and Gopa Dasa my uncle. Their father is Nanda Dasa, whose father is Bha-i Dasa. My mother is by name Campa. My gotra is Bharadvaja, and (my) pravara Vhatyankindira."
and numerous others as his followers. Ultimately, Jagannātha Dāsa himself disappeared in the body of the Lord Jagannātha. According to the author, Caitanya was an āvatāra of Kṛṣṇa, while Jagannātha Dāsa was an āvatāra of Rādhā.

The Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the most sacred book of the Vaiṣṇavas, their Bible or Koran. The Oṛiyās are mostly Vaiṣṇavas, and hence the Oṛiya Bhāgabata enjoys an immense popularity. In every respectable house a room is set apart in which the Bhāgabata with the other religious works is kept on a gāḍā (raised seat) and periodically or daily worshipped with flowers, tulsi leaves and sandal pastes. In every important village a shed is set aside at one end, where the villagers gather and hear every week the Bhāgabata read out by Brāhmans. On auspicious days the Bhāgabata is read out in a gentlemen’s house to his friends and relatives, while the pōthi is always handled with care and respect.

I give below two extracts to let the reader have some idea of the writer’s powers. The first gives a description of the summer season in the groves of Brndābana; and the second attempts to describe in vernacular the Māyā doctrine of Vedaṇtism.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{प्रमने श्रवण परीक्षितः | खमवे सरिषा वसन्त || ५ ॥}
\text{निदाधकाश्यागमन | घमे सार्वसं वस्न जन॥}
\text{सत्तः कन्तलया गत्वा वसन्त | सधीरे वहे धिन रितन ||}
\text{वसन्त तुहे ना दुःखम | ये वने शौर्यमात्र माधव ||}
\text{नदीनिहोर जल बाद्रीं | निन्दिः कार्योप्रयान वनं || मिनिः}
\text{चतुष्प्रेमवल्ल वनस्यत्री || १० ॥}
\text{नदीतरं शुभवन || प्रवाह थोरे चाम्पान ||}
\text{जलो अच्छं एप्प कैते | कमलुकुमर सचिते ||}
\text{ताछां ग्रामु धनि चले | प्रवत रहे कुतुद्रे ||}
\text{ग्राम से वनावन देश | निदाशू न विरे स्त्राश ||}
\text{घन गहन वन भुमि || तेसु नुसंत्व जोवे श्रम || १५ ॥}
\text{चतु गमरी नीचोते | नदीगोति हृदी चले ||}
\text{पश्च दियश वचन वत || भज तर्कं धुम्बा तुल ||}
\text{पूषि गवन भुमि देश || चादिस न करस यास ||}
\text{खमवे उपमान वने | चित्र मघर पद्मी खने ||}
\text{कोकिल सारस विकर || मसर धनि मनोहर || २० ॥}
\end{align*}
\]

“Now listen Parikṣita. In due course passed away the spring. [5]. Came hot summer, perspiring all men. (But in Brūdābana) every day the spring breezes blow gently. Spring cannot be rare in the grove where Čri-Rāma (Balabhadra) and Mādhaba (Krṣṇa) are. The deep springs babbling, make murmurs in the river water. The sprays of the stream and of the springs mixing, keep cool the woody groves. [10]. With the breeze shake the river ripples and the blossoming groves. Playfully the wind wafts abroad the (pollen) dusts of the flowers in water, the lotuses, the nelumbiums, and others. Hence this Brūdābana land with its deep woods and groves hot summer never touches; hence its residents never feel tired. [15]. In the deep river water, ripples rise one after another in force; muddy look both its banks; the ripples breaking wash the bathing recesses. Moreover, the sun never torments this forest grove, this wood by nature blooming with flowers, and resounding with the screams of the many-coloured peacocks, with the notes of the cuckoos and the cranes, with the delightful hum of the bees. [20].”

“Salutation to thy feet, oh Lord! thou, the first cause, the Lord of the universe. Thou residest beyond Prakṛti (nature), and hence art invisible to beings. [70]. The interior and the exterior of all creatures, nothing is outside thee. (The ideas of) Ātmā, i. e., Self and others are but so many māyā curtains, while in essence the Being remains the same. This Being enjoys through the senses; and puts on (as masks) forms like abhaya, and others. How can he know thee, oh Lord! over whose mind thine māyā (illusion) is? Just as the master among the nātas (jugglers) by his juggleries fascinates the lookers-on; [75] and bringing forth various tricks and causing puppets to dance, bewitches the minds of spectators—but in truth they are nothing (so is it with thee, oh Lord!).”
The Bhāgabata was also translated in Oriyā by Kṛṣṇa Simha, the Rājā of Dharākōṭa in Gaujām District, and this translation is believed to be more accurate. But like the revised version of the Bible it has failed to be popular. Hunter’s list also mentions an Oriyā version of the Bhāgabata by one Kṛṣṇa Dāsa. The influence of Jagannāthā Dāsa’s Bhāgabata is traceable in many of the later works. It moulded three large works, viz., Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa’s Rasakāllīḷa, Bhaktacarana Dāsa’s Mathurā Maṅgaḷa, and the Prēmapāṇcāmṛta of Bhūpati Paṇḍita. Modified by Rādhā-cultism, it had its effect on the works of Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā and Abhimanu Sāmantasīṁghāra. It suffused whether with or without Rādhā-worship, the numerous songs of the Oriyās (Cautisās and Pōis). As already pointed out it gave rise to a separate tune and class of versification. Even now various Jātrās based upon and borrowed from the Bhāgabata are played to large audiences in the mofussil, and are watched with much interest. The importance of this work in the past and even present life of the mofussil Oriyās it would be difficult to exaggerate.

Next in importance is the Oriyā Rāmāyaṇa (or as commonly pronounced Rābāna) of Balārāma Dāsa. Little is known about the author. He must be earlier than sana 1164 or 1757 A.D. in which year one of the manuscripts I have seen was copied. He apparently preceded the poet Upēndra Bhaṅja, as the latter refers to him respectfully as जिम्ममितिजिम्ममिति, (i.e.), one who uttered his verses inspired by the grace of God.1 This veneration presupposes a pretty long time back and agrees with the general tradition according to which Balārāma Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya. In Jagannāthacaritāmrta that I have already referred to, Jagannāthā Dāsa is said to have been initiated as a disciple of Caitanya by मन वटराम दास (the enthusiast Balārāma Dāsa).2 If he be identifiable with the author, then the Oriyā

1 Baidēhīsabilāsa, 1st Chānda, 4th Stanza, printed ed., p. 4. Upēndra Bhaṅja does not name him, but this has been explained by his commentator.

2 Jag. caritāmrta MS., Folio 10.

“That enthusiast Balārāma, the best among the Vaiśṇavas, he does not, while sitting, sleeping, eating, walking, lying, dreaming, know day or night; but is phrenzied in his devotion (to God).”

Balārāma Dāsa has been again mentioned in Fol. 36, as a chief disciple of Caitanya Dēva.
Rāmāyaṇa slightly preceded the Bhāgabata and will have to be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century.

Balarama Dāsa came of a respectable family. He was a son of an Oriya minister named Sōmanātha Mahāpātra.

MS. No. 2, Fol. 308.

"Cṛi-Sōmanātha Mahāpātrā is the chief of ministers. His son is Balarāma Dāsa."

He became a devout Vaiṣṇava and came to reside in Puri. In the closing passages of each Kānda he expresses his humility and prays to Jagannātha for his deliverance. His Rāmāyaṇa is simple in style and is generally written in one form of versification. He sometimes uses grammatical forms not now in existence, e.g.—

MS. No. 1, Fol. 447.

"With the eye of flesh have I seen Lord Jagannātha; hence have I been able to expound the work Adikānda."

Here "nayanēṇa" contains an instrumental form of "ēṇa" which was derived from Sanskrit but is not now in use. Similar grammatical variations are also to be found in the Oriya Mahābhārata. It is a pity that neither of these works has yet been printed. The influence of this Rāmāyaṇa is perceptible in several later works, such as Baidēhisabīlāsa of Upēndra Bhańja, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuńti-ā, the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Harihara Dāsa and Rāmalīlā of Sadāsiba Dāsa.1 The Rāmalīlā Jātras of the mofussil are mostly based on this work. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōta translated another version of the Rāmāyaṇa, which though literarily more correct has failed to catch the public ear.

1 This author is not mentioned in Hunter's list. The manuscript consists of 92 folios with 5 lines on each page. The work describes in verse the story of Rāma from his birth to his abhiṣēka (crowning). The manuscript was copied in 1229 sana or 1820 A.D. and ends thus—

"(Oh God!) Always do this favour to Sadāsiba, that his mind may not go elsewhere except towards Rāma and Sītā."

J. i. 44
In addition to the Rāmāyaṇa, Balarāma Dāsa composed numerous smaller pieces, a list of which is to be found in Hunter’s Orissa, App. ix. They amount to twenty-two and deal with various religious and ethical topics. Of these I have seen in manuscripts, the Arjuna Gītā (No. 2), Gupta Gītā (No. 14), and Tulābhiṇī (No. 23); and in print, Bēdhāparikramā (No. 1), Gajanistāraṇa Gītā (No. 10), and Mrugāṇistuti (No. 17). I have also seen in print Kānta Kō-li (कांता कोड़ी) which was composed by Balarāma Dāsa, but which has not been mentioned in Hunter’s list. This song is put into the mouth of Sītā and describes the events from her abduction by Rāvana to Rāma’s abhiseka.

The next great epic of Sanskrit, the Mahābhārata has also been rendered into Oriyā. The popular version was by Sārōlā Dāsa. He was a Čudra by caste, and while he professed to be a Vaiṣṇava and speaks devoutly of Jagannātha, he was at heart a worshipper of the goddess Cāndī. The closing lines of each parva speak of Sārōlā Chaṇḍī Ṭhākurāṇi; and in his last page he says—

बल्लभपुरम्रसेनी चल्ला चढ़ि प्रारोढ़े ।
से मोर तुलसीमाले हेले बच्चेले ॥

“The (goddess) Hīṅgulā Cāndī Sārōlā dwells at Jakhēmrāpura. She is my tulasi (Ocymum) garland that swings over the breast.”

Then again his last lines are

ॐ चर्चिणी ए बल्लभपुरपारसो चरणवसी ।
शुद्धसुरि प्रारोढदास पसीला प्रारोढ़े ॥ MS. Folio 245.

“At the feet of Ćri-Cāndī, the resident of Jakhēmpura, the Čudra ascetic Sārōlā Dāsa seeks refuge.”

The goddess Cāndī is said to be of Jakhēn which is probably the older form of the present village Jhaṅkaṛa in Thāna Tirtola, District Cuttack. Here the worship of Sārōlā Ṭhākurāṇi is widely prevalent and attracts considerable local pilgrimage.

It is impossible at present to find out the precise date of this work. It must be older than the 3rd Aṇka of Rāmacandra Dēva, Mithuna 21st, on which date the oldest manuscript I have seen was copied. The 3rd Aṇka of Rāmacandra Dēva II. falls in 1732-3 A.D.¹ How much older he was there is no means of knowing. But from its popularity and veneration, from its uneven versification, and peculiar forms of several of its words and grammatical terminations I infer that the work cannot be later than

¹ In Appendix IV of this article I have shown that Rāmacandra Dēva began to reign in 1731-2 A.D. His 3rd Aṇka or the 2nd year should therefore be 1732-3 A.D.
16th century A.D. and might belong to its first half. Like the Sanskrit original it forms a gigantic undertaking and takes up about two thousand folios. It does not pretend to any literary finish, and the verses often rhyme unequally. But it has the merit of having superseded the Sanskrit Mahābhārata among the common mass.

According to tradition, Saroḷā Dāsa was a resident of the village Kālināga in Parganā Jhaṅkaṇa. A cāsa by caste, he had three more brothers. He was considered the dunce of the family; but through the grace of Saroḷā Dēvi, the principal goddess of Jhaṅkaṇa, he is said to have acquired the power of versifying. The goddess ordered him to compose the Mahābhārata in Oriyā; and when he expressed his inability to distinguish good from bad verses, she said "Write on palm leaves whatever comes to your mind. When you get disgusted, take the palm leaves so written to the river Candrabhāgā, and float them on its water. Gather those leaves which will float up to you and stitch them according to the order of receipt. This will be your Mahābhārata." In this way Saroḷā Dāsa is said to have composed his work. Candrabhāgā is another name for the stream Büdhā that flows past the village Tēntulipadā in Parganā Jhaṅkaṇa. After composing, Saroḷā Dāsa took his poem to Puri, but there the Paṇḍits laughed at it. During the night, however, Lord Jagannātha appeared in a dream to the Rāja, and strongly recommended the work to him. Then by order of the Rāja, the work was re-examined by the Paṇḍits, who unanimously approved it. Pleased with his poem, the Rāja of Puri gave him, as jāgir, Jhaṅkaṇa and three other Parganās. Saroḷā Dāsa's descendants still live at Kālināga, Tēntulipadā and the adjoining villages, and now pass as Karanas or members of the writer-caste.

Another version of the Mahābhārata into Oriyā was prepared under the direction of the Rāja Krṣṇa Simha of Dharākōta. But this version though literally more correct, is hardly known among the people. The influence of the Mahābhārata, both Sanskrit and Oriyā, may be traced in certain brief redactions such as the Sucitra Bhārata of Kesaba Dāsa and the Bicitra Bhārata of Bisvambhara Misra. Episodes of Mahābhārata were worked into smaller pieces as Kapaṭapāsā or fraudulent dice-playing, Subhadrā-parinaya or marriage of Subhadra, Gajanistarana Gītā or the deliverance of the elephant in his fight with the tortoise, etc. In addition the Bhāgabatagītā which really forms a part of the Mahābhārata was translated into Oriyā; and a version of the Jaimini Mahābhārata was made for popular use.

The last important religious work I will notice is the Harivainca. In the original Sanskrit it is a supplement of the Epic Mahābhārata.
But as it treats of Kṛṣṇa and his career, it assumed more importance in a Vaiṣṇava land. Kṛṣṇa Siṁha of Dharakōta, in pursuance of his desire to have Oriyā translations of the chief religious works translated the Harivāmśa. But it is not known among the mass. They use two versions which are commonly designated as

1. **Khandhid** or single-volumed, and
2. **Sātakhandi-ā** or seven-volumed.

The first is later and was made by a Brāhmin named Nārāyanā Dāsa. He speaks of himself thus in his last but one couplet:

**विनोदसुन्दरनाथ व्यभिचारथे।**

**विष्णु नारायणादासा नमः वल्लभे।** MS. Folio 272.

"At the safety-giving feet of the all-beautiful Lord of the blue (hill), the Brāhmin Nārāyanā Dāsa bows at heart."

As usual, nothing is known of him. But I am inclined to think that he was contemporary with the chief Oriyā poets, and probably belongs to the beginning of the 17th century.

The second work is much older and more popular. It was made by Acyuta-nanda Dāsa. He was a Čūdra by caste and was initiated into Vaiṣṇavism. He preached Vaiṣṇavism among the cattle-keeper caste (Gauras) and was given the title **Mahata**. Undoubtedly he was a devout Vaiṣṇava and his poem is full of expressions of humility. He lived in Raṇapura, a Tributary State adjoining the Puri District and was supported by its chief, Padma-lābha Nārāṇā. According to Raṇapura royal genealogy, Padma-lābha was the 97th king of the family, and ruled between 1477 to 1525 A.D. He is said to have accompanied the Orissa king Purusottama Dēva in his raid to Kānci (Conjivēram). The time of this Harivamśa should therefore be referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Certain personal informations were given by the poet himself in his closing lines.
"At Akhandacala in Ranapurā I reside. Padmanābha Nārāṇḍra supports me. I am born of the Čūdra caste. Having received initiation (into Vaiṣṇavism), I stay among the Gauras; and teach and preach to all the Gopālas (Gauras), taking refuge at the feet of Čri-Hari. Among the Gauras I am called Mahata. The husband of Kamalā (i.e., the god Hari) has taken mercy upon me. This prayer to Čri Gopinātha's feet—Oh yellow-robed!—preserve the poet Acyuta Dāsa. The seven-volumed Harivāmaṇa is finished; Acyuta Dāsa meditates on Lord Gōvinda's feet."

Hunter's list (Vol. II, p. 197) credits this Acyutānanda Dāsa with a Sapta Bhāgabata which is evidently a mistake for the Sātakahāṃdi-ā Haribāṃsā. The list also ascribes two smaller pieces to him: (1) Ananta Gōyi or the eternal mystery, and (2) Acyutānanda Mālikā or the prophecies of Acyutānanda.

The other religious works in Oriya are, as might be expected in the land of Jagannātha, mostly Vaiṣṇavite. They may be roughly divided into:

1. Paurānic, such as translations of Čiva Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa, Mārkandeya Purāṇa, and of the various periodical Māhātmyas, as Kārttika, Māgha, Vaśākha, Ekādaṣi;
2. Poems, as Dharāṇi Dharā's translation of Gitagōvinda, and the translation of Haṃsadūta;
3. Jagannātha worship—as Gpongicābījā or the procession of Jagannātha on his car to Gpongicā, the summer house; Dārubrahma, and the Dē-ōla Tōlā—an account of the origin of the god and his temple; translation of Purusottama Māhātmya, etc.

These works appeared later, and have no such special literary merits as to deserve detailed notice. In the next part will be treated the chief Oriyā poets and this will conclude my sketch of Oriyā literature.¹

¹ In Oriyā pronunciation, the consonants v, y, and č are hardened to b, j, and z respectively; hence the difference in transliteration.
**Part IV. The later Oriya Poets.**

**General Remarks.**

The works of the following authors will be dealt with in this article. They form the most important part of the Oriya literature.

1. Dinakrsna Dasa (दीनक्र्ष्ण दास).
2. Upendra Bhañja (उपेन्द्र भान्य).
4. Bhaktacaraṇa Dāsa (भक्तचरण दास).
5. Bisvanātha Khunti-ā (बिश्वनाथ खुंटि-ात्र).
7. Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahma (सदानन्द कविशूरब्राह्मण).
8. Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra (अभिमन्यु सामन्तसिंहार).

In the treatment of the subject-matter, etc., the poets differ so little from one another, that a few preliminary remarks will suffice to point out the general characteristics of Oriya poetry, and enable me to dispense with the detailed discussion of each poem. The remarks may be noted under the following heads:—

(a) The subject-matter.
(b) The versification.
(c) The sentiment.

On examining the narrative parts of these poems, two general tendencies are perceptible, one religious, the other fictional. The religious tendency is exclusively Vaiṣṇavite. By the time serious compositions had been begun in Oriya, Civaism in spite of its stronghold at Bhuvanēcvara, and Čaktism in spite of its prevalence at Jājapura, had ceased to influence the popular mind. Viṣṇu-worship was in full swing and naturally Oriya poetry reflected this popular bent.

Viṣṇu was worshipped in various forms. One such form was Jagannātha, whose temple and worship at Puri still attract thousands of pilgrims. His rites were well-known to the above authors, who either resided at Puri or visited it on pilgrimage. Upendra Bhañja translated into Oriya verse the local Mahātmya, and Dinakrṣṇa described the well-known Ratha festival in his Gundicābijē. In spite, however, of the veneration for Jagannātha in Orissa, his worship failed to be a great religion because it had no great epic or Purāṇa to fall back upon, and because it had no special organisation to propagate its doctrines. The priests and their agents busied themselves mainly in drawing pilgrims to the shrine and not in proselytising them into a sect; while no great scholar or preacher arose to elaborate the dogmas in any famous poem or religious work.
Rāma-worship, another variant of Vaiṣṇavism was somewhat more successful in Oriyā poetry. The Rāmāyaṇa has always been the most favourite of Sanskrit poems; and the Rāmāyana who came on pilgrimage or resided at Puri in the various mathās generally exercised considerable influence. Hence the career of Rāma was often selected for the subject-matter, such as Upendra Bhāja’s Baidēhisa Bilāsa, Bīsvanātha Khunti-ā’s Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa, Sadāsiba Dāsa’s Rāmaliḷā. But on the whole, it failed to be popular in Orissa because the Rāmāyana were few in number and chiefly confined to Puri, and because it had to contend with the powerful influence of Caitanya and his disciples.

The most prevalent form of Vaiṣṇavism was and still is in Orissa the Kṛṣṇa-worship. I shall not burden this article with the origin and history of this great religion, interesting as the subject is, because long before the beginning of serious poetry, Kṛṣṇa-worship had become the favourite religion in Orissa. But since then Kṛṣṇa-worship underwent an important modification. Gradually a feminine element was added to the male type of divinity, and the worship of Kṛṣṇa alone was succeeded by the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A similar and parallel transformation from the single to the dual type is traceable in the gradual development of Čivaism into Čaktism, and also in the Buddhistic hierarchy.

The name of Rādhā is comparatively modern. It is not to be found either in the Vēdic works or in the older Sanskrit classics and Purāṇas. The Harivaṃśa, the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the triple Bible of the Vaiṣṇavites, are silent about her.1 The earliest authentic mention of Rādhā is to be found in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa and in Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda.2 Brahmavaivarta’s date is

1 The following passage of Črimadbhāgavata is twisted to mean a reference to Rādhā, but obviously it does not.

2 In Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, Rāpa Gōsvāmi quotes one passage as being from Padma Purāṇa.

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1. c. Cai. Car. Mr. Ādilīla 4th pari.
unknown, probably not earlier than tenth century A.D. Jayadeva flourished in the twelfth century. Rādhā-worship cannot therefore be earlier than ninth century and possibly later. She appears to have been evolved out of the Tantric wave in East India, which gave rise to the worship of Tārā and Vajra-Yōgini in Buddhism, and to that of Durgā and Kāli in Cīvāism.

The prevalence of Rādhā-worship in Orissa is largely due to the Bengal Vaiśṇavites. Jayadeva's exquisite poem was much appreciated by Orīyā scholars, and five hundred years ago was ordered by the king Pratāpa Rudra to be sung every evening before Jagannātha to the exclusion of all other songs. Jayadeva's example in treating Rādhā as divine was followed in the Bengali vernacular by other poets, such as Bidyāpati, Caṇḍī Dās, Gōbinda Dās. Then came Caitanya, the great preacher of Nabadvip. Partly influenced by the above poets and partly by the Vallabha-cāris at Mathurā, he took to preaching Rādhā-cultism, and was ably assisted by his numerous disciples in Orissa and elsewhere. The worship of Rādhā became the most prominent part of his rituals, and after his death he himself came to be regarded as an incarnation jointly of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.1 The preachings of Caitanya and his

"As Rādhā is the favourite of Viṣṇu, so her Kunda is his favourite. Among all the Gopiśa she alone is the most beloved of Viṣṇu."

The passage seems spurious. Padma Purāṇa is notorious for its large later additions, and even then no second clōka is forthcoming in that voluminous work about Rādhā. Besides, Kṛṣṇa and not Viṣṇu should be associated with her. Furthermore if the author of Caitanvacaritamrta is to be believed (Madhyālila, 18th pari-chōda), Rādhā-Kunda was first discovered by Caitanya, and hence could not have been mentioned in Padma Purāṇa composed several centuries earlier.

Another passage is sometimes quoted to indicate the antiquity of Rādhā (Bṛhadgautamiya Tantra).

1 Rādhā is but transformation of Kṛṣṇa's love, his hāḍini power. Essentially
disciples made numerous converts in Orissa who now pass as Gauriyās, and further more created a religious ferment that gave rise to several subsects, such as Atibāris, Bindudhāris, Kabirājis, Kālindī Vaiśnāvas, and others. All of them accept the dual type (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) as their fundamental doctrine.

This change in the popular religious feelings acted on the poets. The songs were influenced quickly as they needed little learning and represented the first ebullitions. The chief poets were affected more slowly, because all of them knew Sanskrit, and the Bhāgavata and Harivaraṇa were silent about Rādhā. The earlier poets Dinakṛṣṇa, Upendra Bhaṅja, and Bhaktacarṇa dealt but little about her. In Dinakṛṣṇa's Rasakallōja, Rādhā is named only in three places.¹

Upendra Bhaṅja rarely mentions her in his voluminous compositions. In Mathurā-Māṅgala two cantos are devoted to Rādhā (28th and 29th); but otherwise she is mentioned in three places only. In Bhāpāti Paṇḍita's Prēma-paṇcāmānta, the divine importance of Rādhā had been fully established, but other Gopīs are still given some prominence. In the two latest poets, Sadānanda Kavisūrya-brahmā, and Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra, Rādhā-worship superseded even Kṛṣṇa, and the other Gopīs sank into insignificance. Their poems are full of her praises.

The other tendency in the selection of the subject-matter was towards fiction, purely imaginary stories as distinguished from the mythological. This fictional element was less strong, and appeared later both in Sanskrit and Vernacular. Imaginary tales were usually of two kinds, viz., a collection of short tales stringed together by a slight connecting thread, or a continuous story with a hero and a heroine. In Sanskrit several examples of the first kind may be found, such as the Pañcatantra and its variant the Hitopadeśa, the Bṛhatkathā (as known in the version Kathāsaritsāgara), and Daṇḍakumāracarita, with which may be compared the Buddhist Jātaka stories and the Sanskrito-Buddhistic Avadānakalpalatā. In Oriyā such a type is wanting. The nearest approach to it is to be found in Dinakṛṣṇa's Pratāpasindhu which is a collection of maxims and short stories like the Pañcatantra. The other kind which is best exemplified in Sanskrit by Subandhu's Vāsavadatta and Bāṇa's Kādambari, found a more fruitful soil in Oriyā. Upendra Bhaṅja composed some twenty romances, while the

one, (for enjoyment) they appeared before in two separate bodies. They two have now appeared in one named Caitanya. Him, so full of Rādhā's sentiments and brightness, and so filled with Kṛṣṇa's attributes, I salute."

¹ Rasakallōja 10th Ch. 1. 10 (cf. Is. 1-16); 20th Ch. 1. 18 (cf. 1-24); 31st Ch. 1. 1, (cf. Is. 1-18 30th Ch.).

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poems of Lōkanātha, and the three early poems of Abhimanyu are purely fictional. Poems of similar nature are also mentioned in Hunter's list, such as Balabhadra Bhaṭja's Bhābabatī, Haricandra Dēva's Liḷābatī, Padmaḷabha Dēva's Prabhābatī. Their contents are however yet unknown.

The framework of the romances is practically so uniform that it may be generalised by the following sketch. The story opens with the description of a beauteous girl attending on Pārvatī or Rādhā (Lakṣmi) in the heaven. Some prince (occasionally a Rṣi) sees her and falls in love with her who returns his love. For this Pārvatī or Rādhā curses her to take birth as woman; but on her entreaties changes the curse to human life with the lover as husband. The girl is born as a princess, and the lover as a prince. Their childhood and youth are then described. The one hears of the other, and falls in love. After some manoeuvring they meet and fall more deeply in love. This gradually leads to marriage (occasionally Gāndharva marriage). A few months are spent in happiness, and then the lovers are separated by a deus ex machīna. Each is obliged to live one year apart from the other. Several cantos then describe the grieves of the lovers and their passionate outbursts as one season passes and the other arrives. By grace of the goddess they are re-united and henceforth live a happy life. They become king and queen, and after death are taken back into the heavens.

The next head is versification which includes the prosody, the selection of words and their signification—in short the outer frame of poetry as distinguished from the inner spirit. An Oriyā poem is divided into parts which are named Chānda (canto); and the Chānda is divided into pādas (stanzas) that are made up of two to six lines. All the lines rhyme; blank verses are unknown. The pādas can often be scanned according to rules of Sanskrit prosody, but sometimes they are not. This arises from the fact that all Oriyā poetry, if not translations of Sanskrit religious works, are intended to be sung, and not simply to be read. Hence many pādas cannot be scanned, if simply read; while in singing there arises no difficulty, as the vowels may be shortened or lengthened according to the convenience of the singer. For this reason too, the Chāndas are much shorter than the cantos of Sanskrit classics, not generally containing more than a hundred pādas. Each Chānda is also set to a tune. These tunes are largely Sanskritic, but have also a fair number of local airs, as I have already pointed out under the head of songs.

As regards the selection and signification of words the Oriyā poets follow the rules of Sanskrit rhetoric as closely as the language permits.
Hence verbal formations and word jingles, which are reckoned as excellences in Sanskrit rhetorics, freely abound. The entire canto, or the entire poem begins every line with the one and same letter, as \textit{ka, ba, ca}; or each stanza begins with the consecutive letters of the alphabet (a to \textit{kṣa}); or they have lines without any vowel except \textit{a} or without any conjunct consonants at all. Alliterations, and other kinds of repetitions of the same letters or group of letters (\textit{yamakas} or \textit{anuprāsas}) arelavishly used. Similes (\textit{upamās}), metaphors (\textit{rūpakas}), opposite meanings (\textit{vīrūdhabhāṣas}), double and triple meanings, allusions to and analogies from Sanskrit classics are scattered "thick as leaves in Vallombrosa." The Oriya language being too simple and too undeveloped to bear so much ornamentation, the poets have borrowed profusely from the immense vocabulary of Sanskrit with its numberless synonyms, antonyms and compound formations. The wild luxuriance of these rhetorical forms in Oriya poetry it is impossible to describe; but some idea may be formed by studying the Kōṭibrāhmaṇḍasundarī of Upendra Bhañja and the Bidagdha-cintāmanī of Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra.

Many of these formations are real poetic excellences, and many a line show pretty conceits, surprising fancies, appropriate illustrations, or happy combinations of words. They generally indicate a fairly complete mastery over Sanskrit rules and vocabulary. One's admiration is further enhanced, when he takes into consideration the imperfections of the vernacular and the general ignorance of the mass. At the same time the inordinate use of unfamiliar words and word-combinations and the constant straining after mere verbal excellences have produced various defects, such as unintelligibility, artificiality, over-ornamentation, and unsuccessful formations. Hardly any poem can be understood without a \textit{tīkā} or commentary, and hence the lines lose the force and the vividness of impression that common familiar words would have conveyed. Then again the too exclusive attention to ornamentation of words—the mere husk and shell of poetry—has led to the neglect of the inner essence, and has made the poets careless about the natural development of plots, the evolution of characters, or the enframing of high thoughts.

Hence under the third head—\textbf{the sentiment}—the workmanship was in general crude, incoherent and not elevating. The ideal followed was that adopted in the later Sanskrit classics (\textit{Naiṣadha, Ciṇḍupālavadha}). This Sanskrit ideal was defective compared with modern standard. Humour was wanting entirely. Vigor and energy were absent in the male characters, and a low view of women was inculcated. The characters were not properly and consistently developed. The action of the
external events on human feelings and thoughts was not often painted in a careful or powerful fashion. On account of the low view of women, obscene descriptions crept in, descriptions which would not be tolerated in any modern works. All these defects were intensified in the Oriyā poems. Obscenities were multiplied. The hero becomes an unnatural man, selfish, exclusively bent on gratifying his sensual passions, and bursting into tears or passionate outbursts at slight obstacles. The heroine is painted with the same brush, impatient, without any self-restraint or self-sacrificing spirit so well-known in Indian wives and mothers, and as much inclined as the hero to gratify the physical desires. In truth the Oriyā poets busied themselves so much with polishing and decorating the outer frame, that they quite neglected to develop the inner spirit.

Dīnākṛṣṇa Dāsa.

With these general remarks, I now proceed to discuss the poets individually. The earliest poet is Dīnākṛṣṇa Dāsa. Very little is known about him. According to traditions gathered at Puri, Dīnākṛṣṇa is older than Upendra Bhaṇja. The latter’s Baidēhīsabilāśa is said to have been modelled after Rasakallōla; and when the similarity was pointed out to Upendra by his father, he composed his well-known poem Lābānyabatī. A couplet is repeated in which Dīnākṛṣṇa questions as an elder poet, and Upendra replies obediently as a younger poet. A pair of couplets are repeated in which Upendra Bhaṇja refers with respect to Dīnākṛṣṇa. A consideration of the style and the subject-matter lends support to this traditional priority of Dīnākṛṣṇa. Upendra Bhaṇja flourished about the end of the seventeenth century; Dīnākṛṣṇa’s date might therefore be taken as the third quarter of that century. He cannot be much older. For apart from tradition, his Rasakallōla refers to Rukmaṇi Caitīsa which is evidently based on Jagannātha Dāsa’s Bhāgabata—a work of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This fact points to a difference of at least one hundred years between Jagannātha Dāsa and the author of Rasakallōla.

1 Ṛṣabha Bhaṇja, raising his arms, deems none a real poet under the sun. I pay my obeisance at the feet of Jayadēva and Dīnākṛṣṇa, but put my left leg on the heads of all the other poets.”
According to Puri traditions, he was a Bharu-a, an illegitimate class attending on dancing girls and playing on musical instruments in accompaniment to their dancing and singing. He led at first a struggling life, and later on became a Vaisnav. He is said to have resided at Puri and died there. Corroboration of these facts is found in his works. His illegitimacy partially explains his great humility, and probably led him to select Vasistha as the speaker in his Pratapasindhu. Vasistha was known to the author as the son of a prostitute. His Vaisnavite tendency and his residence at Puri his works fully show. For unknown reasons he was absent from Puri for some time, as a couple of stanzas in the Rasakallola would seem to indicate. He knew Jagannatha and his daily services intimately. Dinakrsna is said not to be his original name, but to have been given at the time of his initiation as a Vaisnav.

Dinakrsna composed several works, of which I have seen in

---

1 The poet remarks that every object in this world has some defect or other:

\[
\text{निकल्दु पद्म के पाष गंध्र (?) \|}
\]

\[
\text{कठ्ठु पुष्प मुद्दारेव खंडिह \| १३१ \|}
\]

"Who can find out a nelumbium without stain? Blots are found in every object."

Then he goes on illustrating this. After quoting several examples he says:

\[
\text{रसिद एकिदु कठ्ठु खंडिह |}
\]

\[
\text{वन्धुनु सोमने बांबिह \| १२५ \| Pratapasindhu MS., Fol. 14.}
\]

"(Even) Vasistha Rsi has his blot. He is known to all as a prostitute's son."

2 करिविख्लांग, से चैचे निरौष, करिवाकु दौनवथा |
कि चामंगु तरि, न पारिलं रचि, प्रभु नीचिले सदाय || २९ \|
करिविख्लांगाचा, भोग रेखा ताचा, के ताचा करिव चाल | करिवाकु दौनवथा, प्रभु नीचिले सदाय \| २९ \|
R. K., 24th Ch., p. 89.

"To reside in that ksetra (land), Dinakrsna had wished; what bad fate is his—he could not stay there, the Lord not favouring. [26]. What was in his fate, he has to suffer. Who can do otherwise, if fate's master, the giver of salvation, smileth not upon him? [27]."

3 Rasakallola, 19th Ch., 14–24; Gundicabije, and others.
manuscript Pratāpasindhu, and in print Rasakallōla, Guṇḍicābijē and Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā.1 Guṇḍicābijē describes the car festival of Jagannātha; Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā is a prayer to Jagannātha for deliverance. Pratāpasindhu is larger and occupies in manuscript 131 folios with three lines on each page. The poem purports to have been delivered by the sage Vasiṣṭha in answer to Daśaratha. It contains maxims mostly culled from Sanskrit, with illustrative examples and stories. Occasionally Sanskrit clōkas are quoted and translated. The versification is simple and has no special merit. Among maxims a very low view of woman’s reliability is prominent.

It is on Rasakallōla that Dinakṛṣṇa’s fame rests. The work is in 34 Chāndas with 20 to 99 stanzas in each. Its subject-matter is the early pastoral life of Čri-Kṛṣṇa and is based on the 10th Skandha of the Bhāgavata. The first Chānda is introductory; the 2nd to 10th deal with the birth and adolescence of Kṛṣṇa; 11th to 17th describe the various seasons beginning with winter and the amorous sports of Čri-Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs in each season; 18th to 24th poetise the Rasalīlā or the dance and dalliance of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs in the groves of Brndāvana; 25th to 29th narrate his march to Mathurā and the slaying of its demon king Kaṁsa; the last five cantos are taken up in describing the griefs of Kṛṣṇa and of the Gopīs on account of separation, and the embassy of Urdhaba to Brndāvana under orders of Kṛṣṇa. The plot is thus familiar to most and appeals strongly to the religious instinct of the highly conservative Oriyas.

In versification the peculiarity of Rasakallōla is that every line of a stanza begins with one and same letter ka—a very difficult task in the case of a whole poem. On the whole, however, the sentences are more intelligible than in many poems of Upendra Bhaṇja. Good descriptions of natural sceneries, though of the conventional type, are not rare; while poetical passages reckoned excellences according to the rules of Sanskrit rhetorics, abound.2 Some of the closing lines are personal,

1 Hunter’s list names nine more:—Cakradharabılīṣa, Madhusudanabılīṣa, Madhabakara Gitā, Bāramāsā Kō-īli, Jagamōhana, Sāmudrika, Guṇa Sāgara, Ujjvalanilamaṇikārikā, Rādhā Kanace (?), Dyādasakumājala, and Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Balī. I have seen in print Bāramāsā Kō-īli; it is not Dina Kṛṣṇa’s. I have also seen in manuscript a Guṇa Gnyāna Sāgara of one Bhabī-ā Dāsa. Some of the works enumerated, such as the medical works, are not probably of Dinakṛṣṇa.

2 For some of the rhetorically fine passages the reader may be referred to the description of the various seasons (11th, 12th, 15th and 17th Chāndas), and to the description of Rādhā’s beauty (10th Chānda). In mere rhetorical excellences, however, the author cannot vie with Upendra Bhaṇja or Abhimanyu Sāmantasirāhāra.
and are much soberer and often forcible. Two such passages which are free from obscenity are extracted to give an idea of his poetry.

1. नव दोहरि मोर बुधि केते विचित्र || ३० ||
केब्रवा लेखिव गणन तारा ||
केब्रवा गणिब बरगारारा ||
के संख्या कारिन वित्यावरी ||
के पारित पयोनिधि पहरी ||
केब्रवा रही कारि पारित ||
हष्ण महिमा कदिन पारित || ३१ ||

R. K. 5th Chanda, p. 16.

"In the midst of crores after crores of insects I am only one. How little is my intelligence, my power of moral discrimination. [30]. Who can write out the stars of the sky; who can count the raindrops; who can take stock of the sea waves; who can dare swim across the ocean? even this may be possible; but the glory of Kṛṣṇa none can describe. [31]."

2. कलि ये नृम्भ नाम दुर्षम, यतन कारि माल्य सुसम
tाद्या मूलाक्ष नेवालु केहि गोझिले चम है।
केवल माल्यकार पराये सूर्यत न घोमिल धोकाय
के वलिंस नेव वाक्षा करम एड़े उत्तम है॥
केहि गाँगिले वेंवित धमिलावत ये।
करिवालु य माल्य काढे लबित है।
कर्किंच मने विचार यते, जगत याक आज्ञित येते
सामवेदिक प्रति वेश ये हैं। समत ये। २७।


"(Oh Lord!) The name-flowers of thine I have strung with care into a lovely wreath, which none is so fit to take by paying its equivalent. Like the wreath-maker, I myself could not take even a part; who so fortunate, that would take it? None there is all round so braided-haired (i.e., blessed), that can put this garland round his neck. Thus am I thinking in my mind,—the people of this world have constantly become habited like the Sāmabādists, (i.e. shavelings, and therefore unfit to put on the garland). [27]."
Bhaktacarana Dāsa.

As Mathurāmāṅgala appears to be a supplement of Rasakallōla that work will be taken up here, though strictly it might be somewhat later than Upendra Bhaṇja's poems. The author calls himself Bhaktacarana Dāsa. No traditions are available about him. He repeatedly calls himself a bairagi. He probably visited Puri, for he mentions the "Guṇḍicābije" of Jagannātha (10th Chānda, stanza 6). The name Bhaktacarana seems to be an adopted name after initiation into Vaiṣṇavism.

The Mathurāmāṅgala is a poem in 30 Chāndas with 14 to 106 stanzas in each. The subject-matter is the exploits of Čri-Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. These exploits have been described in Rasakallōla, 25th to 33rd Chāndas, but is here amplified into 29 cantos. Hence this poem appears to be later, though from the prominence still given to Gōpis generally, it could not have been much later. Its date might be approximately put to the first quarter of the 18th century. In versification and sentiment the author appears to have closely imitated the Rasakallōla. The verses are simpler, and less loaded with Sanskrit words; but have on the whole much less poetical excellences than in Dinakṛṣṇa's poem. The author is rather peculiar in heaping similes to illustrate the same idea, an example of which is quoted below:

\[ \text{Math. Maṇḍ. 8th Chānda, p. 23.} \]

"Kṛṣṇa said—"Hear, oh ye ladies! Can bhāskara (the ordinary camphor) smell as well as Čri-karpura (the essence of camphor); can

1 Math. Maṇḍ. 3rd Ch. 26; 13th Ch. 16; 15th Ch. 22; 18th Ch. 16; 23rd Ch. 54; 29th Ch. 38.
2 For another example of such heaping, see 9th Chānda 11-15, p. 26.
the wild flower bear comparison to the nelumbium? The man that
puts them on the same level must be shameless. [10]. Can jute have
the same value as silk; can glass be compared to diamond? Brass
cannot be equal to silver; darkness cannot stay where the moon is.
Similarly what ladies of Mathurā can equal ye (Gōpa girls) ?”

**Bhūpati Paṇḍita.**

The early Oriya poems about Kṛṣṇa may be completed with
Bhūpati Paṇḍita’s Prēmapaṇcāṁrta. In the last Adhyāya of that
work the author gives an account of himself.1 A Sārasvata Brahmīn
from up-country he came to Orissa and attended the court of the king
Divyāsimha Dēva. His poetical talents so much pleased the king
that he gave him land with cash. He resided at Rathipura Kāṭaka.
Caitanya Dāsa, a Vaiṣṇava at Puri was his great friend, and under his
instructions he composed the poem. Its writing was finished on Monday
evening, the ĉukla trayōdasi of the month makara, 18th anka of the
king Divyāsimha Dēva. According to Prof. Jacobi’s Tables taken
with Mādaḷā Pāṇji,2 makara ĉukla trayōdasi fell on Monday, the 3rd
February, 1707 A.D. Bhūpati Paṇḍita is thus a contemporary of
Upendra Bhaṭja.

The Prēmapaṇcāṁrta is a religious poem in ten Adhyāyas, and
has been printed. It describes the rasalila of Īśu-Kṛṣṇa and the
Gōpis, but the original story has been amplified by the description
of an imaginary pilgrimage of Vasudēva (7th Adhy.) and by metaphysical
disquisitions of the Caitanya’s school. The lines are bald and generally
unornamented. The versification is of the style adopted by Jagannātha
Dāsa in his Bhāgabata. An extract is given here to show the author’s
conceptions about Rādhā:—

| परम च्यास्रा भगवते | राधिका जीव च्यास्रा जात्य || ३ ||
| राधिका चंचले येने गोपी | से क्रिया जीवन सहस्य || ४ ||
| परम संग्राम पारे जीव | अनु चंटे वसमव || ५ ||
| जीव परम एक जात | भोग संयोगे भिन्न भिन्न || ६ ||
| वेषने वीज वेषिणहात | एक से नृहन्ति युगल || ७ ||
| हि चर्दः एक सोई छोट | कृष्ण से एक चक्र दूर || ८ ||
| वे पारे गोपी चक्क मिर्ज | से पारे क्रिया चक्क मिर्ज || ९ ||

2nd Adhyāya, p. 11.

1 The passage (10th Adhyāya lines 194–238), though long is interesting, and is
given in extenso in App. III.

2 See App. IV. for “the later kings of Khōrdā” beginning with this Divyāsimha
Dēva.
“Bhagabāna is the parama ātmā (the Highest Being); Rādhikā is Jīva ātmā (the Individual Being). [3]. The Gōpis in the Rādhikā’s portion, are but so much life of Kṛṣṇa. [4]. The Individual can be absorbed into the Highest (i.e. the Infinite); for others, this is impossible. [5]. Know that the Individual and the Infinite are one (in essence), and different only in enjoyment and union. [6]. Just as a seed is bilobed; but really single and not double; [7], both halves forming one whole, and hence one body divided into two. [8]. He who can get into the body of the Gōpis, can get absorbed into the body of Kṛṣṇa. [9].”

Upendra Bhanja.

The fictional school begins with Upendra Bhañja. He is the most famous of Oriya poets. His time can be ascertained approximately. In his Rasalēkha he wrote—

दिखि सिंह गजपति चबुच सपत विन्दति
प्रेयति ग्रेश रव्वण गीत।

R. L. 22nd Chānda, l. 17, p. 96.

“This poem was finished on the last date of the 27th Anka of the Gajapati king Divyasimha.” Divyasimha began to rule in 1692-93,1 and his 27th Anka or 21st year fell in 1713-14 A.D. The last date of the anka (simha ūkla ekadași) was 21st August, 1714 A.D., a Tuesday. As Rasalēkha appears to have been one of his later poems, Upendra Bhañja may be said to have flourished in the beginning of the 18th century.

He belonged to the royal family of Gumusara. Gumusara is a petty hill state forming the north-westernmost corner of the District Ganjam, Presidency Madras. The surname Bhañja was the patronymic title of the family. The author names his ancestors in Rasapañcaka last page as follows 2:

1 For a discussion of his reign see App. IV. “The later kings of Khōrdā.”

2 कविबिन वंशालो, चारे प्रकाश। ज्ञानो घुमुशो एवले नरेश। १५।
कुम्भत्तुरकौटी, रणजय कान्ति। रणजय राजमहेशप्रति।
झाटानु तेज, ताऱक तनुज। छात्र प्रताप प्रथापभास। १५।
कविविन ब्रह्म, ताड़क भृत धर। कविर गोपिकायान नाम विदित।
कविविन चर, ताड़क कुमार। कविविन धनब्रह्म नाम ताड़क। १५।
काबिविन, ताड़क खृष्ट। छात्र नोलकंव भजन।
कुमार धर, ताड़क धर। कविविन धर विदित। १५।

Rasapañcaka, printed ed. pp. 89-90.
1. Raṇa Bhaṇja
   son
2. Pratāpa Bhaṇja
   youngest son
3. Göpinātha
   son
4. Dhanañjaya
   son
5. Nilakanṭha
   married Kāsyapi
   eldest son
6. Upendra Bhaṇja.

The Gumusara Baṁsābali does not mention Upendra Bhaṇja, but names his ancestors up to Nilakanṭha. In a colorless manner it narrates a series of intrigues and murders, revolts and civil wars, startling enough even for a melodrama. Dhanañjaya, the grandfather of Upendra, ruled long, and in his old age like the emperor Shāhjahān turned sensual. He married several wives who had numerous children. When the Rājā became too old, his queens with their sons began to quarrel amongst themselves. The old man, Dhanañjaya, was poisoned by his favourite queen Hāru Dē-i, and his death brought on a civil war. Upendra's father, Nilakanṭha, who was his son by the above Hāru Dē-i, succeeded in seizing the throne. But he could rule only for two years. He was attacked on both sides by the partisans of the eldest queen's infant grandson, and was driven out of the kingdom.

Upendra Bhaṇja was the eldest son of this unfortunate Nilakanṭha. In all probability he was old enough to have participated in the

"The family of sun (lotus' master) appearing, gradually became kings in Gumusara. [16]. With fame white like moon and Kunda flower, with glory bright, master of battles, appeared the King Raṇa Bhaṇja. Of him was born Pratāpa Bhaṇja, fiery in vigor, from deeds powerful. [17]. His youngest son, by name Göpinātha, became King. His son was named Dhanañjaya, the poet King. [18]. His son was Nilakanṭha Bhaṇja the good, the grateful, the husband of Kāsyapi. His eldest and best prince (am I), well-grounded in poetical powers. [19]."

Some of these successions are also mentioned in Labanyabati, 16th Chānda, stanzas 39-42, p. 65, and Baidēhisābilāsa 52nd Ch. lines 47-50, p. 536.

1 The portion of the Baṁsābali bearing on Upendra's ancestors is quoted in extenso in App. V.
fratricidal struggle. After expulsion Nîlakantha settled, according to tradition, in the adjoining state of Nayaga. In that state how long Upendra resided is not known. He visited the Purusottama Ksetra apparently frequently, as he knew it intimately. Outside Orissa he might have travelled, of which travel some faint indications are traceable in his poems. By religion he was a Vaisnavite, leaning to Rama-worship, as his numerous closing lines and the Baidehisabilasa the poem on the career of Rama testify.

Upendra Bhanja was a prolific author and composed some forty-three poems. The chronological sequence of these works cannot generally be ascertained. Probably most of the songs were among his earliest compositions, and Caupadibhusana is referred to in the early contemporaneous work, Bicitra Ramayana. Baidehisabilasa, according to tradition preceded the Lañayabati. The Kôti Brahmaśundari seems to be a work of matured years. The Citrakîbya was composed much later and in its introduction refers to a large number of works, thus establishing a broad line of demarcation in point of time.

1 The following stanza in Rasikahārābali (8th Ch. 25th stanza) might have some reference to his father’s loss of the throne:—

राजाजुः चैव राज्य नष्टः। चुवाजुः चैव च बहस्वतः॥
कहे ऊपरनाथ, चौरंगिक भज, रणेश बलि खाए नाधि कठ || २५ ॥

"For a king to lose his kingdom, for a young man to lose his wife—says Upendra Bhanja Birabara—no misfortune can be greater than these. [25]."

2 Upendra translated the Purusottama Māhātmya, and composed the Rasikahārābali, a romance of that place. The Kôti Brahmaśundari also begins with a description of Jagannātha’s temple and festivals.

3 यदां य कवि विचारार चिते। जसि स चन्द्रक प्रकाश गिते। १३।
ब्रह्मचारी चज्जीविना चसपिदि। नाचा कैवर्ति कवित्व समादि। १०।
गाधा दोषा पंड्तू नागिरादि। गद्यादि कवित्व गगना नाशि। ११।
पुराण हांके कल्पना साधुहि। चास्क चव्यान्तरा चेमल्लिरी। १२।
जनोर्रा प्रेमलघु चुमित। श्रीगंगा चाम्रकुटा रचित। १४।
महानाथ तुषारबाली प्रसादः। चक्रीकोटि ये बाबूरुब्धयय। १५।
पशुश्रुतु कल्लकुटुकर। कवियम साधा दुभ्रागिरार। १६।
वेंद्रोपि विचार सेषित गान्य। प्रसिद्ध अवमा द्वादश बान्द। १७।
चन्द्रलोकपतें सौप रचित। प्रेमचंदनिर्मित चमके खिण। २५।
विष्णुविचारार्थी नामेव गीत। कुज्जविचारार्थिण शामचरिण। २५।
पृष्णोत्तम साहास्व रचन। नाना कौष शंदे गीसाधिन। २५।
Thirty-two poems are herein named. In addition Hunter's list specifies the following:—Candrakālā, Candrarēkhā, Ichhābati, Kālābati, Raḥāsālīlā, Rasamaṅjāri, Saṅgitakaumudi, Sasirēkhā, Sōbhābati and Subarna-rekhā. The last I have seen, and in one passage it admits its posterity by referring to Rasikahārābāli and Prēmasudhānidhi.¹

All these works cannot be discussed in detail in this limited article, but their subject-matters may be classified in the following way:—

A. Songs:—

1. Cautīsā (चृतिसिः)
2. Caupadibhūṣaṇā (चूपवसिः)

कान्त कोठि तरा चन्द्रमा परि। या नाम कोठ्र्रण्यापन्नरी। २१।
चृतिसिः मानविनी बादि ये गीत। निम्नतिरि कान्त ईंटी पाण शात। २२।

... ... ... ... ... ...

ये प्रकारे करि बान्द गीत। चिच्च चिवले वदरासा चिच्च। २७।

Citrakāvya MS. Folio 1.

"The poet thus thinks in his mind—many pieces did I publish in poetry. [9]. No end of Cautīsās and Caupadīs, what more can I say on them? [10]. Gūhā, dōhā, sōḍacendu chupū-ि, and other poems that cannot be counted. [11]. Of works on rasa and on Kṛṣṇa recollecting, I name here some. [12]. Sifting the Purāṇas, such works of sweet imagination, as the fine Citralēkā, the Hēmamaṅjāri [13]; the Rasalēkā, the well-composed Kāmakālā, the Manōramā, and the well-versified Prēmalatā [14], the Bhābābati, the well-exemplified Muktābati, the Barajalīlā, the Chāndabāṣyāṇa [15], the Saṅṛṭu, the ka-initialled Kālākautuka, the sa-initialled Subhadrāśtra [16], the ba-initialled Baidēhīsablishā, the well-known twelve chandas without any consonant or vowels conjunctions [17], the Rāmatīlāṃṛta full of many meanings, the Prēmasudhānidhi full of alliterations [18], the poem named Rosikāhārābāli, the lives of Syāma as Kūṭjābhāra and others [19], the Rasapaścaka illustrating rules of rhetoric, the Lābānyabatī the delight of wits [20], the composition of the Puruṣottamamahātmya, the various dictionaries of words as the Gitābhīdhāna [21], the Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundari like a moon among millions of poetical stars [22], the poems beginning with the Trailōkyaṃōhini; some such five or seven poems have I composed [23]. Having composed poems of so many kinds, my thoughts strayed towards illustrated poetry [27]."

¹ पाप्ट बान्द गीक चोरेन्या र पर करिव रसिक वश।
के जने प्रेमसाधानिधि रसिकहारावठोर ए गीष। १८।
गुहपेरिओ एक्चक यसे रक्त नैनि गीत।
के हर मुनिक भजन चोरवारत असमुख य विदित। १६।

Sub. Rēk., 5th Chānda.

"This rasa comes to its end in five cantos; it will sway the wits. Oh men! Here is finished the Prēmasudhānidhi, and the Rasikahārābāli. [18]. All the rasas in the descriptions of the Suvarṇarēkhā are to be found in the three poems; this is felt and known—so says Upēntra Bhaṅja Birabara [19]."
B. Mythological poems:—

7. Abana Rasataranga (অবানা রসাতরঙ্গ).
8. Brajalila (ব্রজলিলা).
9. Subhadrāśāra or Subhadrāparinaya (সুভ্রদ্রাপরিনায়া).
12. Rāmalilāṁṛta (রামলিলাংংরত).
15. Rāhāsaliḷā (রাহাসালিলা).

C. Fictional poems:—

17. Hēmamañjari (হেমামান্জরী).
18. Rasalēkha (রসালেখা).
20. Manōramā (মানোরমা).
22. Bhābabati (ভাববতী).
23. Muktabati (মুক্তাবতী).
24. Prēmasundhānidhi (প্রেমসুন্দানিদ্ধি).
25. Rasikahārābali (রসিকহারাবালী).
26. Lābanyabati (লাভন্যবতী).
27. Kōtibrahmāṇḍasundari (কোটিব্রাহ্মণ্ডসুন্দরী).
28. Trailōkyaṁohini (ত্রায়লোক্যমোহিনী).
29. Candrakālā (চন্দ্রকালা).
30. Candrarēktā (চন্দ্ররেখা).
31. Ichhābati (ঈচ্ছাবতী).
32. Kaḷābati (কালবতী).
33. Sasirēkha (সাশিরেখা).
34. Sōbhābati (সোভাবতী).
35. Subarnarēkha (সূর্যারেখা).

D. Rhetorical, etc.:—

36. Chāndabhūṣaṇa (চাণ্ডভূষণ).
37. Rasapañcaka (রসাপঞ্চক).
38. Citrakābya (চিত্রকাব্য).
39. Rasamañjari (রসমঞ্জরী).
It will be seen that 20 out of 42 or nearly half are romances. To Upendra Bhanja belongs the credit of having been the first to shake off largely the predominating religious tendency. This comparative freedom seems to have arisen partly from his birth in a royal family and partly from his vicissitudes in life, now a prince and now an exile. His stories are no doubt confined to princes or high ministers, and thus belong to the primitive stage of story-telling. Yet they are preferable to the dreary repetitions of mythological absurdities.

As a master of rhetorical excellences he stands higher than all Oriya poets except Abhimanyu. He knew intimately the Sanskrit rules of elegance, and was a successful follower of the standard set up in the later Sanskrit classics. He was an adept in all kinds of Oriya verses, writing freely and fully. He was a master-hand in vocabulary and letter-selection. Sometimes he wrote poems without any admixture of vowels other than a, e.g., Abana Rasataranga; sometimes he limited the initial letters of each line to one letter only, such as ba in Baidëhisa-biläsa, ka in Kalakautuka, sa in Subhadraparinäya. Sometimes he used Jamakas throughout a poem, as Prëmasudhanidhi; while Köti-brahmândasundari sparkles with numerous varieties of rhetorical gems. In spite of innumerable lines of unequal merits due to his prolificness and constant attempt to play on words, a large number of passages contain verbal excellences fit to stand the fierce light of modern criticism. By intermixing numberless unfamiliar Sanskrit words and allusions, the text has however been generally made unintelligible to the ordinary readers, and to most of his poems explanatory tikäs are absolutely necessary. Hence in spite of his rhetorical skill, his poems rarely move the heart, or add to one's knowledge about nature or the human mind.

On the question of sentiments he does not rise above his age. Wanting in energy and lifelikeness the heroes and heroines move like puppets. The low view of women common to the age and to the models followed still further degenerates in his poems; and obscene descriptions abound. Ethical doctrines are generally at a discount in royal families, and in Upendra Bhañja’s case the grandfather’s sensuality appears to have had a still worse effect.

To summarise, Upendra Bhañja is in Oriya language, the most voluminous author, the earliest and most prominent fictional poet, the most obscene, the most unintelligible, and on the whole the best writer of rhetorical excellences. His most important works are first Baidëhisa-
bilāsa on the career of Rāma up to Uttarākāṇḍa; second Lābanyabati, narrating the story of the princess Lābanyabati and the prince Candrabahu; third Kōtibrāhmaṇḍasundari, a romance with the princess of the above name as heroine; and fourth Rasapaṇcaka, illustrating by Oriya songs the rhetorical rules about Nāyikas, Nāyikās and their loves, and following mainly the corresponding text of the Bengali aḷamākara, Sāhitya Darpan. A passage from Baidēhisabilāsā is extracted lower down, but no single passage can give any reliable idea of the many-sided talents of this poet.

**Bīsvanāṭha Khuṇṭi-ā.**

Such a talented poet as Upendra must influence later poetry. On the religious side his Baidēhisabilāsā found an imitator in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bīsvanāṭha Khuṇṭi-ā. This author appears to have been a resident of Puri. His surname Khuṇṭi-ā is applied to a special class of sēbākas in the Jagannāṭha temple, and the poem begins with a brief description of Jagannāṭha’s festivals. His date is not precisely known. In his introduction he refers to the king Dīvyaśīṃha, who reigned from 1692–93 to 1719–20 A.D.2 He also refers to Upendra Bhanja’s Canpadibhūṣana,3 which is probably among Bhanja’s earliest works. Approximately therefore the date of Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa may be put in the decade 1710–20 A.D.

The poem, as its name implies, is an adaptation of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, and differs from Baidēhisabilāsā in adding the Uttarākāṇḍa and in following more closely the story of the Sanskrit original. It is divided into generally very short cantos, and is therefore well adapted for singing. It is largely sung by dancing boys, and in old days was generally sung in the festival of Cṛirāma navami, which occurs in

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1 Upendra Bhanja did not poetise the Uttarākāṇḍa, because according to rules a poem should end happily and not in grief or death.

2 “I have not described this (Uttarā-kāṇḍa), because then the enjoyment of the rasas will be broken. The learned have said that this is a fault in chanda poetry.”

3 “I pay my obeisance to Ādikāṇḍa. For Dībyaśīṃha’s reign, see App. IV, “The later kings of Khordā.”

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Baid. Bil., 52nd Ch., p. 535.
spring (Caitra). The Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa cannot bear comparison with the poem of Upendra Bhaṇja in point of learning and rhetorical skill, but it is simpler, shorter, and more free from obscenity. To illustrate their differences, one passage on the Pampā tank is given below with the parallel passage from Baidēhisabilāsa.

Rāma and Laksmana enter on the bank of the Pampā tank, and see its clear charming water. [1]. Drunk with honey, the black-bees are kissing the nelumbiums, the white lotuses, the large red lotuses, and the blue water-lilies. [2]. Trees and flowers surround it on four sides, and are causing fear in the hearts of the love-sick. [3]. See! Laksmana, the beauty of this tank. At this sight which god will not be tempted? [4]. Charming it looks with diverse geese, with the water hens and partridges, with the crows and the cranes. [5]. The mango flowers are newly blooming, and are spreading their mild odour unto all. [6]. The asoka flowers look like the arrows of cupid's bow, and are grieving me for this separation from Sita. [7]. The Bignolias shine like love-fire, while the Pandanus buds seem like the darts of love-god. [8]. The fragrance of the Jasmines is causing the bees to hum and to hunt about. [9]. The wind is spreading a cool intoxicating odour, the cuckoos are singing in full passion. [10].

Kiṣkindhāya Kāṇḍa Chānda, I.
"In the way lies Pampa, the tank of Indra, the best of tanks, which is graced by the long-necked cranes, and where bloom the Nelumbiums. [49]. This tank is by nature free from eddies, is enlivened by the black bees, is so delightful that the immortals are deluded to desire it. [50]. Its water is preferably more lucid than even a clean mirror, and (so good that) the geese think it better than that of even the Mānasā tank (beyond the Himalayas). [51]. Its water is so cool as to destroy all touch of heat, is very deep with flowering blue water-lilies, and is in taste as sweet as honey. [52]. The thirsty deers desiring a drink get satisfaction at the bank of this tank. The many white lotuses in it give much delight to the bees. [53]. The red ducks in it dip and rise, and delighted, whirl round in circles with their females, reminding the motion of dust storms. [54]."

Lōkanātha Dāsa.

On the fictional side, too, Upendra Bhañja’s romances stimulated others, among whom Lōkanātha Dāsa appears to have been one of the earliest. His works have not yet been printed. I have seen in manuscript his Sarbāṅgasundarā and Hunter’s list credits him with three more, Citrot-paḷā, Parimala and Rasakaḷa. The manuscript of Sarbāṅgasundarā takes up 63 folios with 4 lines on each page. It contains 15 Chāndas; apparently the last few Chāndas are missing. The story part resembles the general type of Upendra Bhañja’s romances, and the descriptions are also on the same line, though of course with much less poetical skill. The date is uncertain, probably the 2nd quarter of the 18th century.

1 This short canto exemplifies the rhetorical excellence known as “the final alliteration” (anta Jamakas). The force and the jingle music of the Jamakas, it is impossible to show in the translation.
The last two poets are closely connected with each other, Sadananda Kavisuryabrahma being the guru of Abhimanyu Samantasinghara. Sadananda founded a little math at Diksitaparā, Pargana Asuresvara, Thana Salapura, District Cuttack. From its present Adhikari most of the following informations have been gathered. Sadananda was born at Bhikaripura, Killā Nayāgarā, in the family of an Ōtā Brāhmin. In spite of the attempts of his parents he was a great dunce in his boyhood. When he grew older he felt repentance at his ignorance and prayed to the Įcva Nakulēvara of Nayāgarā. Through his favour he became suddenly inspired with poetical powers. Then he visited Puri, became a disciple of Gaṅgāmatā math, and secured from the Rājā of Puri the title Kavisuryabrahma. His original name was probably Saḍhucarana Dāsa, which was changed to Sadananda Dāsa after initiation. He next went out on pilgrimage visiting Nabadvip, Brndabana, and other sacred places, and brought therefrom a considerable number of Vaiṣṇavite works. On his return he settled at Bāli-a (more correctly Golkunda) in Pargana Baru-ā. There he became the guru of the young zemindar Abhimanyu and taught him to be a poet. This is acknowledged by Abhimanyu himself in his Prēmakalā. Later on however they quarrelled, and

1 The present Adhikāri Paramananda Dāsa traces his descent thus:—

Sadananda
  Cēlā
Dhrubānanda Dāsa
  Cēlā
Gōbindacandra Dāsa
  Cēlā

The present Adhikāri Paramananda

2 This is indicated in the following line—

"Taking refuge at the lotus feet of the guru, Ācārya Dāsa, and who was born of a line (hereditarily) saktas, have I been adhikāri here (i. e., in Vaiṣṇavisim)."

3 गुरु श्री कविताद्वार पर्याय अधिकारी करिः
श्रीकविताद्वार पर्याय अधिकारी करिः ॥ १२ ॥

Nāmacintāmaṇi 12th Chanda, p. 23.
Abhimanyu is said to have attempted the substitution of his idol for that of his guru. Disgusted (partly from jealousy too), Sadananda removed his things to Diksitapara, and founded the present math. This village is situated on the north of Kandrāpara canal. The present Adhikāri puts his date roughly at 150 years old. The date seems approximately correct. At the time Prēmakaḷā was written (about 1777 A.D.), Sadananda was the teacher of Abhimanyu and was probably 30 to 40 years old, nearer 40 than otherwise. Hence Sadananda was some twenty years older than his pupil, and may be said to have flourished in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

No large work is attributed to Sadananda. He composed numerous songs and several small pieces, all dealing with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The tradition is that the songs passing under the name of Aṣṭadurganātha were really Sadananda’s; he passed them off as Athgara king’s, probably for good consideration. The present Adhikāri has supplied me with the following list of his works:

1. Lahari (चर्चरी).
2. Bhāurī (भाऊरी).
3. Cāuri (चंचलि).
4. Tattvatarāṅgini, Parts I-III (तत्त्वरांगिनी).
5. Prēmatarāṅgini (प्रेमतरांगिनी).
7. Niśṭhānimāṇī (निष्ठानिमाणी).
8. Prēmakaḷalpatā (प्रेमकल्पलता).
9. Samudra (समुद्र).
10. Mōhanalatā (मोहनलता).
11. Bisvambharabihāra (बिखंभरविहार).
12. Pātaradābali (पातरादाबली).
14. Curi (?) Cintāmaṇī (चुरिचिन्तामणी).

I have seen only one work of his, Nāmacintāmaṇī (No. 6) and several songs. Caitanyabhāgabata (No. 13) if a poem, is probably an

ḥीमत वीर्यांनन्द कविलयंकरणम्
ढाप प्रथम प्राप्त कविलाभायोऽधे १०।

MS Prēma Kaḷā, 1st Ch. Folios 1-2,

"By attendance on the feet of the Guru, Kṛṣṇa and Vaishnavas, the imaginative power of poetry took its birth in my heart. Through the favour of Ćrimata Sadananda Kaviśūryabrahmā I have attained the extreme of poetical path."

The Premakaḷā was begun in the author’s 20th year, as noted by him later on 1st Ch. l. 111, Folio 4.
adaptation of the same work in Bengali by Brndabana Dās. The Nāmacintamaṇī is in 12 Chāndas and in print occupies 23 pages only. Besides praises to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, one Chānda (the 3rd) is entirely devoted to Caitanya and his principal disciples. Apparently Sađānanda was a Gauriṇī Vaiṣṇava. Most extravagant are the praises of Rādhā, who should be named first and then Kṛṣṇa.1 His songs are among the most popular and are exclusively devotional. But on the whole I think that he is more famous than his works justify. Probably this fame arose from his superior personality and from his extensive knowledge gathered in travel.

Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra.

The pre-British poets conclude with Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra. He belonged to a zemindar family, whose descendants still survive. From one of them Babu Raghunātha Sāmantasimhāra a good deal of the undermentioned information has been obtained.2

The family was founded by one Kālu Simha. He and his brother Mahābāla Simha came from Jaypur (Rajputana) to Puri apparently on pilgrimage. They took service under the Rājā of Puri and came to be employed as guards of the king’s bed-room (palagkapahāra). While in this trusted post they secured for themselves the grant of the zemindari of Parganā Baruṇa. On coming to take possession, they found one Ucita Bēhārā already in possession by virtue of an older sanad. Fighting ensued, and at last a compromise was arrived at by a division of the Parganā. The two brothers got seventy-one villages, which are now comprised in the Taluks Sāntāpura, Kēsapura, and Rādhāmēhānaprasāda. The two brothers lived together. When Mahābāla died, his

1 Nāma Cintāmaṇi, 5th Ch. p. 8.

"This is the saying of Rṣis—he who names Rādhā having named Kṛṣṇa first, gets then and there the sin of a Brähmin-murder. Not forgetting this, watchfully repeat (her name)."

2 My informant, a fine old man of sixty, died the year before last (1896). He traced his descent from Abhimanyu in this manner:—

Abhimanyu
    Rāmakṛṣṇa
        (son)
    Raghunātha
        (son)
    (my informant)
son Jódhi Simha—separated taking as his share the Táluk Sántrapura. The descent from Kālu Simha is thus given:

1. Kālu Simha.
2. Sāratha Sāmantasimhāra
   (son)
3. Alani Sāmantasimhāra
   (son)
4. Bandōji S.
   (son)
5. Paramānanda S.
   (son)
6. Khusāli S.
   (son)
7. Indrajita S.
   (son)
8. Abhīmanyu S.
   (eldest son)

The author.

Of his father and his zemindari, Abhīmanyu has given a short description in his Prēmakalā.¹ They lived at Gōlakūnda which is now

¹ जम्बुद्वीप भरतश्च य सार मधीः
   मर्डोदधी गाजनय मध्य राम तत्त्वं थे || १० ४ ||
   सुविचारस्य श्यान एष धिबार ये देश ||
   गोचकुष्ण नाम ग्राम तत्त्विरे प्रकाश थे || १० ५ ||
   विराट गोधन रविचार श्यान वेधिः थे || १० ६ ||
   या राजरो राजा मिचवंशी चेतावर ||
   दृष्टाणि सांभविंद्र नाम बर थे || १० ७ ||
   नाम ब्योट समक चाभस्मयं नाम मोर ||
   प्रास्थर राजिरे त सांभविंद्राः || १० ८ ||


"In Jambu Dyipa Bharata Khanda, this country (Utkala) is the essence. Charming is the town Jājanagara on the seacoast of that country. In this land so well fitted for enjoyment, exists a village by name Gōlakūnda. By the boundary of this village flows the river Brāhmi; and its meadows are well suited for immense
situated on the left bank of the Brāhmini river, 20° 42' lat., and 86° 18' long. The Jājanagara referred to was the old name of modern Jajapura. The family quarters have now been removed to Bali-ā, a few miles east. The family have lost the zemindari and now live upon 25 bātis (500 acres) lākhirāj land, with which Abhimanyu is said to have endowed the family idol Rādhāmohana.

According to local traditions Abhimanyu was precocious in his development, and lisped in number from his very boyhood. In his ninth year he is credited with the composition of doggrels known as Hūgita, and in his tenth year with other songs, as Jēmā Gīta, Bāgha Gīta, Gōbracārī Gīta. He then came under the influence of Sadānanda Kavi-sūryabrahmā and in his twentieth year began his first large poem Prēmakaḷā.\(^1\) I have got a manuscript of this work. He then composed various poems as Sulakṣaṇā, Rasabatī, Prēmacintāmaṇī and Prēmataragnī. I have got a manuscript copy of the last. His last work was Bidagdhacintāmaṇī. He intended to finish it in 108 Chāndas with a description of the Rāsalilā, but when he had gone up to 96th Chānda, he felt a disgust for this life, turned an ascetic Vaiṣṇava, and abandoning family and home proceeded to Brndābana. There he died in his 49th year. The Bidagdhacintāmaṇī has been printed, and in its Preface, his death is said to have taken place on Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptami of sana 1213 (=8th June, 1806 A.D., Tuesday). Abhimanyu was well read in Sanskrit classics and rhetorics, and knew Hindi and Mārāthi, the speeches of the then governing races. From his boyhood, he loved to associate with Pāṇḍits and Śādhus and the accidental residence of Sadānanda helped him materially in developing his poetical powers. He is said to have built a temple to Rādhāmohana Thākura.

The manuscript Prēmakaḷā is a moderate-sized volume occupying 186 folios with four lines on each page. It is a romance in 64 Chāndas modelled after Upendra Bhaṭṭa’s stories. Though begun in the author’s twentieth year, it displays considerable knowledge of Sanskrit rhetorics and indicated the future power of the poet. The manuscript Prēmataragnī is a small piece based on the Rāsapāñcādhyāyi, whose ělokās are quoted and versified. Of the other poems two are love stories,

\(^1\) विष्णु वर्ष वर्षस्रे रत्न चारधिलि।
सुजनपदावितरे श्यामीन कल्य वे॥ ९९॥
Prēmakaḷā MS., 1st Ch., Folio 4.

“I began this at the age of twenty, and by attending on the feet of good men dropped my timidity.”
Rasabati and Sulakṣaṇā, the initial letters of each line of the latter being sa; while Prēmacintāmaṇi is said to be religious.

The last and the best of his poems is Bidagdhacintāmaṇi, based on the Sanskrit Bidagdhamadhaava of Rūpa Gosvāmi the well-known disciple of Caitanya. It deals with the life and love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; while the last four Chāndas poetise the Caitanyaite doctrines of Prēma and Bhakti (love and devotion). The poem is a store-house of rhetorical excellences, almost each Chānda exemplifying a different kind of verbal formations. It thus resembles Köṭibrahmāṇḍasundari of Upendra Bhaṇja; but it is simpler, less loaded with Sanskrit learning and imageries, and therefore more effective. The author's religious feelings have made the poem less obscene and have induced him to put in graceful verses the rather abstruse doctrines of Prēma and Bhakti—a field which Upendra Bhaṇja did not try. In learning and comprehensiveness he is undoubtedly, inferior to Upendra; but it may be said for Bidagdhacintāmaṇi that no single Oriyā poem contains so many examples of rhetorical skill or abstract poetry as this work does.

**Mādalā Pāṇji.**

Having finished the pre-British period of Oriyā poetry, a few words may be added in the conclusion about Oriyā prose. Literary compositions in Oriyā prose are unknown. The Mādalā Pāṇji and a few Bamsābalis are the only specimens of prose. These have no literary merits.¹ The Mādalā Pāṇji is a sort of chronicle of the Jagannātha temple. Its contents are roughly divisible into three kinds:

1. A short history of the kings of Orissa (Rājamānaṇkara Rājayabhōga).
3. An account of extraordinary events happening in the temple with the details of their costs, if any.

The historical value of Mādalā Pāṇji has been very much overrated. The original informations were often not correctly entered. Then again the chronicle being on palm-leaves, it had to be recopied three or four times in a century, and in re-copying many mistakes crept in, particularly in figures. Lastly the Sēbā (worship) was closed several times on account of the Mahomedan raids, and many volumes must have been lost at the time. Hence the text is found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon, unless corroborated by other evidence. The later writers have also fallen into mistakes by following exclusively only

¹ The remarks by Mr. Beames on the literary value of the Mādalā Pāṇji (Vol. II, p. 348) were passed admittedly without any knowledge of their contents.
one version of the royal genealogy, while there are five or six versions in the Mādalā Pāṇji. The truth often lies in one or other version. Appendix IV, will give some idea of the difficulties in constructing a royal genealogy from these different versions.

At present the Mādalā Pāṇji is kept in two sets, one by the Sēbaka entitled Dēulakaraṇa, the other by the Sēbaka named Tarha-u. The Dēulakaraṇa (lit. the writer of the temple) as his name implies, seems to have been the original keeper of the records, but a second was added apparently for check and for better preservation of the informations. It is not known when these records began to be kept. But from the fact that a large number of details dates from the time of Anangga Bhima Dēva, the system would appear to have been established by him. As a rule the later the accounts, the more reliable they are.

N.B.—Since writing this article, a kind letter of Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to his remarks on the Madaḷa Pāṇji in the Epigraphia Indica. Dr. Fleet has analysed the earlier list of kings carefully and comes to the conclusion that the annal is “absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history.” (p. 335). I came nearly to the same conclusion when I was studying the original manuscript of the Mādalā Pāṇji. In an article read before this Society, an abstract of which was published in the Proceedings for July 1892, I noticed the general unreliability of the historical portion of the Mādalā Pāṇji, and remarked that at best it can be used only as a corroborative document. Dr. Fleet’s analysis confirms me in that view.

On some of the points discussed in the very interesting article of Dr. Fleet, I venture to differ. Firstly, he thinks that in respect of most of the Kṛḍāri kings it can only be said that “not one of them has any ring of antiquity in the sound of it; they may possibly be real names of later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series.” (p. 336). I know at least of one Orissan inscription not later than tenth century, which mentions Kṛḍāri kings. It is the Brahmevara inscription of Bhuvanevara. This inscription mentions Udyōtaka Kṛḍāri, and of his ancestors Janamejaya, Vicitravira, Caṇḍihara and Koḷāvati. The names of both Janamejaya and Koḷāvati are to be found in the Mādalā Pāṇji. The Kṛḍāri kings need not therefore be considered as myths or later rulers, as suggested.

Secondly, Dr. Fleet has “no substantial doubt that the Yavana invasions which were repulsed, as the annals say, by Vajradēva and his

successors, and the successful invasion by the Yavanas, in the time of Çobhanadēva, are (mixed up with the early Guptā rule) simply the raids into Orissa by the Mussulmans in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the ultimate conquest of the country by them in the sixteenth century A.D." (p. 339). After having so satisfactorily established the utter worthlessness of the earlier part of the annals, it is a pity that Dr. Fleet should make such an elaborate inference on one of the least authentic events of that earlier part. I am inclined to disbelieve the whole story of Raktavāhu the Yavana, as a legend without any historical value. If any identification be at all required, I would rather identify him with some Buddhist or Jaina chief of the South.

Lastly, Dr. Fleet thinks that Çivagupta and his descendants were kings of a dominion which included "probably the whole of Orissa," and who had their capitals at Kaṭaka (p. 327). This conclusion does not appear to be borne out by the facts. The epithet "Trikalingādhipati" is merely an honorific title, just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves "kings of Gaura and Karpāta" without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word Kaṭaka should be taken as a common noun denoting "camp;" the old name of modern town Kaṭaka being "Bārāṇasi Kaṭaka." Of the six copper-plates, five have, no doubt, been found near modern Kaṭaka; but this is probably due to the fact that the donees lived there or subsequently came to live there. Many Oriya Brāhmīns living near Kaṭaka and Puri still hold lands in the eastern part of Central Provinces, or in the northern part of Madras Presidency. The sixth copper-plate was found in Pāṭnā in the Central Provinces, and does not support the theory of Orissa kingship. The river Mahānadi has been mentioned in copper-plates E. and F., but that river flows as much through the Central Provinces as through Orissa. The villages in which the lands were granted cannot be traced in Orissa; while many of them have been specifically mentioned in the grants to have been in Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala. The kings also are specifically mentioned in the inscriptions as "Kōsalendra." The inscriptions are not earlier than the 11th and belong more probably to the 12th Century A.D.; and at that time the Gangaṛaṇa kings were ruling in Orissa, as a series of inscriptions have proved beyond doubt. All these facts and a careful reading of the grants lead me to the conclusion that Çivagupta and his descendants were really kings of Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala (identifiable with the N. E. part of Central Provinces),

1 J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII., 1893, pp. 100-1; the other inscriptions in this article show how the word "kaṭaka" was used in old days; Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 134.
and that the lands in the plates B to F. were granted to Brähmins who either resided at the time in Orissa or subsequently came to reside there.

Appendix III. Bhūpati Pāṇḍita's account of Himself.

...
Considerable confusion exists regarding the times of these kings, and the confusion has arisen partly from the peculiar nature of the Oriyā anka and partly from relying on one version alone of the Mādaḷā Panji. The Oriyā anka omits several years and begins in bhādra; but hitherto it has been taken as an ordinary year. The Mādaḷā Panji, furthermore, gives several versions of the royal genealogies. Of these one has been followed by Mr. Stirling, which will be called A;

Appendix IV.

The Later Kings of Khōrdā.

Premapañcāmṛta, 10th Adhyāya, pp. 122-23.
another (to be called B) is followed in Bābu Bhabānī Charan Bandyō-
pādhyāya's Purusottamacandrikā and adopted in Hunter's Orissa (Vol. II, App. VII, pp. 183-191); while a third which I shall call C is still unpublished. The C version is incomplete taking the genealogy up to Gopinātha Dēva only, but otherwise appears to have been generally more reliable.

I. Divyasimha Dēva.

(1692/93-1719/20 A.D.).

His time is important for Oriyā literature, as three poets,—Upendra Bhañja, Bhūpati Paṅḍita and Bisvanātha Khunti mention him. The king's initial year appears to be 1692–93 A.D., and for several reasons. Firstly, A puts it at 1692 A.D. Secondly, Bhūpati Paṅḍita's poem was finished in his 18th Aṅka, makara ākāla trayodaṣi, Monday. On calculating according to Prof. Jacobi's Tables, makara ākāla trayodaṣi fell on Monday in the year 1707 (3rd February). This being the king's 18th aṅka or 15th year, the first year falls in 1692–93. Thirdly, reasonings from Mahomedan chronicles support this date. During this reign Aurangzēb sent orders to break the temple and the image of Jagannātha:—

"He (Mir Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bilgrām) was a man held in great respect and had served under Nawāb Ikram in Orissa. When Aurangzēb had sent orders to the Nawāb to destroy the temple of Jagannāth, Raja Durup Sing Deo who had the temple under him asked the Mir to introduce him to the Nawāb. The Raja promised to break up the temple and to send the big idol to the Emperor. He actually did break the statue of Rakas which stood over the entrance of the temple, and also two battlements over the door. The idol which was made of sandalwood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzēb at Bijapur where it was thrown by order on the steps of the mosque."

1 Tabsirat-ul-Nāẓirin, l. c. Dr. R. L. Mittra's Ant. Orissa, Vol. II, p. 112. The breaking of the temple is corroborated by Mādālā Pānji (C version):—

"(छ ३४) रिसम दि १५ ने रदिन देवविभा र २५ दिन पालीशा छांड़रा खचां र र भार श्रमশिखा खाँ यमाङ्का एसके देसम कोल्ह बसावार गो ५० टा चेन। राया देवविंद्र देव बालशाबिष चोदरविले देवत चिन्धादर गुमट भांझी मोगमांदश्च चक्क नैले काँडर नागनाथ प्रतिमातु शुगल नैले देयत चिन्धादर उपरकु नवाक भार गला देयत चिन्धादर द्वीपथ द्वार सुदशा।"

The event thus described took place on 19th rsava, 7th Aṅka of the king Divyasimha Dēva, being 17th May in 1697 A.D.
Aurangzēb was at Bijapur in 1697 A.D., conducting the war against the Marhattas. As quoted in the note 1 of page 381, the image was taken away in the 7th aṅka of the King Divyāsimha Dēva. Hence his 7th Aṅka or 5th year fell in 1696/97 A.D., and his 1st year in 1692/93 A.D. According to C, Divyāsimha was crowned on Bīchā 23rd, equal to 22nd November 1692, (vide Prof. Jacobi’s Tables).

According to C, Divyāsimha Dēva ruled for 34 Aṅkas or 27y. 5m. 11d. That he reigned for more than 33 Aṅkas is corroborated by an Oriyā inscription found by me on the wheel at the top of Jagannātha temple. The Inscription contains the following entry among others:—

“श्रीदिब्यसिंह देव साधाराजाः कृष्ण मकर दि १६ न श्रीनागार चोक विले चोरेते” The blue wheel was made and put (on the top), on makara 28th, 33rd Aṅka of Čri-Dribasimha Dēba Māhārājā.

The 33rd Aṅka or 27th year takes us to 1718/19 A.D., and its makar 28th was 26th January in 1719 A.D., (vide Jacobi’s Tables). Dibyasimha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1719 A.D. According to C, he died next year on mēsa 31st (34th Aṅka), or 28th April 1720 A.D. (vide Jacobi).

II. HAREKRṢNA DĒVA.

(1719/20-1724/25 A.D.)

Divyāsimha was succeeded by his brother Harekrṣna, whose reign is put by A. and B. at 5 years and by C. at 7 Aṅkas or 4y. 10m. 20d, (3 put in C by mistake for 4). All the versions therefore agree. He died on mina 19th, 7th Aṅka (vide C.) which according to Jacobi’s Tables would be 18th March in 1725 A.D. The father of Gadadhara Rāyaguru (the author of Sanskrit Ācārasāra) was gurū of this king.

III. GÖPINĀTHA DĒVA.

(1724/25-1731/32 A.D.)

Harekrṣna was succeeded by his son Göpinātha, with whose accession C. ends. Both A. and B. agree in putting his reign at 7 years. That he reigned for more than six years is corroborated by an account in the Mādalā Pāñji. During this reign the accidental sitting of an owl on the Jagannātha’s image necessitated an extraordinary purification with three baths. (The event took place on Makar kṛṣṇa trayōdaśi, Monday, 8th Aṅka of Göpinātha Dēva. Makara kṛṣṇa 13 fell on Monday in the year 1731 A.D. (25th January). Göpinātha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1731 A.D.

1 Elphinstone’s Hist. Ind., p. 662 (Ed. 1889).
IV. Rāmacandra Dēva II.

(1731/32—1742/43 A.D.)

This king was son of Gōpīnātha. According to A., he reigned 16 years; according to B., 11 years. B’s statement appears more reliable, because the reigns of this king and of his two successors amount to 66 years, and the next following king (Makunda Dēva) began to rule in 1797/98 A.D., as I shall show hereafter. Hence Rāmacandra’s 1st year falls in 1731/32 (or 1797/98—66) exactly as calculated from his father’s reign. But A’s total 71 would put his 1st year further back to 1726/27 A.D., which does not agree with the calculations from the reigns of the preceding kings. Rāmacandra Dēva was unfortunate. He was defeated and taken as prisoner to Kataka under orders of Shujā-ud-din, the Bengal Governor. At Kataka he married a Mahomedan lady and died.

V. Vīrakiṣōra Dēva.

(1742/43—1779/80 A.D.)

Vīrakiṣōra succeeded his grandfather as a child. According to A., the Marhattas conquered Orissa and drove out the Mughals in his 5th Aṅka or 4th year. This dispossession of the Mughals took place towards the end of the rains in 1745 A.D. The 4th year being 1745/46 A.D., the first year naturally falls in 1742/43 A.D. According to A., he ruled 43 years; and according to B., 37 years. For reasons stated under Rāmacandra Dēva and under the next kings I have accepted B’s figures as more reliable. Vīrakiṣōra was reigning in 43rd Aṅka or 35th year as an Oriya sale-deed testifies. The king’s rule was nominal being disturbed by Mughals and Marhattas.

VI. Divyasimha Dēva II.

(1779/80—1797/98 A.D.)

This king was grandson of Vīrakiṣōra. His reign is put by Mr. Stirling at 12, and by B. at 18 years. The former is wrong because A., which Stirling followed, really shows 18 and not 12; and because Stirling himself has translated an Oriya sale-deed dated 17th Aṅka or

1 “ए राजाज्ञ बच्छ हरी मरदार खानी मुगलकु घडार देले। कटक अमर कहे। मुगलविच देखने कहे।”

2 Stewart’s Hist. Beng. (1847), p. 293. “Ragojee accordingly encamped in Beerbhoom and reduced the province of Cuttack and most of Burdwan, by his detachments.”

3 Toynbee’s Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.
14th year of this king.¹ He used to pay tribute to the Marhattas, and had little of royal power even in his own territory that corresponded with the present Khôrdâ subdivision plus Parganâ Lêmîbaî.

VII. Makunda Dêva II.
(1797/98—1817 A.D.)

Stirling places the accession of this king in 1798 A.D., and as he was a contemporary of the king his opinion carries weight. This is borne out also by two facts. According to A. the British conquered Orissa in this king's 9th Aṅka, and captured and imprisoned the Râjâ in his 10th Aṅka or 8th year. The British forces captured the Fort Bârabâti in Kâtaaka on 14th October 1803, while the Râjâ himself was captured the next year in November 1804.² Hence the 1st year of the king falls in 1797–98 A.D. The Râjâ was released subsequently. But in 1817 on account of the rebellion of Khôrdâ pâiks he was recaptured and put into the prison at Kâtaaka. There he died on 30th November 1817 A.D.³ in his 24th Aṅka or 19th year.

Appendix V.

Gumusara royal Geneology.

¹ Toynbee’s Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.
² Toynbee’s Orissa, pp. 4-5; Hunter’s Orissa, Vol. II, p. 58.
³ Toynbee’s Orissa, p. 21.
M. M. Chakravarti—Language and literature of Orissa.

1898.]

Language and literature of Orissa.

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�াষা গর্ভ ছোটখিলে। তাহাতে নেহিব বন্ধ করি রস্কী নৌকাখাট ভঙ্গে রাজত কলে ১২২২ প্রাকাল্য শরিক বা যোধ। এ স্থানে মহরোক থিয়া ঘর মেন্দী সুখ্যে। তীৰ এসই মারি নৌকাখাট ভঙ্গে রায়া হুলে বোঝা। সো খন্ত ভদ্র ঘন ভঙ্গে করামাত্র ভঙ্গে করি করামাত্রে প্রবেশ হুলে। সেটারে রহি করা মাত্র বোকত পটুভাঙ্গে বন্ধুরে থিয়া সত্য ভঙ্গে ভাষা ভঞ্জন পাকাত দিয়া ভাষিনী যত উচ্চ গাছের কুলাঙ্গে গন্ধা চোকাঙ্গে থোঁটে গলে। ঐবু নেহ বাণ্যকর রকাইলে। সেটারে তাঙ্গর রক্ষার বোকিবার অথা গোটো- এ যন্ত হুলে। সো পুত্র ঘন ভঙ্গে বেনিগ রাজন্তি পুঁথে এ বোঝি সমস্ত মাত্র কন্দা দেখাই তাঙ্গ থায় কারি লাগকার তস্কার ঘোম নৌকাখাট ভঙ্গে উপরে ফেলে লজালে। বোঝিয়া থিরা থিয়া ধনভঙ্গে বাপে গোবিন্দে ভঙ্গে ঘাট রজ্ঞে এ চীঘাট লাগকার ধির তথ্যর গাড় জনিতাঙ্গে থায় কারি চমাটলভঙ্গে থায় কারি বিশ্ব লাগকার ধির এ কোগু ঘোর থিলে। যখন দুঃ চাড়া ঘোর ঠিক নৌকাখাট ভঙ্গে রচিয়া পারি রাজ্য কার বাড়ি বাহির গলে। সো বাণ্যকর থিয়া রক্ষার বাণ্য গোবিন্দে ভঙ্গে ঘাট রজ্ঞে বেসার ছোটখিলে এ এ ১৬২৪ প্রাকাল্য শরিক বা ৮৪ থে।

*M.S. Gumusara Balisabali.*
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RMA DÉVA OF PRÁGYOTÍṢA, (UNDATED).

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, April, 1898.
(Scale $\frac{3}{4}$)

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