"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
1893, Oct. 4.
Minot found.
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OF THE

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. LXII, PART I,

FOR 1893.

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Plate IX—(p. 237). Some new or rare Muhammadan and Hindū Coins.
"The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia: and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature."—Sir William Jones.

"* * *
Communications should be sent under cover to the Secretaries, Asiatic Soc., to whom all orders for the work are to be addressed in India; or care of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road, London, W. C. or Mr. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, Germany.

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In July last I received from the Reverend F. Weber, Moravian Missionary in Leh in Ladak, a small packet, containing ancient manuscripts.

Regarding the circumstances under which the manuscripts were discovered, and given to Mr. Weber, the latter in two letters, dated the 21st June and 29th July last, gives me the following information. They were found in the neighbourhood of a place called Kugiar, in a "house" which, apparently, since times immemorial had been ruined and buried. An Afghan merchant, hoping to discover buried treasure, with much trouble undertook the excavation of the "house." He found, however, only the bodies of some "cows," which on the first contact crumbled into dust. At the same time he found also the manuscripts. As Mr. Weber is known to the people to be a collector of Tibetan curiosities, the manuscripts were taken to him by a person who had received them from the finder. He was also shown an "Urdû" letter from the latter, giving the above account of his exploration, but not knowing "Urdû," Mr. Weber could not read the letter himself.

It would have been satisfactory to learn something more accurate about the identity of the so-called "house" in which, and the "cows"
with which the manuscripts are said to have been found. But, on enquiry, Mr. Weber wrote me that he was unable to obtain any further information.

The place Kugiar will be found on any good map of Central Asia at 77° 12' long. and 37° 25' lat., about 60 miles south of Yarkand, at an altitude of 6450'. A straight line, drawn from Leh to Yarkand, very nearly passes through Kugiar; it is a little to the left of that line, and lies just within the borders of the Chinese territory.

I found the manuscripts enclosed, after the fashion of Indian manuscripts, between two pieces of wooden boards. These are of unequal size, one measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the other $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. They are, each, pierced by one hole, which is not in the middle of the board, but towards one side; in the larger board it is at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$'', in the smaller at $1\frac{1}{2}$'', from its narrow margin. Corresponding holes, on one side only, are in all the leaves of the manuscripts. This one-sided position of the string-hole is also observable in the Bower Manuscripts, and it appears to be a peculiarity of Central Asian manuscripts. I do not remember ever having observed it in any Indian manuscript. These have either one string-hole in the middle of the leaf, or they have two holes, one toward either narrow margin. Facsimiles of leaves with one hole are given in Dr. Mitra's Sanskrit Notices, and such of leaves with two holes, in Mr. Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. The famous Horiuzi Manuscript, which originally came from India, has two holes, as may be seen from the facsimiles published by Prof. Bühler in the Anecdot.a Oxoniensia, Vol. I, Part III. On the other hand, the facsimile of the Central Asian manuscript, published by Mr. S. Oldenburg, in the Records of the Oriental Transactions of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, Vol. VII, p. 81, 82, shows the peculiar one-sided hole. This practice of using an one-sided hole, therefore, would seem to be a mark by which a manuscript may be distinguished as coming from Central Asia. Another point to be noted is, that, like the Bower MSS., the Weber Manuscripts also are of the oblong shape, usual to Indian manuscripts, as distinguished from the square shaped Kashmirian. The square shape, indeed, appears to be an exceptional peculiarity of the Kashmirian manuscripts. All others, Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Central Asian are of an oblong shape.

On examining the Weber Manuscripts, I found that they formed a collection of fragments of nine (or possibly eleven) different manuscripts. These are fragmentary in two ways. In the first place, not one of them is complete, a more or less large number of leaves being wanting both at the beginning and at the end. Secondly, every leaf is mutilated on the right or left or on both sides. On the other hand, they are, as a
rule, perfect at the top and bottom. The following is a list of leaves of
the several parts composing the manuscripts:

<table>
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<th>Part</th>
<th>1, consisting of</th>
<th>9 leaves.</th>
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<td>III</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>VI</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
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Nine Parts consisting of 76 leaves.

All the nine manuscripts are written on paper. Their paper is of
differing qualities. In the main there are two kinds: one kind is thick,
soft, flexible and white; it is so soft indeed, that its surface is apt to
fret, and thus to injure the writing. The other kind is thin, hard and
stiff, and of a more or less brownish colour. No. IX (Central Asian)
has the softest and whitest texture. Also soft, but less white is the
paper of Nos. 1 and 2 (Indian) and Nos. 6 and 7 (Central Asian).
Harder and darker is the paper of Nos. 3 and 4 (Indian) and No. 5
(Central Asian). Distinctly hard and brown is the paper of No. VIII
(Central Asian). The manuscripts, written in Central Asian characters,
therefore, are inscribed on paper of the greatest variety, from the
whitest and softest to the stiffest and darkest.

The paper, by appearance and touch, appears to me to be of the
kind, commonly known as Nepalese, which is manufactured from several
varieties of the Daphne plant. Dr. George King, the Director of the
Botanical Gardens, has been good enough to examine the paper, and
agrees with me that probably it is paper “made of the fibres of Daphne
papyracea, or of Edgeworthia Gardneri, which are still used as raw
material for paper-making in the Himalayas.” The better description
of paper is made of fibres of Edgeworthia Gardneri. A very full account
of this so-called Nepalese paper, its material and manufacture, will be
found in Dr. Watt’s Dictionary of Economic Products of India, Vol. III,
p. 19, where also references to other sources of information are given.

For the purpose of being inscribed this paper appears to have been
specially prepared with some kind of sizing, probably made of white
arsenic. On the leaves of some of the manuscripts this size forms a
thick glazed coat on which the letters are traced. Occasionally this
glazed coat has peeled off, in which case the letters which it bore have
disappeared with it. This is particularly the case with Part V, and may
be seen on Plate II, fig. 1. In the case of Part IX, the coat, apparently under the influence of damp, has caused the leaves to stick together, and thus extensive damage has been done, as may be seen from figures 3-5 on Plate III.

A very striking peculiarity of the Weber Manuscripts is, that they are written in two quite distinct types of written characters. One of them—that in which Parts I, II, III and IV are written—is the well-known Indian character of the North-Western Gupta variety, being the same type (though a different sub-variety) as that used in the Bower MSS. This type of character is sufficiently well-known, and I need not say anything more about it here.

The other type of characters, used in Parts V-IX, is what I may call the Central Asian Nāgārī. It is a peculiar angular and slanting form of the Indian Nāgārī characters. On the whole the several Parts exhibit these characters in a variety of handwritings, though the essential type of the characters is the same. There is, however, a distinct variety, not merely of handwriting, but of type, noticeable between the characters used in Parts V-VIII and in Part IX. The test letters are the dental th and dh. In Part IX their shape is angular and squarish, \( \theta \) th and \( \theta \) dh, while in Parts V-VIII it is round, \( \theta \) th and \( \theta \) dh. (See Plate IV.) For the purpose of comparing these two varieties of the Central Asian Nāgārī, Parts VII and IX (Plate II, fig. 6 and Plate III, figs. 3-5) are the best, because in their general style of handwriting they most nearly resemble one another. In the sequel, I shall refer to these two varieties as the round and the square varieties of the Central Asian Nāgārī.

I may here refer to a few other peculiarities of the Central Asian alphabet. Firstly, the curious form of the super-scribed vowel \( ā \), with its curve turned to the right. Secondly, the curious form of the letter \( m \). I have observed this form, in a few rare cases, on gold coins of Samudra Gupta. It has, evidently, grown out of the angular Indo-Scythian form of \( m \); and its origination would fall in the early time of the Gupta period (Samudra Gupta 380-395 A.D.). The series of changes would be these \( X, X, X, X \), all of these forms being represented on Gupta coins, and the last being the parent of the Central Asian form. Thirdly, the curious resemblance between the forms of \( t \) and \( n \). They can only be distinguished by the fact, that the right-hand angle of \( n \) is more decidedly acute-angled. Fourthly, the curious symbol of a double dot over letters,—in fact a double anusvāra. It may be seen frequently in Mr. Oldenburg's Kashgar manuscript. In the Weber Manuscripts, it occurs only in Part IX, which, as above remarked, is distinguished by being written in the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgārī. It is,
however, not so much the mark of a particular variety of characters, as of a particular language, and its exact power I do not know. Part IX is not written in Sanskrit, nor have I met with the double dot in any Sanskrit text, except once. On the smaller of the two wooden boards, three lines are inscribed in Central Asian characters. The board probably belongs to the work contained in Part VII, which treats of a Buddhist charm, and the lines are written in Sanskrit and run as follows:

\[ \text{[namō]} — \text{vidyādharasya} — \text{dakṣiṇār hastā} — \text{maṇi dhrayitavām} — \text{api cha} \]

\[ \text{[pārṇā-]rātr-ōcavustōna} — \text{suchi-sūtōna} — \text{su-vastra-prātītēna sādhāyīvya[.]} ā sidhītēn\]

The words in brackets are broken off and have been conjecturally supplied. The meaning is: "Salutation to the Vidyādharā! Let the jewel be placed in the right hand; then having fasted the whole night, washed clean, and put on fresh garments, success will be secured by me."¹

Here there is the double anusvāra over the akṣharā vṛi of prātītēna. But what it is there intended to signify, I do not know. In Part IX, it is occasionally found on Sanskrit words, thus maṇiḥaṁśktāh, which is a mis-spelling for maṇiḥaṁśktā. Here it may possibly mark a modification in the sound of the vowels; but its real power is obscure.

I add a table of the Central Asian alphabet, showing the forms of single as well as compound letters. See Plate IV. They are nearly all excerpted from the leaves shown in my Plates I to III. In this table are also shown the ancient numeral figures. They are found in several of the manuscripts; viz., Parts I, II, IV, VI.

The Central Asian Nāgārī has a curious resemblance to the so-called "Wartu" characters of the Tibetans. In this Journal, for 1888, Vol. LVII, will be found two plates (I and II) showing these "Wartu" characters. It belongs to a paper, published by Bābū S. C. Das, on the Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet (ibid., p. 41). The resemblance, however, is still more striking to certain characters, shown on Plate I, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI (for 1828), and there designated respectively as Khacheehee, Gramtsodee, Seendoohoe, and Pookangkee. The plate seems to have been prepared by Mr. Hodgson from "a vast number of manuscripts, great and small fragments," as specimens of "Bhotiya," (i. e., Tibetan) penmanship.²

¹ Perhaps sādhāyīvyaḥ should be read for sādhāyīvya[.]|, or sādhāyitavāyā mē. With uvacustōna compare the Pāli upavutta.

² The letters on the Plate would seem to be intended for facsimiles, but the accuracy of the copy is not above suspicion. There are certainly some obvious mistakes in the identification of the letters; thus the third group (from the left) in the last line, is not p, ph, b, bh, m, but t, th, d, dh, n. Again the third letter in the third line is not pa, but pā.
The Tibetan tradition with regard to the "Wartu" characters is rather uncertain. In the paper, above referred to, Bābū S. C. Das says, that the "Wartu" characters were introduced into Tibet by Sambhoṭa (or Thon-mi, the son of Anu) from Magadha in North-Eastern India, about 630-650 A. D. Since then he has been re-examining the traditions of Tibet on this point, and he now informs me that the "Wartu" characters were rather introduced from the North-Western extremity of India, namely from Kāśmir, called in Tibetan Kha-che. He has supplied me with the following passage from the Bu-ston Chos ṯun (fl. 138): "He (i. e., King Śrong ṭam Gampo, 630 A. D.) ascended the throne at the age of 18. He brought the border chieftains under sujektion. He made presents to them, (and) read letters (sent by them). Before that (time) there was no written language in Tibet. He sent Thon-mi, son of Anu, with sixteen attendants to learn the letters. He learnt from Pandit Deva-vid Simha the Śābda Vidyā. He designed 30 letters, adapting them to the Tibetan language. He based the four fundamental vowels, called Ālī, (i. e., i, e, o, u) on a. In form these letters (vowels and consonants) resembled the characters of Khache. This was done at the fort of Maru in Lhassa. He wrote eight grammatical works on the orthography and syntax of the Tibetan Grammar." The Bābū also informs me, that in later days the country of Liyul or Khoten was included in the general name of Khache; and further that the letters which were brought from India, through Nepal, were the so-called Lantsha (see Plate VIII in Journal, vol. LVII), introduced in the reign of Thisroṅ Deu-tsan.

Here the following points may be noted: In the first place, the 34 original letters of Tibet (i. e., 29 consonants and 5 vowels) elaborated by Sambhoṭa, are shown on Plate II(a) in Bābū S. Ch. Das’ paper. They are the so-called U-chan or “headed” characters. It will be noticed that among them “the four fundamental vowels” are certainly adaptations of the form of the vowel a. This, so far, bears out the tradition above quoted from the Bustan. But, for the rest, the letters show no particular resemblance to the “Wartu” or “Khache” characters, any more than to any other Indian system of writing (e. g., the Gupta or Lantsha.) Possibly this may be put down to the fact, that Sambhoṭa may have modified the shapes of the letters he adopted; or it may be due to subsequent alterations, the table not showing the exact shape the letters received at the hands of Sambhoṭa, but such as they assumed in the course of time.

But, secondly, it is noteworthy that the letter y in Sambhoṭa’s alphabet shows the ancient tri-dentate shape of that letter. In the table of “Wartu” characters, on the other hand, that letter shows its
modern (square) form. It is clear, therefore, that the “Wartu” letters, from which Sambhoṭa copied his own, cannot have been precisely the same as those exhibited in Bābū S. Ch. Das’ table. Now there is an unmistakable similarity of the letters shown in the table of the Asiatic Researches, on the one hand, with the Bābū’s “Wartu” characters, and on the other, with the Central Asian characters in the Weber Manuscripts. In the table there is a series of Khachehee letters, that is, clearly, letters of Khache (Central Asia.) These, therefore, should be the letters, from which Sambhoṭa adapted his alphabet. And, as a matter of fact, it will further be found that the letter y shows in that table its old tri-dentate form. But further, in that table the letter y appears in three different forms: first, in the distinctly tri-dentate form (左右) in the second line, then in an intermediate bi-annulate form (左右) in the third line, and lastly in the (practically) modern square form in the fourth line. The last of these three forms, the modern one, is never found in any portion of our manuscripts. The form in which it is usually occurs in them, is the intermediate, bi-annulate one. In the most ancient tri-dentate form it only occurs, optionally, in Part V of the Weber Manuscripts. With regard to the Tibetan alphabet, the evidence seems to point to this conclusion, that Sambhoṭa had before him a “Khache” alphabet, similar to those shown in the Plate of the Asiatic Researches, but sufficiently ancient, to still show uniformly the ancient tri-dentate form of the letter y, which, in its turn, explains the presence of that ancient form in the current Tibetan alphabet. The characters he had before him may have been something similar to those seen in Part V of the Weber Manuscripts. On the other hand, the “Wartu” letters, shown in Bābū S. C. Das’ plate had for their prototype a somewhat later “Khache” alphabet,—one which had already adopted the modern square form of the letter y.

The whole of the Weber Manuscripts are written in the Sanskrit language, of more or less grammatical purity, except Part IX. This is written in the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī, and in a language which to me is unintelligible. The strange ligatures that occur in it, such as ṭkkh, ṭtś, yl, shś, āṭh, ūū, ys, etc., are foreign to Sanskrit or any Sanskritic language that I know of; yet undoubted Sanskrit words do occur numerous interspersed in the text. Such are advakānda and advagandha, sirīsha (Skr. śrīśa)-pusiṣa, priyaṅgu, punarnava, mañchāṁśhīṭhām (Skr. maṇḍśīṭhā), sārava (Skr. śārīva), mēḍha and mahāmēḍha (Skr. mēḍa and mahāmēḍa), prapunḍarīkha or prapunantarīkha (both spellings occur for Skr. prapaunḍarīkha), kaṭuṛōhiṇi, kākōri and kṣhāra-kākōri, dévaḍaru, etc. It will be noticed that most of the names are not correctly spelled; unaspirates being ex-
changed with aspirates, sonants with surds, cerebrals with dentals, etc. But there can be no shadow of doubt as to the identity of the words. They are Sanskrit names of medicinal plants. I have not yet been able to give to the subject any thorough examination, but I suspect that we have in Part IX a medical treatise written in some Mongolian (Tibetan) or Turki language, treating of Indian medicine, and hence using Sanskrit medical terms.

The curious circumstance, however, with regard to this Part IX is that, both with reference to the characters (square variety) and the language, it clearly belongs to the same class of manuscripts as the Kashgar MS., published by Mr. Oldenburg. Of the latter manuscript I shall give some account at the end of this paper.

On the age of the Weber MSS., I am not able to give such a definite opinion as on that of the Bower MSS., though I am not disposed to believe that any portion of it can be referred to a date later than the 7th century A. D. In the Indian portions of the manuscript (Parts I to IV) no other than the old tri-dentate form of \( y \) ever occurs. On this ground these portions should be of the same date as the Bower MSS., i.e., belong to the 5th century A. D. In some points they are even more antique than the Bower MSS. Thus the compound \( r \), preceding another consonant, is uniformly written level with the line of writing (never above it, like the vowel marks). The consonant \( p \) has also preserved a more ancient shape.

The Central Asian portions of the Weber Manuscripts show occasionally in Part V, the old tri-dentate form \( \text{ Modi } \) of \( y \), and otherwise throughout the intermediate bi-annulate form \( \text{ Modi } \). No trace of the modern square form is seen anywhere. I call the bi-annulate form “intermediate,” not because it presents a stage of development intermediate between the old tri-dentate and the modern square forms, but simply because it is clearly a “current” form grown out of the older tri-dentate. It seems to me doubtful whether it was ever superseded by the later Indian “current” square form. On the other hand, it is so easily formed out of the older tri-dentate form, that it may have been and probably was nearly contemporaneous with it. I am disposed to believe, that the Gupta \( ya \) (the old tri-dentate form) as it was carried from Kashmir into the more northern and north-eastern parts (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khoten) of Central Asia, assumed and always retained the bi-annulate form, while in the more south-eastern parts (Western Tibet) it retained at first its tri-dentate form and was afterwards gradually changed into the modern (Indian) square form. When Sambhota went to “Khache” (Central Asia, i.e. Kashmir, Liyul, Khotan) to bring thence the letters in 630-650 A. D., he evidently found the tri-dentate form in use in the particular
part of the country which he visited. Towards the end of the 7th century and early in the 8th, Central Asia was overrun by the Muhammadan armies of the Khalifat, and this put an end to the Sanskrit culture of those regions. Hence our Central Asian manuscripts which still show evidences of a distinct Sanskrit culture cannot well be placed after that date.

I now proceed to describe the several parts of the Weber MSS. in detail:

Part I. (See Plate I, fig. 1.) There are nine leaves, mutilated on the right-hand side. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and have eight lines to the page, excepting the obverse of the 14th leaf, which has 9 lines. The leaves are consecutively numbered, from 7 to 15, in the old style of figures. The first six leaves and those after the fifteenth are wanting. The obverse of the 15th leaf is shown in Plate I, fig. 1. The number 15 (i.e., the figure for 10, and below it the figure for 5) is seen on the left-hand margin. The page reads as follows:

1, क्षत्रिय चतुर्थ | गजाविक्रमसिक्ति सप्तचलारिशुचिः श्रमद्वाचार्य वैश्वदेववंशः
2, जिन जन चितारसिद्धिः सुमद्वाचार्यन दावाया योगविनयगीतिः भ वर्त्तमानोऽवतारात्रि
3, व्यभिन्नतपसिंधुसुधायोऽवतारात्रि सप्तचलारिशुचिः भविष्यति
4, पुर्बवक्रमेऽपि कालिः क्रियासिद्धिः वर्त्तमानोऽवतारात्रि
5, पुर्बवक्रमेऽपि कालिः क्रियासिद्धिः
6, अभिव्रजति ज्ञातुर्ववक्रमेऽपि
7, अभिव्रजति ज्ञातुर्ववक्रमेऽपि
8, अभिव्रजति ज्ञातुर्ववक्रमेऽपि

In the following Roman transliteration I have added, in straight brackets and italics, the missing portions, so far as it is possible to deduce them from the context and other parts of the manuscript. It will be seen that from 9 to 11 aksharas are missing in each line, which would occupy nearly two inches of the leaf. The original size of the leaf, therefore, must have been $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, that is, exactly the size of the larger of the two wooden boards. This circumstance would seem to prove that the larger board was one of the two covers of this particular manuscript.

1, kṣhatraṁ chatus-tāram gaja-vikkrama-saṁsthitaṁ pañcacha-chatvāri[ṛ]ṇa-sa-mulūrtta-yogam madhu-lāj-āhāram Vāsiya-daivatam
2, jī nakṣatraṁ tri-tāram gō-sirsha-saṁsthitaṁ sapta-mulūrtta-yogam

J. i. 2
Fifteenth Leaf: Reverse.

1. yōgam guḍa-kamsār-bhōjanam⁵ Pushya-dai-vatam Bhārgava-gō-
   trēṇa 26 || Áśvini nakshatram tri-tāram[ṃ ...-saṁsthithaṁ triṁśa-
muhūrta-yōgam ūya-]

2. kṛṇ-māṁsa-bhōjanam Gandharva-dai-vatam Áśāvāni-gō-
   trēṇa 27 || Bharaṇi nakshatram tri-tāram bhaga-saṁ[sthitam triṁśa-mu-
hūrta-yōganī]

3. taṇḍuḷ-āṭama Yama-dai-vatam (arthavaṃ)⁶ Bhārgavi-gō-
   trēṇa 28 || It-ṁāni bhō Pushkarasārīn-sapt-ōttara-dv[ārikāni nakshatraṇi ||
   Ṛṣī-ēśāṁī]

4. bhō Pushkarasārīn ashtā-vīṁśatāṁ nakshatvānāṁ katamāṁ nak-
   shatraṇī paṇčha-chatvārīṁśa-muhū[ṛtāni śaṭ tad-yathā Rōhiṇī
Punava-]

5. suḥ uttāra Phalgutī Viśākhā uttārā-Āṣādābā uttāra Bhadrapadā—
   paṇčha nakshatraṇī paṇc[ha][daṅsa-muhūrtānī tud-yathā Ārdrā]

6. Āśēṣā Svātī Jyēṣṭhā Satabhīṣā ēkā Abhijī ashṭau muhūrta
eśhāṇī triṁśa-muhūrtaṇāṁ nakshatra[ṇī pudra-dvārikānāṁ]
11

7, nakshatraNama Kirtika pûrvaM aslêshâ paschimâ dakshîna-dvârika-nama nakshatraNama Maghâ pûrvaM Visâkhâ paschiM [mâ paschiM-
na-dvârikaM na-]
8, kshatram Asuras h pûrvaM S'ravanaM paschimâ uttara-dvârika-nama nakshatraNama Dhanishthâ pûrvaM paschimâ Bha[raî . . . .

I may add the remainder of the remarks on the nakshatras from the preceding leaves 13 and 14:—

Thirteenth Leaf: Reverse.

1, katamâ Vâtsâ brâhma-châraM Chhandogâ katî Chhandogânama bhêdâM shat katamâ tad-yathâ gôdhû[. . . . . . . . . . . .]
2, kapimajalîyâ atyâsanam-iti kim-gôtî mâtâ Pârâsari-panâhî bhavanâ nakshatra-vamśam=atha kim kathâ[yatu mê tad-yathâ Kritikâ 1]
3, Rûhiî 2 Mrigasîrâh 3 Ardra 4 PunarasuM 5 Pushyâ 6 Aslêshâ 7 Maghâ 8 Pûrva-phalgun[mi 9 Uttara-phalgun 10 Hastâ]
4, 11 Chitrâ 12 SvâtiM 13 Asâkhâ (sic) 14 Anurâdha 15 Jyêshthâ 16 Mûlah 17 Pûrvâshadhâ 18 Uttarakshadâ 19 Abhijî
6, tî 28 ity-étâyâ-asyâvimesati nakshatrani kati-târâni kim-samsthâ-

nâni kati-muhurtâni kim-gôttrâni ki[mi-bhâjanâni kim-]
7, daivatâni—Kritikâ nakshatraM shat-târama shhura-samsthânam

trîmśa-mûhûrta-yogam dadhi-ahâram Agni-daivatam=Agni[vê-
sya-gôtreM 1 || Rûhi-]
8, tî nakshatraM paîchâ-târama sakat-oddhi-samsthânam paîchâ-chat-
vârimśa-mûhûrta-yogam vrisha-matsya-bhôjanaM prajâ[paî-
davatam . . . -gôtreM 2 ||]

Fourteenth Leaf: Obverse.

1, Mrigasîrásam nakshatraM tri-târama Mriga-sîrsha-samsthitam

trîmśa-mûhûrta-yogam Mriga-matsya-bhôjanaM Sôma-d[ai]va-
ta[mi . . . .-gôtreM 3 || Ardrâ na-]
2, kshatraM çka-târama tilaka-samsthitam paîchadaM-mûhûrta-yogam

navanît-ahâram Rudra-daivatam Harîtâyana-gô[treM 4 || Punar-
vassa=nakshatraM]
3, dvi-târama paîkâ-samsthitam paîchâ-chatvârimśa-yogam sarpi-

maq-ahâram Æditya-daivatam Vaishthâ-gôtre[pa 5 || Pushyô
nakshatraM tri-tâ-]
4, ram vardhamâna-samsthitam trîmśa-mûhûrta-yogam madhv-ahâ-

ram Brihaspati-daivatam Alabanêyavî-gôtre[pa 6 || Aslêshâ nak-
shatraM paî-]
12

matsa-yakṣrī-bhōjanam sarpi-dāi[<vataṁ ... -gōtrēṇa 7 II l-] 6, t-imāni bhō Pushkaraśāri sapta pūrva-dvārikāni nakshatraṃ||

Maghā nakshatram pañcag-tāram nadi-kramja-saṃsthi[<sān trimsā-muḥūrtā-yogam ... ]

bhōjanam Pitri-dēvataṃ Puṅgāyani-gōtrēṇa 8 || Pūrva-phalguni

nakshatram dvi-tārama patākā-saṃsthitam [trimsā-muḥūrtā-
yogam ... -āhāram] 7, Bhaga-daiva-atam Gōtama-gōtrēṇa 9 || Uttarā phalguni

nakshatram dvi-tāram patākā-saṃsthitam pañcacha-chatvārīṃ[<sā-muḥūrt-
yogam ... -āhāram]

Fourteenth Leaf: Reverse.

1, Ārya-daivatam Kauśikī-gōtrēṇa 10 || Hastō nakshatram hasta-saṃ-
sthitam pañcā-tāram trimsā-muḥūrtā-yogam[ṃ ... -āhāram ... 
-dāi-] 2, vataṃ Kātyāyani-gōtrēṇa 11 || Chitrā nakshatram ēka-tāram tilaka-
saṃsthitam trimsā-muḥūrtā-yogam mudga-[bhōjanam ... -daiva-
taṃ ... ]

3, kī-gōtrēṇa 12 || Svātir-nakshatram ēka-tāram tilaka-saṃsthitam 
pañcachādaśa-muḥūrtā-yogam phal-āhāram [... -daivatam ... -gō-]

4, trēṇa 13 || Viśākhā nakshatram dvi-tāram viṣhā-paṃsthitam 
pañcā-chatvārīṃśa-muḥūrtā-yogam ti [... -āhāram ... -daivatam]

5, Satkṛityāyani-gōtrēṇa 14 || It-imāni bhō Pushkaraśārin=apta nak-
shatraṃi dakshiṇa-dvārikāni || [Amurādha nakshatram ... -tā-] 6, rām ratna-sphādika-saṃsthitam trimsā-muḥūrtā-yogam maṣha-sūp-
odana-bhōjanam Mitra-daivatam Ālambara[nēyavi gōtrēṇa 15 ||]

7, Jyeśthā nakshatram tri-tāram yuva-maddhyā-saṃsthitam pañcach-
ādaśa-muḥūrtā-yogam sālt-yav-āhāram Īndra-dēvataṃ Diya ... 
gōtrēṇa 16 || [Mālō nakshatram cha-

8, tus-tārama gaja-vikrama-saṃsthitam trimsā-muḥūrtā-yogam nya-
grōḍhaka-kashyā-āhāram Āpa-daivatam Darpa-Kātyāyanī-[gōtrēṇa 
17 || Pārvānakshadha na-] 9, kshatram tri-tāram pula ... -saṃsthitam trimsā-muḥūrtā-yō[gaṃ] 
mūla-phal-āhāra[ṃ] Naḍitī-daivatam [... -gōtrēṇa 18 || Uttarā-

shādha na-]

It will be observed that the spelling and grammar is occasionally 
irregular. Thus we have a wrong quantity on fl. 13b trimsā for trimsā 
and śūd, and fl. 15a2 muḥūrtā for muḥūrtā, fl. 14b6 mitra for mitra, fl. 
15b chatvārīṃśa and vimsātīnaṭ, fl. 15a4 (see plate) dvārikāni for dvār-

kāni; ri for ri in fl. 14b3 trimsā for trimsā, fl. 14b7 tritāram for tritāram;
1893.]
13

ir for ū on fl. 15b7 in kritikā for kritikā;  for t on fl. 14b6 in sphādīka.
Want of sandhi: fl. 13b7 dadi-ādārāṁṇī for dadhyādārāṁṇī. Blunder: fl. 15a7 uttvīvra for uttara; fl. 15a8 vikśhṇu for vishṇu; fl. 13b8 asākhd for viśākhā, though these two forms may be synonyms; in the Abridged Petersburg Dictionary both forms are given as synonyms of a certain plant. Similarly fl. 14a6 sarpi 'serpent' for sarpa, fl. 15b1 Bhārgavo for Bhārgavō. Omission of final consonant in fl. 14a6 yakri for yakrit, fl. 15a5 (see plate) and fl. 15b6 abhiyī for abhijīt. Anomalous construction in fl. 15b6 cā abhiyī asāthu mūhūrtas. I am not quite satisfied that I have read correctly the words kraksha fl. 15a2, Brahmadevanī fl. 15a5. In fl. 15a5 (see plate) there is a curious symbol above sapta; and since on fl. 15b6 it is stated that Abhijīt has eight (ashta) mūhūrtas, I believe that the symbol is the numeral figure 8, intended as a correction. The 8 of sapta has not quite its proper shape; I believe the writer or revisor meant to alter sapta into ashta, but seeing his failure in altering the shape of ea, he abandoned his intention and over-wrote the figure 8. There are numerous traces to be met with of a revisor's work; thus in fl. 15a8 krakshādārāṁṇī the ra was originally omitted and has been supplied interlinearly; similarly the syllable ni of katyāyanī in fl. 15a6. (See the Plate.)

The portion extracted by me, may be translated thus, observing the proper sequence of the leaves:—

(Leaf 13.) Who are they? They are the Vātsas, Brahmacāhāris and Chhandogas. How many are the divisions of the Chhandogas? Six. Which are they? They are as follows:—Those whose food consists in (1) wheat, (2) ...... , (3) ...... , (4) ...... , (5) ...... , (6) franeline partridge. To which goṭra does their mother belong? To Parāśura. Has your honour any (particular) reading of the list of Nakshatras? Tell me! They are as follows:—1, Kritikā, 2, Rōhinī, 3, Mṛgāśīra, 4, Ārdrā, 5, Punārvasu, 6, Pushya, 7, Āśleśhā, 8, Maghā, 9, Pūrvaphalgunī, 10, Uttaraphalgunī, 11, Hasta, 12, Chiṛā, 13, Svāti, 14, Asākhā (Vīśākhā), 15 Anurādhā, 16, Jyēṣṭha, 17, Mūla, 18, Pūrvāshādhā, 19 Uttarāshādhā, 20 Ābhijī, 21, Sravāṇa, 22 Dhanishṭha, 23, Satabhishā, 24, Pūrvā Bhadrāpadā, 25, Uttarā Bhadrāpadā, 26, Rêvaṭī, 27, Aśvinī, 28, Bharani. These twenty nakshatras—what are the numbers of their stars, what are their configurations, what are the numbers of their mūhūrtas, what are their goṭras, what kinds of food may be taken under them, what are their daivatās?

The following part of the translation, I give in tabular form, for the sake of convenient reference.

5 Atyāsānam I take to be a mis-reading for ity-āsānam (=aśānam).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kritikā</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>razor</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>cards</td>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>Agnivāya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rohiṇī</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>seat of a cart</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>beef and fish</td>
<td>Prajāpati</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mrīgaśāra</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>deer’s head</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>venison and fish</td>
<td>Soma</td>
<td>Soma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ārdrā</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mole</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>butter</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>Idrāmayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>flag</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>froth of boiling hutter</td>
<td>Āditya</td>
<td>Vāsiṣṭha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pushya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>vardhamāna</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>Vṛhaspati</td>
<td>Alabandaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aśleṣhā</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>flag in the air</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>fish and liver</td>
<td>Sarpa</td>
<td>P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These, oh Pushkarasāri, are the seven nakṣatras that are situated in the East.

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mahā</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>river-arbour</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Pīṭṭi</td>
<td>Pīṇḍāyānā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pūrva-phalgunī</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>flag</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Bhaga</td>
<td>Gōtama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Uttara-phalgunī</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>flag</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ārya</td>
<td>Kānsikī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Chitrā</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mole</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>mudga-bean</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Svātī</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mole</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These, oh Pushkarasāri, are the seven nakṣatras that are situated in the South.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Anurādhā</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>crystal</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>mess of másha-heans</td>
<td>Mitra</td>
<td>Alamānayavī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jyeṣṭhā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>waist of a youth</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>rice and wheat</td>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>Diya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mūla</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>elephant’s foot</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>infusion of Ficus Indica</td>
<td>Āpa</td>
<td>Darpa-katyāyanī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Pūrvaśādhā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>roots and fruit</td>
<td>Naṭiti</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Uttarāśa- dha</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>elephant’s foot</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>honey and parched grain</td>
<td>Vaśya</td>
<td>Muddgalayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ahūjījīt</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>cow’s head</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>vāyu-krakṣa (?)</td>
<td>deest</td>
<td>Brahmāyana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sravāṇa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>waist of a youth</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>bird’s flesh</td>
<td>Vīṣṇu</td>
<td>Brahmāvargī.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These, oh Pushkarasāri, are the seven nakṣatras that are situated in the West.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dhanishṭhā</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>bird (kite)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Vāsava</td>
<td>Kātyāyanī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Satakṣhāra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mole</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Varuṇa</td>
<td>Tāṇḍāyana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Pūrva- Bhadrānapa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>flag</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ābhivṛddhi</td>
<td>Jātukarṇī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Uttara- Bhadrānapa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>flag</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>beef</td>
<td>Āryamākalpa</td>
<td>Hrānyāyana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Rēvaṭi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>consistent molasses</td>
<td>Pushya</td>
<td>Bhārgavān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Aśvinī</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>liver and flesh</td>
<td>Gandharva</td>
<td>Aśvayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bharajī</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>pudendum</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>Bhārgavī.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These, oh Pushkarasārin, are the seven nakṣatras that are situated in the North.
Of these twenty-eight nakshatras, oh Pushkarasārin, how many nakshatras occupy a period of 45 muhūrtas? Six; they are these:— Rohini, Punarvasu, Uttarā Phalgunī, Viśākhā, Uttarāshādhā, Uttarā Bhadrapadā. Five nakshatras take up 15 muhūrtas, namely Ārdrā, Aślēshā, Svāti, Jyēṣṭhā, Satabhishā. One, Abhijit, occupies eight muhūrtas. The remainder are nakshatras occupying 30 muhūrtas. Of the nakshatras, situated in the East, Kṛitikā is the first and Aślēshā, the last (counting from East to West). Of the nakshatras, situated in the South, Maghā is the first, and Viśākhā, the last. Of the nakshatras, situated in the West, Anurādhā is the first, and Śravaṇa, the last. Of the nakshatras, situated in the North, Dhanishṭhā is the first, and Bharani, the last.

This work is clearly an astronomical treatise of a very ancient type. The most ancient astronomy of the Hindūs was based on the lunar zodiac, comprising 27 (or afterwards 28) asterisms, the so-called nakshatras, the series of which commenced with Kṛittikā or the Pleiades, and ended with Aśvini and Bharanī. This system obtained among them till the introduction of Greek astronomy into India, about the middle of the 2nd century A. D. (the time of Ptolemy). About that time the order of the nakshatra series, which was now no more in accordance with reality, was rectified, and the two last nakshatras were placed first, so that the series now commenced with Aśvini (i. e., β and γ in Aries). This new order is that found in all Indian astronomical works, subsequent to the Vedic period.

Further: the older series, beginning with Kṛittikā, consisted originally only of 27 nakshatras. It was, apparently, only in the later stage of the Vedic period of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, that a 28th nakshatra was added; this was Abhijit, which was inserted as No. 20 in the original list. The first mention of Abhijit occurs in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and it formed already a part of the nakshatra series in the time of the grammarian Pāṇini.6 The latter’s date is probably at the end of the 3rd century B. C. The earliest mention of the 28 nakshatras in China (introduced by the Buddhists) is in the middle of 3rd century B. C.7

Accordingly we have roughly, as the termini a quo and ad quem for the composition of our treatise, the third century B. C. and the second century A. D. This is about the period of the last stage of the Vedic literature, viz., that of the Sūtras. To this period, belong the two small astronomical treatises, the Nakshatra-kalpa and the Sānti-kalpa,

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7 See ibidem, part I, pp. 298, 300.
which are attached to the Kauśika Sūtra of the Atharva Veda. I have not been able to examine any copies of them, but a brief account of them has been given by Professor Weber in his *Vedische Nachrichten von den Naxattra* (pp. 390–393). From this account it appears that the statements, especially, in the Nakshatra-kalpa, show a curious resemblance to those in our manuscript. Thus the Nakshatra-kalpa, too, gives lists not only of the shape, the divinity, the number of stars, and the duration of muhūrtas of every one of the 28 nakshatras, but also of their fourfold distribution into Eastern, Southern, Western, and Northern, of their gōtra (or race of Rishi), and of the kind of food that may be taken under them. The Nakshatra-kalpa adds some further particulars, corresponding statements to which may have been in the lost portion of the manuscript, or may possibly be found in that portion which I have not yet been able to examine.

A confirmation of the age of the work may be found in the circumstance, that the information given in it is ascribed to Pushkarasārin. This renowned teacher is said to have been a contemporary of Buddha. He is mentioned as a teacher in the Pratisākhya Sūtra; and is also cited in the Vārttikas to Panini by Katyāyana, their author.

On the whole, therefore, and subject to the result of an examination of the whole manuscript, for which I have not yet been able to find time, I have come to the conclusion that this part of the Weber Manuscripts contains a hitherto unknown work belonging to the last stage of the Vedic period of Sanskrit literature.

I will, however, here add a few curious particulars that I have noticed in my cursory comparison of the manuscript with Prof. Weber's account of the Nakshatra-kalpa and similar works. The list of gōtras differs entirely; the only coincidence is in the gōtra of Krittika. Most of the daivatas agree; the most striking difference is in the case of the 27th nakshatra (Āśvini), for whom our manuscript gives Gandharva as the daivata, while the Nakshatra-kalpa, in common with all other known works, gives the two Āśvins. Other differences may be mere blunders, thus Vaishya in No. 11 and Pushya in No. 26, for Viśvē and Pūshan respectively. Narīti in No. 18 may be a local variety of Narīti. Curious arc also, in our manuscript, Ābhivṛddhi and Āryanākālpa in Nos. 24 and 25, for Ahirbudhīna and Aja-ekapād respectively. The transposition of Āpa in No. 17, and of Narīti in No. 18, may be an accidental mistake for Narīti in No. 17 and Āpa in No. 18. In the case of No. 20 (Abhijit) our manuscript gives no daivata at all, the usually given daivata being Brahman; but this, too, may be an accidental omission.

8 See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 153.
9 See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 102, 235.
As to the number of stars, composing the several nakshatras, our manuscript differs in nine cases from the Nakshatra-kalpa; viz., in Nos. 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 27. Curiously enough in five out of these nine cases (viz., Nos. 2, 7, 8, 16, 20) our manuscript agrees with Brahma-gupta's statements.

With regard to the duration of the muhūrtas, our manuscript has two curious differences. Firstly, it enumerates only five nakshatras of a duration of 15 muhūrtas, while the usual number in the Nakshatra-kalpa and other works is six. These works add Bharani (No. 28), to which in our manuscript a duration of 30 muhūrtas is given. Secondly, our manuscript gives to No. 20 (Abhijit) a duration of 8 muhūrtas, against the usual one of one muhūrta. The whole list of durations stands thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weber MS.</th>
<th>Nakshatra-kalpa, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 nakshtras of 45 muhūrtas.</td>
<td>6 naksh. of 45 muh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 ″ of 30 ″</td>
<td>15 ″ ″ 30 ″</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ″ of 15 ″</td>
<td>6 ″ ″ 15 ″</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ″ of 8 ″</td>
<td>1 ″ ″ 1 ″</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I now proceed to Part II of the Weber Manuscripts. See Plate I, fig. 2. It consists of seven leaves, unfortunately mutilated on the left-hand side, which would have shown the numbers of the leaves. Their size is $6 \times \frac{2}{3}$ inches. Four leaves have 9 lines each to the page; the three others, only 6 lines. This may possibly show, that the two sets belong to two different manuscripts, but I have not yet been able to examine them more closely. The characters are again a variety of the North Western Gupta.

The page (obverse of the leaf), figured on Plate I, reads as follows. The paper is very soft, and some portions being rather fretted, are very difficult to read.

```
1, . . . . . ता चाँद्र तथ्य नाक्षरं शुला श्रुति चवनसन्धिवेदः ॐ श्राच शिवो
    विश्वास्थि ले शिवा नामनामतः
2, . . . . विना गाय दुचिनाशय लिखतु • ॐ श्रे च स्वां पूजांचित्वम् की० चित्वम्
    से नरः प्रदाधा च च वैध्यो च
3, . . . . वक्षा • ॐ वक्षां प्रपद्धार्येन पुष्पीपाणि पुरे: भक्ता च प्रथम स्वाते
    वैश्यं ले भवकामदान • ॐ
4, . . . . प्रवचनं विश्वा • गुस्ताचि वे सिवे • धातु ने भैलमयम् शिवंशयिः
    वर्मः • ॐ येघनामाय
5, . . . चे पि श्रुति शुला गमिष्यि • श्रोतु ज्ञाता अवथो विभासा भूषोधा
    आपराजिता • जयं जयं
```

J. 1. 3
It may be noticed (see the Plate) that the interpunctuation is indicated by a dot, or occasionally two dots. The numerals are, again, of the ancient style. In the following Roman transliteration I have supplied, in brackets and italics, the missing portions. Here the metre and context has been a guide, though to some extent, of course, the restorations are conjectural. It will be seen from these that, as a rule, the space of four aksharas or \( \frac{3}{4} \) of an inch is lost, i.e., that the original length of the leaf must have been \( 6\frac{3}{4} \) inches. The work is written in the śloka metre.

1, 

\[ \text{tasya tad=bachanaṁ śrutvā Rudrō vachanam=abravit} \]  

\[ \text{Aham Sivō Viśāl-ākshi tvam Śivā nāma nāmataḥ} \]

2, 

\[ [\text{Kāma-dēva-}]vinaśāya Daksha-nāśāya tishṭha tu} \]  

\[ \text{Yē cha tbām pājayishanti kirtayishyanti yē nāraḥ} \]

3, 

\[ \text{pradāsyasi varam tēbhhyō yā} \]

4, 

\[ \text{Bali-dhūpa-pradānena pushpa-dip-ānulēpanaṁ} \]

\[ \text{bhaktyā cha prayatā martyā tēśhām tvam bhava-kāma-dā} \]

5, 

\[ \text{[saha]srē 'pi sthitā śrutvā gamishyasi} \]

\[ \text{jom} \]

\[ \text{jayā jayantī vijayā amōghā aparājītā} \]

\[ \text{javā jāmbū-} \]

6, 

\[ [\text{nada-prabhā}] \]

\[ \text{jaṁbhani ripu-nāsani} \]

\[ \text{Sahasra-kiraṇā bhadrā puṅgavā brahma-ḥāriṇī} \]

\[ \text{māyā māyāvini sadyā kaṁbu-grī} \]

7, 

\[ [\text{vā rakṭ}]-ānanā \]

\[ \text{Sukti-karṇī māhā-nāgā ajeyā aparājītā} \]
The text actually reads șakti-damśhr̥tālā, with a stroke of cancellation drawn through the first damśhr̥tālā. For șakti probably șukti should be read, though the epithet șukti-karṇi is already mentioned in the preceding hemistich.

11 The interpunctuation is here indicated by two dots placed one above the other, like the visarga (.), instead of the single dot used everywhere else.
2. Ek-ākṣhara-rāva dhātrye tri-loka-guru-vatsale
satya-vādiny=umē chaṇḍē viṣālē śatru-nāsani
Bhayā-dē dhana-dē

3. dāityānām bala-hartāri māmsa-śoṇita-bhōjani
Vapā-dhūpa-priyē rōdrē kāla-rātri mahā-ravē

4. Paṁch-āyuṣhyē shad-ādhikyē na13 ch=āṣṭadāsa-bhīshanī
drishtē gaurī pradipti

5. [loke] . . danti sūlalō (?) sūla-bhīshanī
Mēgha-dundubhi nīṛghōṣhē sarva-vyādhi-pramōchani
sarva-vasana-mōktāri kāli du-svapna-

6. . . dātī śivē gaurī karāḍē lōhitānānī
prachāṇḍē amṛt-ōdgārē13 abhra-yānē manē-jāvē
yē vṛiddhē mātrī-varga-prachāriṇī
śrī-lakshmīr=vaṇuḥ-puṣṭīs=tvām siddhiḥ kīrtir=eva cha
Hrī sāntiḥ kānti-rasa

7. . . . tu sādhani
yādi pāṇa-balām satyaṁ viśvē dēva-balām yādi
nāśayishyasi satrūṇām=āyur=viryam dhanaṁ.

8. [dēva-rājasya satyēna pārva-dīśī] yādi sthitā
Dharma-rājasya satyēna dakhiniṣayaṁ yādi sthitā
Varṇasya

This work appears to be a stūtra, or hymn, in honour of Śiva's spouse, Pārvatī, after the manner of the Purāṇas. Perhaps it may be possible, hereafter, to identify it with some work already known. I may mention that, in glancing over another page, I have noticed directions given as to the particular kinds of sacrifice which are to be offered (to Pārvatī?) in the case of each of the four castes. The passage runs as follows:—

Amātyē ghṛita-hōmah kartavyaṁ Brāhmaṇaṁ dadhi-ghṛita-hōmah
nāma-gōtram sarvēṣhāṃ grāhyam [Kṣatriyē] ghṛita-madhu-hōmah
Vaiṣyē dhānya-hōmah Śūḍrē matsya-hōmah Sarva-vaśikaraṇē vacā-hōmah.

13 Or navō for nachā.
14 Perhaps aśāhārē. The letters are indistinct.
15 Here the number 29 is omitted in the text.
16 See note 11 on page 51.
That is: In the case of a minister an oblation of clarified butter should be made; in the case of a Brâhman, an oblation of curds and clarified butter; (and) the name and gotra should be mentioned in every case; in the case of a Kshatriya, an oblation of clarified butter and honey (should be made); in the case of a Vaiśya, an oblation of rice (or grain); in the case of a Sūdra, an oblation of fish; (and) generally for the purpose of subjecting any one to one's power, an oblation of Vâchā (or the root of Acorus calamus).

Part III. See Plate I, fig. 3. There are six leaves; four of them are mere fragments, but two are fairly complete; one of the latter has been figured. These two measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with 6 lines to the page. The characters are a North Western Gupta variety. The figured page reads as follows:—

1, . . . . . . . सेन धोवितया—खश्ची भवति || नमो विदुंजिः
2, . . . यजु यजु—युजि युजि—साविनि—विसाविनि—यजुकं ड्र
3, . . याब्धि रतिमा कार्या—या रतिमा चर्च्ययेव मणिवितया
4, . . यस्मि यजु || यजुको श्वरितो भवति—या सौंचलकाशेन तथाया
5, . . इद्धि इद्धि—इद्धि इद्धि—चमसि—साधंसि—कठकपशि
6, . . टयं प्रयासि—इसं प्रयत्वार्जानं रचनं—कुरंदंदुं परिजय—

Roman Transliteration.

1, . . . . . . . mèna dhôvîtavyà | svasthô bhavati || namô Vidyu-jihvâ-
2, [mâtaṁga-râjasya] yuju yuju | yuji yuji | mālini | vimânani | amukām nri-
3, [pa-śulva] mayi pratimā karttavyā | sā pratimā sarshava-tailêna makshayitavyā
4, . . . . . agni juhya || asukō jvaritó bhavati || mōchitu-kāmēna | tad= yathā
5, . . itti itti | itti itti || kshhamasi | makshashi | kaṭaka-pali
6, [ka]ṭakaṁ prêshami | imaṁ parvata-râjânâm ravatu | kushṭha- hiṁgu pariṣjaya |

The reverse page runs as follows:—

1, . . m=pitavyo mōkhō bhavati || namō Vidyu-jihva-mâtaṁga-râjasya | tad=yathā | kulimā-
2, [li kulimā]li | kulimāli | kulimāli | svâhā || śulbasya pratimā kart tavyā | taila-ghrîte-

16 Or, perhaps, only kaṭa-pali. The second ka is half deleted.
3, \([n = \text{āmuka-ṇṛ}]\) pasya nāmēna sō dahayati—\# môchitu-kāmēna\!
gandh-ōdalakam=parijapyā \# i-
4, \(\ldots \ldots .\) mōcha \# satasati \# dhana-dhana svalā \# sā pratimā
snāpayita-
5, \([\text{vyā}] \ldots .\ldots \) maḥ Sabarāpāmi prakhalē prakhalē prakhalē prakhalē prakhalē
viddhē
6, \(\ldots \ldots \ldots .\) grihyā nisēhitavyāh \#

This appears to belong to some work on sorcery; and from the
fact that on the second leaf occurs the phrase sarva-siddānām, pānch-
ābhijñānām namaḥ it would seem to be a Buddhistic work. For the
“five knowledges” are a well-known Buddhist term. The diction is
a barbarous mixture of Sanskrit and Pāli. The following is a tentative
translation:—

“(The image) should be washed with . . . . He will be well. Sa-
lutation to the elephant king with the lightning-like tongue! Yuju! Yuju!
Yuju! Yuju! Yuju! Oh Mālini, oh Vīmānani! Of such and such a king
let an image of copper be made! That image should be rubbed with
mustard oil, (and) having burned (it in) fire . . . . , such a one will be
attacked with fever. If it is wished to deliver him (from fever), the
following (charm should be used): “Īṭṭi, īṭṭi, mayest thou forgive, mayest
thou wipe off; Oh Kaṭākapyālī; I send an army; let him praise this
mountain-king!” Having uttered a spell over kūṣṭhla and asafoetida,
(this remedy) should be drunk; (then) there will be deliverance. Salu-
tation to the elephant-king with the lightning-like tongue! (Then to
be said) as follows: “Hail to her who bears a chaplet of kṇī (Solanum
Jacquinii)!” An image of copper should be made; (this should be
rubbed) with oil and clarified butter (and heated) in such a king’s
name; (then) he will burn (with fever). If it is wished to deliver (him),
a spell should be said over fragrant water: “īṭṭi, īṭṭi . . . . deliver
him, oh Satasati, Dhana-dhana, hail!” That image should be bathed
(with the fragrant water) . . . . (worst) of the Šabarās! oh wicked one!
oh pierced one! . . . . . . Having taken (him), he should be
warded off.

Part IV. See Plate III, fig. 1. No more than the fragment which
has been figured exists of this manuscript. It is, however, of very
considerable interest, as it presents a species of the North-Western
Gupta character, which forms the link between that and the Central
Asian type of Nāgarī characters. For comparison the forms of the super-
scribed vowel e and of the consonants j, t, n may be especially noticed.

The figured page reads as follows:—

I, \(\ldots \ldots .\) शय विच्छरणः अद्यार्थप्रपूण्य घर  \(\ldots \ldots .\)
In the following transliteration, I have, as before, supplied missing portions, where it was possible, in brackets and italic type. The work is written in the sūkṣma metre, and it will be seen that about four or six akṣaras are lost on each side, on the assumption that the extant piece formed the middle of the leaf. Accordingly the whole leaf, in its original state, probably measured 7 inches, allowing a little for the margins.

1. \[ \textit{asht-āṅga-saṃprapūrṇaḥ} \]
   \[ \textit{nā ṛṣiyā-vichakṣaṇaḥ} \] \[ 1 \]

2. \[ \textit{bhavati hy-abhirūpaḥ su-sa[ṃ]sthitāḥ} \]
   \[ \textit{jāti-smārō dharma-dān} \] \[ 2 \]

3. \[ \textit{yatām 8} \]
   \[ \textit{Dvā-s-trī[ṃ]sal-lakṣaṇāṃ=ēvam=asīti-vyaṃjanāni cha} \] \[ 3 \]

4. \[ \textit{bhavatī=Āṅgirasaḥ katham 9} \]
   \[ \textit{Lakṣaṇaiḥ sarvva-d[ṇ]nena} \] \[ 4 \]

5. \[ \textit{suḍḍhyatē sama-chittēna bhavatī=Āṅgirasō muniḥ 10} \]
   \[ \textit{Hē} \]

6. \[ \textit{samāgamō jinaṁ=nītyām} \] \[ 5 \]

Reverse:

1. \[ \textit{dānasya chēṣṭhitāṁ} \] \[ 1 \]

2. \[ \textit{t[ḍ]n-āsi} \] \[ 2 \]

3. \[ \textit{[S]mṛt[ṛ]m[ḍḥ]=ś=cha katham vā syāṁ=matimāṁ=ś=cha vichi-} \]
   \[ \textit{kshaṇāḥ} \] \[ 3 \]

4. \[ \textit{Asaṭaḥ śrīpitimāṁ hi syāṁ=matimāṁ=ś=cha vichā[ṃ]shaṇaḥ 13} \]
   \[ \textit{ēṇ-āpi prajñāyā dharma-dhāraka 14} \] \[ 4 \]
5, ... gachchhati [1]
   kēṇa pramattō bhavati bravihī=ētan=mam=ānahāḥ 1[5 #]
   ...
6, ....... [mā]rga-śīlēṇa gachchhati [1]
   śūnyatā-bhāvan-ābhhyāsa-tapa ....... [16 #]

This may be translated thus:

(Angirasa is) pre-eminently clever, thoroughly full of the eight-fold (qualities) .... (7) He is handsome, well-put-together, a remembrer of his former existences, an imparter of the Law (to others) .... (8) The 32 attributes as well as the 80 marks ....... how does Angirasa possess them? (9) By his attributes, his imparting of all things, ....... his equanimity he is purified,—is the Muni Angirasa. (10) ....... his intercourse is constant with the Jinas .... (11) ....... his function is the imparting (of the Law) .... (12) How is he thought-full and intelligent and clever .... art thou able (to tell me?) (13) He is guileless, thoughtful, intelligent and clever, .... (full of) wisdom, versed in the Law. (14) From inopportune things ....... he goes (away); with reference to what he is indifferent and (yet remains) sinless,—that do thou tell me! (15) .... he walks in the moral precepts of the path (of holiness) .... asceticism (and) the practice of meditation on Śūnyatā (or Nirvāṇa).

It is difficult to judge from such a small fragment, what the subject of the whole work may have been. That of the fragment itself is an eulogistic description of the Muni Angirasa. From the technical terms, occurring in the fragment, it seems clear that the work is Buddhist.

Part V. See Plate II, fig. 1. There are eight leaves, measuring $8\frac{1}{3}$ by $2\frac{9}{10}$ inches. They are mutilated, however, on both sides. There are five lines to every page. The characters belong to the round variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī.

The figured page, being the reverse, reads as follows:—

1, ................. य ... द श्रयत पूज ....
2, ................. द्वार्चिद्धेन परिविधतत्—याव एवमं रोषुः ...
3, .... शल्य ासमति न विषया नास्पि नाशीविषय न कक्षेदेन न वैताल न ...
4, .... ज्ञ करो ्ति श्च न उपरिक्षोपिदियाकेम—एवुथ्यो समसंस्कारितपाल्यवन्यो म ..
5, ... य ... वेम्यापतिचिदमवीणत्—सापु चापु माणिषिः शुचिज्ञानाभिष्म भिः

In Roman transliteration, as before:—

1, ................. sha ... da śāshyata pūja ....
2, . . . . . ddhy-arha-daṇḍēna parimuḥchishyati | yāva evam-eva
parimuḥchē[īshyati]
3, [na] . . sastra[m] kramati na visē n-āgni n-āśi-visna na kak-
khôrdna. na vaitāla na
4, . . [ba]lam karōti atyattrā purima-karma-vipākēna | evam-uktō
Bhagavām ma[hārā-]
5, [jan] ya[ksha]-sēnāpatim=avōchat | sadhu sadhu Māṇibhadra
anujānāmi mi

The obverse page has the following:—

1, . . . . manta varṇavanta yāsēvina 6 [II]
Mahā-bala-mahā-k[ā]ya va . . . . . [I]

2 . . . na . manasa Baddhaṃ vandanti Gautama 7 [II]
Kumbhakarnō Nikumbhaś=cha Siddharttham=aparājitam [I]
ma .
3, . . . dantō cha Sahastākshaś=cha Piṅgala [II]
Kavilō Dharmādirṇā=cha Ugratējō . .
4, . . . . [I]
. . . tvam śaraṇāṃ yānti su-p-prasaunēna chētasā 9 [II]
tad-yathā kadyē-kōdyē 10 . .

17 This is the passage referred to in my paper “The Third Instalment of
the Bower MSS,” in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 369. On another leaf of
the same MS., the word occurs once more, but spelled kākkhôrdna with a long ə. I wish
to take this opportunity to correct my reading of the word in the Bower MS. It is
there spelt kākkhôrdna, with the jihvāmūliya before kh, not kavkhôrdna, as I first read
it. I owe this correction to a suggestion of Dr. A. Stein, who informs me that in
modern Sāradā writing the difference between a superscribed r and the jihvāmūliya
is very small. He suggests that there may be a clerical error in the Bower MS.
This, however, is not probable. The forms of the superscribed r and the jihvāmūliya
are widely different in the Bower MS., but on the other hand (as, for that matter,
in Sāradā also) there is a resemblance between the super-compounded v and the
jihvāmūliya. Hence I took the symbol to be that for v, while I should have recog-
nized it as the symbol of the jihvāmūliya. Dr. Stein, further, informs me that the
word kākkhôrdna occurs also in VII, 298 of the Rājatarangini, in the form khurkhūṭa,
and that it is still used in modern Kashmirī in the form khurkhūṭhus. He suggests
that it is rather these more modern forms that represent the proper spelling of the
word, with reference to the correct placement of r (i. e., kākkhôrdna, not kakkhôrdna).
I do not agree with this; we have, in the Bower MSS. and the Weber MSS., the
earliest (known) spellings of the word, compared with which the more modern spell-
inga in the Rājatarangini and in Kashmirī are more likely to be corruptions.

18 Perhaps atyatra is an error for anyatra, and vipākē na may have to be
separated.

19 The letter which I have read dy is doubtful. For a facsimile of it, see Plate
IV of the alphabet.
5, \ldots \ldots \ldots \textit{i. i. i. i. }\textit{āha} — \textit{yattra (śibha-dattā) bha-gaya} \ldots \ldots

This may be translated as follows:—

"He will be delivered from ... condign punishment; and so forth (as before down to) even so he will be delivered..., no weapon can hurt him, nor poison, nor fire, nor poisonous snake, nor Kakkhōṛḍā, nor Vaitāla, nor ... can have power over him here (in this world) through the natural consequence of his deeds (done) in former existences." Having thus spoken, the Blessed one spoke to the Mahārāja, the General of the Yakṣhas (thus): "Verily, verily, oh Maṇibhadra! I permit thee ......

The brilliant, the glorious (6), they of great strength, of great body ....... intently praise Buddha. Gautama, (7) Kumbhakarna, and Nikumbha (praise) the Śiddhārtha, the invincible, and ... danta, Sahasrākṣa and Pingala, Kapila, Dharmadirṇa and Ugratēja ......., they seek thy protection with a well-pleased mind, (9) (saying) as follows: "Kadyē, kōdyē."

I do not think that much can be lost at the two sides. Lines 4 and 5 of the reverse show this. On two other pages the mahāyaksha sēnda-pati Maṇibhadra and four mahārāja yakshasendpati are spoken of, which shows how the lacuna should probably be filled up. The original size can also be calculated from the ślokas on the obverse page. This page seems to give an enumeration of Mahānāgas. Of the ślokas, those numbered Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 are preserved. The rest is in prose. The whole reminds one somewhat of the snake-charm in the Bower MSS., which I have published in the \textit{Indian Antiquary}, vol. XXI, p. 349 ff. The full size of the leaf, in its original state, may have been about 9\frac{1}{2} inches, inclusive of margins. The figured leaf is the best preserved; some of the others are in a scarcely legible state. But it seems clear from what remains that the work contained a charm given by Buddha (Bhagavān) to the Mahāyaksha Maṇibhadra.

Part VI. See Plate II, fig. 2. There are five leaves, measuring 7\frac{1}{2} by 2\frac{3}{4} inches, with 7 lines to the page. The leaves, though practically complete on the left side, are greatly mutilated on the right side, by nearly one-third. The characters are another specimen of the round variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī.

The figured page is the reverse and reads as follows:—

1, \ldots \ldots \textit{भब द्या दत च चतिस्तकः} \ldots

2, \textit{व रक्षर संगताः काले कृतिस्ता कवयो वीरहः} \textit{॥}

3, \textit{मु द्वान पुषप शास्र रामतामभिनिर्देशतः}
In Roman transliteration I give the obverse page (not figured) first:

1.

V yapôta-rôga-marâyaṁ vîpram sa[m]parik[ñ]thryatô 
aprîtiû=ch=âbhisakta . . . [. . . . 41 ]

2.

tatô 'yam kuṇḍâśâ puṃśchali-paṭih [I]
vâpâ-puṣpâ-nibham vastraṁ mahârâja . . . [. 42 ]

3.

jâmbukaś=ch=éti tat-samam [I]
lêhâkô 'vyakta-vachanô dhûrtas=tu rtiva . [. 43 ]

4.

vidhushikô matah [I]
chatur-bhûgas=turiyaṁ syâ jaghanyaṁ kâti [. . 44 ]

5.

vikramêna balêna cha [I]
uttamô yah samânebhyâḥ sa [. . . . 45 ]

6.

... laukikânâh tath=âiva cha [I]
parîmîshtha-vidhi-jûô yah sa [. . . . 46 ]

7.

ni . kah [I]
shad-vamîô râja-yajña yas=tan-tu [. . . . 47 ]

Reverse (figured).

1.

.. . . . . [I]

. ndhava vritta vritta cha sanniruktah [. . . 48 ]

2.

. . . va . [I]
rahasa samâgataṁ kâlê kartsnitâm kavayo vîduh 4[9 ]

3.

. . . m [I]
[pra]dattâ purusha-jûô=e h a râmaṁ tâm=abhinirdîṣêt 50 [I]

4.

âbhipëkshâm mahâtmanô râja-putraṁ kul-ôdgataḥ 51 [I]

Ya [. . . . . . . . .]
28

A. F. R. Hoernle—The Weber Manuscripts. [No. 1,

5,  
. ḫ [I]

sapta prakṛitayō yasya rāṣṭraṁ cha nirupadraṃvam 52 [II]

na [. . . . . . . . pratī]

6,  
ṛtiṭāḥ [I]

rājāṇāḥ kara-dā yasya viśaś=ch=āvijayī-ṛtītāḥ 53 [II]

Iṣṭīya [ . . . . . . . i]

7,  
anitya-mānasāḥ lōkāṁ=s= tu saṃjñatē 20 [54] 54 [II]

Nighaṇḍa-nigama-prām [ . . . . . . . i]

. . . . ]

The obverse of the next leaf continues as follows:—

1,  
. . . . . ch-chhatrāṁ kshatriyair=Buddha-nirjitaiḥ 55 [II]

Eka-ch-chhatrāṁ mahīṁ vyaṁktē [. . . . . . . i]

. . . . . . .]

2,  
vanād=upavanaṁ smṛitam [56 II]

Padminī rēju rājiva-chatra-paṭṭavaṭi smṛ[i]tā 1]

The remainder is almost illegible.

The leaf that immediately precedes the foregoing two leaves, reads

as follows:—

Obverse.

1,  
. . . . . shṭhas=chaṇḍa-saṃjñītām 24 [II]

Paramē-shṭhī mataḥ śṛṅshṭhāḥ prē . priya . da [. . i]

. . . . . . . .]

2,  
[kī]ṛtītām 25 [II]

Pada-kṛch=chāmakaṁ syāt=tapitas=tu vamō mataḥ [i]

lāvaṇyaṁ=āhur=madhu [. . . . . . 26 1]

. . . . . . . .]

3,  
. . . svasā tu bhaginī mataḥ |

vāta-pitta-kaph-ātmanō vyādhayaḥ [parikīrtītāḥ 27 II]

. . . . . . . .]

4,  
. . . . . ttā hy=upadravaḥ [I]

ajñō vēṣāḥ samâkhyātō nuttaṁ prēritam=uḥ[yatē 28 II]

. . . . . . . . .]

5,  
. . . . . hūtāḥ [I]

talpaṁ tu śayanaṁ jñēyāṁ khaṭv=ēti . thé vaku 2[9 II]

. . . . . . . . . . . . . .]

6,  
. . . . . kilāsāṁ pāṇḍuraṁ jñēyāṁ dōḷā prēukh=ēti saṃjñītaḥ 30 [II]

Barhiṁśi cha [. . . . . . . . . . 1]

. . . . . . . . .]

20 This verse is blundered; four syllables are wanting. Perhaps read saṃjayatē.

The final double dot is not a visarga, but the mark of interpunctuation.
This work is written in ślokas, from which it is easy to calculate how many syllables are lost on the right hand side. The number varies from about 12 to 18. Those aksharas which are actually lost are indicated by dots enclosed within straight brackets; those, not thus enclosed, indicate illegible letters. On an average, one-half (or 16 aksharas in each line) is lost of each śloka. The space required for these lost aksharas would be 3½ inches, allowing for a small margin on the right-hand side. Accordingly the total length of the original leaf must have been 10½ inches.

In the following I give the translation only of those passages which are complete, taking the proper sequence of the leaves:

(Verse 25.) By paramēshthin (he who stands foremost) is meant the best. (26) A pada-krit (foot-maker, shoe-maker) should be (understood to be) a worker in leather. By tapita is meant vomiting. (27)

21 Read pradhanam. So in the Amara Kōsha.
22 This pada is short by one syllable. Perhaps read 'patānakam.'
By *svasā* is meant a sister. All diseases (are said to be) due to air, or bile, or phlegm. (28) A disguise is called *ujāna* (incognito). Something dispatched is said to be *mutta*. (29) *Talpa* should be known to be a bed. (30) *Kīlāsa* should be known to be a kind of jaundice. A swing is termed *prāṇkha*. (32) A war they call *pradhana*; it is also known as *āyōḍhāna*. (34) That charm which contains the *sīnha-nata* (? , *nata* is *Tabernemontana coronaria*) should be known to be the *Vṛindāraka* (*i.e.*, best of its kind).<sup>33</sup> (35) [*Nṛjāhana* should be understood to be the king of the Prêtas. By *sūshmin* (*i.e.*, powerful) is meant Maghavān. (36) By *kumbhīla* is meant a crocodile. The tortoise is said to be *gūghāṅga* (*i.e.*, having hidden limbs). (37) By *kāraka* is meant a paid servant. (38) *Uṭhya* should be known to be that which is excellent. By *maḷēra* is meant squinting. (39) Excessive spasmodic contraction is known by the name of *martya* (*i.e.*, mortal). By *yūtra*, indeed, should be known that which is the means of distilling the Soma extract. (41) A death which is not preceded by any illness is praised as *vipra* (*i.e.*, excellent). (42) A *kundāśin* is a keeper of harlots. A garment [fit to be worn by] a Mahārāja is one which resembles flowers and the omentum. (43) A *lāhaka* (licker, lisper) is one who does not speak plainly. (44) *Turiya* should be (understood to be) a quarter. (49) A mystery (plot?) harmonizing in time is what the poets know as *kṛṣṇitā* (*kṛṣṇadā*, or completeness). (52) Whose state possesses its seven constituent elements, and whose country is free of disturbance.... (53) To whom kings pay tribute, and whose people are never conquered.... (56) An *upavāna* (grove or small forest) takes its name from a forest (*vāna*). (57) A lotus is known as *rēju* or *rājiva* or *chatrapaṭṭavati* (cf. Skr. *śatapatra*).

This clearly shows that the work is some Sanskrit vocabulary or "kōsha." Perhaps it may be possible, hereafter, to identify it with some one of the existing and known kōshas; or it may turn out to be a new and hitherto unknown kōsha-work. It appears to contain a good number of new words.

On the left-hand margin of the reverse of the last-copied leaf, opposite to the 3rd and 4th lines, there are faint traces left of the number 6. This, therefore, is the sixth leaf of the manuscript. As there are, on the average, 8 ślokas on a page, or 16 on a leaf, there should be about 90 ślokas (allowing a blank page to commence with) on the six initial leaves of the work. As the 6th leaf, however, only brings us down to the middle of the 40th śloka, it may be concluded, that the work was divided in chapters (adhyāyas), and that the 40

---

<sup>33</sup> This is puzzling. Perhaps *taraḥ* is a clerical error for *naraḥ*, and the meaning may be "one who has subdued a lion is a Vṛindāraka."
slokas, a portion of which has been preserved, belong to the second chapter, while the first chapter must have contained about 50 slokas. Perhaps when the remainder of the existing fragment has been read, this point may be more certainly known. I have at present only read and copied those leaves, on which I could discern any numbers. These show us the partial preservation of the following slokas: 24–40 and 41–57; and this, consequently, proves that the figured leaf is the seventh of the manuscript.

The manuscript is rather carelessly written; thus we have vidhushikó for vidushikó on line 4 of the obverse of the 7th leaf; and kurmò guḍhāṅga for kārmō guḍhāṅga on line 4 of the reverse of the 6th leaf, and other blunders.

Part VII. See Plate II, fig. 3. This manuscript consists of 7 leaves, measuring about 5 by 2½ inches, but they are mutilated on the left-hand side. There are mostly six lines to the page; a few leaves have 7 lines, but these may possibly turn out to belong to a different manuscript. The characters are again another specimen of the round variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī.

The figured page reads as follows:—

1, तन्त्र पूजितम् तथागातं नामस्यांि मंडुकिम पदचारेितमस् सभा
2, ... म || तति—दले—दलि—मिबिरुण खाँस—सँ क
3, वता नवका मिलुषि मिलुषि वा ज्ञानका वा ज्ञानिका वा—सृ
4, ... इम च में इस्ती पूर्वरामसपरार्थ समिति करिन्थि
5, ... शेष परिसुचियति—दष्टाइत्त्राण परिसुचियाण
6, .............. रो . शेष—पिरोधाः श्रीम

In Roman transliteration:—

1, [.................] jña pújitam [॥] Tathagatam namasyämi saṁbuddha-dvipad-ōttamam [।] Bhaga
2, [.................] ... m || Uttile, dalè, dutilè, siddhir=astu sváha; yaḥ ka [ś=chid=Bhaga-]
3, vataḥ śr[ā]vaka bhikshu=va bhikshuñi va upāsakö va upāsikā va, i-
4, ... imaṁ eha mē hída[yä]ṁ pūrva-rātram=apara-rātram maṇasi karishyati
5, ... [da]ḥ[ə]ṁ parimuchchishyati, daṇḍ-ārha-prahārña parimuchchishya-
6; [të] .............. i. pëṇa; pa . i . à . ārhó lóma-
The reverse reads as follows:

1. \ldots [\textit{parimzu}]\textit{chehishyati}, ime cha. bhadantè bhagā-
2. \ldots \textit{ham=anubhavēna sa sāgar-ānta-prithīvīm=anuvichā-}
3. \ldots \textit{tpalo narö, kumbha-kaṇṭō mahā-kumbha-kaṇṭō, ārī, kōrī, kā-}
4. \ldots pēlōlē, āyē, tāyē, ikshōri, kunē kunikē, ās=cha mē
dharme
5. \ldots \textit{sukla-pakshasya pratipadam=upādāya kṛishṇa-pakshē vā snāta-}
6. \ldots \textit{[chi]} dharmē samghē sa-gaurāvēṇa, ayō-vihitaṁ chittāṁ

The first passage (obverse, lines 1 and 2) is a śloka, which affords the means of calculating the extent of the lost portion of the leaf. The dots, inclosed within brackets, indicate the number of lost aksharas. They are ten or eleven, and would occupy the space of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The full size of the original leaf, accordingly, must have been $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This would seem to show that the smaller of the two extant wooden boards belonged to this manuscript; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the board is inscribed with a line of writing in Central Asian Nāgari (see \textit{ante} p. 37). The leaf must have been torn exactly in the place where the string-hole originally was situated.

The remainder of the text is in prose. It seems to be another work giving the story of a Buddhist charm. From a remark, which I have noticed on another leaf, it would appear that the charm was communicated by Buddha himself to the Mahāyaksha Śenāpati Mahābhadrā, with reference to a son of the latter, called Puruṣa. The subject of the work, therefore, is similar to that in the Vth Part, and it may possibly turn out to be another copy of the same charm.

The text above quoted may be thus translated:

I salute the Tathāgata, the best of enlightened men, the Blessed one \ldots Uttīlē, dālē, duttīlē! May it be effective! Svāhā! If any disciple of the Blessed-one, any male or female mendicant, or any male or female lay-devotee, keeps in mind this my heart in the former part and in the latter part of the night, he will be delivered from punishment, he will be delivered from any stroke of punishment; etc.

On the reverse occur the names of some Nāgas, \textit{e. g.}, Kumbhakarṇa and Mahā-kumbhakarṇa.

Part VIII. See Plate III, fig. 2. Of this manuscript only 4 leaves are preserved, measuring $5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but mutilated on the right-hand side. They are inscribed with 7 lines to the page, of which the lowest (or the uppermost on the reverse) is almost wholly obliterated. The characters are again a specimen of the round variety of the Central Asian Nāgari, approaching rather more to the Indian Gupta type.
The figured page reads as follows:

1. . . . . . . चूर्णेन प्रत्यागच्छितम || कपिलजीवं ग्रिहया
2. शितव्यां हि पुरामिश्तियां देवप्रतिमयां धेयं दात्यो ततो या या
3. त संयोगम् गुर्गुलोऽपि प्रकृतियो भवति || उपव उपातिष्ठ चष्ठं
4. सालं || उवचारः कर्त्ये चाँदन्या बराहोपत्तेन शेतप
5. भि दन्तलोकवेशं व तिः कष्टे अवस्थितः दौप्यं ज्ञातिनं
6. अः खं . . . . सं चा सम्बंधार्ति विभा परिशिष्टया ततः प्र . . .
7. . . . . तथा . . . . . . . . . . .

In Roman transliteration:

1, . . . . . . churnena pratyagachchhamati || kapilajilvam grihya
2, shitavya hi pura-misritayah deva-pratinayh dhopo datavyo tat o sa a
3, sa mumchati gurgulu-dhopena prakriti-stho bhavati|| upasu pur tali chanda
4, svaha || upachara krishnê chaturdasyam tri-ratra-oposhitena svêta-pa
5, bhâma danâlal-sutrêna varti kriyate atasi-tailena dipo jvalayita
6, jra stham . . tam cha surusva-ratra vidy[ê] parijap[ê] tavya tatah pra
7, . . tathâ . nà . . . . . . . . . . .

Reverse.

1, . . savi pasyahti . . . ya . . . . . . ya . . . . paâm ||
2, kilikasya jatukarêna sira-golakam karyot tatra tolakena
3, . . . . rmadéna limpitvâ têna golakêna sasy-ôttaré ch=chhubhitavyê dhäka
4, dvitiyâ óva bhârô bhavati sarvam vashyati tatah prikrích= chhuddhé
5, daâm cha bhavati|| tunda-kilikilikasy=âkshini grihya pishaye srôjchatê
6, push[ê]a-yógê=ânjitêna guvachhya-piśâcham paśyahti têna cha
   purusha-virya
7, . . trayam piśâcham hanati tapasya kachchhat=prasêvaka grihya
   gam [ . . . . . . ]

The text is too mutilated to admit of a satisfactory translation. What there is may be thus rendered:—-

He approaches with the powder . . . . . . . Taking the tongue of a brown cow . . . . . . the image of the dêva is to be fumigated with incense

The reading is uncertain; it may be prikrich or pritrich or prinrich.

J. 1. 5
mixed with pūra (a fragrant stuff); then that (image) ..., he gets free (from disease and) through the incense of guggulu (a fragrant gum resin) he becomes (restored) to good health. Above the figure .... svāhā. The physicking (should be had recourse to) in the dark half of the month, on the fourteenth day, by a person after he has fasted for three nights and (put on) white (raiment), ......... a wick should be made of the cord of a daṇḍala (churning-stick?), (and) a lamp lighted with linseed oil, ....... and the spell should be repeated throughout the whole night. Then ........ they see ........ With red lac he is to form a ball representing the head of Kilikilaka (i. e., Siva) ....; then having rubbed it with a tōla of ..........., with that ball in sifted fine grain ...........; the process is repeated once more; every thing is brought in one's power; then in a thoroughly cleaned, ....... and it becomes ....... Taking the eyes of (tuṇḍa) Kilikilaka, he should grind (them), he ladles .........; with ....... anointed with the preparation of flowers ....... they can see a pīsācha at a distance of a gavāchāyā (gaṇyāti?, or perhaps the name of a pīsācha); and with that power of man ........ he can kill three .... pīsāchas; (then) taking a bag from the side of the person that does penance ............

From the above extract it would appear that the work treats of medical charms. It is written in the now well-known species of “mixed” Sanskrit, anciently the prevailing literary language in North Western India and the countries beyond.

Part IX. See Plate III, fig. 3, 4, 5. This manuscript consists of 25 leaves. Some of them show a numbering on the left hand margin in very fine and minute figures. Thus, of the three figured leaves, fig. 3 shows the number 30, fig. 4, the number 33, and fig. 5, the number 36. This circumstance proves that the manuscript is not completely extant, though from the fact that one of the extant leaves is only inscribed on one side, it may be concluded that the manuscript is complete at the end, and that some (10 or 12) of the initial leaves are wanting. Unfortunately the last leaf is too damaged to be read.

The leaves are mutilated at the lower corners, but sufficient is extant to show their full size. It is 5½ by 2½ inches. Each leaf has six lines. Unfortunately, the writing is extensively obliterated, owing to the circumstance that the thick arsenical coating of the leaves, on which the letters were written, has been greatly damaged, apparently, by damp. In many cases the leaves firmly adhered to one another, and on separating them, the coating, together with the letters which it bore, came off. On the original leaves, portions of the obliterated letters, are still sufficiently visible to permit of their being occasionally identified;
but on the photographed facsimiles, they can hardly be seen. Even the undamaged portions have not come out as clearly on the facsimiles as one would wish. Of course, my transcriptions, given below, are prepared from the originals. As a rule, the top-most and the two lowest lines are, practically, destroyed; and the three middle lines alone are, more or less, fully legible. As I have already observed (ante, p. 39), the writing is in the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgārī characters, but, with certain exceptions (see below), in a Non-Sanskritic language. In the transliterations into Roman, I have observed the following method:

1. Aksharas, entirely lost, are indicated by dots enclosed within straight brackets.

2. Aksharas, extant but entirely illegible, are indicated by dots.

3. Aksharas, extant, but only doubtfully legible, are written in italics.

4. Aksharas, lost or partially extant, but conjecturally restored, are italics within straight brackets.

5. Aksharas, fully extant and clearly legible, but as to the identity of which I am not fully satisfied, are shown in Roman type within round brackets.

I have printed every akshara separately; but those which make up a Sanskritic word, are joined by hyphens.

The figured leaves read as follows:

I. (Leaf 30. Fig. 3).

1. (Leaf 33. Fig. 4).

II. (Leaf 33. Fig. 4).
]


36

(Leaf 36.

III.

—

[No.

1,

Fig. 5).

— pi- sa — pa-la — pra-pn-nta— su-kshme-(u) — vi-ra-nkh — ni-ln-tpa- (u) —
va-rni —
— de-va-da-ru — 4a
pri-sna- va-rni —

1,

.da

2,

ri-ldi

tri

ha-ri-dri

.

.

liri-be-ra

sa-la-

36

ji-va-nti

6,

6

,

[..]

.

pa

.e

...

ri

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[.

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.]

..[..

ke

.]

[

The reverses

do not yield sufficiently satisadd transcripts of two other leaves,

of the figured leaves

But

factory readings to quote.

both obverses and reverses,

—

I

of as

IV.
1,

[..]••[

2,

[•

3,

[.]

much

as

is legible.

(Obverse.)
]

]

;
a

4

,

5,

.

lyye

.

k(kh)am rka tha slishi ptsa
lk(kh)e rsa dha ksha lie a su sa na pa

pi ssau Z7c(kh)a so

.

—ma

[pra-pM-]nda-ri-kha

—pi ssau

rn

6,

.

1,

.

.

.

a-pa-ma-rga

.

—

7co

skhe

V.
lklcli&

rsa

fri

(kh)arh

.

.o

,

ka-ko-ri

— ka

.

.m rke

.

.

.6 [s7»s7j]e

.

ske ta

.

—

.

.

.

(Reverse.)

pa ki

llye

shpa ka ya

2

lie

—ka-tu-ka-ro-hi-ni — a-sua-ka-ndha — de-va-da-

— kshi-ra-ka-ko-ri —

ye

—pi Zjfc(kh)arsa ra nka sau
— kshi-ra-pi-ta-ri — smu
tsi

pi-ta-ri

ri

ysa rna yarn
3,

4,
5,

6,

kshl ye

— mi

[p^J ya

mu

bh(b)a rka blibha lie—kri nka mna yo
pe kS,
sna
sa k& tso pra ka ra

tstsa

sai te

ka ra

.

[.

,

nka

ko lye

,

3,

tso

ma

lya

lyye

md- rga

5

[.

,

yam ksM ye
sam shpam

(kka) tha ske dha
\ndha'\ in

4,

.]

.

[

]

(Obverse.)

rya pi ssan ysa rna

rka bhbha lie— yo tsa trl (kh)afn bha lie
pe ya mu sai te sa

ka

.

]

yam
2

a

.]

.

VI.
1

....[..]

.

—yam
[••]•••[

.

ttsa lan

—

se

— (tn)

(ri)

ma

kn nc ha ga

mem ka

yla rya

II

tsa sa lau

a-sva-ga-

— [a-pa-]

— ta-ka-rn — pra-pn-nta-ri-kha — ma-ncha-shtha —
[tpa-u —
tth — ko ste — po ....[,
m
.

.e

[.

,

.]

shslii

ni-lu-

.

]


I cannot attempt to translate these extracts, both because they are too fragmentary, and because they are partially written in a language unintelligible to me. I may notice, however, that they contain series of Sanskrit words alternating with series of Non-Sanscritic passages. The former series consist of Sanskrit names of medicinal plants or drugs, spelled, however, in a most extraordinary fashion. The following is a list of these words with their Sanskrit equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Name in Weber MS</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. I, line 2</td>
<td>sa-ba-ra-lô-tri</td>
<td>sábarna-lôdhra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tri-pha-u</td>
<td>triphala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pra-pu-ña-ri-kha (cf. Nos. III, I, IV, 5, VI, 4)</td>
<td>prapaundarika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mà-ûcha-shtâ (cf. No. VI, 4)</td>
<td>mañjishthâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spri-kha</td>
<td>sprikâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. III, line 2</td>
<td>spri-kha</td>
<td>sprikâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>har-ri-dri</td>
<td>haridrâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pra-pn-nta-ri-kh (cf. Nos. I, 2, IV, 5, VI, 4)</td>
<td>prapaundarika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. III, line 3</td>
<td>su-kshmê-u</td>
<td>sükshmaila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi-ra-nkh (cf. No. III, 3)</td>
<td>varânga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-lu-tpé-u (also No. VI, 4)</td>
<td>nilôtpala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hri-bë-ra</td>
<td>hrvîra</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kë-lë-ya-kh</td>
<td>kâliyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa-ri-vé-la-kha</td>
<td>paripêlaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. III, line 3</td>
<td>va-ra-ûga</td>
<td>varânga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tvâ-chaâ</td>
<td>tvâcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mu-sthâ</td>
<td>musta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-ra-ba</td>
<td>sârivâ (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sà-la-va-ûnî</td>
<td>sáliparûni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. III, line 4</td>
<td>pri-ûna-va-nî</td>
<td>prîśniparûni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jî-va-ntî</td>
<td>jîvanî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dé-va-dâ-ru (also No. IV, 5, VII, 4)</td>
<td>dêvâdaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. IV, line 5</td>
<td>pra-pu-nda-ri-kha (cf. Nos. I, 2, III, 1, VI, 4)</td>
<td>prapaundarika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-û-ka-rô-hi-û</td>
<td>kaṭûka-rôhiû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-svâ-kâ-ndhâ</td>
<td>aśvagandhâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citations.</td>
<td>Name in Weber MS.</td>
<td>Sanskrit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. IV, line 6</td>
<td>a-pa-má-rga (also No. VI, 3 and below)</td>
<td>apámárga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. V, line 2</td>
<td>kā-kō-ri</td>
<td>kākōli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kshi-ra-kā-kō-ri</td>
<td>kshira-kākōli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pi-ta-ri (see bi-dā-ri, below)</td>
<td>vidāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kshi-ra-pi-ta-ri</td>
<td>kshira-vidāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. VI, line 3</td>
<td>a-svā-ga-ndha (see No. IV, 5)</td>
<td>aśvagandhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. VI, line 4</td>
<td>pra-pu-nta-ri-kha (cf. Nos. 1, 2, 11, 1, 4, 5)</td>
<td>prapanḍuṛika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. VII, line 4</td>
<td>ma-ṇe-ha-sítha (cf. No. I, 2)</td>
<td>maṇjīṣṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sā-kka-ri</td>
<td>sākka-ṛi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sārsha-pa</td>
<td>sārṣha-ṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku-sítha-kha</td>
<td>kuṣṭhaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On some other leaves I have found the following:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-mpri-ta-pā-ttri</td>
<td>amrita-patρa</td>
<td>apámārga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-vā-má-rga (see a-pa-má-rga above, No. IV, 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-ru-na-sā-ri</td>
<td>kālānusāri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kshi-ra-bi-dā-ri</td>
<td>kshira-vidāri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-ma-la-pā-ṛi and ta-ma-la-pā-dha-ṛi</td>
<td>tamāla-patra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tri-phā-u 3</td>
<td>triphala 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-ppā-u</td>
<td>pippala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-ta-na-kē-śi</td>
<td>pūtanākēśi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-na-ma-ba</td>
<td>puṇarnava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pri-ṅka-ra-chaṁ</td>
<td>bhūrīgaraṇa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pri-ya-ṅku and pri-ya-ṅgu</td>
<td>priyaṅgu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-dā-ṛi (see above, No. V, 2)</td>
<td>vidāli or vidāri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-la-pa-tti</td>
<td>vila-patra or vilvapatra?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bha-lła-ta-kha</td>
<td>bhallataka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-hā-mē-dha</td>
<td>mahā-mēda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē-dha</td>
<td>mēda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lō-ṛi and lō-dṛi and lō-tta-ṛi</td>
<td>lōdhra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā-ṛi-ba</td>
<td>sārīvā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śi-ṛi-sha-pu-shpa</td>
<td>śīrṣhapuşpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śai-lō-ya-kha</td>
<td>śailēyaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-rja-ra-sha</td>
<td>sarja-ṛasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>styō-ni-yā-kha</td>
<td>sthaunēyaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spelling of such words as tri-phā-u, ni-lu-ṭpā-u, pi-ppā-u is very curious. The identity of the former is clearly established by the numeral figure 3 which I have found following the word in one place, and which is intended to explain its meaning “the three myrobalans.” The liquid consonant l is apparently omitted, and the vowel attached by a side-25

25 Or perhaps for Skr. amrīṭa-patra, a bye-form of amla-patra, a kind of sorrel.
stroke to the preceeding akshara. This side-stroke is also used with final consonants, when they have no inherent vowel; they are, then, attached to the preceeding akshara by a side-stroke and written a little below the line,—a practice which is well-known in ancient Sanskrit writing, being used instead of the modern virāma. Thus in pra-pu-ntrākha (No. III, 1) and pra-pu-ntrā-kha (Nos. IV, 5 and VI, 4) we have an instance of the same consonant (kh) being written with and without the inherent vowel (a).

Part IX of the Weber MSS. appears to me to belong, both with regard to characters and language, to the same class of writings as the Kashgar manuscript, published by Mr. Oldenburg. The latter, too, is not only written in what I have called the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī, but it also shows occasional Sanskrit words interspersed in the text. Thus we have brāhmaṇam in the 5th line of the reverse (syllables 7–9), and again, on the obverse, mahākarmā (Skr. mahākara, a name of Buddha) in the 1st line (syllables 14–17), vajrāṅkusa (Skr. vajrāṅkusa) in the 4th line (syllables 10–13), and brāhma in the 5th line (syllables 8 and 9). Move doubtful are the following: reverse, line 3, bhṛingāṅkhu (bhṛingāṅka?) and śaṅtrēm (śāstra?), line 4 nīrvarṇam (nīrvarṇa); obverse, line 1, ēṇku (aṅka?), line 3, āṭrēm (astra?), and further on klēta. Quite certain is the occurrence of numerals. In the obverse, 2nd line, 74 (ṭḍ), 4th line 75 (ṭu); in the reverse, 1st line, 77 (ṭu), 3rd line, 78 (ṭu), 5th line 79 (ṭu). This order shows, that the pages are wrongly placed in Mr. Oldenburg’s plate. The lower part is really the obverse page of the leaf, and the upper part, the reverse.

The following is my reading of the Kashgar MS., observing the proper sequence of the pages:

**Obverse.**

1. pa. tsné kta shshê č-ńku khâ jri a kau ta echehê—ma-hâ-ka-ruhn shhê khai pê pê įya echehê pê shpiń nu—dha rya yknc ymc tssê śmó ṛa shshê mî na nà sô [ . . . . . . . . ]

2. shshê yai nu stma sthma tshà tkha lîc shshê pî su mî rttśe mác hnh 70+4 pô yá įnâ shshê tkhê ylai ṛam ktê né styâ ltsc sai tttâ ṛkâ shshê ñehâ nai sai ríc śehyâ shshê [ . . . . — . . . ]

3. syi shshêm ā-śrêm ūa 0 ktê tttâ khâ khâ rpô — klê-sa tma shshêm ehém lam nta sù rêm tspô nah kshê ñehâi — dha lskô shshê chau khê ma ví trêm sa . shshê ñehâi [ — . . . . . . . . ]

4. tma sa 70+5 įnâ kehyêm yê tkhêm tsa yai nu vâ-ivrèm-ńku-sha rûc nê — ylai įnâ ktêhê khê shsa ka pô sta khre echehê tô lki nê — krêm tpe [ . . . . . . . . ]
5. ysha sta — khê smai klyau nka sta brâ-hma ūñai khê rtsyai pó śai shshê — yâ dha shshê ūñhai i lai īa ktôm pó ylai ūñi k̲ê tIsâ shtsa pra lya shsha rkho [ . . . . . . . . .] 
6. pê lai k̲ê shsha na khró tsba na — khaṁ rpo rmêm skkha tma paṁ lsko shsha na rtai sna yâ kê — bhai shshê tIsê khaṁ ttô a rskô rshôm yâ . . . . [ — — . . . . . ]

Reverse.

1. só kâ nê nê rvâ tshai — khâ ra sta ūñâ ykhâ rehla klê nê tînâ k̲ê phâ ū̅ntsa ya mîna râm nê . . . la tma . 70 + 7 â ūñâ la shtab shshau . shph [ . . . . . . . . ] 
2. pê shshê kha stya strê nau su pê ūña cchê — tkhañ ttsa ūñê jaṭ snai ykô rû̅ shsha yâ kê ktse nê la lâm shka sta rya pô yô ūñê shshau rtso só ktsan ūa [ . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] 
3. bhrî-ṅgā-rê-nku26 su O kê sā-strêm i tê mai tta rshshê 70 + 8 pû vînâm k̲ê shshê tkhê bra mînâm k̲ê śpâ lmêm snai mê nâkh — yai tma tha ktau tra [ . . . . . . . . ] 
4. nê rmi tyâ mshê ūñhai khnh lmê nô ktya knê sa sta rêm — nê-rvâ-nâm shshai k̲ê ttsa śai shshê dha rkan chai êm shkhê tšteêm ta tthâ shshê . pa khâ kta [ . . . . . . . ] 
5. śpu kha kô ya khâ spa brâ-hma-ñaśm 70 + 9 ê mprê tma shsha na . . tma śtkhâ ra a kshâ sta — kłai nâmîtth sa ma śkãmîtth ka rsa tsi . . . . khâ . [ . . . . . . . . . ] 
6. . ru tê pa . má ga ri — gâ ūnê lai k̲ê shshai kêm tsa chám rkâ sta a sta ryaî — pô pê śai shshê ka llô yûâ shtai pê lai . . . ñai—

It will be noticed that a mark of interpunctuation occurs at regular intervals, i.e., after every 13th syllable; thus marking off sections of the text of 13 syllables each. Taking this as a basis of calculation, it will be found that the text between each pair of consecutive numbers is made up of six sections; and that from 9 to 13 syllables in each line are lost at the sides of the leaf. The space required for these would be 33 to 43 inches. The leaf, in its existing state, measures 14 to 153 inches in length. The leaf, in its original state, accordingly, must have measured about 193 inches, allowing a small margin on either side.

The fact that the text is divided and numbered in regular paragraphs renders it probable that the work is composed in some kind of poetry, each paragraph forming a verse or stanza of six sections of 13 syllables each. I am not aware of any Sanskrit verse of this description. I suspect, that the language is some kind of Mongolian, with Sanskrit technical terms interspersed. The nature of the latter, perhaps, suggests that the work belongs to the Buddhist Tantrîk class of literature.

16 Or perhaps read śri-ṅgā-rê-nku.
On the Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe.—By
G. A. Grierson, Esq., F. C. S.

Some years ago, while perusing an old number\(^1\) of the \textit{Calcutta Review}, I chanced upon the following sentence. ‘Antonio, a Roman Catholic Missionary at Boglipur on the Ganges, translated the Gospels and the Acts into the dialect of the people of that district.’ This was given as a quotation from a certain Dr. John, who wrote in 1809, and would refer to a translation of a portion of the New Testament into the local dialect of the people of Bhágalpur some years previously, that is to say at the end of the 18th century. The first translation of the Bible made by Carey was published in 1804 (into Maráthí), and most of the succeeding ones appeared in the second decade of the 19th century, so that so far as I am aware Father Antonio’s version was the first translation of the Bible into any language of Northern India, and, curiously enough, it must have been made into Maithili, a language into which the Bible has never been translated since.\(^3\)

At the time when this statement of Dr. John caught my attention, I was occupying a good deal of my leisure time with the vernaculars of Bihár, and it seemed to me that, if I could get hold of Father Antonio’s translation, it promised to afford me information regarding the condition of Eastern Maithili a century ago. Such evidence would have been an invaluable witness on the subject of the rate of growth of the Vernacular dialects of North India.

I accordingly communicated with Bhágalpur, and learned that Father Antonio had been a Capuchin Missionary there at the end of the last century, and had thence gone to Patná. No trace of the alleged translation could be found. I enquired at Patná and at A’grá, whither he had subsequently gone as Bishop, with a similar result. From A’grá he returned to Rome. Being at Rome in the year 1890, I called at the College of the Congregatio de propaganda Fide, and, though a total stranger, when I communicated the object of my search, was most kindly and hospitably received, and given every assistance in searching through the magnificent Oriental Library attached to the Congregation. My efforts were in vain, so far as the immediate object was concerned, for no trace of the missing translation could be discovered, though I saw numerous translations into Nepálí of about the same date. Indeed the Jesuit Fathers, who first entered Nepál in 1661,\(^3\)

\(^1\) Vol. V, p. 722, June 1846.
\(^2\) I omit from consideration a few detached extracts translated by the late Mr. John Christian.
\(^3\) The pioneers were Grüber, and Donville. They were succeeded by Ricanete,

\[J. 1. 6\]
appear to have made the language of that country their own in a very special manner. The translations which I saw in Rome, were on a far higher grade of excellence, than those into many Indian languages which issued from the Serampore press more than fifty years afterwards. Father Antonio's Bhāgalpuri translation, however, could not be found, and there appears little doubt, but that it was destroyed in one of the disturbances in Patna, when the local mission of the Roman church was burnt down by the 'barbari id est badmashi,' as a quaint Latin chronicle which I was permitted to see at Patna described them. My inquiries at Rome, however, gave me the clues, by the help of which I have traced the information which follows, and which may be found interesting, as showing glimpses of the growth in Europe of the knowledge of Indian languages.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, Maturin Veyssièvre La Croze was in charge of the royal library at Berlin. This remarkable scholar, a profound student in oriental lore, as it was then understood, carried on a copious correspondence with nearly every learned man of his time. This correspondence was published in 1742–46 at Leipzig by Uhl, in three closely printed Latin volumes of about three hundred pages each, under the name of the Thesaurus Epistoliorum LaCrozoianus, which is still obtainable in old bookshops. I do not know a more entertaining book than this collection of letters on many subjects. The Latin is throughout easy, and the manner in which the various subjects are treated compels the reader's admiration for the learning and ingenuity displayed, while now and then some pit-fall of error into which the wisest has fallen, warns students of the present day to avoid generalizations till we have made fast and firm the data on which we base them.

In the year 1714 we find David Wilkins writing to La Croze from Amsterdam, asking him for assistance in compiling a collection of translations of the Lord's Prayer into as many languages as possible, which Wilkins was publishing in conjunction with John Chamberlayne of London. Amongst other languages mentioned, Wilkins specially states

a Capuchin, one of whose successors, Father Pinna, wrote a Catechism in Urdu, which, he dedicated to the Rajah of Betiá. Father Pinna died in Patna in 1747.

1 E. g., when La Croze maintains that all languages are derived from Hebrew and cites the Marāthi alphabet in proof thereof (Th. E. La C., III, 65).

2 Mott had published a similar collection in London fourteen years previously, and Chamberlayne's 'Orationum dominicarum sylloge' was a revised and enlarged edition of this.

3 Loc. Cit. I, 369, 'alphabeta Singalœum, Janaicæum, et Bengalicum.' The Bangali version is quite unintelligible. It is reprinted in the Sprachmeister, v. post.
that he intends to give for the first time specimens in the Singhalese, Javan, and Bangâli languages. This request incited La Croze\(^1\) in November of the same year to write a long communication to Chamberlayne dealing with the subject of the study of languages in general, and vindicating comparative philology from the charge of inutility. He then proceeds to describe briefly the inter-relationship of the various languages as then known to him, and coming to India says, 'I have, however, little to offer concerning the alphabets of this country, except the conjecture that they are derived from that called Hanscrit.' The oldest letters of the Brachmans, he adds, can hardly have sprung from any source except from those of the Persians or Assyrians. But, as already remarked, the characters used by the other Indians are most probably derived from those called Hanscrit, which are used by the Brahmans, for on the one hand it is from them that the other Indian tribes imbibed their superstitions, and, on the other hand, Xaca, who laid the bonds of false religions on the peoples of the East, was himself brought up amongst the Brachmans. Moreover the order of the alphabet is the same amongst the Brachmans, the people of Malabar, the Singhalese,\(^2\) Siamese, Javans, and even of the language of Bali, which is the sacred tongue of Laos, Pegu, Cambodia, and Siam.

This change of the initial S of Sanskrit, into H is worth noting from a philological point of view. It seems to point to an authority coming from Eastern Bengal where \(s\) is in popular speech pronounced as \(h\), and no doubt La Croze's immediate source of information was Bernier's travels (1666 A.D.). As Yule and Burnell in the Anglo-Indian Dictionary point out, the term Sanskrit did not come into familiar use till the last quarter of the 18th century. I am in doubt as to what religious reformer is referred to under the name of Xaca. Was it Sākya Muni?

So much for Chamberlayne's *Sylloge*, which was published early in 1715. It did not give great satisfaction to La Croze, for he complains\(^3\) in one of his letters that Wilkins, *more suo*, had so 'edited' a Tartar specimen which he had given him, that the donor could hardly recognize it.

In the following year 1716, Ziegenbalg\(^4\) a Danish Protestant Missionary writes from London. It is evidently a letter in answer to inquiries made by La Croze. The word Brachmann, says Ziegenbalg,

\(^{1}\) L. C. III, pp. 78 and ff. What letter writers there were in those days! This Epistle covers 17 pages of small type.

\(^{2}\) Cellanenses.

\(^{3}\) L. C. III, 20.

\(^{4}\) L. C. I, 381.
is wrong, and is not understood in India. The correct word is Braman. So also the language of the Bramans is never called Hanscrit, the only name used by Bramans themselves being Kirendum. Here the writer shows that his knowledge is confined to Southern India, Kirendum being an attempt to depict the Tamil pronunciation of the word Grantham. He adds that the Bramans claim that this tongue is the root of all Indian languages such as the Malabaric, the Wartie, (i.e., Telugu), and the Ziglesic, which are spoken on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, but he cannot believe that others such as the Malaic, the Mogulie, &c., have any connexion in it. As for Chamberlayne’s Sylloge it is full of errors in the versions into the languages of Malabar, and when he returns to India he will send La Croze some more correct specimens, correctly translated by the boys of his Malabar school.

In September 1716 commenced La Croze’s voluminous correspondence with Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, then residing at Leipzig, and subsequently at St. Petersburg, whose name will occur several times in these pages. The early letters afford few points of interest to Indian students. They deal principally with Tangut, Mongolian and Chinese. Incidentally La Croze绶 complains of the vast extent of his correspondence. People write to him from nearly every part of Europe, to the great damage of his time and of his purse.

In March 1717 Bayer绶 ventures to doubt La Croze’s theory that the Sanskrit alphabet was derived from Persian, and the latter but faintly defends his opinion, though strongly maintaining that the modern languages of India are derived from that of the Brachmans.

Here there is an interval of some ten years, during which Bayer moved his residence to St. Petersburg, and the year 1717 may be taken as closing the first stage of attempts at a scientific inquiry into Indian languages. Men like La Croze and Bayer had to depend upon the untrained observations of travellers like Bernier, or to chance communications from Missionaries on leave in Europe. In their correspondence, the only vernacular of Northern India which they mention is Bangalí, and I can find no earlier mention of that language in any other work, though Yule绶 quotes the word as meaning a native of Bengal, from Barros, who wrote in 1552. They make no reference to Hindi or Hindúståni, though the word “Hindúståni” had been used as meaning the vulgar language of India for more than a century. Probably the

1 Cf. Valentijn (1727) (Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien), 'Girandum by others called Kirendum, and also Sanskrita, is the language of the Brahmans and the learned.' Quoted in Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Granthum.
2 L. C. III, 59. 3 L. C. I, 16. 4 L. C. III, 22, 23. 5 Hobson-Jobson s.v. 6 Hobson-Jobson s.v.
fact that it was a purely vulgar language, and was considered a mere jargon, led to its being neglected.

The foundation of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, on the lines of the great French Academy, were laid by Peter the Great, and it was formally opened by the Empress Catherine. The most learned men of Europe (amongst whom was Bayer) were invited to join it, and finally it was placed in a permanent position by Peter II. The first part of the transactions, relating to the year 1726 was published in 1728. These two volumes are very rare, nearly all having been destroyed in a fire which consumed the Imperial Academy and Printing Offices in 1741.

In the year 1727 Daniel Messerschmid, who had been deputed by Peter the Great to explore Siberia, returned to St. Petersburg, and amongst other curiosities brought with him an inscription, and a Chinese printed book. These were made over to Bayer, and he describes them in the third and fourth volume of the transactions. The inscription consisted of two short lines, one being in Brahmanical and the other in Tangut letters. It is reproduced here.

![Image of the inscription]

It will be recognized that the first line (which Bayer calls Brahmanical) is in the pointed variety of the Devanāgarī alphabet used by the Buddhists of Thibet, and called Lāntsha. The second line is the ordinary Thibetan character. Bayer with the aid of his knowledge of Manchu, and of the book to be subsequently described, deciphered this as 'Ong ma nī pa dme chëum chi' but was unable to translate it. Messerschmid, he says, told him that it was one of the commonest prayers of the Tanguts (i. e. Thibetans), and meant 'God have mercy on us.' This decipherment of the well-known Buddhist formula, Om, maṇḍapaṭme,

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1 Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae Tomus I, Ad Annum clv. locc xxi. | Petropoli Typis Academiae clv locc xvii.
2 For the years 1728 and 1729, and published in 1732 and 1735 respectively.
3 Pronounced like a Greek χ.
though its translation was incorrect, marks the first step in a new stage of the study of Indian languages in Europe. For the next few years, European scholars attacked the languages of Northern India through Chinese and Thibetan.

The other curiosity, the book which consisted of eight leaves, had been printed in China, and may be considered as the Rosetta stone of these explorers. It gave in parallel lines an entire syllabary of the Lântsha Devanâgarî alphabet, with a transliteration into Thibetan, and into what Bayer calls Mongolian. A reference to Ballhorn’s Grammatography will show that these last letters are not in the Mongolian character as now accepted, but more nearly resemble those given as Manchu. They are evidently some Tartar alphabet. A facsimile of the first page and a half is given on plate V. Bayer’s first procedure was to establish as far as possible the Thibetan characters. This was an easy task, for the language was already partly known to him, and he had other Thibetan students and books at his command. Then with the aid of this and of other specimens, he established the Manchu transliteration, and finally from these two, he was enabled to make a very fair attempt at transliterating the Devanâgarî. In the plate, I have given the transliteration fixed by him. From this he deciphered the Oh mani padme hum of the inscription. It will be observed that the transliteration is incorrect in many particulars.

Having thus made out the Lântsha alphabet, Bayer sent a copy of it to Schultz, a missionary in Madras, and was gratified to learn that the letters could be read by Brāhmans of Northern India. Schultz, himself, to judge from the specimens he gives, cannot at that time have known Sanskrit, or, indeed, any Aryan Indian language. He spells the name of Banâras काशा or भनारे, and talks of बापरा: नागरिक: He, however, describes three alphabets and gives specimens of them, the Devanâgarî, the ‘Balabandu,’ and the ‘Akâr Nâgârî.’ They have evidently been sent to Bayer just as they were written down for Schultz who could not read them. By ‘Balabandu,’ is meant Marâthi, but the three alphabets are really all Devanâgarî, as written by different hands. Schultz also gave instructions for pronunciation. Some of them may be quoted.

1 breue, lingua ad dexteram inclinata.
2 longum, lingua ad sinistrum mota.

1 See J. A. S. B. for 1892, Part I, pp. 30—33.
2 There were two lines to a page, but as three lines comprise the entire alphabet of simple letters, I have given a page and a half on the plate, in this following Bayer.
3 ‘Brahmanes extraneos et perigrines.’
"u" breuc, recto ex ore protruditur.

"ú" longum, quasi duplex, sono in altum prolato.

dha (ň) d formatur lingua quasi apoplectica, vt saliva ad palatum opem ferat, h admodum auditur: ceterum quasi aliquod u præmittitur, quod in primis sentitur, quoties vocalis praecedit, e. g. ba-ndha, legitur plane ban-dha.

Truly our forefathers must have felt the same difficulties with the cerebral letters, that we have now-a-days, and the 'apoplectic tongue,' is still found in the mouth of many a griffin.

Bayer relates how a certain Calmuc Ambassador named Bordon, who was then in St. Petersburg, helped him to acquire this pronunciation, and concludes with a brief notice, received from India, of the Marâthi, Gujarâti, and Mahrâja languages. By the last named, he apparently means Ùrdu, what the English subsequently called Gentoo, or Moors. All this time he was conducting an active correspondence with La Croze, in which, not only does the Chinese book finds due mention, but we meet one of the earliest efforts of comparative philology, the first four numerals in eight languages. During the next ten years the two friends now and then refer to Indian languages, and to the last La Croze adherses to this old error that the Marâthi alphabet is derived from Hebrew.

In 1745, was printed the first grammar of Hindâstânî, which I have seen noticed. It was written by the missionary Schultz already mentioned. I have not had the good fortune to see the work itself, and my only information concerning it is the title in the Catalogue of M. Garcin de Tassy's Books, 1879, quoted by Col. Yule in his Anglo-Indian Dictionary.

In 1748 was published at Leipzig the Orientalisch-und-occidentali-
scher Sprachmeister, compiled by Johann Friedrich Fritz, and dedicated by him to Schultz. This very curious work contains accounts of over a hundred alphabets from all parts of the world, followed by some two hundred translations of the Lord's Prayer. A good deal of the description of the alphabets of India was contributed by Schultz, whose account of Hindustânî is especially interesting and full. This is a general description of the composition of the Ùrdu language. Attention is drawn to the large number of Arabic and Persian words in its vocabulary, but the student is warned against supposing that it is in any way derived from those speeches. The ordinary Persian alphabet is given, but there is

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1 Thesaurus I, 58. The eight languages are, 'Camacinienses, Arincenses, Cam-
teschatquenses f. Yedenses et Coraeenses, Tangutenses et Tibetenses (1 = DscyK, 2 = Ny, 3 = Sawum), Persce, Mogulenses Indi (1 = Hicku, 2 = Guu, 3 = Tray, 4 = Tzahr), Oceselentes, Letti.' Who are meant by the 'Indian Mughals?'

2 S. V. Hindustanees.
no mention of the Indian cerebralized four dotted letters of that character. Among the Indian alphabets described may be mentioned, Bangali, Tamil, Grantham, Telugu, Burmese (called Pegu), Marathi, Devanagari (three varieties, borrowed from Bayer), and Singhalese. There is also a comparative table of fifty common words, in twelve different Indian languages, including Sanskrit, Canarese, Konkani, and Gujarati.

The versions of the Lord's Prayer are collected from widely different sources. Some are very fair and legible. Others are grossly incorrect. The Bangali translation, which is taken from Wilkins' sample given in Chamberlayne's *Sylloge*\(^1\) is almost worth reprinting as a curiosity for the number of seemingly impossible mistakes it contains. In fact it is quite illegible and unintelligible to every native of Bengal to whom I have shown it. It has evidently been made by some person who got a copy of the alphabet and a general description of the language and then 'greatly dared.' Even his knowledge of the alphabet is incomplete. For instance, he knew that the form for a non-initial e is ə, but did not know that it must come before the consonant to which it is affixed. Hence for ər, instead of writing ər, he wrote ər. Other similarly gross blunders occur in the writing,\(^2\) and as for the language, when deciphered, it is not intelligible. Only here and there can a Bangali word (usually wrongly spelled) be recognized. The incorrectness of this version is very curious, for under the head of alphabets, the Bangali character is given with very considerable accuracy. Most of the other translations are fair enough. Amongst them I may mention, Hindustani by Schultz, (Persian character; Commences, əsmán po (misprint for par) raktá, so hamaívrá báp), 'Brachmanic' (the Latin version transliterated into Devanagari), Sanskrit (Devanagari. Commences ərd̪ḷ̪h̪v̪a-loka-s̪v̪h̪ito mat-pitāḥ), 'Akar Nagarika ex Caschia' (language, Bhojpūrī; character; Devanagari), Guj̪rātī, Goanese, Tamil (five versions), Telugu, Sanskrit (Telugu characters), Marathi, Canarese, Sanskrit (Grantham characters), Marāthi (current hand), Singhalese, and Burmese (Pegu). Altogether the Sprachmeister is a fairly correct and interesting compilation.

It held the field as an authority on Oriental languages till 1771 when there appeared, from the press of the College de Propaganda Fide, a Latin pamphlet entitled *Alphabetum| Brammhanicum| seu| Indostanum| Universitatis Kastî*\(^1\). As its name implies it is a description of the Devanagārī alphabet, and is the first book printed in

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\(^1\) No wonder La Croze lamented over Wilkins' editing.
\(^2\) For instance the initial form of vowels is sometimes used instead of the non-initial form, and one consonant is used for another. Thus boppā, father, is spelled bāmmac बाममच.
Europe from types in that character. It has an interesting preface summing up the knowledge on Indian subjects gained up to that time. Mention is made of a MS. Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae, 'Quod Auctorem habet Franciscum M. Turonensem,' a monk of the Surat Mission, which was written in 1704 A.D. There is also a careful and accurate description of the various appliances adopted in India for writing, and the manner of their use. One hundred and nine pages are devoted to a full account of the Devanāgarī alphabet, as written 'at the University of Kāśi.' This is followed by an account of the Kaithā, or (as it is called in the book) the Nāgari alphabet. For this character also types were cast, more than a hundred years before they were again cast, under the supervision of the present writer, at the Bengal Secretariat Press. We have then a chapter on numerals, and the little volume concludes with two versions of the Lord's Prayer,—one a transliteration of the Latin into Devanāgarī, and the other a translation into very fair Hindi, followed by an Ave Maria, and Apostle's creed in the latter language.

In the following year (1772) appeared in London, Hadley's 'Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indostan Language commonly called Moors.' An account of this work will be found in the Anglo-Indian Dictionary, it is a very incomplete work, and far behind the one to be next noticed. As Col. Yule gives full particulars of this, the first English Hindūstānī Grammar, a passing notice will suffice here.

Six years subsequently, in 1778, appeared the first attempt at a scientific treatment of Hindūstānī. It was in Portuguese, and the title page runs as follows:—Gramatica Indostana a mais vulgar que e practica no Imperio do gram Mogol offerecida aos muitos reverendos Padres Missionarios do ditto Imperio em Roma MDCCCLXXVIII na Estamperia da Sagrada Congregacao de Propaganda Fide. Like the Alphabetum Grammaticum, this work was published in Rome. It is altogether an excellent work: and the author or authors had evidently a good grip of the language. The transliteration is scientific, though on a system widely differing from that of Sir W. Jones. As an example 'tum ko bahut piār kartā hāṅ' is given as 'tōm kā bōhōt pēār cartāhū.' For the first time attention is drawn to the use of the particle ne with the past tenses of transitive verbs, and the difficult question of compound verbs is treated with

1 The Sprachmeister is a collection of copper plate engravings.
2 I searched for this in the College Library at Rome, but could not find it.
3 S. V. Moors.
considerable success. It may be noted that the various postpositions 
*ká, ke, kí, ko, &c., are treated as declensional forms of the indefinite 
article, which are placed after a substantive, instead of before as in 
Portuguese.

This concludes my notice of the ‘Early Study of Indian Vernaculars 
in Europe.’ A good deal had been done, but the results had hardly 
penetrated to India. In 1783, the judicious Colebrooke wrote from 
Calcutta to his family ‘you recommend my being assiduous in acquiring 
the languages. It is what I intend, but there is no danger of my applying 
too intensely. The one, and that the most necessary, Moors,’ i.e., 
Hindústání, ‘by being not written, bars all close application; the other, 
Persian, is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of any use that I seek its 
aquisition very leisurely.’ The following year (1784) saw the founding 
of the Asiatic Society, and it is one of our most legitimate sources of 
pride that it took up the clue where it had been dropped by the Roman 
Catholic Missionaries, and under the influence of men like Sir W. 
Jones, Wilkins, and especially Gilchrist, the Indian Vernaculars ceased 
to be despised for ‘not being written’ and became the object of investi-
gations which have continued to the present day.

The sacred lamp so lit has never been extinguished, and the 
greatest living authorities on the subject, Mr. Beames and Dr. Hoernle, 
are still, I am glad to say, Members of the Society.

ADDENDUM.

LA CROZE.

I am indebted to Mr. Quaritch for the following extract from the 
* Nouvelle Biographie Générale,* which gives a full account of this eminent 
orientalist.

**VªSSIERE DE LA CROZE** (Mathurin).—orientaliste français né à 
Nantes le 4 Décembre 1661, mort à Berlin le 21 Mai 1739. Dégouté de 
l'étude par la sévérité mal entendue de son maître, il s'embarqua à 
quatorze ans, pour la Guadeloupe, où son père négociant éclairé, avait des 
relations d'affaires. Pendant le séjour qu'il fit dans cette ile, il acquit 
la connaissance des langues anglaise, espagnole et portugaise. À son 
retour il entra comme novice dans le couvent des bénédictins à Samur 
(1677), et y prit l'habit (1682). Bien que la vie studieuse de cette 
ongrégation fut de son goût, il eut des démêlés avec le supérieur et fut 
menacé de la prison. Effrayé du sort qu'il croyait l'attendre, il réussit à

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1 Life, p. 13.
s’ôvador et gagna Bâle (1696) où il embrassa le protestantisme. En même temps il prit le nom de la Croze, que était celui d’un petit bijou de sa famille. Ayant passé à Berlin, il devint bibliothécaire de l’électeur (fevr. 1697) aux modiques appointements de 200 écus par an. Il se chargea aussi de l’éducation du margrave de Schweldt. Leibniz avec qui il était lié, le fit nommer professeur à l’université de Helmstädt ; mais il fallait pour remplir ces fonctions faire acte de luthéranisme ; La Croze se refusa à ce changement de confession. Bientôt après, on lui confia l’éducation de la princesse royale, depuis margrave de Bairenthe. Son auguste élève fit augmenter son traitement de bibliothécaire et lui prouva la chaire de philosophie au College français (1721). Dans son vieillesse il fut assailli par des affections fort graves, la grêvelle et l’hypochondrie, résultat de son application excessive à l’étude. Il mourut à soixante-dix-sept ans, d’un mal à la jambe. Donc d’une mémoire prodigieuse et d’un esprit pénétrant, La Croze fut un érudit fort distingué. Il ne lui manqua pour devenir un homme éminent qu’un jugement d’une plus haute portée. Ses qualités morales, non moins que ses connaissances étendues, lui firent de nombreux amis, parmi lesquels il faut citer Spanheim, Bayle, Beausobre, Lenfant, Leibizui, Cuper et A. Fabricius. On a de lui: Actes et titres de la maison de Bouillon; Cologne (Berlin) 1698 in-12: Observations critiques sur les pièces employées par Baluze dans son histoire de la maison d’Auvergne.—Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets; Rotterdam 1707, in 8°: il y eu a trois qui traitent : du socinianisme et du mahométisme dont les principes fondamentaux sont les mêmes, d’après lui : du système de P. Hardouin sur l’origine supposée des écrits des anciens: et de l’état de la religion chrétienne dans les Indes.—Vindiciae veterum scriptorum contra Haradinum; ibid 1708 in 8°, réfutation d’une hypothèse qui lui parassait pleine de dangers, et sur laquelle il revint encore dans deux lettres, l’un impr. dans la Relation du Voyage litter. de Jordan, l’autre dans la Biblioth. german. t. XXXIII. La Croze s’était imaginé que le paradoxe du P. Hardouin était le résultat d’un complot formé par la société toute entière des Jésuites ; sans doute pour détruire le prestige de la littérature ancienne; Entretiens sur divers sujets d’histoire, de littérature, de religion et de critique; Cologne (Amst. 1711—in 12) on quatre entretiens avec un Juif. On y trouve une dissertation sur l’athéisme trad. en anglais, et une critique aussi injuste que passionnée, de l’Histoire des Juifs de Basnage;—Histoire du christianisme dans les Indes—La Haye 1774 pet. in 8°, et 1758, 2 vol. in 12° trad. en allemand ; c’est son meilleur ouvrage. Histoire du christianisme d’Éthiopie et d’Arménie ; ibid 1739 pet. in 8°; cet écrit est bien inferieur au précédant ;—Thesaurus epistolicus Lacrozius—Leipzig 1743-46 3 vol. in 4°; recueil publié par le professeur


Note on the History of the East India Company Coinage from 1753-1835.—By Edgar Thurston.

When I was engaged in collecting material for my 'History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum,'* the records of the Madras Mint were placed at my disposal by the Madras Government, and I expressed a hope that some one would eventually explore the archives of the Calcutta and Bombay Mints with a view to clearing up many obscure points in the history of the coinage of the Company, which constitutes a complicated branch of modern numismatics.

My head-quarters having, by the fortune of service, been temporarily transferred from Madras to Calcutta, the opportunity has been taken advantage of to examine the records of the Calcutta Mint; and facilities for carrying out the research in my spare moments were courteously given to me by Colonel Baird, F. R. S., Master of the Mint, to whom I have to express my great indebtedness.

The Calcutta Mint Committee Proceedings which are preserved in the Calcutta Mint, commence with the year 1792 (more than thirty years after the establishment of the Calcutta Mint), and are, with very few exceptions, continuous to 1835, where my investigations ceased, as the history of the Company's coinage after that year, in which a general British currency was established, is no longer veiled in doubt and obscurity.

Of the Calcutta Mint Records from the establishment of the Mint in 1760 to 1792, I have been unable to find any trace, and this is the more to be regretted, since the history of the coinage during this

* Madras Government Press, 1890.
period is beset with difficulties, the problem being, as pointed out by Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole* to determine where the native coinage ends and the Company's begins.

1753. In a despatch to the Court of Directors dated 12th February, 1753, it is mentioned that "the utmost secrecy was necessary with reference to the establishment of a mint at Calcutta, as any attempt to effect an arrangement with the Nawáb would be immediately overset by Juggut Sing." A vakil was entrusted and consulted, who said that his master, Hackem Beg, had a son in great power at Delhi, who might be able to get a phirmaund from the king; but that this would be attended at least with the expense of 100,000 rupees, and that, on the arrival of the phirmaund at Cossimbazar, it would cost another 100,000 rupees to the mutsuddys and diwáns of the Nawáb to put the phirmaund in force.

1759-60. The establishment of a mint at Calcutta finally took place in 1759 or 1760, and the following is a translation of the purwána: "To the noblest of merchants, the English Company, be the royal favour. In Calcutta a mint is established. You shall coin gold and silver of equal value and fineness with the ashrafis and rupees of Murshídábád in the name of Calcutta. In the suburbs of Bangala, Bihár, and Orissa, they shall be current, and no person shall demand or insist upon a discount upon them. Dated the 11th of the moon Zihada in the 4th year."

1792. In 1792 a Committee was constituted in Calcutta by order of the Governor-General, Earl Cornwallis, for superintending the mints and enquiring into the general state of the coinage in Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa. Among the instructions given to the Committee were:—

1. To enquire particularly into the cause of the little progress which had been made towards the establishment of the general currency of the sikka rupees.

2. To ascertain the causes of the batta or discount that had frequently been levied on the exchange of a gold mohar for silver.

3. To report whether it would be advisable to declare the gold mohars, and the multiples thereof, legal tender of payment in the three provinces in all transactions, public and private, at the value at which they were then received and paid at the general treasury and in all private transactions.

* Catalogue of coins of the Moghul Emperors, 1892.
4. To enquire into the state of the copper coinage.

5. To state their sentiments on the practicability and expediency of coining the gold mohars, rupees and pice, or either of those coins, with machinery of similar construction to that in use in the mints in Europe.

On May 14th, 1792, the Mint Master informed the Committee that he had received orders from the Governor-General to establish mints at Patna and Murshidabad, to facilitate the conversion of the various species of silver coins current in the several districts into sikh rupees.

A new gold mohar and sikh rupee of the current coinage were laid before the Committee, who were of opinion that the size, shape, and impression of the mohar were perfect, and equal, if not superior, to the newest English guinea, or any of the gold coins in Europe, the die being precisely the same size as the coin, which consequently bore the whole legend, the letters being cut flat, and the coin being difficult to drill without defacing it, owing to its being milled and of proper thickness. With respect to the rupee, the Committee considered that it was very defective both with regard to its size, thickness, and impression, which was struck with a die of twice the circumference of the coin, so that only a part of the impression appeared on the coin. The letters were considered to be too prominent, and liable to injury from common wear and filing, and the thickness of the coin and absence of milling rendered it liable to be easily filed, bored, and defaced. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the rupee should be coined in every respect in the same manner as the gold mohar.

In the Calcutta Mint Committee’s Proceedings, 1792, the following historical sketch of the Benares mint (concerning which great confusion exists) by Mr. Barlow, who had been deputed in 1787 to enquire into the trade and coinage of Benares, is placed on record.

A mint was first established at Benares in the 15th year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1734). The assay of the rupee was fixed at 22 chauwals, but, by the connivance of the Superintendents of the mint, it was debased to 32 chauwals at different periods before the 30th and last year of the reign.

During the first three years of the reign of Ahmad Sháh (1748–50) the mint was under the charge of Rájá Balwant Singh, who increased the duties on the coinage by attaching the fees of the officers of the mint, and establishing new ones to the same amount. In the 1st year the assay was kept up to 22 chauwals, but in the 2nd and 3rd years the Rájá farmed the mint to one Nandrám who, to increase his
receipts, debased the coin to 24 and 32 chauwals. The mint records were burnt by Balwant Singh, and no records were kept in the mint until the 17th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1776). The farmers carried away their books in order to conceal the profits they reaped from debasing the coins. The system of farming out the mints, first adopted by Ratan Chand, Diwán to Farrukhsiyar, at length introduced the custom of changing the value of the rupee every year. Those who had payments to make were consequently obliged to carry their old rupees to the mint to have them re-coined into sikkas, the name given to the rupees of the current year. Previous to the 10th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1769), the new coined sikka rupee, after circulating twelve months, fell 3 per cent., and at the expiration of two years 2 per cent. more, at which value it continued under the denomination 'sanwát.' On the 6th August, 1771, this usage was abolished by the British Government, who resolved that the sikkas coined in the 10th year of the reign should be considered as sanwáts, and that those coined in the 11th and all subsequent years should pass in payment at the same value as the sikkas of the current year.

From the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 6th and last year (1754) of Ahmad Sháh the mint was under the charge of 'Aghá Asad Beg, Kiladár or Governor of the Fort of Chunárá. The assay of the rupees was from 26 to 32 chauwals.

At the commencement of the reign of 'Alamgir II (1754) the mint fell to the Vizier Shujá’ud-daulah. During the 1st and 2nd years the assay of the rupees was from 26 to 28 chauwals. In the 3rd year Shujá’ud-daulah made over the mint to his brother-in-law, Mirza 'Alí Khán, who farmed it to Subháw Chand. The assay of the rupees was from 24 to 32 chauwals. In the 4th year the mint was farmed to the agent of an eminent Benáres banker, and the rupees were debased to 64 chauwals and, for the first time, half a rátí in weight. Rájá Balwant Singh refused to receive them into his treasury. In the 5th year the rupees were raised to their proper weight of 9 másháts, 7 ratís (or 632 chauwals), but continued at the debased standard of 40 and 48 chauwals. In the 6th and last year of the reign the rupees were debased to 100 chauwals assay (i. e. \( \frac{535}{630} \) silver and \( \frac{95}{630} \) alloy) and half a rátí in weight.

In the 1st year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam, Shujá’ud-daulah appointed a person on his own part to superintend the coinage, and the rupee was restored to its former weight, (9m. 7r.) and to 26 chauwals assay. During the 2nd to 8th years the assay remained at 40 chauwals. In the latter year (1767) Shujá’ud-daulah, at the recommendation of Lord Clive, resolved to reform the coin. The Benáres mint was, ac-
cordingly, committed to the care of Mirzâ Hasan, who engaged to restore the rupees to their proper weight and standard. A Delhi rupee of the 18th year of Muhammad Sháh was sent as a sample for the new coinage. This rupee was 22 chauwals fine, but, being worn, had lost 2 chauwals in weight. The new rupees were, in consequence, 2 chauwals deficient, and from that time the Benares rupees continued at 9m. 6r. 6 ch., being 2 chauwals less than the original weight of 9m. 7r. In the 9th year the mint was farmed to Monsieur Gentille, the French Agent at Shuja'ud-daulah's court, and the same assay (22 chauwals) was continued until the 15th year (1774). A considerable portion of the rupees issued in the 16th year contained only 5½ oz. of silver, to 10½ oz. of copper.

In the 17th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1776) the mint was transferred by the Company to Chait Singh, who engaged to coin rupees of 9m. 9r. 6 ch., weight and 18 chauwals fine, and to continue the die of the 17th san, in order to put an end to the confusion in the currency occasioned by the constant alteration of the value of the coin. "All rupees, therefore," the Records state, "coined in the Benares mint since the 17th year of the present reign, ought to be of the same weight and standard, and to pass current as sikkas* of the present year. The rupees current in the district of Benares may, therefore, be classed as sanwât and sikkâ, the former coined under the Mughal Princes, and the latter since the 17th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam, when the mint was ceded to the Company by the Vizier, and by them transferred to Chait Singh."

The following table gives information as to the assays, weights, and names of the rupees coined at the Benares mint from its establishment to 1782:

* Previous to the time of Farrukhsiyar all rupees coined under the reigning king were considered as sikkas, and passed at their original value during his life. At the accession of a new king, the rupees of the former reign were subject to a batta, and were not received into the royal treasury.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reign.</th>
<th>Assat.</th>
<th>Benares Weight</th>
<th>Calcutta Weight</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15th to 22nd years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>23th &quot; 28th &quot;</td>
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<td>29th &quot; 30th &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sháh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st year</td>
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<td>2nd to 4th years</td>
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<td>3rd year</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>4th &quot;</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>5th &quot;</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>6th &quot;</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sháh 'Alam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st year</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd to 7th years</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>8th &quot; 10th &quot;</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>11th year</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>12th &quot;</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>13th to 14th years</td>
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<td>15th &quot; 16th &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>17th &quot; 28th &quot;</td>
<td>18</td>
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</table>

The rupees of the 4th to 6th years of 'Alamgír II were called Trísálí from having the trisál or Hindú trident stamped upon them.

The rupees of the 1st to 7th years were called Thánmká Gohársháhid; Thánmká signifying small, and Gohár Sháh being the name of Sháh 'Alam previous to his accession to the throne.

Called Channá or broad Gohársháhid* to distinguish them from the Thánmká or small ones, which Shujá'ud-danláh, at the desire of Lord Clive, ordered to be discontinued.

Called Jhárdár from a mark or branch marked on the coin.

Sikka rupees of the same weight and fineness, and which ought to pass current at the same value. They are distinguished also by the appellation of macchlidár, from the head of a fish being stamped upon them.

* Regulation V, 1821, refers to "Ghursháhee or Tirsoolee rupees."
The fact is incidentally mentioned that, when the Sháhzádá (Sháh 'Alam) invaded Bihár, the mint accompanied him, and a large quantity of Benares rupees were melted down and coined into ‘rikábees’ (rikáb, a stirrup) which were 1r. 2ch. deficient in weight, and of 64 chaunwals assay, but were made to pass in the camp as sikkas of the established weight and fineness. It is also noted that two lacs of rupees were annually melted down for the manufacture of the laces and rich stuffs for which Benares was celebrated.

From Mr. Barlow’s sketch the following account of the coinage of copper has been derived.

The pice current in the city and district of Benares previous to the establishment of the mint, were mostly coined at Gorakhpur in Oudh from copper brought from the northern hills. The first coinage of pice at Benares was in the 23rd year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1742), when 100 maunds weight were struck with the die of the sikka rupee. From that period till the 4th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1762), no pice were coined in the Benares mint. In the 5th year the farmer of the mint purchased some English copper, and coined it into pice of 10 másháás stamped with the die of Gorakhpur. The number exchanged for a rupee was 45 to 48. The coinage of pice was again discontinued until the 17th year (1776), when it was re-established by permission of Rájá Chait Singh. The new pice were 10m. 3r. in weight, and passed current at about 50 or 51 to the rupee. In the following year a quantity of copper was brought to Benares from Calcutta, and the coining of pice and exclusive privilege of buying and selling copper in Benares granted to one Káshmirú Mall for Rs. 5,000. The weight of the coins continued to be 10m. 3r. and they passed in the bazar at about 52 or 53 per rupee. In the 19th and 20th years the coinage was declared free, and those who brought copper received pice in return, after paying duties. In the 21st year (1779) a considerable revolution took place in the copper coinage. The Nawáb Vizier issued orders to the officers of the Alláhábád mint to reduce the weight of the pice to 9m. 2r. The merchants, finding that their maund of copper yielded 3,650 pice at Alláhábád and only 3,250 at Benares, carried all their copper to the former place. The coinage of pice was, consequently, at a stand still, only 29 maunds being coined during the year. Large quantities of the new Alláhábád pice were brought by merchants to Benares. Rájá Chait Singh at first refused to authorise their currency, but at length gave his consent, and the Alláhábád pice of 9m. 3r. were declared current, and ordered to be received in payment in common with the old pice of 10m. 3r. The result was that the bankers contrived to lower the value of the pice altogether, and were
assisted in so doing by large importations from Allâhâbâd. In the 22nd year Râjâ Chait Singh ordered piece to be coined of the same size and weight as the Allâhâbâd piece, and this contributed greatly to overstocking the circulation. In the 23rd and 24th years, after the expulsion of Chait Singh, the same weight (9m. 2r.) was continued, and the price of piece continued to fall until the famine in the next year, when they sold at thirteen for a rupee. In the 27th year the Resident at Benares ordered that no piece should be issued from the mint under 10m. 3r. and that Gorakhpur piece, weighing 10m. to 10m. 3r. and Benares piece, weighing 10m. 3r. should pass at the same value. The price immediately rose to 58 per rupee. In the 28th year (1787), when it was supposed that sufficient new piece had been coined for the city of Benares, the Gorakhpur piece were forbidden, and only the new Benares piece stamped with a trîsúl (trident), and weighing from 10m. to 10m. 3r. and the Gorakhpur piece, re-stamped and not under 10m. in weight, were declared current.

As regards the gold coinage at the Benares mint, it is stated that the gold was assayed there by touch on a species of the salgrâm* stone so celebrated in the sâstras of the Hindus. Upon comparing the Calcutta with the Benares gold mohars, it was found (1787) that the former was about Rs. 2–1–6 better than the latter, i. e., R. 1–14–9 in weight and As 2–9 in assay. It was suggested, therefore, that the Benares mohar should be raised to the same weight and standard as the Calcutta mohar.

1792. On June 26, 1792, the following regulations were submitted, among others, for the consideration of the Governor General:

Dacca, Patna, Murshidâbâd.

I. That the rupees coined throughout Bengal, Bihâr,† and the district of Benares, be of the same weight, standard, size and impression (the rupee of the 19th san then coined at Calcutta).

II. That the mints of Dacca, Patna and Murshidâbâd be re-established.

III. That one species of copper coin be declared current throughout the Company’s dominions.

In August, 1792, it was notified that directions had already been given by the Governor General for the re-establishment of the mints at Dacca, Patna, and Murshidâbâd; and in the same month, the follow-

* Sâlagrâma stones are fossil ammonites, which, as worshipped by the Hindus, are commonly perforated by holes believed to have been made by Vishnu.

† I have, for convenience, adopted a uniform spelling of the names, of places, e. g., Bihâr and Murshidâbâd instead of Behar and Moorshedabad.
ing propositions were, among others, made by the Calcutta mint Committee, with a view to drawing the old and light coins into the mints, and establishing the general currency of the sikka rupee:

I. That after April 10th, 1794, only the san 19 sikka rupees be received at the public treasuries, or issued therefrom;

II. That public notice be given that Government, with a view to enabling individuals to get their old coin or bullion converted into sikka rupees without delay, have established mints at Dacca, Patna and Murshidábád in addition to the mint at Calcutta;

III. That the rupees coined at Dacca, Patna and Murshidábád, be made precisely of the same shape, weight and standard as the 19 san sikka rupees coined at Calcutta, in order that the rupees struck at the several mints might not be recognisable from each other, and might be received and paid indiscriminately;

IV. That the dies be made of the same size as the coin, and that the coins be milled;

V. That the hijrah year be omitted, as the insertion of it, by showing the year in which the rupees were struck, would defeat the object of Government in continuing the 19th san upon the coins.

The earliest weekly account of the new Dacca mint which I have been able to find, is dated 11th August, 1792, on which day the Assay Master also submitted to the Calcutta Mint Committee the accounts of the preceding three months, and promised in future to forward a weekly account.

On 23rd October, 1792, the Assay Master of the Murshidábád mint reported that he was erecting workshops, etc., at the Dutch Factory, and hoped to begin coining by the end of the following week. The opening of the mint was announced to the Governor General in a letter dated December, 1792.

1793. On 24th February, 1793, the Assay Master of the Patna mint announced to the Calcutta Mint Committee that everything would be ready by the end of the month for the coining of five lacs monthly.

In 1793 a regulation* was passed, by which the gold and silver coin in Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa was reformed, and the currency of any gold or silver coin in these provinces, but the 19th san gold mohar and 19th san sikka rupee, and their respective divisions into halves and quarters, was prohibited.

* See Prinsep, Indian Antiquities, and Thurston, History of the Coinage of the East India Company.
1795. In a minute dated 2nd October, 1795, the defective state of the copper coinage in Bengal was dealt with, and the principles upon which the copper currency was regulated under Native administration, and the rules that had been prescribed regarding it by the British Government were noted. “Under the Mogul administration,” the minute states, “the silver coin was the only measure of value and legal tender of payments. Gold mohurs and pice were struck at the mints for the convenience of individuals, who carried gold or copper to be converted into those coins. But the Government never fixed the number of pice which should be equivalent to a rupee, any more than the number of rupees which should pass in exchange for a gold mohur. From the year 1772, when the mints at Dacca, Patna, and Murshidábâd were withdrawn, no pice were coined in the Provinces until 1783, when a contract was concluded with Mr. Prinsep for coining pice on account of the Government. These pice were of four descriptions, viz., whole or pucka, weighing 20 annas, half pice, quarters and eighths. These pice were issued by the Government at the rate of 32 pucka pice, 64 half, 128 quarter pice, and 256 eighth pice for the sikka rupee.”

At a council, over which Sir John Shore, Governor General, presided, held on 2nd October, 1795, it was considered expedient that there should only be two descriptions of copper coin, a whole and half pice, to pass at the value of a quarter and an eighth of an anna respectively. It was, accordingly, resolved that a Regulation should be framed, and published for the establishment of a new copper coinage* for Bengal Bihár, and Orissa. Among the provisions of this Regulation were:

I. That people in all parts of the country be apprised of the value at which the coin was issued by Government, and to be received and paid by the public and individuals;

II. That the value be inscribed on one surface in Persian, Bangáli and Nágarí—the characters used in business in the Provinces;

III. That the coin be declared legal tender of payment for fractions of half a rupee;

IV. That the coin be struck at the Calcutta mint, and not at the three City mints.

The Governor General approved of samples of the new pice and half pice in November, 1795, and orders were issued to coin an equal value of the two coins, until it was ascertained which was likely to be in the greatest demand. A week later, however, the Governor General, understanding that the relative values of the whole and half pice would

* The existing piece was known as the Calcutta, or Prinsep's pice.
be best understood by the Natives, especially the lower orders, by substituting "ek páí sikká" and "ádhá páí sikká" for "pamb áná and .......(the inscriptions originally ordered) resolved that instructions for altering the inscriptions be issued to the Mint Master.

Towards the end of 1795 trouble was caused by the debased quality of the gold mohars issued from the Dacca, Patna, and Murshidábád mints, and by the rupees issued from the Patna and Murshidábád mints being below sikka standard. It was, after enquiry into the matter, resolved that the coinage of gold at the Patna mint should be for the time discontinued, and that, for the present, no more coins should be struck at the Murshidábád mint. In the course of the correspondence relating to the debased coinage, reference is made to the distinguishing marks of the three mints, but, for precaution's sake, the nature of these private marks (recognisable with a lens) is not mentioned.

1796. In February, 1796, it was resolved that all the gold bullion sent to the Calcutta mint should, until further orders, be coined into quarter mohars, inasmuch as these coins were in much greater request among the lower orders than the gold coins of higher value.

In April 1796, in consequence of a report from the Mint Master, that considerable loss would be sustained annually if Government adhered to their original intention of coining the whole pice at 16 annas and the half pice at 8 annas sikka weight, Government was reduced to the alternative of relinquishing the establishment of the new copper coinage altogether, or reducing its value. It was accordingly resolved that the coinage of whole pice of 12 annas and half pice of 6 annas sikka weight, be commenced immediately. The Mint Master, however, reported that dies could not be made for pice of smaller diameter than those then in use, as there would not be a sufficient body of metal to yield a bold impression. It was thereupon ordered that, in the event of its appearing impracticable to insert the whole of the inscription, the Persian portion should be omitted instead of the Nágarí as suggested by the Mint.

1797. The coinage of money at the Dacca and Patna mints ceased on 31st January 1797, and December 31st 1796, respectively. The date of the closing of the Murshidábád mint I have not been able to find, but the records of 1799 make reference to "assaying materials which may be deposited in the late mint at that station, and to the best means of disposing of the building which was formerly used for a mint at Murshidábád."
1800. In a letter dated 12th December, 1800, on the subject of the irregularities at the Benares mint, the Collector of that city suggested the advisability of a European being placed in charge of the mint, and of having rupees coined there of the same standard as the Bihār sikka rupees.

1801. In April 1801, a Committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the Benares mint, and report on the expediency of continuing it. From the Committee's report it appears that, since the abolition of the Residency, the mint had been left without the superintendence of a European official, and that the same species of gold, silver, and copper coins continued to be struck as at the time when Mr. Barlow reported on the mint (p. 54).

In recommending a continuation of the mint, the Committee stated that "a connexion has always subsisted between the mint and the manufacturers of gold and silver wire and thread, and the weavers of rich cloths and embroideries made at Benares, on which the prosperity of the trade in these articles appears so much to depend that, in the event of the abolition of the mint, the manufacturers might require some similar establishment to supply its place." In reviewing the report of the Committee, the Governor-General did not think it advisable either to abolish the mint, or to alter the mode in which the coinage had been hitherto conducted, but ordered that the Agent of the Governor-General, the Magistrate of the city, and the Collector of the Province of Benares be constituted a permanent Committee for the superintendence and control of the mint.

1802. In 1802 letters were received from Madras and Bombay, from which it appeared very necessary that a general reform of their coinage should be carried out, and greater uniformity introduced, so as to relieve the public and individuals from the inconvenience arising from so great a variety of coins, and from so frequent fluctuations in their values. The following plan of a new coinage was submitted by the Calcutta Mint:

I. That the gold and silver coins of Madras, Bombay, and the Ceded Districts, be of the same standard and weight;

II. That the gold mohar (gold rupee) weigh 180 grains troy, and contain 168 grains of gold and 12 grains of alloy;

III. That the silver rupee weigh 186 grains troy, and contain 173 grains of silver and 13 grains of alloy;

IV. That fourteen rupees be equal to, and pass for the gold mohar.

V. That the mohar and rupee of Bombay be divided into halves, quarters, and eighths (which last could be milled and stamped without trouble);
VI. That the Madras quarter mohar pass for 42 silver fänams, and the Madras rupee for 12 fänams.

In this proposed coinage the quarter gold mohar was of the same intrinsic value as the Madras star pagoda, but the rupee was nearly 4 per cent. better than the Madras Arkāt rupee. The proposed new rupee was more than 5 per cent. better than the Bombay rupee, which had been adopted from the Surat Mint.

In a letter dated July, 1803, stating that the Governor-General had it in contemplation to establish a coinage of the same weight and standard throughout the provinces ceded to the Company by the Nawāb Vizier, it was announced that a Committee had been appointed for the superintendence of the mints established at Barailí and Allāhābād, which were to report to Government their suggestions for the improvement of the coinage in the ceded provinces. I have not been able to ascertain how long the coinage of the Allāhābād mint continued, but reference is made in December, 1805, to "base coin issued from the mint at Allāhābād a short time previously to the coinage at that place."

1803. In May, 1803, the Collector of Gorakhpur stated that "it is the opinion of some sensible shroffs that, in the course of the ensuing year, it may be advisable to establish a mint at the town of Gorakhpur. In this case it is my opinion that the Lucknow sikka rupee of the 28th san should be gradually introduced as the standard currency of Gorakhpur. On the other hand, the shroffs would greatly prefer the Gorakhpur rupee because of the advantages always derived from the fluctuation of batta on rupees of different standards."

Farrukhābād.  

By Regulation XLV, 1803, it was enacted that:

(Sect. II.) A silver coin, to be denominated the Lucknow sikka rupee of the 45th san, struck in the mint of Farrukhābād, corresponding in weight and standard with the sikka rupee at present struck at Lucknow, in the dominions of the Nawāb Vizier, and thence denominated the Lucknow rupee, is hereby declared to be the established and legal silver coin in the provinces ceded by the Nawāb Vizier to the English East India Company.

(Sect. IV.) A mint shall be established at, or in the immediate vicinity of Farrukhābād, in which Lucknow rupees of the 45th san, and of the prescribed weight and standard, and half and quarter rupees of the same standard and proportionate weight, will be coined.

(Sect. V.) The Lucknow 45th san sikka rupee, as established by this regulation, shall be of the same size and form as the 19th san
sikka rupee struck in the mint at Calcutta, and shall bear the following impression:—

Obverse.  

Mibriya wani wani zahem  
Saleh Fazl Sahl Ulum Badshah  
Manka Zd Teenqat kashur

( Sect. VI.) The half and quarter rupee shall be proportionately less than the rupee, and bear the same impression as the rupee.

( Sect. XII.) The Mint Master at Calcutta shall cause a private mark to be put on all dies which may be prepared for the mint at Farrukhabad, but in such a manner as not to be distinguished by the naked eye, or by persons unacquainted with it.

1804. In 1804 the Commissioner of Cuttack pointed out that great inconvenience was experienced in the Province of Cuttack from the want of a current coin of small value, especially for the use of the troops, and pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannath, and proposed that the coin should bear on one face the figure of Jagannath, and on the other the value of the coin in Persian and Uriya, and the date. This coin was never struck.

In this year the Assay Master of the Benares mint expressed a wish that "a coining, milling, and laminating machine may be sent up to Benares to enable me to ascertain by experiments what advantage there might be in introducing the mode at present used in Calcutta, or in continuing the native method of coining with the hammer only, though the whole figure of the die is not impressed on the rupees that are made in any of the native mints. The Riwá rupees, though of inferior value, have to an inexperienced person very much the aspect of Benares rupees, and are sometimes passed as such."

The Mint Committees in the Ceded Provinces (Barailí and Alláhábád) were called on, in 1804, to report their views as to the introduction of a new copper coinage. The Alláhábád Committee recommended that a new copper coinage should be issued, bearing the same impression as the Lucknow rupees struck at Alláhábád. "There are," the Committee stated, "two kinds of copper coinage in currency.

The average exchange of the first is two to an anna, and of the second four to an anna. We recommend that, for the present, the new coinage be limited to the first sort."

In their report the Baraili Committee gave the following details concerning the history of the copper coinage at that mint. "At Baraili no copper coinage was known until about sixteen years ago, when it was introduced by Mahdî 'Alî Khân, the āmil, who coined pice called šamšer shâhî from their having the figure of a sword stamped upon them. They were generally coined out of old pice or copper utensils. This coinage continued two years, after which the same āmil substituted another species of pice called māshhīlîdârs from their having the figure of a fish stamped upon them. A few years after an improved coinage was introduced by the then āmil of Rohilkhand, whose pice were termed kâtâr from their being stamped with a dagger. After that, when Mahdî 'Alî Khân became āmil for the second time in 1205 (1790), though the name and appearance remained the same, the weight was reduced from 18 10 17 and even 16 mâshâs. In this diminished state the coinage of the kâtâr shâhîs continued until the cession of the provinces to the Company in November, 1801. They are still current in the southern and eastern parts of Rohilkhand, but never obtained circulation equal to that of the najîb khânîs, which are current at Râmpur."

The opinion expressed by the Committee was that there were no special circumstances of a local nature which urgently demanded the introduction of a copper coinage, but that it appeared advisable, on general principles, to introduce a sort of pice which would be intrinsically valuable from its purity, and difficult of imitation, and which should bear the same proportion to the local silver currency which the pice in the Lower Provinces bore to the Calcutta sikka rupees.

It appears from a report by Mr. Seton that the system of farming the Baraili mint was abolished in 1802. No alteration was introduced into the standard of the rupee, except that, to mark the period at which the change of system took place, the Persian letter چ (the first letter of the late Sûbah ʿHuṣsain 'Alî Khân) was discontinued, and ١ (W) substituted in compliment to the Lieutenant-Governor.

1805. In February 1805, the authorities of the Farrukhâbâd mint recommended the coinage of milled in place of hammered money as a measure tending to correct several existing abuses and imperfections. In July a letter from Government stated that "The Governor General in Council has determined on the immediate introduction of a new silver coin into
the provinces ceded by the Nawâb Vizier to the English East India Company, and into the conquered Provinces of the Nawâb and on the right bank of the river Jumna, including the Zillah of Bundelkhând, to be denominated the Lucknow sikka rupee of the 45th san, struck at Farrukhâbâd, corresponding in weight and standard with the sikka rupee at present struck at Lucknow in the dominions of the Nawâb Vizier; and has it in contemplation to establish a new copper coin in the provinces above-mentioned, of an uniform weight, to consist of pure copper.

1806. In 1806 the Mint Master at Benares, in a report on the copper currency of the Benares Province, stated that "there is no regulation for the weight, size, or impression of pice that can be the least check on any person making them privately without fear of detection. A great part of the pice now in circulation have been made in Oudh, the Riwa Rájá's country, and other places, and smuggled into circulation." He, accordingly, suggested for the consideration of Government a new copper coinage (of which specimens were forwarded) to consist of:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Number to the rupee</th>
<th>Weight: Grains troy</th>
<th>Diameter, Inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Double Pice</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"If," the Mint Master wrote, "the machinery of the Calcutta mint could be used in laminating the derabs, it would greatly reduce the expense of making the pice, but I would by no means advise the impression being stamped in Calcutta, as the prejudices of the Natives in Benares should be conceded to."

In a letter dated 10th December, 1806, the Governor General, in forwarding a letter from the Court of Directors concerning a plan for one general coinage for the Company's possession, expressed his opinion that the coins should be struck in the name of the king of Delhi, and not of the Company with their arms, as proposed by the Court. In the letter referred to, of which the following is a précis, the Court of Directors wrote as
follows:—"We think the Earl of Liverpool* has established the principle that "the money or coin which is to be the principal measure of property, ought to be of one metal only." In applying the argument to a coin for general use in India, there cannot be any doubt, in our opinion, that such coinage must be of silver. The standard weight of the silver coins issued from the mints of our several Presidencies we find to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Troy Gs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta Sikka Rupee</td>
<td>Troy Gs.</td>
<td>179⅔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras Arcot</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;  ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;  ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"We think it would answer a good purpose to fix the gross weight in whole numbers, and should prefer the weight of 180 troy grs. The British standard for gold coin is 1/3 alloy and 1/2 fine. There is no doubt that 1/2 alloy of copper would be equally proper for silver coin, and we are of opinion that this proportion should be adopted, in which case the new rupees would have 165 grains of fine silver and 15 grains of alloy. Should the new rupee be ultimately adopted, there may be coined also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Troy Gs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Half Rupee</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter</td>
<td>&quot;  ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>&quot;  ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"A copper coinage should also be determined on for general circulation, and it is our opinion that it should consist of 6 picca or half anna, 3 picca or quarter anna, and 1 pico pieces.

"We are desirous of establishing a gold coin on a principle fitted for general use. This coin should, in our opinion, be called a gold rupee, and be made of the same standard as the silver rupee, viz., 180 grains gross weight and 165 grains fine, and be divided into halves and quarters. The quarter gold rupee appears well fitted to supply the place of the Madras star pagoda in the payment of the Madras army.

"We have thought the adoption of a new coinage for British India a fit opportunity for giving a new impression to our currency, and the most appropriate, in our esteem, is the Company's arms with an inscription "English East India Company," as also the denomination and value of the coin with the year of coinage, and for the reverse a Persian inscription expressing the English one on the obverse with the date of coinage and value and denomination of the coin. If the smaller gold and silver coins (perhaps all below the half rupee) do not present surface sufficient for a clear impression, it would be proper to substitute for the Company's arms the Company's crest, the inscriptions to remain alike in all."

* Letter to the King on the coins of the realm.
1807. A letter from the Mint Master at Farrukhábád dated 24th October, 1807, asks for new milling dies for rupees, and states that the mint had not yet been furnished with dies for the half and quarter rupees, the expediency of introducing which had been suggested by the Mint Committee.

In this year, and early in 1808, proclamations were issued by the Government of Madras respecting a new coinage for the Madras Presidency, of which the following is a résumé.

A Silver Coinage.

"All the silver coins of the Presidency coined at the Madras mint shall be coined direct from dollars when imported, and be of dollar fineness.

"The double rupee will contain double the quantity, the half rupee half the quantity, and the quarter rupee a quarter of the pure silver which the rupee contains.

"There are also coined and issued the following small coins:—

Five fanams, on which is inscribed their denomination in English, Persian, Gentoo (Telugu), and Malabar (Malayálam).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Copper Coinage.

"The Governor General in Council has been pleased to issue a new coinage of the following numbers, values, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Double Dubs</td>
<td>... 24 to the rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>... 48 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half</td>
<td>... 96 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter</td>
<td>... 192 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"In case the above coins are issued at the Presidency, etc., they are to measure with the star pagodas:—

84 double dubs to one pagoda.
168 single " " " "
336 half " " " "
672 quarter " " " "

"There are also issued the following coins with their denomination inscribed on them in English, Persian, Gentoo, and Malabar:—40 cash, 20 cash, 10 cash, 5 cash."

* The five fánam pieces are now very scarce. Double and single fánams are fairly common. The three fánam pieces I have never seen, and have met with no other reference to them. I am inclined to think that the mention of them is a mistake.
In this Proclamation, which is dated 22nd August, 1807, it is stated that "the Governor in Council has also deemed it expedient to issue a silver coinage of half and quarter pagodas of dollar fineness."

This Proclamation was repeated on 28th November, 1807, with the addition of a 2½ cash piece as being "also issued."

**C. Gold Coinage.**

"The Governor in Council, having deemed it necessary to establish a new gold currency, has resolved to coin a gold pagoda of 22 carats fine, and a double pagoda of the same fineness, with English, Persian, Gentoo, and Malabar inscriptions."

In August, 1807, the mint master at Benares received a letter from Calcutta respecting a new copper coinage for the province of Benares, which was to be prepared in the Calcutta mint. This coinage should, it was thought, consist of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number to a Calcutta sikka weight.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Double pice  ...  ...  32  1-1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single   &quot;  ...  ...  64  0-8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half     &quot;  ...  ...  128 0-4-4½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1809. By Regulation X, 1809, the Calcutta mint was directed to coin piece for the province of Benares, valued at 64 per rupee.

**Benares.**

1810. In a letter dated 11th September, 1810, reference is made to "London made copper coins at Fort St. George, of which there is stated to be 80,000 pagodas in store, and which cannot be brought into circulation at that Presidency. We are of opinion that the 20 cash pieces might be circulated here at the value of one and a half of the Bengal pice, and that, in the present scarcity of copper, it would be advisable to send the whole of them to Bengal.

1811. A letter dated 16th September, 1811, states that "Government having been pleased to determine that no change shall be made in the local currency of the province of Benares, but that it shall be recognised as the legal currency of that portion of the Company's territories, we entirely concur as to the expediency of placing the mint of that province under the immediate control of the Supreme Government, and of assimilating it in every respect to the mints of Calcutta and Farrukhabad, by which means the coin which may hereafter be struck in the Benares mint will be much improved in point of fabrication and appearance."

**Madras.**

1811. A letter dated 16th September, 1811, states that "Government having been pleased to determine that no change shall be made in the local currency of the province of Benares, but that it shall be recognised as the legal currency of that portion of the Company's territories, we entirely concur as to the expediency of placing the mint of that province under the immediate control of the Supreme Government, and of assimilating it in every respect to the mints of Calcutta and Farrukhabad, by which means the coin which may hereafter be struck in the Benares mint will be much improved in point of fabrication and appearance."
The same letter states that "the quantity of gold which has been coined in the Benares mint since 1782 only amounted to 121,949 mohars or about 1,768,260 rupees, whilst, during the same period, the silver coinage has amounted to rupees 51,631,000, and it is accordingly proposed by the Board of Commissioners that the Benares mint shall not be open for the coinage of gold bullion in future."

A Regulation for the future management of the Benares mint, (the date* of which is not given in the records), has, among its clauses, the following:

Preamble. Whereas it has been deemed advisable to continue the mint at Benares, and to assimilate the internal management of it to the rules already in force in the Mints of Calcutta and Farrukhábád, the following rules have been enacted to be in force from their promulgation:

I. The silver coin now current in the Benares province under the denomination of the machhildár rupee, commonly called the Benares rupee, shall continue to be the established coin of the province, and shall be received as such in all public and private transactions.

II. The Benares rupee is to continue of the following weight, and half and quarter rupees are to be coined of the same standard and proportionate weight:

| Troy grains | ... | ... | 175 |
| Pure silver | ... | ... | 168.875 |
| Alloy       | ... | ... | 6.125 |

III. The Benares rupee shall hereafter be struck of the same size and form as the 19th san rupee struck in the mint of Calcutta, and shall bear the same impression as is now in use;

IV. The half and quarter rupee shall be proportionately less than the rupee, and shall have the same impression as the rupee;

V. The edges shall be milled, and the dies (to be cut in the Calcutta mint) shall be made of the same size as the coin, so that the whole impression may appear;

VI. The mint master at Calcutta shall cause a privato mark to be put upon all the dies which may be prepared for the Benares mint.

1812. In 1812 the Lieutenant-Governor of Java asked that a supply of copper coinage might be sent from Bengal to Batavia, as the want of a small currency was felt throughout the colony. The coinage, it was suggested, should consist of 165 coins to one Dutch pound weight, and the device be either the figure of a buffalo or elephant, and on the reverse, Java and the date.

* It was probably 1810, as it refers to "From and after the first day of 1811."
In April, 1812, the Madras mint Committee recommended that, in conformity with the orders of the Court of directors, the coinage of half and quarter pagodas and of pie, two, and single fānams be discontinued, and that the coinage of rupees, half, quarter, and eighth rupees be commenced; and that the half and quarter pagodas and five fānams pieces be re-coined into rupees as fast as possible, leaving the double and single fānams to remain in circulation until the fractions of the rupee were fully established.

1813. In 1813 it was pointed out that, since the "tirsoolee pisa" was originally established as the copper currency of Benares, no measures had been adopted to renew it, and the inscription had, by process of time, become more or less indistinct, and the shroffs had reduced the value of piec in which the trisûl was defective by reducing it 11 per cent. in current value for no other reason than the defectiveness of the trisûl."

By a Resolution dated 7th August, 1813, the Governor-General, anticipating great convenience and advantage from the establishment of an uniform coinage throughout the ceded and conquered provinces, including the districts dependent on Delhi, resolved that the coinage to be carried on henceforth at the Delhi mint be confined to new Farrukhábâd rupees of the weight and standard of the coin issued from the Farrukhábâd mint, and bearing the same inscription. The Governor-General also expressed his opinion that there could be no objection to coining at the Delhi mint a limited number of rupees bearing the name and title of his present Majesty, Akbar Sháh, these rupees being only intended to be presented to His Majesty on the anniversary of his accession for the purpose of being distributed as complimentary presents.

In 1813 a Regulation for establishing a copper coinage in the Province of Benares was passed, among the clauses of which were the following:—

I. A copper coin weighing 100 grains troy, and consisting of pure copper, shall be established in the province of Benares (the coin to be fabricated at the Benares mint);

II. The form, size, and impression of the copper coin shall correspond with those prescribed by Sect. XII, Reg. II, 1803, for the Benares rupee, but the edges shall not be milled or have any mark or impression.

In November, 1813, the Court of Directors expressed their opinion that the coinage for the Bombay Presidency should be executed in the Calcutta mint, and
forwarded a number of coins as showing their views with respect to manner in which the coinage should be executed.

1816. In September, 1816, the Board of Commissioners, Farrukhabd, pointed out that for some time only a small quantity of silver had been brought to the mint by individuals for coinage, and suggested the expediency of employing the establishment in the coinage of copper pice on account of Government. The following draft Resolution was submitted by the Commissioners:

I. That Sect. XI, II, Reg. XLV, 1803, prescribing a specified weight for the copper pice to be struck at Farrukhabd be rescinded

II. That such copper coin be struck at Farrukhabd, weighing 200 grains troy for the whole, or double pice, and 100 grains troy for the half or single pice;

III. That such copper coin shall be issued from the mint at the rate of 32 whole and 64 half pice for each rupee.

In November, 1816, the Mauritius Government wrote to the Governor General that "this Colony is subject to considerable inconvenience and difficulties, especially since the great fire, from the want of a small money for the ordinary daily transactions of common life. It would, therefore, be most desirable to obtain from the mint of the Supreme Government a coinage for the use of this land. A decimal division of the Spanish Dollar, which coin is here equivalent to two sikka rupees, would be the best convenient money for accounts. The books of the merchants and traders being kept in livres, ten of which are in this Colony equal to the Spanish Dollar, it would be desirable that each of the silver coins should be marked ONE LIVRE."

Bengal.

By Regulation XXV, 1817, it was enacted that:

I. The copper pice struck at the Calcutta mint shall be of pure copper, and of the weight of 100 grains troy;

II. The inscription shall be on one side "one pice sikka" in Bangali, Persian, and Nagari, and the date on the obverse.

III. That the pice shall be issued from the mint and public treasuries at the rate of 64 to 1 sikka rupee, and be legal tender at the rate of 64 to a rupee of the local currency throughout the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William.

IV. The piece struck at the mints of Benares and Farrukhabd, agreeably to the provisions of Regulation X, 1809, Reg. VII, 1814, and Reg. XXI, 1816, shall be also considered as circulating equally
with the piece of Calcutta coinage throughout the above-mentioned provinces, and shall in like manner, be received as legal tender in payment of the fractional parts of a rupee of the local currency at the rate of 64 pice for each rupee.

**Farrukhábád.**

By Regulation XXVI, 1817, it was enacted that:

I. Whereas it may from time to time be found expedient to coin rupees of the weight and standard of the Farrukhábád rupee at the mints of Calcutta or Benares, it has seemed advisable to rescind so much of section II of Reg. XLV, 1803, as tends to limit the coinage of Farrukhábád rupees to the mint of Farrukhábád, and to direct that the following enactment be henceforth in force:—

II. The silver coin denominated the Farrukhábád rupee, and of the weight and standard prescribed by section II of Reg. III, 1806, struck at the mints of Calcutta, Farrukhábád, or Benares, or at any other mint established by order of the Governor General in Council, is hereby declared to be the established and legal silver coin in the ceded and conquered provinces.

In 1817 the weight of the piece struck in the Calcutta mint was fixed at 100 grains, and they bore the inscription "one pie sikka."

**Calcutta.**

1818. In June, 1818, the Vice-President in Council expressed his concurrence with the Resident at Delhi as to the inexpediency of maintaining the Delhi mint, and the Resident was accordingly directed to discontinue its operations, still causing, however, such a number of coins to be struck as might be necessary for the purpose of satisfying the feelings of the king.

In August, 1818, the Calcutta Mint Master submitted for the consideration of Government specimen coins of the weight and standard of the proposed new currency, and stated that, as the difference in size and weight of the new coins might not be considered sufficient to enable all persons to at once distinguish them from the old ones, he had thought it expedient to affix such further distinctive marks as would be obvious to the most ordinary observer. The specimens, which were distinguished from the existing currency by a raised rim and perpendicular milling, were adopted as the pattern for the new coinage.

In 1818 the Calcutta Mint Committee stated that they were not aware of any objection to the inscription on the rupee undergoing an alteration, and that it would be more consistent with the dignity of the British Government of India to authorise its own currencies by its own
peculiar stamp and impression; and suggested that, if any alteration was made, no date should be inserted, as an arbitrary batta on coins of various issues would thus be obviated without having recourse to any fictitious inscription.

**Benares, Farrukhabad.**

1819. By Regulation XI, 1819, it was enacted that:

1. The coinage of the Benares rupee shall be discontinued;

II. The Farrukhabad rupee shall be considered the legal currency of the province of Benares;

III. The Farrukhabad rupee shall be a legal tender in all the territories under the Bengal Government, with the exception of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, whether struck at the mints of Calcutta, Benares, or Farrukhabad, or any other mint that may be hereafter established within the aforesaid limits under the authority of the British Government;

IV. The Farrukhabad rupee to be struck at any of the mints before mentioned, shall be of the value of the present Farrukhabad rupee, and of the standard of the present Calcutta rupee, viz.:

| Weight   | Troy grs. | ...
|----------|-----------|----
| Pure silver | ... | 165.215
| Alloy     | ... | 15.019

In addition to the substitution of the new Farrukhabad rupee, the Mint Committee recommended the temporary establishment of mints at Ajmere and Sagar, to convert the existing currencies into the new coin. The Sagar mint was at that time issuing rupees called "Saugor or Balashnica." The Government expressed their opinion that the recommendation of the Committee was judicious. I can find no further reference to the Ajmere mint in the records.

**Bombay.**

1821. The Bombay coinage consisted in 1821 of the following:

| Gold       | Mohar  | ... | ... | 180
|------------|--------|-----|-----|---
|           | Panchia (5 rupees) | ... | ... | 60
|           | Rupee  | ... | ... | 12
| Silver     | Rupee  | ... | ... | 180
|           | Half Rupee | ... | ... | 90
|           | Quarter | ... | ... | 45
|           | Eighth  | ... | ... | 22.5
| Copper     | Anna   | ... | ... | 400
|           | Half Anna | ... | ... | 200
|           | Quarter | ... | ... | 100
|           | Pice   | ... | ... | 33.33
In this year the Mauritius Government, being put to inconvenience by the use of paper money for the small change of the colony, asked that the Calcutta mint might coin for them small tokens to the value of 100,000 sikka rupees. The wish of the Mauritius Government was acceded to.

1824. In 1824 an application was made by the Resident at Singapore for a supply of small coins to be struck at the Calcutta mint for the use of that settlement. In the Resident’s letter it is stated that the small money in circulation throughout the Malay countries consisted of copper Dutch duyt and pice of Prince of Wales’ island, the brass coin of China, and of silver Dutch 2, 6, and 9 silver (stiver?, pieces, and the guider or florin commonly called by the natives the rupee. The most universally used coins were the duyt and two stiver piece. The duyt was the real money of the most remote and unfrequented parts of Sumatra and Borneo, and the two stiver piece was the true circulating medium of the Celebes, the Spanish dollar being only used in foreign commercial transactions. It was suggested that the duyt and two silver piece should be struck with the same inscriptions, viz. the value in the English, Chinese, Malay and Bugies languages, and on the reverse the crest of the East India Company without the supporters, and with the date and motto of the Company beneath.

By Regulation II, 1824, it was decided that the Farrukhabad rupees, to be coined at the Ságar mint of 180 grains, 165 fine and 15 alloy, should be the legal currency of Ságar and territories on the Narmadá (Nerbudda).

A letter from the Bombay Mint Committee, dated 27th September, 1824, refers to a communication received from the Supreme Government, desiring that immediate steps be taken for the coinage of a new rupee of the Madras standard, and asking for their opinion on the measures to be adopted for a general reform of the currency. The Committee suggested, with reference to the first point, that a proclamation should be issued, announcing the alteration of the standard, and declaring the new rupee current at par with the old. They also recommended the division of the anna into sixteen instead of twelve pice, so that the copper currency would consist of:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coinage</th>
<th>Troy Grs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half Anna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Pice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A draft proclamation was submitted by the Committee, announcing the alteration of the mint standard, the sanction of which by the Supreme Government is not recorded in the Records.

1825. In 1825 various suggestions for a change of impression on the currency were made, and the following extract is from an able report by Lieutenant Forbes, who was superintending the construction of the new Calcutta mint, and who, before proceeding to England in 1820, had been instructed by the Bengal Government to bring the subject of the device for the coin to the notice of the Court of Directors.

"It is observed," Lieutenant Forbes wrote, "that the impression chosen by the king of Oudh for his new currency shows that in reality no prejudice exists against the representation of animals on coins. The common practice of putting Coats-of-Arms on coins having led to the adoption of those of the Hon. Company as a device for some of their copper coins executed in England, the propriety of employing them on the money to be struck for the general circulation of India came first to be considered. From the minuteness of the scale to which they must be reduced on a coin, it was found that the Royal Arms situated in the upper left quarter of the Company's shield became undecipherable, and that, as its plain was otherwise blank, the total effect of the piece was feeble and unmeaning. With the intention of enriching the design, two large lions (the supporters), and a little one (the crest), were introduced. The portion of surface occupied by such a number of animals in the rampant and strange attitudes adopted in heraldry, now left so little space for the shield that the Royal Arms, diminished to a peg, became utterly undistinguishable. The unanimous opinion of artists that such a device would appear inelegant and barbarous was strikingly confirmed by the specimens produced on the money executed at Soho for transmission to Penang and the islands to the eastward. Although some of the dies were engraved by artists of considerable talent, no effort of skill or ingenuity could prevent the little odd lion of the crest from being mistaken for a monkey, nor obviate the misapprehension of common observers in conceiving the figures used as supporters to be ill-designed cats. A praise-worthy attempt to correct such serious defects by the introduction of lions modelled from life brought the question of the Arms to its final issue. It then appeared that the animals with which heraldry is conversant under the denomination of lions are not "real lions," and that correct similitudes of the animal himself, placed in the splay-footed position, required as supporters, had a ludicrous effect.

"I was induced to propose the simple emblem of the Company, a
a solitary lion, as a devise for the Indian coins. As an appropriate type of sovereignty, and as an emblem known and respected wherever British rule has been extended, I suggested that the ease, dignity, and strength which he so nobly personified on some of the coins of ancient Greece would be still more consistent and characteristic when applied to India. Moreover, I suggested that he might be completely localised by the ever-flourishing Palm, an Asiatic though ancient tasteful emblem of perpetuity.

"I have to solicit the attention of the Committee to a model of this devise executed after a drawing by Flaxman."

It was agreed that this device was well adapted for one face of the new coin, and suggested that either the head of the King (George IV), or the designation of the coin within a wreath, should be placed on the other face.

1826. In 1826 the Collector of Delhi expressed his opinion that a proposal to establish a mint for copper coinage at Delhi would be productive of good to the people, and a check to the impositions practised by the shriffs, whose source of livelihood consisted in the exaction of discount on the various current copper coins.

1823–27. A volume of the records, 1823–27, is devoted to details connected with the construction of the new Calcutta mint.

In a report on the regulations for the conduct of the coinage subsequently to its transfer to the new Calcutta mint it is recorded that:

I. It was the intention of the Hon. Court that the scale of the new mint machinery and establishment should be such as would permanently enable it to supply two-thirds of the coin required for the circulation of India;

II. It was their design that the remaining third should be supplied by similar apparatus of half the power to be sent to Bombay;

III. The new Calcutta mint would immediately or eventually have to perform the work of the Calcutta mint, and of the mints of Benares, Farrukhabad, and Sagar;

IV. The Hon. Court held in view that the Calcutta and Bombay mints would, at any period found convenient, afford the means of equalising the coins, and of rendering uniform the coinages of India.

1827. In a letter dated 28th August, 1827, the Mint Master of the Bombay expressed his opinion that the Bombay division into rupees, quarters, and reas was preferable to the rupees, aanas, and pie of the other side of India, and that the division of the gold mohur into fifteen parts was decidedly superior to the Calcutta division into sixteen.
1829. In 1829 it was suggested that the new Calcutta mint might be usefully employed in coining spelter money, which would be very useful to the poorer classes as a substitute for cowries, and which might be called the quarter or pão pice.

Spelter money.

The question of the re-establishment of the Delhi mint for the coinage of pice only was re-opened.

1830. In a letter dated 2nd February, 1830, the Calcutta Mint Committee was informed that the Governor General authorised the discontinuance of the establishment of the Benares mint, and the disposal of the machinery, apparatus, and other property of that mint.

In May, 1830, a letter was submitted by the Calcutta Mint Committee on the subject of the impression of the new coinage, and reiterating their opinion that the British Indian currencies should bear impressions characterising the authority by which they were issued either in the form of a head, emblem, or coat-of-arms. The Committee, in the same letter, expressed their opinion that, until this question was settled by the Court of Directors, the Bombay coinage should continue to bear the same impression as it did at present. In a further letter, submitting specimens of two Franc pieces, the Committee stated that the French milling could not be advantageously introduced with the existing milling machinery, and recommending that a plain milling should be adopted.

In August, 1830, the Calcutta Mint Committee submitted specimens of copper pice with a request that Government would sanction their coinage, as they seemed to be preferable to those in circulation at that time.

In December of the same year the Calcutta Mint Master suggested that a copper coinage might with advantage be carried out at the new mint for the Madras Presidency and the settlements to the eastward (Singapore, etc.,) in which latter the demand for copper coin was at that time very urgent.

Ságar. 1831. A letter dated 11th January, 1831, stated that it had been resolved to abolish the mint at Ságar.

By an order dated 25th February, 1831, it was notified that "an alteration in the Calcutta sikka and Farrukhábad rupces was authorised by the Governor General in Council under date 13th July last, and that these currencies will in future be struck at the Calcutta mint with a plain flat milling only."
In August, 1831, the Calcutta Mint Committee submitted the following draft of a Regulation for legalising the circulation of the sub-divisions in the copper currency authorised to be coined by Government:

**Bengal.**

I. That, besides the copper pice now current, which shall remain unchanged, there shall be coined a copper half-anna piece, and a copper pie or twelfth of an anna;

II. The copper half anna pie shall weigh twice the weight of the present pice, or 200 grains troy, and shall bear on one face the legend “Half anna” in Persian, and Nagári, and on the other the same in English and Bangáli. The exchangeable value of the coin shall be two for one anna, or one for two pice;

III. The twelfth of an anna piece on one pie shall weigh troy grains 33 3/3, and shall bear on one face the legend “One pál” in Persian and Nagári, and the same on the other in English and Bangáli. The exchangeable value of the coin shall be twelve for one anna or three for one pice.

IV. These coins shall be current at the above rates in all the provinces under the Bengal Presidency.

1833. In a letter from the Assay Master of the Calcutta mint (Mr. Prinsep) in April, 1833, some general information is given with reference to rupee coinage. “It has ever,” he says, “been the expressed desire of the Hon. Court of Directors to equalise the coin of the whole of the Indian possessions both in weight and standard. In this they have but followed the laudable practice of the Muhammadan Governments of India, which, while they arrogated to themselves the prerogative of coining, appear to have maintained with care and good faith the weight and purity of the circulating medium until the Empire was distracted with internal commotions, and the Viceroy of the Crown and tributary states assumed to themselves the control of the various mints, reserving a mere nominal subjection to the sovereign in the legend impressed upon their coin.

“The silver rupee was introduced, according to Abálfázl, by Sher Sháh, who usurped the throne of Delhi from Humáyún in 1542. It had a weight of 11 1/4 máshás, which, at the rate of 15 1/2 grains per máshá, is equal to 174.4 grains of pure silver. This standard was adopted by Akbar, and accordingly we find coins of his reign weighing from 170 to 174 grains.

“The Murshidábád rupee was adopted for the coinage of the Company’s súbah of Bengal, and has accordingly remained unchanged as the present sikka rupee.
"The Súrát rupee was also adopted as the currency of the Bombay Presidency under the treaty with the Nawáb of Súrát, who retained the privilege of coining; but in 1800 its pure contents were found to have sunk to 164·79 grains, when, to prevent further depreciation, the Government assumed charge of the mint, and the rupee was then fixed at the later valuation of 164·7 grains pure.

"The Delhi rupee struck at the Fāthghārāh mint by the Vizier of Oudh, in like manner, gradually diminished to 165·2 grains pure, when, by cession of the Duáb to the English, it was there arrested, and by a Regulation of 1806, was assumed as the standard currency of the Western Provinces. It was afterwards introduced into the Benares Provinces, where, (that mint having come earlier into our possession), the depreciation of the rupee has not reached the same extent: pure contents 169·2.

"The Arcot rupee in 1788, according to the assay tables, still retained 170 grains of pure silver. When adopted, however, as the standard rupee of the Madras Presidency, it had fallen to 165 grains, and there of course it has since remained.

"The alteration of the standard to \( \frac{1}{17} \) of alloy in 1818 did not affect the proportion of pure metal, but the facility of equalising the three coins (Bombay, Madras, Farrukhábád) had been observed both in England and India; and, when the Ságar mint was established in 1825, it was ordered to coin new Farrukhábád rupees of 180 grains weight, the same as the standard of Madras, or containing 165 grains pure. Tho Bombay mint was ordered to assimilate its coin to the same in 1829. Tho Benares rupee alone continued to coin Farrukhábáds of 180·234 grains until its abolition in 1829; and the Calcutta mint has since coined them of the same weight, although a good opportunity was afforded by the promulgation of the new system in Bombay to have effected a simultaneous reform here."

In the letter under notice Mr. Prinsep recommended (and Government saw the expediency of adopting the recommendation)\(^1\) that:

I. The weight of the Farrukhábád rupee struck at the Calcutta mint be 180 grains troy instead of 180·234 grains; and that the weight of the Calcutta sikka rupee be 192 grains instead of 191·916, corresponding alterations being made in the half and quarter rupee.

II. The sikka weight (contra-distinguished to the sikka rupee) be equalised with the weight of the Farrukhábád rupee.

In October, 1833, Mr. Prinsep recommended that the armorial bearings impressed on both the Bombay and Madras copper coins, should be immediately

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\(^1\) Reg. VII, 1893. See Thurston, op. cit.
adopted at Calcutta and that on the reverse should be the value in English, Nagari, and Persian, enclosed in a wreath. "The determination of this point," Mr. Prinsep said, "is the more urgent as it is now in contemplation to issue a large copper coin to replace the tulsoolee pice."

1834. In April, 1834, the following recommendations were submitted for the consideration of Government:—

**General.**

I. That there should be a common device for the coins of the three Presidencies;

II. That this should differ on the three metals, so as to fully distinguish them from one another, and prevent fraud and imposition by gilding or silvering;

III. That the device should be pictorial and essentially English, as, among other reasons, the adoption of such a device would entitle the Government to claim from the Colonial Governments of the Crown a recognition of the coin of India as a national money entitled to circulate at its intrinsic value in all the possessions of the Crown. The rupee in its present form is not so considered beyond the limits of the Company's authority.

IV. That the gold mohar of Bengal should in future be equalised with that of Bombay and Madras;

V. That the coinage of the sikka rupee should be discontinued from the commencement of the new Charter, so as to prevent all confusion from the two coins being permitted to circulate together.

A specimen coin, executed by a native named Kásináth, was submitted with the letter. The obverse bore a facsimile of the king's head on the English Sovereign, and the legend GULIELMUS, IIII. D. G. BRITTANNIARUM, REX. F. D., and the reverse a laurel wreath with ONE RUPEE, 1834, in the centre, and the same in Persian, Bangáli, and Nagari on the margin. This device, with the substitution of Mohur, was recommended for the gold coinage. Mr. Prinsep had already suggested that the copper coins should bear on the obverse the Company's Arms, and on the reverse a wreath with the designation of the coins in lieu of the word "adil" of Bombay or "ek falás panch kás ast" of Madras. The recommendations of the Committee were referred to the Court of Directors.

Various designs for the new coinage by Mr. Prinseps were also submitted, *viz*:

I. Britannia from the English penny;

II. A lion from an ancient Greek coin;

III. An elephant (from the Ceylon coin);

IV. A ship;
V. A British senator, between a Hindu and Mahommedan, presenting the charter;

VI. An emblematical figure of Justice and Plenty;

VII. Typical figures of Britannia and India;

VIII. The Pipal tree (Ficus Indica) from the seal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

1835. Early in 1835 engravings were prepared of the head of the king with the simple legend WILLIAM, III. KING, instead of the titles in Latin, and an impression in pure gold of the King's head with the lion as the reverse (proposed as a double mohur) was submitted.

In April, 1835, the Calcutta Mint Committee was informed that the rupee having on one side the inscription EAST INDIA COMPANY, with the nominal value of the coin in English, Persian, and Nagari, and the representation of a lotus flower and myrtle wreath had been approved by the Governor General as the model for the future coinage of the rupee. The Committee were requested to communicate with the Madras, Bombay, and Sagar mints with the view of effecting a change in the rupee currency throughout British India with all convenient expedition. In a subsequent letter, however, it was resolved that on the obverse of the new silver coinage the title of the king should be simply WILLIAM, III. KING, and that on the reverse should be engraved the denomination of value in English and Persian only.

In June, 1835, it was resolved by the Governor General to abolish the Madras mint in conformity to the orders of the Court of Directors, and the Madras Government was desired to forward to Calcutta or Bombay such parts of the mint machinery as, if publicly sold, might be employed in fabricating coins.

In September of the same year, it was resolved that the Sagar mint should be abolished, as it was no longer considered necessary for supplying coin of the new legal currency with reference to the capability of the Calcutta and Bombay mints for the whole coinage of India.

In October the Calcutta Mint Committee submitted specimens of a device which they thought suitable for the copper coinage of Bengal, i.e., on the obverse the Company's Arms as on the piece of Bombay and Madras, and on the reverse the denomination of the coin in English and Persian enclosed in a wreath, and the title of the Honourable Company on the margin in correspondence with the device of the new rupee. This device was adopted.
A letter from the Government, dated 25th November 1835, states that "under the circumstances represented, from which it appears that it would lead to considerable further delay to prepare and execute a new device for the gold coin proposed to be issued (with the name of the coin in English within a wreath instead of the lion,) whereas the coinage of double mohurs can be immediately commenced if the die cut with the device according to the design of Flaxman be adopted, the Governor General has been induced to waive his objection to the representation of an animal upon the gold coin of India, and to approve the adoption of this device."

The details of the new coinage were finally laid down by Acts XVII and XXII 1835.

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Sir Alexander Cunningham has favoured me with communications which enable me to make certain corrections in and additions to my second paper on Greco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India, published in the Journal of this Society for 1892.

Concerning the short record dated in the year 68, and numbered II. by M. Senart, I remarked (page 56 of my paper):—"It is not known to what object it was attached, but doubtless it was a sculpture of some sort." M. Senart's words are (page 21 of his paper):—"Le lieu d'origine de cette courte inscription ne m' est pas connu. Il est probable que, comme presque tous les monuments réunis au musée de Lahore, elle vient du pays des Yusufzais, sur la rive gauche du fleuve de Caboul, de Jamalgarhi, de Takht-i Bahi, ou des environs.

Les caractères occupent une longueur de 97 centimètres; on peut en estimer à 3 centimètres et demi la hauteur moyenne. La hauteur de la pierre est de 10 centimètres. Ignorant jusqu'à sa provenance, nous n' avons bien entendu aucun renseignement sur l'objet qu' elle accompagnait primitivement."

Sir A. Cunningham, in a letter dated 17th June, 1892, clears up all doubts as to the place from which the inscription came, and proves that I was mistaken in guessing that it had been directly attached to a sculpture of some sort.

1 See J. A. S. B. Vol. LXI, Part I for 1892, p. 50 Ed.
He writes:—"Regarding the inscription of S. 68 published by M. Senart, I can say that it was on a very large rough stone, which may have been inserted in a wall, but which could not have been the base of a statue. It was 5 feet 9 inches long, and from 3 feet to 1 foot 9 inches in breadth. The legend was on the edge. It weighed 12 maunds 7 seers [= 1008 lbs. avoirdupois, = 457 kilogrammes], when I got it, but I cut it down to 4 maunds 3 seers, before sending it to the Lahore Museum, where, as I conclude from your account, it is left unregistered as presented by General Cunningham—from Maji, 4 or 5 miles to the south of Fatehjang, ancient Chása, and to the south-west of Rawal Pindi."  

The inscription is certainly in the Lahore Museum, because M. Senart expressly states at the beginning of his essay that all the monuments described by him belong to that museum, and were communicated to him by the curator, Mr. L. Kipling.

Concerning the dated Hashtnagar inscription (page 55 of my paper) Sir A. Cunningham says that "The date may be either 274 or 284, but it cannot, I think, be referred to 78 A.D." I have already given up the suggestion to refer this date to the Saka era, and have assumed that the approximate date of the inscribed pedestal is A. D. 220 or 230. Sir A. Cunningham observes that the Panjtr inscription of a Gushán, or Kushán, Mahárája, dated S. 122 is the latest "which can be referred to A. D. 78." If that record is rightly referred to the Saka era its date will be A. D. 200, which is not far from the approximate date obtained for the Hashtnagar inscription by using the era of Moga or Gondophares. I think it may now be safely assumed that the use of the Gandharian (Kharoshthi) character in Gándhára survived into the first half of the third century A.D. The disuse of this character in India proper does not imply its disuse in Gándhára. It is, no doubt, true that the Gandharian character is not used on the coins of Vasudeva, of whom we have an inscription in old Nágarí characters dated S. 98, = A. D. 176, and that coins of Kanishka (KANHPKO) and Vasudeva (BAZOΔHO) which Sir A. Cunningham believes to be posthumous, bear legends in old Nágarí. But I see no difficulty in believing that at the same time the Gandharian character had a limited local currency for some purposes within the region of Gándhára.

When quoting (page 59) Prof. Rhys Davids, as authority for identifying the "village" Kalasi in the "island" of Alasanda, where king Milinda (Menander) was born, with the Karisi nagara, or town of Karisi.

1 For a notice of Fatehjang, see Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XIV, p. 24.
mentioned on a coin of Eukratides (circa B. C. 190), I was not aware that the identification had been made long before by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published it in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1869, and again two years later in his 'Ancient Geography of India.'1

Sir Alexander Cunningham is of opinion that in the passage quoted by me from Prof. Rhys Davids' translation of the 'Questions of King Milinda,'—"There is an island called Alasanda. It was there I was born,"—the word dipa (Sanskrit dwipa) should be translated 'region' or 'division of the world' rather than 'island.' He cites in support of this rendering the well known compound Jambudwipa, and takes Alasandadipa to mean "the country of which Alasanda was the capital," Kalasi being "the same as Alasanda itself."

If, in the passage quoted, the word dipa does not mean 'island,' there is, apparently, no reason for supposing the Alexandria in question to have been on the Indus. Sir A. Cunningham places it, as will be seen from the passage to be quoted presently, at a village named Opián or Hupián, 27½ miles north of Kábul. Whatever be the true position of Alexandria or Alasanda, Prof. Rhys Davids' note at page 127 of the 'Questions of King Milinda' referring to "Alexandria (in Baktria) built on an island in the Indus," is not quite accurate. The Indus was never included within the limits of Bactria, though the banks of the river may at times have been included in the dominions of the Bactrian kings.

My quotation (same page) from Professor Percy Gardner was also unfortunate. He describes the legend on the rare coin of Eukratides, giving the name of the town of Karisi as being "the conjectured reading of General Cunningham." This remark is inaccurate. The only word at all doubtful in the reading of the legend on the coin referred to, was devata, and the reading of this word has lately, Sir A. Cunningham assures me, been definitely established by a second specimen of the coin. The reading of the name 'Karisi' on the coin was never doubtful.

In order to prevent any further misconception, and to show clearly Sir A. Cunningham's views concerning the probable situation of Alexandria, = Alasanda or Alasadda, = Kalasi, presumably identical with Karisi, I had better quote in full the relevant passage from the 'Ancient Geography of India,' page 28, which is as follows:—

"If I am right in identifying Begrám with the Kiu-lu-sa-pang of

1 Prof. Rhys Davids informs me that he also was unaware that Sir A. Cunningham had made the identification previously, and will gladly take the opportunity of the impending publication of the second volume of the 'Milinda' to acquaint his readers with the fact.
the Chinese pilgrim, the true name of the place must have been Karsana, as written by Ptolemy, and not Curtana, as noted by Pliny. The same form of the name is also found on a rare coin of Eukratides, with the legend Karisye nagara, or 'city of Karisi', which I have identified with the Kalasi of the Buddhist chronicles, as the birthplace of Raja Milindu. In another passage of the same chronicle,¹ Milindu is said to have been born at Alasanda, or Alexandria, the capital of the Yona, or Greek country. Kalasi must, therefore, have been either Alexandria itself, or some place close to it. The latter conclusion agrees exactly with the position of Begrám, which is only a few miles to the east of Opiana. Originally two distinct places, like Delhi and Sháh Jahánábád, or London and Westminster, I suppose Opiana and Karsana to have gradually approached each other as they increased in size, until at last they virtually became one large city. On the coins of the earlier Greek kings of Ariana,—Euthydemus, Demetrius, and Eukratides,—we find the monograms of both cities; but, after the time of Eukratides, that of Opiana disappears altogether, while that of Karsana is common to most of the later princes. The contemporary occurrence of these mint monograms proves that the two cities were existing at the same time; while the sudden disuse of the name of Opiana may serve to show that, during the latter period of Greek occupation, the city of Alexandria had been temporarily supplanted by Karsana."

The Alexandria above referred to is the city founded by Alexander, and described by Pliny as "Alexandria Opianes", situated "sub ipso Cancaso". The modern name of the site identified with it is said to be variously spelled Opían, Opiyan, and (Malik) Ilupian.

The Maháwanso calls Alasanna "the city, or capital, of the Yona country", Yona naggaardasanna. (Turnour, page 171). Turnour himself writes the name as Alasadda.

I have not specially studied the ancient geography of Ariana, and therefore abstain from pronouncing any personal opinion on the geographical questions raised in the preceding extracts.

¹ Milindu-prága, quoted by Hardy, in 'Manual of Buddhism', pp. 440, 516.
Uriyá Inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries.—By Bání Mon Mohan Chakravarti, M. A., B. L., Subordinate Executive Service of Bengal.

These inscriptions are 14 in number; 12 on the left and right side of the Jayavijaya door-way in the temple of Jagannátha at Puri, and 2 on the right side of the door-way in the temple of Mahádeva at Bhuvanesvara. They furnish important dates of Orissa history, and are the earliest known Uriyá writings found in Orissa.¹

The Jayavijaya door is that which leads into the Porch of the Jagannátha temple. The inscriptions are carved on the door-way. This doorway is of black polished chlorite. The left side inscriptions begin from a height of three feet, the right side ones from a height of one foot. They then take up about ⅓ of the remaining height. The lines run from west to east, and are nearly, but not always, straight.

The letters are Uriyá, and do not generally differ from the present types except in र, ज and च. They are ¼” × ⅛”. The language is throughout Uriyá except at the end of the right side 5th inscription, where are quoted 4 stanzas of Sanskrit slokas. The orthography is often incorrect. The grammatical differences are small.

The inscriptions belong to four reigns, viz.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Kapileśvara Deva</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Purushottama Deva</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Pratáparudra Deva</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Mánagovinda Govinda Deva</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12

The above sequence denotes the natural order of the kings in their succession; Kapileśvara Deva being the founder of the Súrya-vamśa and Govinda Deva being the overthrower of that dynasty.

The inscriptions begin with an enumeration of the various titles of the inscribing king. It is curious to observe that these titles increase in number and pomposity, the later we come. All these titles are still used by the Rája of Puri, and may be found on the title-pages of Uriyá almanacs.

¹ A transcript of these 12 inscriptions, and a translation of tenth, have been given by Dr. R. L. Mittra, in his Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 165-167. My readings of the same and my translations differ considerably; hence this article.
Next come the dates. The phraseology of the dates is peculiar. Take No. 1 of left side:

"Prabardhamānā bijā rájye samasta 3 anka Srāhī Magūsir kru trodāsā Bhāmī bare" =

On Tuesday, the 13th (tithi) of Margasir dark half in the third anka of the prosperous victorious reign of —.

Samasta means here "during."

Srāhī is a technical word, but has no particular meaning in the context.

The dates are of luni-solar months expressed in tithis of dark or bright half. The ankas are regnal years and something more. Certain figures are considered inauspicious and left out in counting. These figures are one, all numbers ending with zero (except 10), and ending with six. 1, 6, 16, 20, 26, 30, &c., should be left out of consideration in calculating the ankas. Hence 19th anka = 16th year, 31st anka = 25th year, and so forth.

To be of any practical use, the ankas and tithis require conversion into English calendar dates. Below are given the equivalent calendar dates arrived at in the following manner. From Madalā Pānji,* is found out the approximate year of the king’s accession. Add the regnal year derived from the anka. The tithis are given as well as the week days. According to Professor Jacobi’s Table (Part CCIX, Vol. XVII of the Indian Antiquary), the year in which the tithi in question fell on the stated week-day can then be easily found. Generally this year is within 20 years of the approximate year. These dates are next verified. The sources of verification are—

- (1) The dates of the other inscriptions;
- (2) The Muhammadan histories;
- (3) The biographies of Chaitanya;
  (with respect to the reign of Pratāparudra Deva).

I. Kapileśvara Deva.

Inscriptions. Uriyā dates. Equivalent calendar dates.

1. Left, No. 3 ... 4th anka dhanū new moon, Sunday = 9th December, 1436 A. D. (O. S.)

2. Left, No. 4 ... 41st† anka dhanu sukla 7, Sunday = 14th December, 1466 A. D. (O. S.)

* Mādālā Pānji is the chronicle of the temple of Jagannātha. Hitherto it has been almost the only source for the history of Orissa in the Hindu period.

† A mistake for 39th.

J. r. 12
3. Left, No. 5 ... 35th anka Mesha Kṛishṇa
4, Wednesday = 25th April, 1464 A. D.
   (O. S.)

4. Right, No. 2... 19th anka Mesha new
   moon, Sunday = 12th April, 1450 A. D.
   (O. S.)

5. Right, No. 3... 31st anka Kakrā sukla
   12, Thursday = 12th July, 1459 A. D.
   (O. S.)

II. Purushottama Deva.
1. Left, No. 1 ... 3rd anka Mārgasir
   Kṛishṇa 13, bhu-mibār = 20th Nov. 1470 A. D.
   (O. S.)

2. Left, No. 2 ... 2nd anka Mesha, sukla
3. Right, No. 1...  Thursday = 12th April, 1470 A. D.
   (O. S.)

4. Right, No. 4... 19th anka Simha, sukla
   8, Thursday = 18th August, 1485 A. D.
   (O. S.)

III. Pratāparudra Deva.
1. Left, No. 6 ... 4th anka kakrā, sukla 10
   Wednesday = 17th July, 1499 A. D.
   (O. S.)

2. Left, No. 7 ... 5th anka dhanu 3 (f)
   Kru (f), Monday = ?

IV. Govinda Deva.
1. Right, No. 5... 4th anka biehā, sukla 3,
   Tuesday = 7th Nov. 1542 A. D.
   (O. S.)

Inscriptions in the temple of Jagannātha.

Left side.

No. I.

Length 4'–6" x 10"—Lines 5.

1 चीर्ष्णी गणपति गौड़ीय नवकोटी कर्त्तृ कल्परकेश्वर प्रवाण
   अत्रमोलम

2 देव माहाराजाध्य प्रवर्त्तयाम विजेराध्य समस्ते चौद्र आची महुसिर्द्र
3 Chakravarti Bhumi Sarve Shri Pushto Chakram Karke Khadga Chorana Skhandhidara
4 Khadhisar Shri Chaukri Ghanyam Chamal Kranti Khantilu Shringa Gopacharapachandi Kranti
5 Praka Ye Churda Se Chirana Doop Paid.

Translation.

On Tuesday, the 13th (tithi) of Margasir dark half of the 3rd anka of the prosperous and victorious reign of the warrior, elephant-lord, king over Gauja and the ninety millions (subjects) of Karnata and Kalabaraka (probably Kulbarga), of the powerful Purushottama Deva Maharaja, while at camp Purushottama, (i.e., Puri) it was ordered:—I remit the levying from the Brähmans of the Chaukidāri Tax (Dando-āsi Ohor) in the south; I cease to resumo the waste lands and the pastures; he who takes, gets the sin in theft.

Left side.

No. II.

Length 4'—8" × 1'—9"—Lines 11.

L. 1 वीर श्री गणपति मौर्यदेव नवकोटी कार्णिकवर्णबेंजर प्रताप श्री
2 पुष्पोत्तम देव माध्यराजाः समक्ष
3 दक्षिणदक्षिणपाठे प्रेमेश्वरसम अग्नाथदेवचं यज्ञामाल देवमानर
4 धर्म्मान प्रेमेश्वरकाः कृष्णकाः साधुसमाजाः होमगु नि (?)
5 अवदान सेवकसमाजाः कृल्लि य प्रेमेश्वर देव माध्यराजाः होमकु
6 यान म पुरुषाः कां रोनालासु ग्राम य होमकु चोइना
7 यरव देविच्य माजगा
8 (7 letters illegible) महादेवकाः होमकु दच्छिन
9 दीप दग्गपाठे वाञ्छाचारसा विसे गोप
10 युर ग्राम दिति य अवदानसान य होम
11 बेंजाः चराः से जगनाथसत सोढः
Translation.

On Thursday the 12th (tithi) of Mesha bright half of 2nd (anka) of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauda and the ninety millions in Karjata and Kalabaraga, of the powerful Purushottama Deva Maharaaja while encamping at camp Purushottama, the (following) gifts of Purushottama Deva Maharaaja in Dakshinadiga daṇḍapāta:—(1) for god Jagannātha of Purushottama, a gift of the old mala tracts in the south; (2nd) for the bhoga of the god a gift of lands out of the lands of the sevaks; (3rd) gifts to the priests engaged in sleeping (?) thogod, (these) I leave to the sevaks. As offerings of Purushottama Deva Maharaaja (personally,) for bhoga, the village Madhotila in Antarodha Bisi, paddy 500 bharans, cowries 2,000 kāhāns and the village Kāmalpur—these are for the bhoga. For the festivals, &c., of other gods, goddesses and the Mahadeva I bestow the village Gopapura in Bānchās Bisi of Dakshinadiga Daṇḍapāta. These gifts, these lands, he who takes away, rebels against Jagannātha.

Note.

Purushottama Deva got on the throne after a civil war. In this inscription, he hastens to propitiate by gifts the gods and their priests. The gifts are of two sorts:—first he confirms the old grants; secondly he gives in addition three more villages. The phraseology is tautological and somewhat ambiguous. Dakshinadiga Daṇḍapāta is the name of a Division (No. 14 of Sarkar Katak. Abul Fazl). It is not now in existence. The bisis Antarodha and Bānchās still exist as pergunnahs. Gopapura is presumably the present Gopo, where a thānā has been located. The other two villages cannot be traced.
On Sunday the new moon in Dhanu of the 4th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior, the powerful Kapilesvara Deva Mahārāja, at camp Purushottama while paying respects to the god, in presence of Mahāpātra Kakāi Sāntarā, Mahāpātra Jalasara Sena Narendra, Mahāpātra Gopinātha Mangarāja, Mahāpātra Kāśi Vidyādharā, Mahāpātra Belāsvara Praharāja, Mahāpātra Lakhan Purohita, Patānakī Dāmodara the generallissimo, before the feet of the God, and in the cognisance of Pātra Agni Sarmā, the examiner of Bhogas and the seal-bearer, spoke (the king):—Engraver, write on the door of the temple of the God Purushottama—the tax levied on salt and cowries I remit, remit, remit. Whoever being king, violates this, rebels against Lord Jagannātha.

Note.

This is the earliest inscription of the series. According to the Madalā Pāṇji, Kapilesvara Deva was an usurper, who from a minister became the king. He remits the taxes on salt and shells, apparently to popularise his reign. Of the eight officers named, Kāśi Vidyādharā and Jalasara Sena Narendra are mentioned in the Madalā Pāṇji to have been associates of the king in his youth.

Left side.

No. IV.

2 parts.


1 श्री वीर प्रताप कपिलेश्वर नवकोटी कर्णोदकोलवरश्रेष्ठ गजति गौडेश्वर देव मद्यराजनाथ विजे राजेः समस्त ॥ आदि

2 भरु सुत्रल सत्ति स्ववैवाणि श्री पुष्पोत्सव विनाय देवकु पद्मपादकु नाङ्ति निमित्ते कपिलेश्वर रज्जाय स्ववा करिदिते रल
On Sunday, the 7th (tithi) of Dhanu bright half in the 41st (anka) of the victorious reign of the warrior, the powerful, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauda and ninety millions of Karnaṭa and Kalabarmga, Kapilōvara Deva Mahārāja, out of devotion to the lotus-feet of the Lord Jagannātha of Purushottama, Kapileśvara Deva Rāja gave for sacred use:—Ornamented wrist-ornaments (toḍhār), and decorated conch and shells, two for the Lord's arms. For the bhoga of the god, the following (men) brought a supply of gold, viz., Hāsika Mahāpātra, Jamasara Mahāpātra, Viśvesvara Mahāpātra, Karamū Mahāpātra and Nātha Mahāpātra, these (men) supplied, under the superintendence of Nandi Mahāpātra; all (the articles) were placed in the audience hall.
for bhogas of 1400 sorts. In accordance with directions (of the Sūstras, the following) were put on the body (of the Lord), viz., one ornamented crown, earrings 8, Tungal in pairs 4, small earrings counted at 14 pairs, necklaces set with diamonds and rubies 2, rings set with various sorts of stones 12, pearl ear-ornaments (jāulis) 8, large necklaces of pearls 4, necklaces of rubies 8, emerald ear-ornaments (jāulis) 8, necklaces of emeralds and pearls 5, lockets set with various sorts of stones 4, three-rowed emerald neck-ornaments with pendant ruby parrot 4, three-rowed pearl breast-ornaments (uturis) 2, ornamented necklace 1, pearled wrist-ornaments (toḍhor) 2, golden feet set with stones (pāda-pallabas) 2, bangles set with various sorts of stones 12 pairs, balās or wrist-ornaments of rubies and diamonds 2 pairs, netted tor-dhars 2, bracelets or partārūhas one pair, feet-ornaments or pahurūhs 4, pearl bracelets 6, waistlets with golden drops (?) 5, gold Jogibra (?) 1, tho gold of (these) various things, and of the conch and shell is 192 mārdas, one (illegible); the king Kapileśvara made a gift of these to Lord Jagannātha. He who intends to take them, rebels against Jagannātha.

*Note.*

The inscription gives an interesting enumeration of the various ornaments bestowed by Kapileśvara Deva on Jagannātha. Many of these ornaments are still in use.

Left side.

No. V.

2'-8"×9"—Lines 6.

1 वीरश्री गणपि गूढ़ेशर प्रताप कपिलेशर टेव माधाराजाङ्गर विजे राज्ये
2 समाल २५ खाँची मेंस क्र ४ वृक्षवासर्भो जगनाथ तोष सेन्क ये
3 नत्त जना०उषाकिण्न राजेज्ञानिय सामान्यमालक्। सुँ दाऱक राउतुकु कारि
4 + + + + + वालकाल रोसिः व्यागितिः र्याने मोते महुँः
5 काल्प्तेन मञ्जुः दे शाहस चषुषुः विहितवि तियोगिवि विभो जगनाथ
6 बंकरा मोहर दोप बदोस विभार।

*Translation.*

On Wednesday the 4th (tithi) of Mesha dark half in the 35th (anka) of the victorious reign of the warrior, the elephant lord, the king over Gauda, the powerful Kapileśvara Deva Mahārāja:—Oh Jagannātha, thy servant thus informeth the high officers in the kingdom. From
soldiers and servants (illegible, probably "up to them"), I looked after (all) from boyhood, now they have forsaken me. I will treat them as they deserve. Lord Jagannātha, judge the correctness or incorrectness of mine (acts).

Note.

According to Mādalā Pānji, in the 35th anka of Kapileśvara Deva's reign, the Zemindars of Kundajori broke out into rebellion. From the context they appear to have been assisted by many of the king's own officers.

Left side.

No. VI.

3'-3" × 1'-3"—Lines 10.

Translation.

On Wednesday the 10th (tithi) of Kakadā, bright half in the 9th anka of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karṇāṭa and Kalabaraga, the mighty Pratāparudra Deva
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OF THE

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Máhárája according to the ascertained orders:—Dancing will be performed thus at the Bhoga time of the elder Thákur (i.e. Balaráma) and Gítagovinda Thákur (i.e. Jágaunátha). This dancing will be held from the end of evening dhúpa up to the time of Bárasingár (bed time) dhúpa. The batch (of dancing girls) of Bāra Thákur, the fixed female dancers of Kapileśvara Thákur, the old batch, the Telangá batch, all will learn no other song than Gítagovinda of Bāra Thákur. They will not sing any other song. No other kind of dancing should be performed before the god. Besides the dancing, there are four Vaishnava singers; they will sing only the Gítagovinda. Hearing in one tone from them, those who are ignorant will learn the Gítagovinda song; they should not learn any other song. That superintendent who knowingly allows other songs to be sung, and other dancings to be performed, rebels against Jágaunátha.

Note.

This edict directs what songs are to be sung and what dances are to be performed at the time of night bhogas (from evening to bed-time). The songs will be the songs of Gítagovinda and nothing else. The dancers were in four batches, and they were taught by four Vaishnava singers.

Left side.

No. VII.

॥ श्री जगन्नाथ देव महाराज प्रताप श्रीकृष्णदेव महाराजानां समस्त।

पू: वचन्ते याचि धनु तिरंदिन (?) सोमवारे + + + कटक विजेतमय।

(Rest illegible).

Translation.

On Monday, the 3rd (?) of Dhanu in the 5th anka of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions of Karna (andKalabaraga, the powerful Rudra Deva Mahárája, at camp. . . .

Note.

This inscription is the lowermost. Ordinarily the place is dark, and the pilgrims while passing through the door, feel the way by touching the wall. In this manner almost all its lower part has been rubbed off.

J. i. 13
Right side.

No. I.
in three parts.

Main part:—2′ 9″ × 9″—Lines 5.

Western part:—Lines 7
6½″ × 11″

Eastern part:—Lines 5
1′ 0 × 10″

Translation.

On Thursday, the 12th of Mesha, bright half in the 2nd (anka) of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karuṇā and Kalabaraga, the powerful Purushottama Deva Mahārājā, while encamping at camp Purushottama:—Ornamented ivory couch 1, ornamented throne with flags and jars 1, ornamented umbrella 1, ornamented bedstead 1, golden-handled broom 1, ornamented-handled chauris 2.

Eastern part.
Gift of king Purushottama:—
Ornamented eouches 2,
Ornamented earrings 4,
Merugarbha wristlets 2 pairs,
Ornamented fan 1,
Chandia (hair-ornament like moon) 1.

Western part.
Ornamented mirror 1. He who thinks of taking these, rebels against Lord Jagannātha.
Note.

This inscription seems to be a continuation of No. II left side, and is of the same date.

Right side.

No. II.

2' 5" × 1' 2"—Lines 8.

Translation.

On Sunday the new moon in the Mesha of the 19th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king of Gauda, Kapilesvara Deva Mahārāja, having conquered the side of Mallikā Parisā, on the journey back, at camp Purushottama, while taking his food, the storekeeper and superintendent Raghu Deva Narendra having made known (to the king) it was ordered:—I give to god Purushottam the Sāri cloth known as Puṇḍariksha gopa. Whoever violates this rebels against Jagannātha. This writing Kelai Kuṇṭiā inscribed.

Note.

The Mádalá Panji mentions the conquest of a Mallikā country in the 21st anka—21st may be a mistake for 19. “Puṇḍariksha gopa” may be the name of a village.

Right side.

No. III.

4' 1" × 1' 4"—Lines 7.

Translation.
Translation.

On Thursday, the 12th of Kakra, bright half of the 31st anka of the victorious reign of the warrior elephant-lord, the king over Gauda and ninety millions of Kamāṭa and Kalabaraga at Camp Purushottama, while holding court in the audience-hall of the southern block (of rooms), it was ordered to be inscribed:—Oh Jagannātha, thou knowest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Brāhmans as much as I can. He, on whom thou pleasest to bestow this land, is my (illegible.)

Note.

Herein the king humbles himself before Jagannātha and promises to make liberal gifts to Brāhmans. The inscription appears to be the outcome of some heavy troubles or impending disasters. The usual curse at the end is wanting.

Right side.

No. 1V.

4′ 10″×10′—Lines 7.

1 वीरस्वी गजपति गउड़ियाँ नवाकोटोकांड लकवरङ्गीयः प्रताप श्री
   गजपति एवऽतोमसदेव माधवराजाङ्गकर

2 विजयराये समस्त १६ चाँद्र आची सिंह श्रुत ण गुनवरे वाराङ्गिये
   काके आगवच गोपालभिय जगतीर देवामेड़े वढ़ व्यवायाये

3 समस्त वेद्वोरा माधवपाल माधवपाल पात्रसति सिर्स खटनी बुढ़ा
   लेखा समस्तू मुखविशार आद्यां चोद्वा चाम्बे व्युत्वव कार युवी
   देखी य प्रत्यवे देतिकाल

4 धार देतिकाल य चोढ़ीयारावर राजामानु सिवाज चाँद्र सनु
   राजामने बालामखु दान देता शासनयुक्त मनोग कार धन्यी
   प्रायः राज्य याढ़ चारि कथार शैवेिें

5 बालामखु बिंयोग न कारित। याढ़ चारि कम्येिे निमोजिले बालामा
On Thursday the 8th of the Simha, bright half in the 19th anka of
the victorious reign of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over
Ganḍa and the ninety millions of Karnaṭa and Kalabarga, the powerful
Puruṣottama Deva Mahārāja, at camp Bārāṇasi (Kaṭak) while holding
his great leisure in the southern portion of the royal residence named
Gopāla-priya, Behorā Mahāpātra, Māhāpātra Pātra-s (m. ?)-api Miśra,
and the old Lenkā being present it was ordered:—Feeling, hearing and
seeing, I advise the kings of Orissa as long as this world lasts, all ye
kings, ye are to make gifts to the Brāhmans with peaceful and attentive
mind. Never deprive Brāhmans of these four matters—wealth, wife, life
and land. These four things not being deprived, the Brāhmans will
perform the Jāgas, will not deceive (?) (illegible). Whoever, violating
these advices and sayings, does otherwise, rebels against Jagannātha.
He is a first class sinner (?), a great sin (illegible) gets the effect of all
the sins. Let all, bearing in mind this fact, according to my edicts do!
do! do!

Note.
The inscription is long and partly illegible. Some of the letters
have been swallowed up by a crack in the stone; others have been
effaced by the constant rubbing of pilgrims’ hands. Bārāṇasi is the
old name of Kaṭak and still survives in Birdānāsi, the westernmost
part of Kaṭak along tho Kāṭjori river. Lenkā is an officer whose
duties are not known.

Right side.
No. V.

5’ x 2’ 3”—Lines 18.

L. 1  श्री वीर गणपति गाउड़ेच्या नवकोटो कर्षांत कलबरगेश्वर श्रीम (श्र) 
     राजाधिराज माण गोविन्द श्री
2  गोविन्द देव राजा संत्रांशिवाय ग्रामाप श्रीभ्र प्रताप देव 
     मध्यराजासार विजे राज्य समाल
3 8 चाँद शाळ्य विषय सुकल दत्तिष्य समस्तवारे जगमोहन सख्ये श्रीगगाय छाये ज
4 गाँवे भो जगमाय त्वक्षय्यवाद देखी ब्राजिवाय दियारे दिया सवृति
नको विभाद उदयगीरि स
5 रि परिवित्रे खदेशी परदेशी जाचीमाधुर दाश प्रति × × ×
6 गड़ुरार राजामारे × ×
7 पालना करिवे जे एकह खन्यथा क
8 रह से श्रीगगायकु दोष करई
9 खचाप्पं ब्राज्यय वध कला पाप
10 न्वल जाविनो भुमियाण
11 दते रामचंध
12 प्राया कािे
13 सालना

Rest illegible by plastering

Translation.

On Tuesday the 3rd of Biehhá bright half of the 4th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions of Karnaṭa and Kalabaraga, king of kings, the powerful Managovinda Govinda Deva Rájá, Pratápa Deva Mahárájá, in the porch and before Lord Jagannátha he thus made known (his prayer) :—Oli Jagannátha, without going and coming to see your lotus feet all appear as hell. The gifts of pilgrims (of places) up to Vindhyá and Udayagiri mountains, whether native or foreigner (rest illegible). The kings of Garjáti (illegible) will obey. He who violates this order rebels against Jagannátha, and gets the sin of killing a Bráhman with one’s own hands.

(Here follow four stanzas of Sanskrit slokas).

Note.

From the date, and the name, Mána Govinda Govinda Deva appears to be the same as Govinda Biyádhara of the Mádalá Pánji. He was a minister of Pratápa Rudra Deva, and became the prime minister during the short reigns of his two sons. Finally he murdered them and ascended the throne himself.
Translation.

On Sunday the 2nd of Tula, dark half in the 19th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gaúḍa and ninety millions of Karṇāṭa and Kalabarak, the powerful Purushottama Deva Mahárája at camp Kritibas during the pújá pleasure, it was ordered:—He who throws magical arrows unto Bisi Behára will not succeed. In spite of this (order), he who does so, is cursed by (the oath of) god Bhuvanesvara, he is a rebel. By order of Bisi Behára inscribed. All (hear).

Right side.

No. II.

2' 3½" × 5"—Lines 6.

L. 1 श्रीबिंदुकपिलेशर देव महाराजाज्ञ्ञर विजयाये समस्त ८ बाल्य शाही
2 सिहुन संज्ञानिन्त क्रज ६ मलजवार चालितस बने से रितर नायकाने
3 राज गुरु वासु माहापापु मुन्नेसर माहापापु रुद्र ले चालि विहारिष्य
4 दुधर गोचरो चायाय मोलि चोइला याम्भर चोडिवा राज्ये ने राजा
5 मूल सबुंधे राजाशु द्विते रितर ये चापाना वदाचारे धिवे वासुदमरे
6 बरसित्वे राजाशु अद्यैते राजावाचार कार्य तादार लवस्च छूटि।
Translation.

On Monday the 9th of the Mithuṇa, dark half Sankrānti in the 4th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior Kapileśvara Dvaṭ Mahārāja, at camp Kṛitiśā during the inner pūjā leisure, it was ordered in the presence of Raiguru Bāṣu Māhāpātra and Bhuvaneśvara Māhāpātra who caused (this) to be inscribed:—All the kings in my Orissa kingdom should work for the good of the (paramount) sovereign, should keep virtuous ways, should not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards the sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property confiscated.

Note.

These two inscriptions are on the right jamb of the doorway leading to the porch of the Bara Deul at Bhuvaņeśvara. They are inscribed just in the centre at a man’s height. No corresponding inscriptions are to be found on the left jamb.

The general remarks made in the Jagannātha inscriptions apply, mutatis mutandis, to these also. The dates do not seem correct. The tithis of the years in question do not fall on the week-days stated.

The Topography of Old Fort William.—By C. R. Wilson, M. A.

In the present paper I propose to lay before the Society the results of certain excavations made during the last four months of the year 1891 and the first four months of the year 1892, on the site of old Fort William, Calcutta.

These are not the first excavations which have been made at this spot. In 1883 Mr. R. R. Bayne, while erecting the East India Railway Offices in Fairlie Place, came across considerable portions of the old fort walls. He reported his discoveries to the Society in a paper which will be found in the Journal for 1883, Vol. LII, Part I, No. II.

The general position of the old fort with its adjacent warehouses is well-known. It stood on the ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the New Government Offices, the Custom House, and the East India Railway House. The warehouses built along the south side of the fort skirted Khoila Ghat Street. The north side was in Fairlie Place. The east front looked out on Clive Street and Dalhousie Square. Behind it was the river which then flowed further east than at present.

The fort was in shape an irregular tetragon. Its walls were built of small thin bricks strongly cemented together, according to Orme, “its sides, to the east and west extended 210 yards, the southern side 130, and the northern
side 100. It had four bastions mounting each ten guns. The curtains were four feet thick, and like the factory of Cossimbazar, terraces, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains. The gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front and one on each flank towards the bastions. Under the western face, and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of palisadoes. In the year 1747, warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and, projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another. However the terraces of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbetts over a slight parapet." There were also blocks of central buildings within the fort. It had two gates on the river side besides that on the east front.

When in 1883 Mr. R. R. Bayne began to dig at the corner of Fairlie Place for the purpose of laying down the foundations of the East India Railway House, he almost immediately came across remains of old walls built of small thin bricks such as have long ceased to be used. These were the walls of the old fort. Mr. Bayne followed up the indications thus found, and in the end was able to put together an almost complete ground plan of the north end of the fort. As a detailed description of these discoveries has been already placed before the Society, it will be quite unnecessary for me to attempt to give any further account of them here. Nor do I wish at present to offer any criticisms upon the suggestions and theories which naturally occurred to Mr. Bayne in connection with his discoveries. I shall at once proceed to set forth the results which have been obtained since 1883 by a persistent search of the records and by recent excavations made on the spot.

The first great step towards completing the work so well begun by Mr. R. R. Bayne was taken by Mr. T. R. Munro, who discovered in the British Museum a copy of a large map of old Calcutta on the scale of 100 ft. = 1 in., dated 1753. The map, it appears, was drawn by a Lieutenant Wells of the Company's Artillery, and was designed to show a projected new fort, but it also shows the old fort in great detail. A photograph of this plan was presented to the Asiatic Society in 1889 by Mr. Munro, and it is with this photograph in my hands that I have been able to carry out extensive excavations of the site of the old fort in the years 1891 and 1892 and thus complete the work of defining the topo-
graphy of the place. The plan, it is true, is not quite accurate, but it is infinitely superior to the little rough sketch of the fort found in Orme's history, which was all Mr. Bayne had to go upon.

The plan suggested a further searching of the records, both here and at home, to see if they could cast any further light either upon the plan itself, or on the projected new fort of 1753, or on the state of the old fort generally. Through the kindness of Mr. Forrest, I was enabled to see such records bearing on the subject as are now preserved in the Imperial Library at Calcutta, but I found that they were very meagre. Dr. Busteed, however, most generously devoted a considerable amount of his valuable time to looking up the records at home, and has furnished me with a complete list of all the passages to be found in the extant records which have any bearing whatever on the old fort, and on the question of improving it, or superseding it, which seems to have been so often discussed during the four or five years which preceded the tragedy of the Black Hole. These extracts are provokingly incomplete. They refer to fuller documents, but these fuller documents are not now forthcoming, having been all destroyed. Four plans are mentioned, viz., Colonel Scott's, Captain Jones's, Simson's and Plaisted's, but none of these could be found by Dr. Busteed at the India Office. It is only by some lucky chance that a duplicate copy of Scott's, or Wells's plan found its way into the King's library at the British Museum. As, however, these extracts bring before us very vividly the circumstances under which the plan was drawn up in 1753, I will here give them in full, together with Dr. Busteed's valuable comments on them, before proceeding to speak of the plan itself.

1. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, Extracts. Scott and the 28th February, 1754.

Colonel Scott having laid a project before the Board for securing this settlement against any attack from a country force which, in the present juncture, ought to be guarded against, and as we imagine the expense of it will not be very considerable, we have complied with his proposal and directed him to set about it as soon as possible. A copy of that project we transmit yr. Honours in this packet as we did not chuse for the sake of seecresy to enter it after the consultations.

2. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, the 7th September 1754.

When Col. Scott proceeded to the coast he requested we would permit Lt. Wells to carry on the works he had planned at Perrin's in
his absence which we accordingly complied with. * * * *. Col. Scott in consequence of Mr. Saunders and Council's request for relieving Major Lawrence in the Field, left us on the 18th March, but it is with concern we informed yr. Honrs, he died at Madras on 12th May of a violent fever.

3. From the Bengal Government to Wm. Watts at Moorshedabad, the 22nd August 1755.

It has hitherto been very unfortunate to this Settlement that every gentleman, who has had capacity or been appointed by our employers to fortify this place, have not lived even to make a beginning on the plans proposed, we have therefore agreed to wait our Masters' last commands by this year's shipping, when if they are absolute and the situation of affairs in Europe portends war we must employ those who have the most experience and knowledge to execute plans of fortification, and this we shall put in practice without showing any diffidence to the right we have of securing our Settlement.

4. A letter, signed by Messrs. Drake and Manningham, to the Court of Directors, the 3rd September 1755.

The death of Col. Scott put a check to our pursuing his plan for securing this settlement from any attack of the country forces with much alacrity as we were cautious of laying out much money until yr. Honours signified yr. approbation of that work which shall now be set about in as expeditious a manner as the season of the year will permit our carrying it into execution. Here we must remark that the Go-

1 The Council of Madras. II. E B.
2 See Long's Selections No. 163.
3 Perhaps it would have been wiser if they had shown some "diffidence" now after having for so long neglected their defences, even in the face of repeated orders from home. The new Nawâb in the following year opened their eyes on this subject. However, to give the Fort William Government their due, they had consulted Watts, the chief at Cossimbazar, as to the prudence of seeking permission from the Murshidâbâd Government before they took their defences in hand. They were prepared to conciliate the Nawâb and to resort to the customary bribery to him and his ministers. Watts opposed the idea, chiefiy because the Nawâb was really so rich that no bribe which Calcutta could afford would be likely to convert him if unfavorably inclined; he urged moreover that the precedent of asking and paying for such permission might prove a very embarrassing one in the future, and that if the Nawâb should refuse, the English would be worse off than ever. On the whole Watts advised them to go on with the fortifications and say nothing, and, if in the meantime exception should be taken by the Murshidâbâd Court, Watts was not without confidence that he could prevail upon the Minister "Huckambeg," for a consideration, to divert the possible anger of the Nawâb. Events did not justify this confidence. II E B.
vernment has not attempted to frustrate that design though it has a formidable appearance.

5. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, the 11th September 1755.

We shall pay due regard to yr. orders in regard to the fortifications Col. Scott projected for the defense of the place against a country enemy which are carrying on agreeable to his instructions, but not yet near finished. Mr. Wells who was recommended by the Colonel to overlook those works being dead, we have directed Mr. Barthw. Plaisted to see them executed: for what may relate further to those works or any others that may be found necessary for the defense of the settlement we beg leave to refer yr. Hons. to the gentlemen you have entrusted on that head.

6. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, the 8th December 1755.

Mr. Wm. Wells, 2nd Lieut. of the Train under whose inspection the works at Perrin's were carrying on, departed this life on 8th August. In his room Mr. B. Plaisted took charge of those works jointly with Mr. O'Hara. They have our directions to execute the plan Colonel Scott left behind him.

7. On August 4th, 1755, Captain Jasper Leigh Jones of the Artillery addresses a letter to the President and Council, Fort William, about the state of the defences of Calcutta.

It is with pleasure I hear the Hon'ble Court of Directors have earnestly recommended unto you an inspection in general regarding the Buildings Military (sic) and Fortifications. I think it is my duty to study anything for the good of the service. [He enlarges on this duty theme and deprecates the circumstance that he is armed with so little authority to initiate or take up any measures for the defending of a place whose safe custody he considers himself responsible for in a great degree. He proposes to relieve his conscience by giving Government his opinion as to the condition of their so-called defences before he betakes himself to the Coast where he is next for duty. He then goes on to speak of Col. Scott's project.] In the

4 The Government of Murshidábád. H. E. B.
5 Probably Drake and Manningham, as those two only sign the letter to the Court of the 3rd September 1755. H. E. B.
6 "Bengal Consultations," 1755-56.
C. R. Wilson—Topography of Old Fort William.

Method I perceive the plan in regard to the inward works may by
the order of the Hon'ble Ct. of Ds. be put into execution, but as
there is no positive order to go to work on that, it is necessary now we
should think for the good of the place we are entrusted with as well
as the property of our proprietors and our Hon'ble Masters who employ
us. [As there is a probability of a French war in Europe, he counsels
that provision for that contingency should be the chief object in view: he
considers that there is little or nothing to fear from a 'country
enemy' as 'their interest for our continuation will be sufficient']. Pro-
vided a general war which is what we have to expect, it is natural to
expect the enemy will attack this place, and in order to do this send
some ships of war into the river whose coming near the town must be
carefully avoided. It is certain the Hon'ble Ct. of Ds. has been always
of opinion that if ever Calcutta was attacked it must be by some means
from the river, and they, like prudent, experienced and good Masters,
have provided their servants in time with the best guns they could
procure which by their nature are for defense and not for sale, lying on
the warfs unmounted from their landing to this day.

How far we have regarded their hint I can't say, as we have
neither a carriage to mount any of them on, or even a gun already
mounted in the garrison fit for service, and am very sorry I must be
obliged to confess we seem to look more like a ruined and deserted
Moor's fort than any place in possession of Europeans, much less a
principal Settlement [There is more to the same purpose; his main
recommendation is to repair the 'Lino Wall' on the river bank, the
immediate construction of fascines there as a temporary measure, the
providing of vessels to be used as fire ships, and the manning of the
batteries proposed by the gentlemen of the Militia Corps with trained
Artillerymen intermixed with them]. What guns could be mounted
on the 2 bastions by the river side ought likewise to be kept in good
order with their platform and embrasures repaired, as they would be
of infinite use, being so much higher than the guns of the Line Warf
Wall.

8. Captain Jones returns to the subject again on 11th Sept. 1755.7

Having not met with the pleasure of yr. approval in regard to
my last letter to which this plan is in some measure a reference, and that
it may not be misconstrued by yr. Honors, I hope you will be kind
eough to give me leave to send it home, in the packet, for fear it might
be thought (without an explanation) I had some views of converting the

7 "Bengal Consultations," 1755-56.
designs of a more perfect hand—this I hope will show I had no sinister views of my own.

9. It appears from the Consultations of 24th November 1755, that Mr. B. Plaisted also furnished to Mr. Franksland "a plan he had taken of the town of Calutta."

10. On 25th February, 1756, a letter was addressed to Drake and Manningham by Colin Simson who thus introduces his own plan.

Since the time I have had the honor to be appointed Engineer I have had an opportunity to examine the plan projected by Col. Scott for a fortification where Fort Wm. now stands, which appearing to be deficient in some of the things principally requisite in a fortification, I thought it my duty to represent the same to yr. Hons. That if you think proper the representation with the accompanying plan may be transmitted to the Ct. of Ds.

[He proceeds to criticise adversely Scott's plan in many particulars.]

The whole Fort when finished will be a narrow slip on the side of the River, and in order to build it, the whole north side of the Factory contains the apartments for most of the young gentlemen in the Company's service, the magazine for arms and military stores, shop for medicine, smith's shop, &c., must be pulled down immediately, as also

8 This plan was ordered "to be sent to the Honourable Company in the box of books per Hardwick." As for Captain Jones, R. Drake Junior and his brethren did not like to be hustled by this plain-spoken and honest man; his gloomy forebodings—too soon to be realized, but from a quarter which even he did not foresee—were most unwelcome. Like the daughter of Priam he possessed the gift of prophecy which nobody believed, and accordingly he got nothing but rebukes for his pains. "On the 4th August Captain Jasper Jones sent in a letter to the Board with his sentiments on the present fortifications of the place, and what he thought necessary for its defense in case of war. The Board, being of opinion it was irregular, improper and unnecessary, we ordered our Secretary to inform him that our orders had been issued to his Superior Officer to whom he should have applied if he had anything material to offer." Poor Jones did not go to the coast as he proposed: he died instead on the 22nd November 1755, having been overtaken with monotonous punctuality, by the "violent fever," which had already accounted for so many of those who dealt with the defence of the settlement. The Bengal recording angels said grandiloquently, in their letter to the Court of Directors, that he "demised," and this they announced without the hollow customary formality of any expression of regret. Captain Witherington reigned in his stead, and Lieutenant Grant became a Captain. H. E. B.

9 The special Committee on fortifications presumably. H. E. B.

10 Letters from Bengal 1756.
the Church and Hospital; all these buildings are in constant use, they cannot be well spared, and it would be difficult to supply their place immediately. [He repeats this drawback to Scott's plan in another part.] Before the building of the Colonel's plan can be carried on there must be pulled down immediately all the north side of the Factory, the Church, Hospital, godowns of Mr. McGuire's house, the Dockyard, and godowns of the Company's house. Whereas in order to go on with building the Square nothing need be pulled down but the outhouses of the Company's House and a small part of north-east corner of present Fort.

Simson's suggestion was 'to save most of these buildings and to erect a square fort (as by the accompanying plan) which runs from the north side of the present fort round the Church through the Tank towards the horse's Stables and thence down to the waterside between Mr. Amiott's house and that of the Company.'

There is only one allusion to be found in Simson's letter to the Fort river-bastions. 'The gun wharf or low battery on the river side which is not flanked by any fire from the Fort is proposed to be left in its present situation, and as its wall projects forward from the angle of the north-western bastion towards the river, it prevents the face of that bastion from being flanked. Neither is the face of the south western bastion towards the river flanked, the line of its face running without side the opposite flank.'

I may now pass on to describe Wells's plan of the fort to which frequent allusion has been made in the foregoing extracts and of which I give a facsimile (Plate VI). The plan is preserved in the British Museum having found its way there from the King's library. It is endorsed "No. 11 Duplicate Plan of Fort William and part of Calcutta by Wm. Wells under Col. Scott drawn in 1753"; and again in another part.—"Received per Dunnington, 10th October 1754." The object of the plan is to show the new fort which Col. Scott projected in 1753, but it incidentally shows the old fort in considerable detail, the scale being 100 ft. = 1 in. Looking at the plan we recognise at once the irregular tetragon with its four bastions, (α, β, γ, δ,) each having embrasures for ten guns. The north curtain here measures 210 ft., the south curtain 336 ft., the east 546, the west 560. The fort has three gates, ε the east gate, ζ the main south river

11 See Long's Selections No. 165. By an unfortunate misprint, "north side of the Factory" has been converted into "south side" in the Selections.
12 Then the Company's Stables were beyond, i.e., east of, the Hospital, and Amiott's house was just south of Douglas'. H. E. B.
gate, and \( \eta \) the smaller north river gate through which Suraj-ud-daula entered the fort. \( \theta \) is the mound of the great flag-staff, \( \iota \) is the passage joining the northern and southern divisions of the fort. \( \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \omega \pi \) are the series of rooms south of the east gate, of which the southernmost should be the Black Hole. \( \xi \) is the staircase to the south-east bastion \( \alpha \). \( \rho \) is the verandah in front of the chambers \( \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \omega \pi \). \( \sigma \) is the landing stage on which was placed the Company’s crane. \( \tau \) is the river wall armed with cannon and protected where necessary with palisades shown as dotted lines. Within the fort is a large central block of buildings marked in the plan as “The Factorey.” Hamilton calls this the Governor’s House, and I prefer to use this name to indicate it, as “the factorey” is more commonly used to denote the whole fort. At the same time it must be remembered that the Governor did not live here in 1753, but in the Company’s House on the south side of the fort, although he still retained some rooms or offices in the south-east wing of the building for his own use. Adjoining the south-east bastion, we see the Export and Import Warehouses which, as Orme tells us, were added in 1747. Holwell speaks of them as the new, or colta, warehouses. The roofs were strong enough to carry cannon, and the south-east corner of the warehouses when thus armed seems to have been dignified with the title of the new S. E. bastion.\(^{13}\) The east gate (\( \epsilon \)) was also armed with five cannon. The warehouse yard is separated from another yard to the west of it by a small zigzag wall. This yard (\( \omega \)) was, I conjecture, the carpenter’s yard, since it is next to the warehouses, and is conveniently situated with reference to the river. As regards the buildings on the north side of the fort, mentioned in Simson’s letter of 25th February, 1756, I conjecture that \( \phi \phi \) are the lodgings occupied by the young gentlemen in the Company’s service, and that \( \chi \), the central building in the north division of the fort, is the armoury. The former conjecture is supported by the very nature of the ground plan of the buildings, the latter by the fact that when Mr. R. R. Bayne uncovered the foundations of \( \chi \) in 1883 he found close by it pieces vitrified as if from a forge. The laboratory was situated in the east curtain\(^{14}\) and must have been one of the rooms \( \psi \psi \). Generally the

\(^{13}\) Holwell alludes to the new S. E. bastion several times in his long letter to the Court of Directors. In section 40 he says: “That [outpost] to the eastward at the Court House you will find commanded by the battery over the E. Gate and from the old and new South-east bastions within musket shot.” And again: “The whole square between the south face of the fort and the hospital, and gate of the burying ground was commanded not only by the New South-east bastion, but by seven 4-pounders on the new godowns.” In section 48 he says: “Accordingly prepared with the flag [of truce] on the original S.-E. bastion where Captain Buchanan was then posted.”

\(^{14}\) I learn this fact from Dr. Busteed who has furnished me with the following
plan has every mark of care and accuracy, and, as regards the northern portion of the fort agrees fairly well with what Mr. Bayne discovered in 1883. There is only one suspicious circumstance to be noted here. The north and south alignment of the Governor's House is not parallel to the east curtain. This is *prima facie* an improbable arrangement.

In the year 1891, all the buildings between the General Post Office and the Custom House were pulled down and the ground dug up for the purpose of laying the foundations of the new Government Offices, Dalhousie Square. As before in 1883, so now, the excavations revealed remains of the strangely fashioned walls of thin brick work which had once formed part of the old fort. In particular the curiosity of the public was much excited by the discovery of a small rectangular chamber faced with hard cement standing in the midst of four larger walls which looked down grimly on it.

At the beginning of September 1891, having made myself acquainted with the main features of the old fort, I went down to see the excavations. Almost the first thing I did was to measure the small rectangular chamber and the space between the larger walls which surrounded it. The small chamber measured east and west 9 ft. 9 in.; the distance between the thick walls east and west was 14 ft. 10 in. These measurements and the general appearance of the walls convinced me that the thick wall on the east was the curtain wall of the fort, that the wall on the west was the wall parallel to the curtain built for the purpose of containing the chambers running along that side of the fort, and that the smaller plastered chamber was a strong-room or godown.

I next identified the remains of the east gate. The walls had been much cut away by the excavations, but enough remained to show their true nature. Moreover, on measuring the distance from the spot where these walls stood to the record plate marking the north-east angle of the fort as determined by Mr. Bayne, I found that it agreed fairly well with the measurements given in the plan.

This discovery of the true position of the east gate was most important, because it settled finally one of the chief disputed points in the topography of the old fort, and it at once became the starting point for further investigations and discoveries. The value and significance of the excavations now became clear to me. If this was the east gate then the

extract from a letter written by Holwoll to Bombay, 17th July 1756, when just released from "Munderabad." "Tho 20th in the morning the enemy formed three assaults at once, against tho N.-W. bastion, against tho N.-W. Futtoch or barrier, and against the windows of the Laboratory on the eastern curtain, and attempted to scale the North-West window."

J. i. 15
deteriorated fragments of brickwork I had just been touching and measuring were all that remained of the well-known court of guard, barracks and Black Hole, spoken of by Orme and Holwell. West of them was the parade ground where the soldiers of Suraj-ud-daula had been drawn up to keep guard over their captives, and west of this again I should find the foundations of the Governor's House in the Fort. On advancing westward to a distance of about 110 ft. from the east curtain, the walls of the south-east wing of the Governor's House were readily discovered; and after a certain amount of careful excavation its leading features were all ascertained. Meanwhile I was anxiously trying to fix the position of the south curtain wall and the three lines of arches shown in the plan running parallel to the south curtain. The tradition has always been that the old arcade in the yard of the General Post Office was part of the old fort, and although Mr. Bayne had argued that this could not be the case, I felt convinced that tradition was right. I was, however, for a long time baffled in my efforts to prove the truth of the tradition owing to the fact that the actual distances between the lines of the arches of the arcade and the corner of the north-east wing of the factory, which had been discovered, could not be made to agree with the distances shown in the plan between that corner and the lines of arches along the south curtain. It was only after a good deal of excavation that the true position of the south curtain was established, and it became evident that the south face of the old arcade is part of the first line of arches within the curtain, that the pillars in the centre of the arcade belong to the second line of arches, and the north side of the arcade is on the alignment of the third and innermost line of arches.

The settling of this difficulty necessarily led to a further set of investigations. If these were the real positions of the south curtain wall and of the lines of arches within it, it followed that the plan was inaccurate in its representation of this part of the fort. Hence doubts naturally arose as to whether the plan was correct when it represented the east curtain wall as inclined at an angle to the north and south alignment of the Governor's House. It could not but seem more likely that they were parallel. To determine this point, excavations were made in the yard of the Custom House, and by this means the main outlines of the north-east wing of the factory and also the north and south alignment of the main building were ascertained. Here too it turned out that the plan was incorrect.

From this point the work of excavation was comparatively easy. Further investigations cleared up all that was obscure about the south curtain wall, and fixed the position of the block of buildings running east and west dividing the fort into two sections.
The plan given in Pl. VII gives the combined results of the excavations made in 1883 and in 1891. It shows the existing buildings on the site and over them the old fort is drawn. The walls of the darkest tint are the walls discovered by me, those of a lighter tint are walls discovered by Mr. R. R. Bayne. The still lighter tint indicates walls whose position has not yet been verified. In indexing the plan for reference I have tried to follow a uniform system.

I shall now describe the different portions of the fort which have been discovered in 1891, and I shall begin with the Governor's House in the Fort.

The Governor's "The Factorey" or "the Governor's House in the fort," which Hamilton describes is "the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India." I have dug up as much of the foundations of this "Piece of Architecture" as was possible without disturbing the existing buildings. I think it merits Hamilton's praise. The walls were undoubtedly strong and well-built, the shape of the building is regular and suggests the quadrangle of a college. The main building (OPQWVT) faced the river. Its length north and south was 245 ft. In the centre of this face was the great gate of the Governor's House, and from it a colonade ran down to the south water gate of the fort and the principal landing stage. This was the way by which Governor Drake escaped to the ships in 1756. Entering this gate and turning to your left you ascended the great flight of stairs which led, I conjecture, to the hall and the principal rooms. At right angles to the main building, and at each end of it, were wings running back towards the east curtain. Thus these north-east and south-east wings, together with the main building formed three sides of a rectangle having a raised cloister or piazza running all along the three sides. In the centre, I imagine, was a green grass plat. The south-east wing contained the apartments of the governor, and the factors probably had rooms in different parts of the building. Almost the whole of the ground on which the main building stood is at present occupied with government godowns. A trench was, however, dug from east to west in the passage between the opium godowns and the import godowns, and this enabled me to determine the positions of the principal walls, which were uncovered at the places marked $p_1$, $p_2$. The wall $p_1$ is one of the cross walls of the Governor's House forming the north side of the grand staircase. It is three feet thick. At $p$ it meets the west wall of the Governor's House which is 3 ft. 9 in. thick, at $p_1$ it meets the east wall of the principal building (PV) which is 4 ft. 6 in. thick. The internal distance between these two walls is 30 ft. 9 in. At $p'$ the cross wall $p_1$

15 There are at least two or three views given in old prints of the west face of this building.
meets on its south side an inner wall 3 ft. thick, parallel to the main west wall of the building, and at \( p' \), it meets a similar wall 3 ft. 9 in. thick. The internal distance between the main west wall and the inner parallel wall at \( p' \) is 10 ft. 3 in.; the internal distance between the inner wall at \( p' \) and the next one at \( p'_1 \) is only 6 ft. 9 in. These inner walls doubtless served to support the grand staircase. The inner wall at \( p'_1 \) intersects the egress wall \( pp_1 \) and continues on the north side of it.

I do not know the reason of this. The wall \( O_2 p_2 R_2 \) is the wall which supported the columns of the cloister, or verandah, which ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the Governor’s House. It has been uncovered from \( p_2 \) to \( R_3 \) where it turns to run along the inside of the north-east wing. The wall \( O_2 p_2 R_2 \) is 2 ft. 6 in. thick, with an effect of 6 in. at the points where it actually supported the pillars of the cloister. The distance between the pillars of the west cloister, from centre to centre, was 10 ft. 6 in. At \( p_3 \), 4 ft. 6 in. from \( p_2 \), I found a piece of a small wall 1 ft. 6 in. thick. This wall contained the raised terrace on which the cloister stood. There is also at \( p_2 \) a wall \( p_2 p'_2 \) which bonds with the wall \( R_2 p_2 O_2 \), and which runs back towards, but does not meet, the east wall of the main building \( FV \). The purpose served by this wall \( p_2 p'_2 \) is not clear.

Excavations were also made to find the north-west corner of the factory (\( W \)), and the north-east wing (\( SRR_3 S_3' \)). The north-west corner (\( W \)) was readily found. The walls here are 3 ft. 6 in. thick. From \( W \) the north wall of the factory continues in a straight line for a distance of 50 ft. 3 in., outside measurement, to \( V \). Here it is set back 3 ft. 6 in. From this point (\( U \)) the wall again runs on in a straight line for a distance of 18 ft. to \( T \), where it is set back 4 ft. 9 in. (\( TR = 4 \) ft. 9 in.), and thence continues as the north wall of the north-east wing (\( RRS_3 R_3 \)). The wall \( WVRURS \) is throughout 3 ft. 6 in. thick. \( V \), the point where this wall is first set back, is the north-east corner of the main building, where the wall \( WV \) meets the wall \( VP \). The second set-back occurs at the point where the wall \( UT \) meets the wall \( TRR_4 \), which runs parallel to \( VP \) and forms the east wall of the staircase on this side of the building. The wall \( TRR \) is 3 ft. 6 in. thick and 36 ft. long. Wells’s plan shows a kind of projection or porch \( VV’T’T' \) against the wall \( UT \), but of this I found no trace.

\( RS \) the main north wall of the north-east wing is 3 ft. 6 in. thick and 61 ft. long. Parallel to it and of the same length are the walls \( R_3 S_3, R_3 S'_3 \). \( R_4 S_4 \) is the inner wall containing the apartments in the north-east wing of the Governor’s House. It is 3 ft. 6 in. thick, and is distant 21 ft. 9 in., internal measurement, from \( RS \). The remains of \( SS_4 \), the east wall of this wing, are completely buried beneath the Custom House. The smaller walls \( RR_4 \) (two feet thick) \( qq_4 \), \( ss_4 \) (each
2 ft. 9 in. thick) divide off the space between $RS$ and $R_1S_1$. The internal distance between $SS_1$ and $ss_1$ is 13 ft. 6 in.; between $ss_1$ and $qq_1$ it is 16 ft. 3 in.; between $qq_1$ and $rr_1$ it is 13 ft. 6 in.; between $rr_1$ and $RR_1$ it is 6 ft. $R_2S_2$ is the foundation wall carrying the arches of the north cloister. It is 41 ft. distant, internal measurement, from $RS$. Where it directly supported the pillars of the cloister it is 4 ft. 6 in. thick, elsewhere it is 3 ft. 6 in. thick.

Other excavations were made on the site of the south-east wing of the factory ($LL_3O_2O$), in which the governor's apartments were situated, and considerable remains of its walls were discovered. The east wall of this wing $LL_1L_2$ was traced out, as also portions of the south main wall of the wing $LO$, the inner wall containing the apartments $L_1O_1$, and the wall carrying the pillars of the south cloister $L_2L_3$. These walls are all 4 ft. thick. The distance of $L_1O_1$ from $LO$ is 17 ft. 6 in. and that of $L_2O_3$ from $L_1O_1$ is 35 ft. At the corner of this wing 17 ft. 6 in. south of $L$ stood an isolated pillar 3 ft. square, $L'$. There is also a projecting chamber $MNN'M'$ built out against the main wall $LO$, the walls of which are 3 ft. thick, $LM$ measures 11 ft. 6 in. The chamber $MNN'M'$ measures inside 18 ft. by 23 ft. The distance of $L$ from the east curtain wall is 140 ft., that of $S$ from the east curtain is 143 ft.; thus the north and south alignment of the Governor's House is very nearly parallel to the east curtain.

I now pass on to speak of the south curtain wall and the arcades built within it. This side of the fort was in all probability used for storing the Company's goods. As originally constructed it had only two parallel lines of arches built along the inside of the curtain forming a double arcade and beyond these arcades, (i. e., on their north side) was an uncovered raised terrace 22 ft. broad. Afterwards a portion of this raised platform was covered in by a third arcade. It also seems to have been found necessary to strengthen the south curtain wall by building another wall against it to support it. Lastly, in 1741, export and import wall houses were built on outside the south curtain. Evidently this side of the fort was subject to a good deal of alteration, and for this reason, or it may be from a desire to make the fort appear more symmetrical than it really was, Wells's plan comes far short of its usual accuracy. I have, accordingly, had some difficulty in determining the topography of this side of the fort, but my doubts have all yielded to patient excavation. The key to their solution was the discovery of the third or innermost of the lines of arches parallel to the south curtain.

\[15\] This seems a little doubtful. The walls were very thick here, with a footing.
After making a careful search in every likely direction where I might expect to come across them, I find that the third line of these arches was built on the alignment of what is now the north face of the waggon shed in the Post Office yard. The foundations of this wall (D₃E₃) have been exposed. It is 2 ft. 6 in. thick and is built against another smaller wall 10 in. thick which is in contact with it, all along its south side but does not bond with it. There can be no doubt about the meaning of this. The smaller wall contained a raised terrace or platform in front of the arcades D₁F₁, D₂F₂. This platform was at first left open, but was afterwards covered in by an arcade, and a thick wall was built against the thin wall containing the platform to support the arches of the new arcade. Clearly then this wall D₃E₃ is the foundation wall of the third row of arches parallel to the south curtain. If this be so there can be no doubt about the situation of the curtain and the two other parallel lines of arches, of which in fact portions still remain standing. In the yard of the General Post Office there is an old arcade and arches which at its west end joins on to a very old house. This old house has been lately used as the store-godown of the Post Office, and the arches serve for a shed to keep the Post Office waggons in. The north side of the waggon-shed e₃i₃ is a modern wall constructed on the alignment of the third arcade wall of the old fort D₃E₃; but the two lines of arches e₁i₁, e₂i₂ (of which the first e₁i₁ forms the south face of the shed, and the second e₂i₂ runs down its centre) are manifestly portions of the first and second lines of arches D₁F₁, D₂F₂, which ran parallel to the south curtain of the old fort. This agrees with the traditions of the spot and has been proved by my excavations. The arcade e₁i₁ i₂e₂ is a fragment. At its west end I find that four more of its pillars, i₂i₂, F₁F₂, are built into the old Post Office godown; and on opening up the ground to the east of the arcade I found that the line of arches e₂i₂ has a foundation wall which runs on eastward underground as e₂e₂', and that the line of arches e₁i₁ rests on isolated brick piers which are also continued eastward, and one of which I was able to expose e'₁. Moreover the arcade e₁i₁ i₂e₂ is a fragment of the old fort. It is built of the old thin bricks, the pillars are sunk deep below the present ground level. The foundation wall which carries the line of arches e₂i₂ is 3 ft. 4 in. thick. The production of this wall e₂e₂' is at a distance of 22 ft. 6 in. internal measurement from the wall D₃E₃ which I have identified as the foundation wall of the third or innermost line of arches parallel to the south curtain. This is just the distance which Wells's plan shows between the third and the second lines of these

17 It is 3 ft. 7 in. square at the top, and 4 ft. 8 in. square at its base.
arches, and hence I consider that $e_2 i_2$ is a segment of the second line of arches. The pillars of these arches are 13 ft. 8 in. distant from each other from centre to centre. For similar reasons I identify the line of arches $e_1 f_1 f'_1 g'_1 g i_1$ as segment of the first of the lines of arches within the south curtain. The line of arches $e_2 f_1$ is 19 ft. distant from the line of arches $e_2 f_2$, by internal measurement. From $e_1$ to $f_1$, a distance of 42 ft. 9 in., it runs straight on parallel to $e_2 f_2$. Then the whole line of arches is brought out 4 ft. 10 in. further south ($f_1 f'_1$). Then again it continues to run parallel to the wall $e_2 i_2$ for 82 ft. 10 in. ($f'_1 g'_1$) after which it returns to its old alignment ($g i i_1$). Both as regards its distance from the wall $e_2 i_2$, which I have argued is the second line of arches parallel to the curtain, and as regards the irregularity of its conformation, the line of arches $e_1 f_1 f'_1 g'_1 g i_1$ corresponds to the representation given in Wells's plan of the first line of arches within the south curtain, and I think there can be no doubt that it is a segment of that line of arches.

Near the south-west corner of the old waggon shed a wall $ik$ about 9 ft. thick projects in front of and parallel to the arches; another portion of it is hidden away in the old Post Office Store Godown. This is all that actually remains of the south curtain, but by opening up the ground in the yard of the Post Office I have been able to trace out its position and foundations. The original curtain wall was 3 ft. 2 in. thick. Within it, i.e., on its north side, there was built another wall which was intended to support and strengthen the curtain wall. This wall is irregularly constructed and varies in thickness. At first it is about 3 ft. 8 in. thick with a space of 6 in. left in some places between it and the curtain wall. At $f$ it ends in a buttress about 2 ft. 4 in. thick. The south curtain wall is met on its south face by a wall about 2 ft. 2 in. broad, at a point $h$, 53 ft. distant from $k$ where the curtain is now cut away. The 2 ft. 2 in. wall runs southwards and a little to the eastwards, for a distance of 24 ft. Then it turns off eastwards. This wall is the wall shown in Wells's plan dividing the warehouses from the yard $o$. Its discovery in the position indicated for it in Wells's plan places the identification of the south curtain wall beyond dispute.

I have already pointed out one serious inaccuracy in Wells's plan. He makes the cast curtain inclined at an angle to the north and south alignment of the Governor's House in the Fort, whereas they really are parallel to each other. I have now to call attention to another serious inaccuracy in Wells's plan. I have shown that $D_3 E_3$ is the northernmost of the three lines of arches built inside the south curtain wall. Its distance from the centre of the cast gate in 162 ft. whereas Wells makes it only 150 ft.
The Writers' Buildings on the north side of the fort.

As regards the north side of the fort, I have not much to add to what Mr. Bayne discovered in 1883. I have, however, verified by excavation the position of the range of rooms which divided the fort into two, and which, I believe, to have been the 'Writers' Buildings' in the old fort. The south wall of these buildings, JG, is about 60 ft. distant from W, the north-west corner of the Governor's House. At J, 99 ft. from the west curtain wall, there is a passage through the block of buildings 15 ft. wide. The wall JG is 3 ft. 2 in. broad,\(^1\) north of it, and parallel to it, at a distance of 19 ft. internal measurement, is a wall \(J_1 \ J_2\). I also found a cross wall \(j_2 \ j_3\) to the west of \(J \ J_1\) and distant from it 24 ft. internally. These cross walls \(J \ J_1\) and \(j_2 \ j_3\), are 2 ft. 1 in. thick, \(J_1j_2\) is 2 ft. thick. East of the passage we have no continuous wall corresponding with \(JG\), but we find instead the bases of a row of columns \(YZ\). These bases are 11 ft. apart from centre to centre, and measure about 3 ft. by 2 ft. each. At a distance of 9 ft. internally from the row of columns and parallel to it, is an inner wall \(Y_1Z_1\), 2 ft. thick. The wall \(YY_1\) is 2 ft. 8 in. thick. I have not thought it necessary to trace out the walls \(YZ, Y_1Z_1\), along their whole length. I have merely exposed \(Z_1\), the termination of the wall \(Y_1Z_1\), where it meets the wall \(Z_1 \ Z\). The south face of the wall \(Y_1Z_1\) is here 22 ft. 6 in. distant from the wall of the present Custom House. \(Z_1\) is also about 190 ft. from the centre of the east gate of the fort, and 30 ft. from the east curtain wall by internal measurement. The whole length of wall \(Y_1Z_1\) internally is 174 ft. 6 in. The breadth of \(Y_1Z_1\) and \(Z_1 \ Z\) is 2 ft. All these walls are of poor construction. The buildings here were, in fact, low, one-storied structures, as is evident from the old views of the fort. This also agrees with the supposition that they were inhabited by the writers, for we gather from the records\(^1\) that their lodgings were very damp and unhealthy.

As regards the west curtain I have little to say. Its alignment was determined by Mr. Bayne. I have verified it by excavation at three different spots \(X_1, X_2, X_3\). At \(X_1\) near the south-west bastion of the fort, the curtain wall is unusually thick and measures 6 ft. This is probably due to the same cause which led to the strengthening of the south curtain wall in this direction.

\(^1\) I have not been able to trace this wall westwards from J for more than about 40 ft. At this point the remains became very confusing. I could only find a small wall 1 ft. 10 in. broad which met the thicker 3 ft. 2 in. wall on its northern face, and which I traced westwards up to the west curtain.

\(^1\) See a letter from the Court of Directors, February 11th, 1756, para. 69, in Long's Selections.
It now remains for me to speak of the east side of the fort. The central line of the east gate is 427 ft. from the corner of the north-east bastion, the position of which was fixed by Mr. Bayne in 1883. The gate measures internally 20 ft. from north to south and 36 ft. from east to west. The east face measures externally 26 ft. 6 in. Its salient angles \( B \ B' \ C' \), \( B' \ C' \ C \) are angles of 120 degrees. The walls are 4 ft. thick. The south wall of the gate \( C' \ C_1 \ C_2 \) was pierced by a drain which was met at an angle by a second drain running north-east.

On each side of the east gate there ran a double row of arches \( A_1 D_1, A_2 D_2, \) and \( C_1 D_1, C_2 D_2, \) parallel to the east curtain wall \( A B, \ CD \). The space between the curtain wall and the line of arches next to it (i.e. between \( A B \) and \( A_1 D_1 \) and between \( CD \) and \( C_2 D_2 \)) was divided up by cross walls into chambers. The second row of arches \( A_2 D_2, C_2 D_2 \) supported the verandah or piazza which extended on each side of the gate before the ranges of chambers.

As regards the rooms to the north of the gate between the east curtain and the line of arches \( A_1 B_1, \) there is little to say. Wells's plan shows that the first cross wall occurred after the fifth arch. The arches thus cut off were left open to the verandah and formed the north court of guard. But the whole interest of these investigations centres in the topography of the range of rooms on the other side of the gate where were situated the court of guard, the barracks, and the Black Hole spoken of by Orme and Holwell. There is no doubt about the position of the curtain wall \( (CD) \) and the parallel lines of arches within it \( (C_1 D_1, C_2 D_2) \). They have been traced out from the east gate right up to the north face of the General Post Office. The curtain wall \( CD \) is 3 ft. 9 in. thick. The foundation wall which carried the first line of arches \( C_1 D_1 \) is 2 ft. 9 in. thick, that which carries the second line of arches \( C_2 D_2 \) is 2 ft. 3 in. thick. Between the curtain wall and the wall \( C_1 D_1 \) is a distance of 14 ft. 10 in. and between the curtain and \( C_2 D_2 \) a distance of 31 ft. 3 in. from inside to inside. The wall \( C_2 D_2 \) meets the wall \( D_2 E_3 \) at a distance of 162 ft. from the centre of the east gate. So far the topography of this part of the fort is perfectly clear.

There is, however, considerable difficulty in determining the positions of the cross walls which sub-divided the space between \( CD \) and \( C_1 D_1 \) into rooms. Here, as I noticed before, Wells's plan is quite inaccurate. It shortens the distance between the east gate and the south-east
C. R. Wilson—Topography of old Fort William. [No. 2,

bastion, and so vitiates its whole representation of this corner of the fort. In the case of the cross walls it is not easy to check the errors of the plan by actual excavation, for we cannot always expect to find trace of the cross walls which may have been very slightly constructed. As a matter of fact only two cross walls have been actually discovered by excavation. One of these $dd_1$, was found by Mr. Bayne in 1883 and was again brought to light by me in 1891. This wall is 1 ft. 6 in. thick, and is 145 ft. 6 in. from the centre of the east gate. Mr. Bayne thought that this wall was the north wall of the Black Hole, I shall show that it is probably the south wall of the prison. The other cross wall ($bb_1$) is a much more solid wall than the wall just described ($dd_1$). It is 2 ft. thick and is at a distance of 100 ft from the centre of the gate.

The position of two other cross walls may be inferred in the following way. A little to the south of cross wall $bb_1$ there was a subterranean chamber or vault $b'b'_1c'c'_1$ which attracted much notice when it was first discovered. Internally this vault measured 19 ft. 3 in. north and south, by 9 ft. 9 in. east and west. It was 7 ft. 2 in. deep. Its walls were 1 ft. 6 in. thick and were covered with a hard coating of plaster. The floor over the vault was carried across by four beams, the holes where the ends of the beams rested being clearly visible. The west wall of the vault ($b'_1c'_1$) was built against the foundation wall of the first line of arches $C_1D_1$. The north face of the north wall of the vault $b'b'_1$ was 3 ft. 3 in. distant from the south face of the cross-wall $bb_1$. The internal distance between the east wall of the vault ($b'c'$) and the curtain was 2 ft. 3 in. In this part of the curtain wall ($bc$) an iron grating was found, built up inside the brick work of the wall just below the level of the floor. It seems to have served no special purpose. The south wall of the vault $c'c'_1$ was coated with plaster on both sides. Its north face was plastered down to the level of the floor of the vault. Its south face was plastered down to a foot below the level of the floor of the chambers along the east curtain. This would seem to show that wall $c'c'_1$ was continued up above the floor level so as to form a cross wall $cc_1$ dividing up the space between $bb_1$ and $dd_1$, and, I believe, that this was so because there must surely have been a cross wall between $bb_1$ and $dd_1$, and I do not see where else it could have been conveniently placed except above $c'c'_1$ as $cc_1$. The north face of this wall will be distant 126 ft. from the centre of the east gate.

There is somewhat similar evidence for the existence of another cross wall $aa_1$ north of $bb_1$. Inside the curtain wall (at $ab$) there was built another wall $a'a'_1$, 1 ft. 6 in. and 24 ft. long which was carried up to within a foot of the floor level of the range of chambers along the
east curtain. This wall and the north face of the wall $bb_1$ were plastered to a depth of about 7 ft. below the floor level almost to the foundation of the walls. This seems to show that there was another vault immediately north of the wall $bb_1$, and that the wall $a'a'_1$ carried the flooring of the room above. As the wall $a'a'_1$ is about 24 ft. long, I infer that this was the length of the vault and also of the room above it and, I think, that at 24 ft. north of $bb_1$ there was another cross wall like $bb_1$ which below the floor level served as the north wall of a vault and above the floor level was a cross wall sub-dividing the space between the curtain and $C_1D_1$.

In this way I have been able to prove by excavation the existence of four cross walls $aa_1$, $bb_1$, $cc_2$, $dd_1$. But this is not enough. It is still necessary to consider whether, as Wells's plan implies, there were any other walls besides these four, and in particular whether there were any to the south of $dd_1$. For the Black Hole was the southernmost of the rooms built along this part of the east curtain. Consequently its site must be immediately to the north of the last cross wall, and its site is known if the position of the southernmost cross wall is known. I have accordingly traced out the wall $C_1D_1$, which contained the chambers built against this part of the east curtain, to a point $d'_1$, 166 ft. from the centre of the east gate, where this containing wall stops. Beyond $d'_1$ there is only a small thin wall, built, I suppose, to contain a pavement. There could have been no cross walls beyond $d'_1$, and I have found no trace of any between $d_1$ and $d'_1$. It therefore follows that $dd_1$ is the southernmost cross wall. I have also traced out the east verandah wall $C_2D_3$ to $D_3$, 166 ft. from the centre of the east gate, where $C_2D_3$ meets the wall $D_3E_3$ which carried the third or innermost line of arches on the south side of the fort. Thus my excavations prove that $dd_1$ is the southernmost cross wall, and that it occurred at about 20 ft. north of the end of the containing wall $C_1D_1$, and also at about the same distance north of the junction of the verandah wall $C_2D_3$ with the third line of arches on the south side $D_3E_3$.

This also agrees on the whole with Wells's plan which represents the last cross wall as occurring about 16 ft. or 18 ft. north of the end of the containing wall and of the junction between the east verandah wall and the inner line of arches on the south side of the fort. Wells's plan, however, does not exactly agree with the results obtained by excavation as to distances, but this is accounted for by the fact that the length of the curtain wall between the east gate and the south-east bastion is too short by about 12 feet.

Whoever it was, who actually drew the plan, he did not discover his
mistake till he came to put in the details of the rooms along the east curtain south of the gate. Then, finding that there was not sufficient room to put those details in properly, he crowded them in together, This, I think, is clearly the case with the cross walls. The discrepancies between Wells's plan and the results obtained by actual excavation may be exhibited as follows:—

Wells's plan shows walls at 43, 70, 95, 108, 122, 135 ft. from the centre of
Excavation shows walls at 75, 100, 126, 146 ft. the East gate.

Looking at this comparative table, and remembering that Wells's distances are short of the true distances, we easily discover which walls correspond. The first cross wall shown by excavation (aa') corresponds to the second wall given in Wells's plan. The second cross wall shown by excavation (bb') corresponds to the third wall in Wells's plan. The fourth cross wall shown by excavation (cc') corresponds to the fifth wall in Wells's plan; and the last wall in Wells's plan corresponds to the last wall shown by excavation. The two missing walls not shown by excavation are the first cross wall of Wells's plan, which was the south wall of the barracks (u), and the fourth wall of Wells's plan which must have come between bb' and cc'. This wall could not have been a very substantial one, as it must have been built over the subterranean chamber b'b' c'c'. The room π in Wells's plan, which is the southernmost of the series of rooms built within this part of the east curtain, and is, therefore, the Black Hole, corresponds with the space cc dd'. This is the site of the Black Hole. As regards the staircase to the south-east bastion, I have unfortunately very little to say. This staircase is mentioned by Holwell and is shown by Wells in his plan. It is a long staircase. Its head is put by Wells at about 8 ft. from the south face of the southernmost cross wall, and its foot at a distance of about 50 ft. I have not been able to find any trace of it by excavation, but I see no reason for doubting its position to be correctly marked by Wells.

If I might be permitted to make a few conjectures I should arrange the rooms along the east curtain thus. The whole range of rooms is contained between the south wall of the east gate CC of and the cross wall dd and between the east curtain CD and the first line of arches parallel in the curtain C'D'. The pillars of these arches were about 8 ft. 9 in. distant from each other from centre to centre. West of them came a second parallel line of arches, C'D forming the piazza before the rooms. The first of the cross walls dividing off the rooms occurred after the fourth arch in the first line of arches C'D. Thus it would be about 35 ft. distant from the wall CC of. These four arches were left quite open to the
piazza west of them, and formed the court of guard south of the gate. Three arches further on was another cross wall $aa_1$. If this wall occurred exactly after the seventh of the first line of arches $CC_1D_1$ and I am right in believing that these arches measured 8 ft. 9 in. from centre to centre, then the centre of the cross wall $aa_1$ would be 61 ft. 3 in. from the south face of the wall $CC_1C_2$. If we rely on the evidence of the excavations its north face was 60 ft. 3 in. from the south face of $CC_1C_2$. The next cross wall $bb_1$ occurred after the tenth arch. As shown by the excavations its north face was 86 ft. distant from the south face of the wall $CC_1C_2$, or if we reckon its distance according to the arches, its centre will be 87 ft. 6 in. from $CC_1C_2$. I have argued that another cross wall $cc_1$ was 126 ft. distant from the centre of the east gate, that is its north face is 112 ft. from the south face of $CC_1C_2$; and if we reckon that this wall came after the thirteenth arch its centre will be 113 ft. 9 in. from $CC_1C_2$. The last cross wall $dd_1$ is 131 ft. 6 in. from $CC_1C_2$, or if we reckon that it came after the fifteenth arch its centre would be about 131 ft. 3 in. distant. The room cut off by the walls $cc_1$, $dd_1$, is the Black Hole. It measured internally 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. It was bounded on the east by the curtain, on the south by the wall $dd_1$, on the north by the wall $cc_1$, and on the west by the fourteenth and fifteenth arches of the first line of arches parallel to the east curtain $C_1D_1$. These two arches were bricked up and only a window was left in the centre of each. Along the east wall of the Black Hole was a wooden platform about six feet broad and raised three or four feet from the ground, open underneath. It probably projected from the east wall as far as the door in the north wall $cc_1$. This door opened inwards. The three rooms between the court of guard and the Black Hole were the barracks. They were bounded on the east by the curtain wall, along which ran a wooden platform similar to that in the Black Hole. The nine arches which bounded the barracks on the south, (i.e., the fifth to the thirteenth arches inclusive) were partially closed by a dwarf wall, or, as Holwell calls it, a parapet wall. The rooms opened one into another and a door in the wall $cc_1$ led to the Black Hole. South of the Black Hole there were no more rooms, the remaining space being taken up by a straight staircase, fifty feet long, built against the east curtain wall, leading to the south-east bastion.

I believe that this arrangement of the rooms will satisfy all the requirements of Holwell's narrative. The barracks according to him would have been a fairly comfortable place for 146 persons to spend the night in. I make the whole area of the barracks to be 72 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. This gives 7 sq. ft. 45 sq. in. for each individual. The area of
Black Hole is 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. This allows just 267 sq. ft. of area for 146 persons, or less than 2 sq. ft. each.\textsuperscript{20}

The result of all this fresh discussion is to place the site of the Black Hole prison immediately to the north of the site fixed for it by Mr. Bayne, so that Mr. Bayne’s conclusion was not so far wrong. Mr. Bayne, however, arrived at his conclusion from two utterly false premises. His first premise was that the south-east corner of the fort was just like the north-east corner. This was completely refuted by Mr. Munro in 1889 when he produced Wells’s plan of the fort. Mr. Bayne’s second premise was, that the dimensions of the fort stated by Orme in the text of his history and shown in the accompanying plan, were absolutely correct, and Mr. Bayne still held to this belief even though he discovered that there was an error somewhere in Orme’s plan when he tried to superpose it upon Simms’s Survey of Calcutta. The excavations which I have made prove that the dimensions given by Orme are only approximately correct, accurate enough for the purposes of his history, but not accurate enough for the purpose of settling minute points of topography. Fortunately for Mr. Bayne, the errors of his two premises counteracted each other, and thus, when he made an excavation in the passage north of the General Post Office, where he expected to find the Black Hole, he actually did come across one of its walls. But, like words, walls cannot be interpreted apart from their context. Mr. Bayne was prevented at the time from finding the right context, and he therefore failed to understand these walls; I have merely been more fortunate in my opportunities, and have been able to secure the right context.

Only a few more miscellaneous points as to the topography of the old fort remain to be mentioned. Besides the two drains already spoken of, which I found by the east gate, I also came across a piece of another old surface drain running along the west side of the verandah which extended before the chambers built inside the east curtain. This drain is 4 ft. wide at the top and 2 ft. at the bottom. Its eastern edge is 5 ft. distant internally from the verandah wall $C_2D_2$. There is also an old well about 50 ft. east of the east wall of the Governor’s House in the fort, and 23 ft. south of its central line, which may have been part of

\textsuperscript{20} The only cross wall shown in Wells’s plan which I have not accounted for is the wall between the rooms $v$ and $o$. If what I have said as to the other cross walls is correct, this cross wall should come between $bb_1$ and $cc_1$. It could not then have been a substantial wall as it would have been built over the subterranean chamber $b'b_1c'c_1$. Could this wall have been meant for the wall $b'b_1$?
the old building. The main walls of the buildings are brick in lime, the minor walls are brick in mud. The parade ground is paved with brick on edge over one flat, covered with six inches of concrete. Its level was visible everywhere in section. If we reckon the level of the curb stone of the footpath in Dalhousie Square as 100 ft. then the level of the parade ground would be 98·07 ft., i.e., a little less than 2 ft. lower down. The level of the floors of the rooms varied. The level of the floor over the subterranean vault was 99·24 ft. At about the middle of the set of rooms built along the east curtain it was 98·5 ft.

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A Specimen of the Padumawati.—By

G. A. Grierson, B.A., I.C.S.

The following is an attempt to give a correct text of a portion of the Padumawati, or Padmavati of Malik Muhammad of Jāyas in Oudh. He flourished under Shēr Shāh in the year 1640 A. D., and numerous MSS. of his great poem are in existence.

The value of the Padumawati consists chiefly in its age. Malik Muhammad is, I believe, the oldest vernacular poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. Chand Bar'dāi was much older, but the genuineness of his Prithārāj Rāy'sā is denied by many competent scholars. Vidyāpati Thākur, who lived in the year 1400 A. D. has only left us a few songs which have come down to us through five centuries of oral transmission, and which now cannot be in the form in which they were written. The preservation of the Padumawati is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muḥammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabīr, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore, and with the Hindū Yīga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muḥammadan co-religionists.

He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character; and hence

1 The author himself invariably spells the word thus.
discarded all the favourite devices of pandits, who tried to make their language correct by spelling (while they did not pronounce) vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He had no temptation to do this. The Persian character did not lend itself to any such false antiquarianism. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of Northern India in the 16th century. It is, so far as it goes, and with the exception of a few hints in Alberuni's Indica, the only trustworthy witness which we have. It is trustworthy, however, only to a certain extent, for it often merely gives the consonantal frame work of the words, the vowels, as is usual in Persian MSS., being generally omitted. Fortunately, the vowels can generally be inserted correctly with the help of a few Devanagari MSS. of the poem which are in my possession.

Besides its interest as a key to a philological puzzle, the Padumāwati also deserves notice for its contents. In itself it is a fine poetical work, and one of the few original ones, not dealing with either Rāma or Krishṇa, with which I am acquainted in any Indian language. It is also remarkable for the vein of tolerance which runs through it,—a tolerance in every way worthy of Kabīr or of Tul'ī Dās. The story of the poem has been a favourite one with eastern authors. Husain Ghaznawī wrote a Persian poem on the subject, entitled Qissae Padumāwat. Rai Gobind Munshi in 1652 A. D. wrote a version in Persian prose, called (after the chronogram of its date) Tukfatul-Kulub. Again Mir Ziyād-dīn 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat wrote a joint version in Urdu verse in 1796 A. D. Malik Muḥammad's poem was written in 1540 A. D.

Concerning the author little is known. He tells us himself that he was the disciple of Sayyad Muḥīn-dīn. He studied Sanskrit Prosody and Rhetoric from Hindu Pandits at Jāyas. He belonged to the Chistiyya Niẓāmiyya, that is to say, he was the eleventh disciple in descent from the well-known Niẓāmu'd-dīn, who died in 1325 A. D. Muḥīn-dīn's teacher was Shaikh Burhān, who resided at Kalpī in Bundēlkhaṇḍ, and who is said to have died at the age of a hundred years in A. D. 1562-63. The poet was patronized by Shēr Shāh.

The only other fact we know for certain is that he was blind of one eye. I have collected the following traditions about him. One of Shēr Shāh's allies was Jagat Dēv, (enthroned 1527 A. D.; died 1573 A. D.), Mahārāj of Ghāzipur and Bhojpur. He was present at the battle of Bagh'āsar (Buxar) in which Shēr Shāh defeated Humāyūn. Malik Muḥammad is said to have attended his court. Two of Malik Muḥammad's four friends, whom he mentions in his poem (22) were
also patronised by Jagat Dēv. These were Yusaf Malik and Salōnē Singh (whom Malik Muḥammad calls Miya as if he was a Musalmān). It is said that another attendant at Jagat Dēv’s court was a Kathak, named Gandharv Rāj, who was skilled in the art of singing. Malik Muḥammad was greatly attached to him and gave him his blessing, prophesying that skill in song would always remain in his family, and, at the same time, begging him to take, as a sign of affection, his title of Malik. Ever since, Gandharv Rāj’s descendants have called themselves Malik, and members of the family still live in Tālākā Raipurā and at Haldi in Bāliyā District, and are renowned singers.

It is said that the Rājā of Amēthī was childless, but was granted a son, in consequence of the prayers of Malik Muḥammad. When the poet died, he was buried at Amēthī, and his tomb is still shown, and worshipped by believers. Malik Muḥammad’s two friends, Malik Yusaf and Salōnē, died in what is now the district of Gōrakhpur, from a surfeit of mangoes. Malik Muḥammad was with them at the time, and himself narrowly escaped. The mangoes are said to have been infested by poisonous insects.

The text of the Padumāwati, being in the Ṭhēṭh Hindi language, and written in the Persian character, is very difficult both to read and to understand. It has been frequently transliterated into the Nagārī character, but the transcriptions, whether MS. or printed, are full of mistakes, generally guesses to make the meaning clear. The best transliterated edition is that by Paṇḍit Rām Jasan of Banārās; but even in his case (putting instances of sanskritization out of sight) hardly a line is correct. There are several printed editions in the Persian character, but they too are all incorrect. I have been fortunate enough to become possessed of several old MSS. of the poem in the Persian character, and by diligent comparison I have endeavoured to reproduce, in the Nagārī character, the actual words written by the poet. A glance at the critical notes will show the labour involved in the task. I have also endeavoured to give a tentative translation of text as I went along.

To the text, I append an analysis of the whole poem, which may prove interesting. It must, however, be understood that I do not guarantee its entire correctness. There are many passages which I do not yet understand, and which await further examination. I hope, in process of time, to publish, jointly with Mahāmahopadhyāya Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivēdī, F.A.U., a complete and satisfactory edition of the whole poem. Of that edition, the present specimens may be taken as a provisional sample, and I shall be most grateful for any suggestions which reach me in time to improve the larger work.

J. 1. 17
For the purposes of these specimens, I have used the following MSS.:—

A. MSS. in Persian character (marked collectively as P).
   (3) Ditto No. 1819. Vowel points inserted in red ink by a later hand. Dated 1114 Hij. = 1702 A. D. (Ic).

All these Persian MSS. are very fairly correct. I have taken Ib. as the basis throughout.

B. MSS. in the Déva Nāgarī character (marked collectively as N).

I must here express my thanks to Dr. Rost, and the authorities of the India Office Library, for the loan of the above MSS.

   (2) A well written copy kindly lent me by Kavirāj Syāmal Das, belonging to the library of the Maharaj of Udaipur. Spelling not so Sanskritized. Dated Sambat 1895 = 1838 A. D. (U).

C. MS. in the Kaithī character.
   (1) A clearly written copy. With very irregular spelling: and many important variations in the readings. Written in Sambat 1812 = 1755 A. D. (K).

In editing the text I have adopted the following principles as regards spelling. Prākrit words are spelt as in the Persian copies. When the Persian copies give vowels, those vowels are adopted. When no vowels are given, I have used my judgment in adopting the vowels given in the Dévanāgarī and Kaithī copies.

On the other hand, for precisely similar reasons, I have generally adopted the spelling of Arabic and Persian words which is best vouched for by the Dévanagari and Kaithī copies. Such words are phonetically spelt in that alphabet.

U and K uniformly write छ as च. I have not followed them in this. When U, as it frequently does, gives a short u as the final vowel of a Prākrit substantive, I have generally adopted it, unless the use of the vowel is contradicted by the Persian copies.
The termination सौन्दर्यम्, is capable of being read as equivalent to either the plural oblique termination सौन्दर्यम्, or to the singular oblique termination सौन्दर्यम्. Unless the context showed that सौन्दर्यम् is required, I have transliterated it सौन्दर्यम्. Even in the best Persian MSS. the nasal is inserted so capriciously, that it is at least doubtful whether it should be used in the singular, and I have accordingly followed the best Dēvanāgarī MSS., in omitting it, in this case, throughout.

The metre of the poem consists of stanzas of seven caupāsis followed by a dōhā. In the latter, a mātrā is frequently omitted in the first half. In the caupāsīs, accent is frequently used instead of quantity, a short accented syllable being treated as a long one, especially at the end of a line. Malik Muhammad wrote long before Kēcāv Dās laid down the canons of Hindi metre. Such accented short syllables I have marked, in transliteration with an acute accent, thus,—nīramārē (II, 3).

I regret that the scheme of transliteration into the Roman character is not that usually adopted in this Journal. For various reasons, which it is not necessary to give here, I have been compelled to adhere more closely to that used in the Bihārī Dictionary by Dr. Hoernle and myself.

**Scheme of transliteration adopted in this paper:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devanāgarī</th>
<th>Roman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अ</td>
<td>a, a, r, i, e, o, u, ओ, ऑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख</td>
<td>k, kh, g, gh, h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झ</td>
<td>c, ch, j, jh, h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ढ</td>
<td>t, th, d, dh, n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न</td>
<td>n, p, ph, b, bh, m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>य</td>
<td>y, r, l, w, (or in Sanskrit words e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र</td>
<td>s, h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sh only occurs in Persian words, representing the Persian श, or in pure Sanskrit words. In the former case it is transliterated श, and in the latter by स.

Arabic and Persian letters.

- थ, ध, ह, क, छ, ज, झ, ढ, त, थ, ध, न, य, र, ल, व, (or in Sanskrit words e).
- र, s, h.
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G. A. Grierson—A specimen of Padumāvati. [No. 2,

प्रय अससुति खंड || २ ||

1. Kīhensi, so apparently Ib, which seems to vocalize the final स. The word may, however, be also read kīhīsa for kīhensa. The other copies in the Persian character simply have कियेस, which may be read either kīhensi, kīhsas, or kīhasa. Is and K have kīhoṣi for kīhensi. U has kīhasa. Throughout the poem a short e is inserted to form the past tense. Thus, dēkhasi, he sees, dēkhesi, he saw. In tinhahi prītī kabilasī, Ibc parabata kabilasī, Id tēhī prītī ka bilasī, U tēhī parabata ka bilasī. In the Persian character प्रित बिलास and किलास are easily confused. In each case it is a question of a dot. There can be no doubt about the form kabilasī for kailasī being right. The word is of frequent occurrence in the poem, and is invariably spelt thus in the best MSS. It is a curious corruption, and has puzzled all copyists with Sanskrit predilections. 3. Ib has pawana agini, K agni pawna, Is bahutai, UK bahutī, P give no clue. 4. Is avatārā.

5. In kīhensi yopata dīpa brahānapādā
   Ib " " lōga "
   Is " sāta saraga "
   Id "(illegible)? sēta pēta mahī bhalāyādā
   Is kīhensi sāta sāta brahānapādā (sic)
   U kīhasa sāta saraga "
   K kīhensi " dīpa 


Translation.

(1). I bear in mind that one and only primal Maker, who gave life and made the world. First made He manifest the Light, then
made He (for the Light) the mighty mountain Kailāsa. He made the fire, the air, the water, and the dust. He made forms of varied hue. He made the Earth, and Heaven, and Hell; and he made incarnations in many persons. He made the mundane egg with its seven regions. He made the universe with its fourteen worlds. He made the sun for the day, and the moon for the night; He made the asterisms and the systems of the stars. He made coolness, sunshine and shade; He made the clouds and lightning (that abideth) in them.

All things are so made by Him, that naught is worthy to be compared with Him. First take I His name, and then in deep thought do I begin my story.

1 By 'Light,' the poet refers to Mahādēva, who dwells in Kailāsa. Indian Munsalmaīns frequently consider Adam, the first man, as the same as Mahādēva. The fact that the poet expressly says that Kailāsa was made ' for ' the Light, shows that he cannot be referring to light, the first of created things.

2 An Urdu gloss. translates urēha by نش, design; stamp, drawing. I have noted it also in 48, 4; 506, 5, asa mūrata kē dai urēhi, and in 510, 8, bha urēha pulupa sabā nāma. In the second the Urdu translation gives ظاهركي تويبر معلوم هونا تها کا رنگ پرہول هر قسم کے دین. The word is still used in Oudh and Bihār by women, in the sense of racanā. It is derived from the Skr. ullaṅka.

3 Apparently, incarnations in many castes. Alluding to the doctrine that incarnations have occurred in all religions in many parts of the world. Or it may only refer to the various āvatārs of Viśnu.

4 I. e., the universe, alluding to the well known tradition detailed in Manu.

5 Jambu, Plaka, or Gomādaka, Čalmai, Kuńa, Kranūca, Čāka, and Puṣkara.

6 There are seven worlds (lōka) above, viz., Bhūr-lōka, Bhuvra-l., Svār-l., Mahar-l., Janar-l., Tapar-l., and Satya-l. or Brahma-l., and seven below, viz., A-tala, Vi-tala, Su-tala, Rasi-tala, Talā-tala, Mahā-tala, and Pātāla. According to Musalmaīns, there are seven regions (طاق ) above (these are heavens), and seven below (earths).

7 Two Urdu glosses translate augāhi liy شروع a meaning for which I can find no other authority. It means literally to plunge into water, hence to be immersed in anything, to have the mind fully occupied.
2. He made the seven shoreless oceans, &c., and He made the mountains of Meru and Kukhanda. Rivers made He and streams and waterfalls; crocodiles and fish made He of many kinds. He made the oyster shell, and the pearl which filleth it, He made many flawless gems. Forests made He and roots; tall trees made He, palmyras and date palms. He made the wild animals which dwell in the forest; He made the fowl which fly where they will. He made colours, white and black; He made sleep, and hunger, and rest. He made the betel-leaf and flowers, and the pleasures of taste; many medicines made He and many sicknesses.

He made them in less than the twinkling of an eye; all made He in a single instant. He fixed the Heavens in space without a pillar and without a prop.

1. The seven regions (-builder) mentioned in I, 5. Their names, are Lavana, Ikṣu, Surā, Ghṛita, Dadhi, Dugdha, Jala. The author, in stanza I41 gives a different enumeration, viz., Khāra, Khira, Dadhi, Jala, Sura, Udadhi, Kilakila.

2. Meru is the well-known mountain. It represents the northern hemisphere or pole, and is the abode of the Gods. Kukhanda is Kumera, the southern hemisphere or pole, the region of the daityas or demons. The poet has mixed this up with Kishkindha, also to the south of Oude, and has confused the two names.

3. Jari is a root used for medicine, and māri is a root used for food.

4. Sānja is any animal used for food.
3. The order of these sets of causās is different in different copies. The above is the order of Iab U K, Icd begin 4, 3, and then go on as above. Is begins 15, 16, and then 3, 4, &c., like Ina. 1. Icd dīkṣēs baḍāy; Icd tehi pāt, Icd tehi hāt, Is tīnak jā. 2. Ib bahu sājē, Icm tehi sājē. 3. Icd U K bālāsē, U K kon for koi. 4. Iaes U jejī hōī. 5. Icd transposes ll. 5 and 6. Is jīn sadā sukh, Icm jījana sadā tīnhā, K jīva sadē saba, U kōē. 6. Icd U kōī, Is bahu dōndā; Is dānā, U K anandā, dānā. 7. U kon, Ia ātī ghānī, Icd K punī ghānī, Is sāga ghānī, U jū ghānī. 8. U kon for koi. 9. Iacd chārāhī, Is tīnah chārā, K bahuri kinha saba.

3. He made man, and gave him dominion; He made grain for his food. He made the king who taketh pleasure in his kingdom, He made elephants and horses for his array. He made for him many delights. Some made He lords, and others slaves. Wealth made He from which cometh pride; He made longings which none can satisfy. He made life which all men ever desire; He made death, from which none can escape. Happiness made He and myriads of joys; sorrow made He, and eare and doubt. Some made He poor and others rich. He made frequent prosperity and adversity.

Some made He weak, and others strong. From ashes made He all, and again turned He all to ashes.

4. 1. Icds bhūvaśā, U bhūmaśāniyā. 2. P mukha, which spoils the metre. 3. Icd makes this line the sixth, Is amīya, Icd jījana jehi, Icm jījana jehi, Icd tehi, Icade U K pāt, khaē. 4. K karui nīmā jō phārī. 5. K lāwai jō nākhi, Icd K bhāvārā pātēgo, is bhāvarā nāga. 6. In K indurā, Icd doubtful, Ibs U clearly indura, Iacd rahāhī. 7. So Iacd K, Ibs kinhāsī rākāsa ādeva daētā, kinhāsī bhēkāsa bhēta pārētā, U similar except ... ādeva dayantā, ... bhēta parantā. 9. Icd K dīhīsa, Ibs U sabāhī.

1 Two Urdū glosses translate danda by ḍē, grief, but the dictionary meaning of the word is onmity (dandau). Here it means opposition of ideas, doubt.
4. He made agallochum, musk, and the scented khas grass; He made the camphors,—bhīmasēni and cēna. He made the snake in whose mouth dwelleth poison; He made the snake-charm which carrieth off the bite. He made ambrosia, which giveth eternal life to him who getteth it; He made poison, which is death to him who eateth it. He made the sugarcane filled with sweet juice; He made the aerid creeper with its manifold fruit. He made the honey which the bee stores in its home; He made the humble bee, the birds and winged creatures. He made the fox, the rat and the ant; He made many creatures which dig the earth and dwell therein. He made demons, goblins and ghosts; He made ghouls and Dēvas and Dāityas.

He made eighteen thousand creations of varied kinds. To all he gave a means of existence, and with every decoration did he deck them.

5. 1. Ina U ohī, K dhanañjäta hai jehi ke san°; Is U kā; P have ka; Iad sabai, J nahi ghatai. 3. K sabhantha, U kou. 4. Is puts verse 4 after verse 5, U paragati gupati. 3. 1b khaññωwa, U ēpunī khaï, K ēpuna khaï, P might also be read thus. 6. K nhuai, Ina sō khaï, Is sabai bhuñgūti dōi au jianā; Is K sabai dōi, U sāba kahā dēhi. 7. In sabahi so tā kari hērai āśa dahi na kāhu, &c. Is hari sāsā, ohī, U sabai, tā kara, sāsā, ohī na kāhu kā āśi, K sabhai āśa tā kari hari phēri | ohī nahi āśa akāi kāhu kārī || 8. Ina ghañata, U K ghañai, U ubhai, tasi. 9. Id jo dēta, U K dēhi, K sabha tā kara.

5. He indeed is a master of wealth, to whom belongeth the universe; to all He giveth continually, yet his storehouse minisheth not. To every creature in the world, from the elephant even to the ant, doth He day and night give its share of nourishment. His eye is upon all: none is forgotten, whether foe or friend; nor bird nor grasshopper, nor aught whether manifest or hidden is forgotten. He deviseth food and

1 The Bhīmasēna-karpūra of Sanskrit.
2 The Cēna-karpūra of Sanskrit.
nourishment of many kinds. All doth He feed, yet eateth not himself. His meat and His drink is this—that to all He giveth nourishment and life. All have hope in him at every breath, nor hath He ever (turned) the hope of any to despair.

Æon after æon doth He give, yet never minisheth (his store). Yea, so doth He this with both hands, that whatever hath been given in this world, hath all been given by Him.
creations are such as these. He createth one and destroyeth him, and, if he will, he formeth him again.

1. Ia reverses the order of ll. 1 and 2. U baraabū sū, Ib saba ohi sāuil waha sabā mahā baratā, K oha saba sō saba mō waha baratā, Is has saūl. 2. Is K jo saraba U parayaṭi gurmi, Ia cūnta na cūntata, Id cūnta na cūnta. 3. Ia na ohi sūga, Id na koi sāghātā, U na koi sāghātā. 4. Io na koi vāhi jañā, Is na wāha koi jānā U na kou vē jānā, K o ki sīrajañā. 5. Is reverse order of ll. 5 and 6, K wahā saba, Ib wahu na kinha, Is oha kinha, K unha na kinha. 6. Io hutū so pahilahi sō hāi sūi, Is ao hāi aha sūi, K hutū pahilahi aha hāi sūi, Io sō puni rahai rahai na na kōi, U so puni, K rahai rahahi nahi kōi. 7. Io auru jo hohī, U auru kahai sō, K aura je rahai se bā, Io marahi kai, K marahi kari. 8. U jō vai cāhāi kinhāi, K jō oha cāhā so kinhāi, Ik karahi, U karahi ju cāhāi kinhā. 9. U na kūt, Io U sabai cāhī, K sabhai, cahahī, U jīyā.

7. Invisible, formless and untellable is that Creator; He is one with all, and all are one in Him. Whether manifest or hidden, He is all pervading. The righteous recognize Him, but not the sinful. He hath no son nor father nor mother, no family hath He, and no relations. He hath begotten none, nor is He begotten of any, but all created beings proceed from Him. All things, as many as exist, He made; nor was He made by any one. He was at the beginning, and He is now; He alone remaineth existent and no one else. All else that are, are mad and blind, for after but two or four days they do their work and die.

Whate'er He willed that He did, He doeth that He willeth to do. No one is there to prevent Him, and, by his mere will, He gave life to all.

1 The Urdu gloss translates baratā by "near," but I know of no authority for this meaning. Baratā means bātā hūā, twisted as a rope is twisted, hence involved in, closely connected with. Compare Bihārī Sālsāi, 59, diṭha barata bhāhī aṭeni, twisting their (mutual) glances into a rope, they bind it from balcony to balcony.
8. 1. Id cinka jo, K cítahu, Ib purāna wē, Is giñā, bahkānā. 2. Icda jiu nāhi, K jia nāhi or jia nāhi, Is kara nāhi ya sahak karāk, Is karai sauvā, U kara sahāt, K karai saharā (?). 3. Is reverse the order of ll. 3 and 4, Ib jo dolāve so dōla, Id jo dolāveki dōla. 4. Ic reverse the order of ll. 4 and 5, Is has sīnā, giñā, Is īhā nāhi, Id īhā nāhi ya guṇa saba gūnā, U gūnīnā. 5. Ic U K bāhāi so jāi, 6. Ib nā koi āhi na āhi kē vēpa, Ic om. this line. Is om. hoi, U nā kou hai ohi, K na koi hoi hai ohi, Is nā kēhā aśa rēpa anēpa, Id nā ohi kā aśa taisa anēpa, Is na oha kēhā aśa taisa anēpa, U nā kōh aśa taisa anēpa, K na oha kēhā aśa rēpa anēpa: possibly Is fits in best with the rest of the passage. 7. K na bīnu ohi thā, Ic rēpa rēkha nāhī, K niraṅgāna nāhī. 8. Ic K nā hai milē na bichārē, U nā hari milē na wathārē. 9. U andhi murakhi kahā dārī, Ibd murakhaḥ. 

8. In this manner know ye Him, and meditate upon Him, for so is the tale written in the holy book. The Lord hath no life, and yet He liveth, He hath no hands, and yet He maketh all things. He hath no tongue, yet He telleth everything. He hath no bodily form, yet that which He shaketh, is shaken. Ears hath He not, yet heareth He all things; Heart hath He not, yet The Wise One discriminateth all things. He hath no eyes, yet all things doth He see; How can anyone discern as He doth? No one hath a form like unto His; nor, like Him, is any one so incomparable. He hath no abiding place, yet He is not without an abiding place. His form is without flaw, and His name is spotless. He is not indiscreet, nor is Ho discreet, yet so doth He dwell (within us), and fill us (with himself). To those who can see, He is near, but is far from the foolish blind.

1 Urdu gloss for purāna, قران, the Qurān. This is quite possible. It will be seen that Mallik Muḥammad frequently uses Hindū words as Musalmaḥ technical terms. E. G. cēlā, 20, 4.
9. And the simple-minded knoweth not the secret of the priceless jewels which He hath given. He hath given us a tongue, and the pleasure of taste; He hath given us teeth, which brighten a smile. Eyes hath He given us to see the world; ears hath He given us with which to hear language. He hath given the throat in which we dwelleth our speech. He hath given us fingers and noble arms. Feet hath He given us with which we gracefully walk. That man knoweth their secret who hath none. Yea, it is the old who know the secret of youth, when they find not their young days though they seek for them. The great man knoweth not the secret of poverty, but the poor man knoweth it, to whom poverty is come.

It is the sick man who knoweth the secret of the body, while the healthy man liveth careless; but the secrets of all are known to the Lord, who abideth in everybody.

1 Lit., are fit for.
10. Very immeasurable are the makings of the Maker; no teller can tell them. If the whole universe took the seven heavens\(^1\) for paper, and filled the seas\(^2\) of the earth with ink. If it took as many branches as cover\(^3\) all the forests in the world, and all the hairs and down (of animals), and all the feathers of birds. If it took the motes of dust and the like where'er it found them, and all the drops in the clouds and all the stars of heaven; and turned them all to pens and wrote, still then it could not write the shoreless ocean of his wondrous works. So hath He manifested all His skill, that even now not one drop of that ocean hath decreased. Think thou of this and let not pride be in thy heart. For mad is he, who, in his heart, nouriseth pride.

Very skilled is the Lord. What He willeth, for him that quickly is. And so skilfully doth He arrange (creation), that He displayeth countless kinds of skill.

\(^1\) The seven Heavens, see note to I, 5.
\(^2\) The seven seas of Hindu tradition, see II, 1.
\(^3\) Bana-dhākha, is equivalent to bana kē dhākhanē-vālē, (branches) which cover the forest. The subject of all these verbs is sansārā in the fifth line.

11. He made one man without a blemish, named Muḥammad glorious as the full moon. It was his radiance that God first produced, and then for love of him He created the universe. He kindled that light and gave it to the world. The world became clear, and recognized its (true) way. If that bright man had not been, the dark path would not have been visible. The deity wrote the second place for him, and that man became just who learned his creed.\textsuperscript{2} For him, who hath not taken (refuge in) his name throughout his life, God hath prepared a place in hell. The deity made him His messenger to the world, and whoever hath taken his name passes safely across both worlds.\textsuperscript{3}

God will ask of each his virtues and his vices, (when) there will be the (great) casting up of accounts. But he (Muḥammad) will humbly bend before him, and will effect the salvation of the world.

\textsuperscript{1} That is to say, he was second of all things, God being the first; other created beings followed. Paṇḍit Sudhākara Drivēti translates this verse, ‘Those men became just who learned his teaching, and that God, (\textit{i.e.}, Muḥammad) wrote his name in the second place, (\textit{i.e.}, heaven); but for them, who throughout their lives did not take his name, (\textit{i.e.}, adopt his teaching), he fixed a place in hell.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Lit.}, teaching. The Urdu gloss gives \textit{Ask}, the Musalmaṅ creed.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Tho ihālōka} and \textit{paralōka} of the Hindūs. This world and the world to come.
12. Muhammad had four friends, who (followed him) in his place, and the four had spotless names in both worlds. **Abü Bakr **Çiddiql, the wisc, who first truthfully (ṣidq) brought the faith (into the world). Then **Umar, who adorned the title (of Caliph). Justice came to the world when he adopted the faith. Then **Uṣmân, the learned and wise one, who wrote the Qurān, as he heard its verses. Fourth came **'Ali, the mighty lion. When he attacked, both heaven and hell quaked. All four had one mind, and one word, one path and one fellowship. Each preached the same true word, which became authoritative, and read in both worlds.

The very Qurān, which God sent down (to this world), that holy book they read, and they who (have lost their way) in coming (into the world), when they hear it, find the path.

1 Lit., brought.
2 Here again we have purēna used for the Musalmān sacred book.
3 Here vidhī, a Hindu technical term.
4 Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quḥāfa was Muḥammad’s dearest friend and father-in-law, and one of his first converts. He enjoyed immense influence with his fellow citizens of Mecca, and earned by his probity tho appellation of ‘al Çiddiql, ‘The True.’ He accompanied Muḥammad in the Flight, and on his death (632 A. D.) he became the first Caliph. He died 634 A. D.

‘Umar ibn Al Kaḥṭṭab was converted in the 6th year of the call (615 A. D.). His conversion carried with it so much weight that the Musalmān traditions relate it with miraculous attendant details. Abū Bakr by his eloquence and address, and ‘Umar by his vigour and promptitude, supplied the want of the practical element in Muḥammad’s character. ‘Umar set the example of public (instead of private) prayer, which was followed by other Muslīms. He was the leading spirit of the Emigrants (munājīrā) who had left Mecca at the time of the Flight, and settled in Medina. He procured the nomination of Abū Bakr to be first Caliph, and, as a matter of course, succeeded him as second Caliph in 634. He was murdered at Medina in 644.
18. 1. U sēra sāha, K sēra sāha, U sūlatānu... bhānā. In cērihi, Is cēri-n, Is K ja ga. 2. Ib transposes ll. 1 and 2. Ib Ohī kāhā chāja chatara au pūra, Is chāja chāla au, U Ohī chātra sāju au, K Ohī pāi chāja chatra au, Is  K pūra..... ilā. Ib rajai, Is sāba vējā, Id sāba (or sābahi) vējanha (or vējai). Is K sāba vējai, U sāba vējanu (?); 3. Is K gunavanta, Is sāba, Ib bidhi pūra, Is nīthi pūra. 4. Is nāvē nawa kāhāku, K nāva nau kāhāku. The final word of the half line, may be transcribed either bhāi or bhāe. All N give the former, but printed editions give the latter. So also I may be either nāi or naē. I prefer bhāi and naē as giving the best sense. Is dēta hū. U dēpā duniā, Is dēpā duniā sīra. 6. Ibdas talā lagi. Is kharaga bala, Icds khā para; Is jala karana na kinhā. 7. Ib J. alātā. 1d Is julikanāhora kinhā. 6. Ib dēva yabahi bhara mēṭhi U jugā kāhā jiwa dinha, K jugā kāhā jīti linha gahi mēṭhi. Is pūnumi bhāra saba linha samhāri | ohī sakai puhumipati bhāri | K puhumi bhāra ohī ēka sābhāra | taur thira rakai sakala sansāra | 9. Is pādāshāha, Is bādāshāha, K tuha jaga para jaga tohāra.

13. Shār Shāh is Sultan of Delhi, who warmeth the whole world. 1

1 Lit., the four quarters. The use of khaṇḍa is uncommon, but it is the only uncurring which I can suggest here. An Urdu gloss gives چاروں طرف.
like the sun. His kingdom and throne besem him well; low on the earth have all kings laid their brows before him. By caste a Sūrī and with his sword a hero; wise is he and full of all skilfulness. In the nine regions the sun (or all heroes) hath set (or bent low) before him, and the seven continents of the world all bowed before him. All his kingdom he won with the might of his sword, as did Alexander, the Zu’l Qarnain. On his hand is Solomon’s ring, and, with it, he gave gifts to the world with full hand. Majestic is he, and a mighty lord of the earth; like a pillar he supporteth the earth and maintaineth the whole universe.

Muḥammad blessed him and said, reign thou from age to age. Thou art the Emperor of the World. The world is a beggar at thy door.

1. Hero, and in the following stanzas there is a series of puns on the word sūra, which is not only the name of the Afghān tribe to which Shāh Shāh belonged, but also means a hero, and the sun.

2. Lit. ‘In the nine regions there was a bending of sūra,’ where, again, there is a pun on the word sūra, ‘hero’ or ‘sun.’ According to the most ancient Hindū Geographers, India was shaped like an eight-petalled lotus. These eight petals, together with the central division, formed the nine khoydas or regions, viz., Paṭīlā (central), Kaliṅga (S. E.), Avanti (S.), Anarta (S. W.), Sindhu-Sauvira (W.), Hārahaum (N. W.), Madra (N.), Kaṇṭinda (N. E.). The Purāṇas give a different list of names, viz., Indra (E.), Kasārumat (N.), Tāmrarapra, (? S.), Gaṅghastimata, Kumārika (Central), Nāga, Saunya, Vārūpa (W.), Gaṅdhara. See Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, pp. 5 and 66.


4. Zu’l Qarnain, means ‘The Master of Two Horns.’ Muḥammān tradition varies about this name. According to some, the Zu’l Qarnain was not Alexander the Great, but another saint, who lived at the time of Khāja Khīrī, and who was so called from his having two curls hanging, one from each side of his forehead, or because he reached both sides of the world, or because he was noble by descent from both his parents, or because he went through both the light and dark parts of the world, or because he died when struck on one side of the forehead, and then was restored to life, and again died on being struck on the other side of the forehead, and again came to life.

Boase’s Oriental Biographical Dictionary, (Ed. Keene), says ‘Master of Two Horns, a title of Alexander the Great, probably based on coins representing him in the character of Ammon.’ Dr. Hoerule informs me that Alexander’s coins show his head adorned with two ram’s horns. They were widely current in the East, and the Muḥammādans probably gave him that name after his coin.
14. I tell of the heroism of this king, Lord of the world, the weight of whose array is greater than the world can bear. When his army full of horsemen advance, covering the earth, mountains crash and fly away in powder, night cometh from the clouds of dust which eclipse the sun, so that man and bird alike goeth home to bed. The land taketh flight, and goeth up into the firmament; earth-dust adorneth each continent,—yea the world, the whole creation and the universe. The Heavens tremble, and Indra quaketh in fear; the snake-god Vasuki fleeth and hideth himself in the lowest Hell. Meru becometh a quagmire, the oceans dry up, and the forests break and are mingled with the dust. (When his army marcheth to a halting place) some of his advance guard may receive a share of water and of grass, but for none of his rear guard is there even sufficient mud.

Citadels which have never bowed to anyone, when he advanceeth all become dust,—when the Lord of the World, Shēr Shāh, the Sun of the Universe attacketh them.

1 The quote from the Arthasastra translates as either 'to adorn' (manḍana) or 'to crush,' (mardana). The passage here is corrupt in all MSS., and the reading is very doubtful.

2 See note to line 5 of the first stanza.
15. In is this is No. 3. Ch. 1. Iabs jasa prithimē höi. J jasū. K kasa höi.
Iab cāfā. Is cāfā, K bātā calata dukhawāi nāhi kōi. 2. U aḍīla aḍīla, K aḍīla kēhā.
Is sama sōn. U sō unī rāhā. K sari jūja na tāhā. 3. Iab adala jo khinā umara. Iab
bhai ānī, U siyāri, K kiriñā pūhumi jahā tāī. 4. U kου. Ib sēna. Ied mānusa
sāi vijārā. 5. Is U gāi sighgha K gāe sēra. Is dūa-u (?) dāa-u yānī, U dōnō. K
K pānī sō karahi nīnārā. 7. Ib barīi, le sahā sama, Ia bhāl dā-hī sama. Is dubara
baria dūa-u, U barīa ēka, K dūbara balī ēka. 8. Is sabā prithimē aśāi, Is sabāi
prithimē aśāi, U sabā prathimē aśāi, K sabāi prathimē aśāi. Is aśāi
rāhī māthā, Is aśāi māthā Ia kara kāthā U jōra jōra dou kāthā. 9. Is gāga jamuna,
Is gagā jamuna, Is gāga jamuna, Is gāga jāuna jau lahi jala. U gaugā jamuni jala jau lahi,
K gagū jāuna jau lagi jala. Ib ammara nātha, Is J ammara māthā. U tau lagi, Ia
ammara to māthā.

I 5. I tell of his justice, 1 how it is upon the earth. Not even to a
crawling ant doth anyone (dare to) give pain. Naushērwān 2 was called
'The Just,' but even he was not equal to the justice of Shēr Shāh. He
did justice like unto 'Umar, 3 for the cry for justice to him was (spread
over) the whole world. No one dareth even to touch a nose-ring lying
fallen on the ground, (much less to pick it up and appropriate it). On
the very highways do men sweep up gold. The cow 4 and the tiger walk
together on the same road, and both drink water together at the same
landing-ford. He straineth milk and water (mixed together) in his
court, and separateth the one from the other. Sincerity marcheth with
piety and justice, and the weak and the mighty he keepeth on even terms.
The whole earth blesseth him, folding its hands continually, and
crying, may that head endure immortal as long as there is water in the
Ganges and tho Jamunā.

1 This reference to Shēr Shāh's justice ('adal) may have a complimentary refer-
ence to his son 'Adal. See J. A. S. B., Pt. 1, 1890, p. 167.
2 The celebrated king of Persia, surnamed 'Ādil, or the Just. He ascended the
throne 531 A. D. He was the Chosroos of the Greeks. Mūhammad (B. 571) used
to boast of his good fortune in being born when so just a king reigned. He died
579 A. D.
3 The second Caliph in succession to Mūhammad. See note to 12, 9.
4 Gōru is properly any domesticated herbivorous animal.

16. Again, how can I describe his comeliness, for all the world desireth the beauty of his countenance. His comeliness surpasseth in brightness even the full moon which God created. Sin abandoneth those who reverently gaze upon him, and the whole world maketh obeisance and blesseth him. As when the sun blazeth over the world, so, before him, all things hide their comeliness (in shame.) Thus did the sun¹ become a spotless man, with ten times more² beauty than the sun itself. No one can look upon him face to face, and if anyone see him, he remaineth with bent head. His comeliness increaseth by a quarter, day by day, for the Creator formed his beauty above the world.

Comely is he with a jewelled (tiara) on his brow, and the moon waneth as he waxeth; while the earth, craving to see him, standeth and humbly offereth its praises.

¹ Here again the word sīra is introduced with a threefold meaning; hero, sun and proper name.
² Āgarī means ‘more than.’ Cf. 381, 2, and 454, 8.

17. Again God hath made him so greatly generous, that none in the world hath ever given gifts like unto him. Bali¹ and Vikramādi-tya² were famed for their generosity, and Ḥātim Thē³ and Karna⁴ were described as lavish; but none of them equalled Shēr Shāh, for the very ocean and even Mount Mēru, are ever minishing (as they give up their jewels and gold). The kettle-drum of his generosity soundeth at his court, and the fame thereof hath gone even across the ocean. The world touched this Sun,⁵ and became of gold compact, so that poverty fled and went beyond the borders of his kingdom. He who but once approacheith him and asketh, for all his life is free from hunger and from nakedness. Even that (King of old) who performed ten horse-sacrifice,—even he gave not holy gifts like him.

So generous hath Sultan Shēr Shāh been born upon the world, that none hath e'er been like him, or will be, nor doth anyone give such gifts.

¹ The well-known Daitya, who gave Visīpu his famous three paces of ground.
² "Clarum et venerabile nomen."
³ Familiar to readers of the Bāgh-o-Bahār (story of the second Darwēsh.)
⁴ The famous Hero of the Mahābhārata. The son of Kuntī by Śūrya. He was more famous for his chivalry than for his generosity.
⁵ Again the triple pun on the word sūra. Shēr Shāh is compared to a philoso-pher's stone which changed all that touched it into gold.

18. Saiyad Ashraf (Jahāngīr)\(^1\) was an elect saint, and he it was who threw light upon my path. He lit the lamp of love within my heart; the light burned up, and my heart became pure. My way had been dark and invisible, and lo! it became bright and I understood. He cast my sins into the salt ocean, and making me as his disciple took me into the boat of virtue. He grasped my rudder firmly,\(^2\) and I reached the landing place on the far bank. If a man hath such a steersman,\(^3\) he grasped him and bringing to the other side. He is a protector, and one who succoureth in time of trouble, and, where (the water) is fathomless, there giveth he his hand.

His family title was Jahāngīr, pure like the moon. He was the Holy Master of the World, and I am the slave of his house.

\(^1\) Saiyad Ashraf was one of the founders of the line of spiritual preceptors, whose representative in the first half of the 16th century (Muhūd-dīn) taught the poet. For full particulars see note to stanza 20.

\(^2\) This is a difficult passage. Kariā is the same as kahi, an iron ring, or a beam, hence a rudder. Either meaning will do here. Other MSS., and printed editions have unha mōra kara bēdṭa kai gāhē, he grasped my hand as I was sinking. Pāḍhi kai means ‘firmly.’

\(^3\) Kanahāra or kanadhāra is the Sanskrit karṇadhāra.
19. In his house was a spotless jewel, Ḥājī Shēkh by name, fully filled with good fortune. In his house were two bright lights, whom God created to show the way. Shēkh Mubārak glorious as a fullmoon, and Shēkh Kamāl spotless in the world. Both were steadfast, unmoveable like pole-stars, exalted even above Menān and Kukhaṇḍa.† God gave them beauty and glory, and made them pillars of the world. On these two pillars supported He the earth, and under their weight the universe remained firm. Whoever saw them and reverently touched their feet, his sins were lost and his body became pure.

O Muḥammad, there is the road secure, where a saintly teacher beareth company. When he hath a boat and a rower, a man quickly gaineth the other side.

20. Muhūr'd-dīn was my preceptor, my steersman, and I served him. He crosseth speedily who hath the ferry-fare.1 Before him was Shekh Burchān, who brought him on the path and gave him knowledge. His spiritual guide was the good Alhadād, who in the world was a light and beauteous in the faith. He was a disciple of Saiyad Muhammad. Who e'er enjoyed2 his fellowship, became a perfected man. To him did Daniyāl point out the path,—Daniyāl, who consorted with Ḥazrat Khwāja Khizr. The Ḥazrat Khwāja was pleased with him, and brought him (as a disciple) to Saiyad Rājī Ḥānimid Shāh. From him (Muhūr'd-dīn) did I win all my (good) deeds. My tongue was loosened,3 and, a poet, I (learned to) tell my tale.4

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1 The faro was the service which the poet rendered his master.
2 Lit. sported in his company.
3 Lit. uncovered.
4 The following account of Malik Muhammad's spiritual ancestors is taken partly from what the poet himself tells us, and partly from the Urdu gloss and other sources.

He belonged to the Cishtiyyā Nizāmiyyā, that is to say he belonged to the spiritual descent which took its name from the celebrated Nigāmu'd-dīn Auḥiyā, the teacher of Amīr Khuršād, who died about 1325 A. D. His disciple was Sirājū'd-dīn, whose disciple was Shaikh 'Alā'u'l-ḥaqq. 'Alā'u'l-ḥaqq's son and disciple was Shaikh Nūr Quṭb 'Alem (d. 1144) of Paqūjī, and another disciple was Saiyad Ashraf Jahān-gīr (see 18, 1.) Ashraf's most famous disciple was Shaikh Ḥāji, whose disciples were Shaikh Mubārak, and Shaikh Kamāl. Shaikh Nūr Quṭb 'Alem and Saiyad Ashraf Jahān-gīr were fellow disciples (pir ḥāṭī), and from them eighth in descent came Malik Muhammad. (Pl. 1540 A. D.)
He was my master and I his disciple, evermore do I bow before him as his slave. Through him did I obtain a sight of the Creator.

The full genealogical table is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nizāmū'd-dīn (d. 1325 A.D.)</th>
<th>Shaikh Ḥāji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sūrājū'd-dīn.</td>
<td>Shaikh Mubārak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh 'Alā'u'll-ḥaqq.</td>
<td>Shaikh Kamāl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Nūr Quß 'Ālam of Paṇḍūr, and Saiyad Ashraf Jahāṅgīr (vide 18, 1), (son of preceding.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiyad Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh</td>
<td>Shaikh Muhīr'ud-dīn (vide xx, 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Dāniyāl (d. 1586 A.D.)</td>
<td>Malik Muḥammād, (1540 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiyad Muḥīr'ud-dīn of Manikpur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiyad Muhammad.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Alhadād.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shaikh Burhān.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saiyad Muḥīr'ud-dīn (vide xx, 1).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Muḥammād, (1540 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this it follows that the poet was not an actual disciple of Saiyad Ashraf Jahāṅgīr, as might be assumed from xviii, 1 and ff. Malik Muḥammād merely refers to him and praises him as his spiritual ancestor. A tradition makes him the poet's mantra-guru, while Muḥīr'ud-dīn was his vidyā-guru, i.e., the one initiated him, and the other taught him, but this seems to be very improbable, though not inconsistent with Malik Muḥammād's own language. Shaikh Dāniyāl, the fifth in the line before the poet appears to have been a friend of the well-known Khwāja Khizr, who introduced him to his preceptor, Saiyad Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh. Shaikh Burhān, Malik Muḥammād's spiritual grandfather resided at Kā'pī in Bundēl'khaṇḍ, and is said to have died at 100 years of age in A. II., 970, or A. D. 1562-63. See Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xxi, 131.

As the prophet Muḥammād (see xii, 1) had four friends, so also had the poet Malik Muḥammād. Ho tells us their names were Malik Yūsūf, Salār Khādīm, Miyā Salōnē and Shaikh Bađē. Concerning these, see the introduction to this paper, and xxii, 1 and ff.

The Urdu gloss concludes (I insert dates and other particulars in parentheses),

Those who consider that Ḥaḍrat Ḭabdūl-Qādīr Jīlānī (b. 1078, d. 1166) (God's mercy be upon him) is descended from Saiyad Muḥīr'ud-dīn, and that Saiyad Rājī Qattāl (d. 1403) is descended from Saiyad Rājī are far from being in the right. It is clear that the lino of Qadārīyās is descended from Ḥaḍrat ᬆabdūl Qādīr Jīlānī. His preceptor was Ḥaḍrat Abū Saiyad.

Saiyad Rājī Qattāl was full brother of Ḥaḍrat Saiyad Jalālū'd-dīn of Bukhārā (who was known as Makhdūm Jahanīyān Jahan (Gasht Shaikh Jalāl), and was his disciple.) He was a Suharwardīya by sect.

Another disciple of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmū'd-dīn (the founder of Malik Muḥammād's rule)
21. Muhammad the poet was skilful, though he had but one eye,\(^1\) and all who heard him were entranced. Even as God created the moon for the universe, so He put a dark spot upon him, while He made him bright. With that one eye the poet saw in the world, as Venus is brilliant among the other stars.\(^2\) Until there come black spots upon a mango-fruit, it hath no fragrant scent, God made the water of the ocean salt, but nevertheless He made it immeasurably boundless. Mount Meru was destroyed by (Çiva’s) trident,\(^3\) and then it became a mountain of gold,\(^4\) and reached to heaven. Till black firestains defile the crucible, (the ore) remaineth unsmelted, and becometh not pure gold.

line) was Shaikh Ruknu’d-din Abû ’l-fath Ma’âsîr (fl. 1310), who was also disciplo of his own father Shaikh Sadrî’-dîn (’Arif, d. 1309). This last was disciple of his father Shaikh Bahâb’d-dîn Zikriyâ (d. 1266) of Multân, who was disciple of Shaikh Shahâb’d-dîn (Suhrwardi, d. 1234), who travelled from city to city as missionary (peace be upon him).\(^7\)

Makhdu’m Jahâniyân was a disciplo of Ruknu’d-dîn abovementioned. The Suhrwardiyan form a branch of the followers of the râfî sect, and are named from Suhrward, a town near Bagdad, the birth place of the founder Shahâb’d-dîn above mentioned.

\(^1\) This means that he was literally blind of one eye. The poet still, however thanks God for all His mercies, and points out that every great and good thing in Nature has some dotraction.

\(^2\) Çukru, the regent of the planet Venus has only one eye.

\(^3\) I have not traced this legend. It may be a reference to Indra’s cutting off the wings of the mountains.

\(^4\) It is a golden mountain. See Viṣṇu Purâṇa II, 2.
The poet hath but one eye, but it is (bright) as a mirror, and his soul is pure. All that are beautiful elasp his fect, and desire to see his face.


22. The poet Muḥammad¹ had four friends, who by giving him their friendship raised him to equality with themselves. One was Malik Yūsuf, the learned and wise, who first knew the secret doctrine. The next was Salār Khādīm, of mighty mind, whose arms were ever raised either in (wielding) the sword or in (distributing) gifts. The third was Miyā Salōnā, a lion unsurpassed, whose sword fought with heroes in the battle-field. The fourth was Shēḳb Bādē, famed as a sage. He greatly honoured those who were perfected by performing their initiatory rites.² All four were learned in the fourteen³ branches of knowledge, and God himself created their association (with the poet). Let a tree

1 So also had the Prophet Muḥammad, see xii, I. Regarding these four men, see introductory remarks.

2 Adēsa is the initiation of a cēlā by a guru.

3 Thō 4 Vēdas, the 6 Vēdāgas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmāṃsā, the Nyāya, and Dharma.
but dwell near a sandal-grove, and if thou pierce it, the odour of sandal cometh from it.

O Muhammad, when thou hast found these four friends, and ye all became of one soul, when thou hast accomplished their companionship in this world, how can they be separated in the next?

चौ । आद्रस नमर धरम-शुभशाम । तयाः आः काति कृत्ति वसाम ॥
करू विनति पण्डितान हराभजा । दूरत सावरक संसवक सजा ॥
हराव सब कान्तिनस कर प्रसवण । किभु कदिच चला तवस्तु दुरमाग ॥
विच्छंदार सग चरण जो मौलिक । बोली जीभ तस्य कद नौलिकां ॥
रणन पदारथ वोवी बोलिया । सु-रस पेष-सघु भरो याम्याजा ॥
ञिरंद कर बोलिय विरज कर धाया । कर्म तंकिय भूष नौद कह खायां ॥

दी । सरसद कया जो पेष कर । ना तंकिय रकत न मौदिया ।
अर्थ सुख दुःख नांद ईश्वर । शुभ तंकिय आद्रस ओँ भूष ॥ २२ ॥


23. The city Jayas is a holy spot, there came the poet and told his lay. There humbly waited I upon Hindū scholars, and prayed them to correct and mend the broken (metre) and arrangement (of my song). I am a follower of poets, and I go forward saying my say, and beating the drum with the drum-stick to proclaim it. My heart is a treasure-house, and it holdeth a store of precious stones. I opened it with the key of my tongue and palate. I spoke words,—jewels, and rubies, sweet, filled with the wine of love, and priceless. He whose speech is

1 Bhājā or bhājā, is equivalent to bhrājā, i. e., ṣrākṣita kāti, 'made manifest,' hence 'presented' a petition.

2 Pachalāgā and ṛ-gā would give better metre. ṛ-gā is a drum-stick. The poet means that he is impelled to publish his lay by beat of drum, so to speak, i. e., as loudly as possible. A simpler rendering is obtained by amending the text to kichu kahā cañhta bōla dei ṛ-gā, 'saying my say, I progress, setting down the feet of Language;' in which language is metaphorically compared to a foot, or step (ṛ-gā).
wounded by love,\(^1\)—What is hunger or sleep or shade to him? He changeth his appearance, and he remaineth in torture, like a jewel covered and hidden in the dust.

O Muḥammad, the body which love hath, hath neither blood nor flesh. Whoever seeth such a man face to face laugheth, but when the lover heareth the laughter tears come (into his eyes).

\(^{1}\) Here we have the first instance of the poet's use of the word *biraha*. He uses it to mean love, especially unhappy love. In countless places it cannot possibly have the usual meaning of 'separation from a beloved one.' *Phāyā* is translated in the Urdu Gloss by \(\text{بيري} \) 'full of.' I can find no authority for this.
poet, the bard,\(^1\) and the lotus full of nectar, are near to what is far and far from what is near. That which is near is yet far, like the flower and the thorn (so near and yet so different), and that which is far is near, like sugar and the ants (who dwell so far from it, yet find it out).

So the bee\(^2\) cometh from the (distant) forest, and findeth the odour of the lotus-nectar, while the frog ne'er findeth the odour, though he dwelleth (in the pond) close to (the flower).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{अन्य सिंघल-दीप-वरनन खंड} & \quad 2
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{चौ} & \quad \text{सिंघल-दीप कथा सब सार्व} \\
\text{वरनन के दरण भूति विवेशा} & \quad \text{चौ कंड हू में सत्ति देखा} \\
\text{धनि गो दीप जाँ दीपक गारी} & \quad \text{चौ गो पदुमिनि दर चाजतारी} \\
\text{सात दीप वरणद सब चोस} & \quad \text{एक-उ दीप न चौंदी चरि जोश} \\
\text{दिया-दीप नहि तस उठिशरारा} & \quad \text{वरण-दीप सरि चिर न पारा} \\
\text{जात दीप करुङ तत सारि} & \quad \text{लंक-दीप पूज न परिभाषा} \\
\text{दीप कुम्भशक्ति अधर परा} & \quad \text{दीप संकुम्भशक्ति सामु करा}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{दो} & \quad \text{सब संबार विपदधुम} \\
\text{बद्र वरण-उ दीप} & \quad \text{एक-उ दीप न जलसम} \\
\text{सिंघल-दीप समिप} & \quad 21
\end{align*}\]

25. 1. Is K पुचन, सुनावन, U गृहस्त, सुनावल. Id au bahu padunimi, J barana.
2. U niramala darapana, K badana kudana (?) jasa bhānu bisekhā, In jō jehi bhāhti.
3. Ib jehi jasa rēpa soj tasa dēkhā, Id jō jehi, Is jō jasa rēpa, U taisaki, K jehi jasa rēpa so taisaki dēkhā.
5. In dāl sāvāri, Ib au bhāli padunimi autārī, In au jō padunimi dālā sāvāri,
7. Isau saha baranai (Is baranāhi) lōgī. Ib K tehi sari, Id vaha sari. 5. Ib vasa nahī ujjī,
8. U nahe aśa, K tasa nahī. U transposes ll. 5 & 6. In sarada-dīpa, U sāraga-dīpa,
10. dīpa na pūjāi chāhī, K lajka-dīpa na pūja parichāhā. 7. Kumbhasathala, so lab
11. U, Is k-b-th-1; Id, k-s-s-h-1; Is kūcakasthāla, K kōnsthāla. Is U pārā, hāvā, K āva
12. bakkhhe. Is makasthāla, Ib mai asthāla, Is makōsthāla, K mewasthāla, Is māvsthāla

1 Kabi is one who makes poems, biśa (vyūsa) is one who recites poems.
2 I. e., a prophet has no honour in his own country. The author means that he is aware that his own country-folk, and his own people (the Musalmāns) will not care for his poem; but, on the other hand men of distant lands and of other religions (the Hindus) will be attracted by it, as the bee is attracted by the distant lotus.
25. Now sing I the tale of Sinhala-dvipa,¹ and tell of the perfect woman.² My description is like an excellent mirror, in which each form is seen as it really is. Happy is that land where the women are lights,³ and where God created that (famous) Padmini (Padmāvatī). All people tell of seven lands, but none is fit to compare with Sinhala. The Diya-land⁴ (or land of lamps) is not so bright as it. The land of Saran⁵ cannot bear comparison with it. I say that Jambū-land⁶ is nowhere like it, and that Layka-land cannot even fill (the excellence of) its reflection. The land of Kumbhasthala⁷ fled to the forest (before it), and the land of Mahusthala⁸ lost its inhabitants.

In the whole universe, in the world are seven lands, but none of them is excellent beside the land of Sinhala.

1 Ceylon. The word dvipa means both island and continent.
2 A Padmini is one of the four classes of women and is supremely the best, see 504 and ff. The Singalese women are all supposed to be Padminis, omne ignorant pro mirifico.
3 Here there is a pun on the word (dipā = dvipa) a continent or island, and dipaka a light.
4 The poet now proceeds to compare Sinhala, not with the seven continents of tradition, reffered to in line 4, and catalogued in the note to stanza I, 5, but with half-a-dozen imaginary continents named after parts of the human body. Diya-dīpa, the land of lights, means the land of eyes. Sarana-dīpa (sriyapa-dīpa) means the land of ears. Jambū-dīpa, Rose-apple-land, is the land of bosoms, to the nipples of which the rose-apple is often compared. Layka-dīpa, is the land of hips. Kumbha-sthala, jar-land, is the land of rounded breasts; a. v. 1. is gabha-sthala (garbha-sthala) the land of wombs; and finally mahu-sthala (madhya-sthala), is the land of waists. Under this highly figurative language the poet signifies that the women of Sinhala surpassed all these imaginary lands, each in its own peculiar excellence. I am indebted to Pañjīt Sudhākara Divīvēdi for the explanation of this very difficult stanza.
5 The poet does not seem to be aware that Sarana-dīpa (Saran-dīp, Serendib) is actually Ceylon itself. Here, as pointed out above, the words also mean ‘ear-land.’
6 I Hindustān or bosom-land.
7 Or perhaps Gabhastala, one of the nine divisions of Bhārata-varṣa (India); here used as equivalent to garbha-sthala, the land of wombs.
8 Or Māvarthila.

26. Gandharva Sēna was a fragrant\(^1\) prince, He was its king, and that was his dominion. I have heard of Laṅkā,\(^2\) the kingdom of Rāvana; greater even than his was his majesty. Fifty-six times ten millions formed his battle-array, and over all were princes and commanders of forts. Sixteen thousand horses were in his stalls, black-eared and gallant steeds.\(^3\) Seven thousand Singalese elephants had he, each like the mighty Airāvata\(^4\) of Kailāsa.\(^5\) He is called the crown of lords of steeds, and with his goal he causeth to bow low the elephants of lords of elephants. Over lords of men I call him a second Indra, and in the world I also call him the Indra\(^6\) of the lords of earth.

\(^1\) There is here an alliteration between Gandharpa, Gandharva, and Gandha, scent. Some of the MSS. have Sēna for Sēna throughout the poem. This would lead me to restore the word to the Sanskrit Sāvīna, were there not a strong tradition in favour of Sēna.

\(^2\) Laṅkā is, however, a name of Ceylon. The poet neglects this fact.

\(^3\) Syēma-karma, black-eared, is a technical name for a horse. It is the kind used in sacrifices. Tubhéra means 'horse,' cf. xlvi, 4; and dli, 4.

\(^4\) The name of Indra's elephant.

\(^5\) Indra's heaven.

\(^6\) Here Indra is referred to in two aspects. First he is the mighty king of the lower Gods, and hence supreme over lords of men; and secondly he is the storm-god giving refreshing showers to the earth, and hence an object of worship to everyone who lives by cultivation.
So universal\(^1\) a monarch was he, that all the earth feared him. All men came and bowed their heads before him, no one dared to emulate him.

\(\text{०.} \) जब धर्म निवारण अर्हा \(\text{॥} \) जन कवित्वास निवार भा खारौ \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{पन} \) खाराउँ लाग घड पास \(\text{॥} \) उद्ध वुकस डनि खावा खावा \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{तरिवर} \) घबरे सल्क-निरी लाई \(\text{॥} \) भर जम बाँह रदनि चोर खाई \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{मल्ल-खेती} \) खोड़ाई बाँहहै \(\text{॥} \) जौट जाड़ लागाद निच्छ मैहै \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{सी} \) बाँह रदनि चोर खाई \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{चरित्र} \) सबद्र अकास देखाउ \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{पैधिक} \) जाख पक्षे दर बाँह पांच \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{दुख बिसरर} \) खुश चोर बिसरर \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{जोर} \) बछ पाई बाँह अनूप \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{बछर} \) न जाह खरचो बछ धुप \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{दी.} \) अम खाराउँ घड़ने बरनि न पारउँ खंत \(\text{।} \)

\(\text{पूण} \) दर भड़-प रिमु \(\text{।} \) \(\text{आमद} \) चादर बरन \(\text{॥} \)

27. 1. \(\text{द जोहु} \) (1) (७६), \(\text{निराकृति}, \) \(\text{इक} \) \(\text{जो वाह} \) \(\text{दीप}, \) \(\text{क} \) \(\text{जो वाह} \) \(\text{दीप} \) \(\text{के} \) \(\text{निराकृति} \) जै।

\(\text{पन} \) खाराउँ लाग घड पास \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{उद्ध वुकस डनि खावा खावा} \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{तरिवर} \) घबरे सल्क-निरी लाई \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{भर जम बाँह रदनि चोर खाई} \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{मल्ल-खेती} \) खोड़ाई बाँहहै \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{जौट जाड़ लागाद निच्छ मैहै} \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{सी} \) बाँह रदनि चोर खाई \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{चरित्र} \) सबद्र अकास देखाउ \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{पैधिक} \) जाख पक्षे दर बाँह पांच \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{दुख बिसरर} \) खुश चोर बिसरर \(\text{॥} \)

\(\text{जोर} \) बछ पाई बाँह अनूप \(\text{॥} \) \(\text{बछर} \) न जाह खरचो बछ धुप \(\text{॥} \)

27. When a man approacheth this land, 'tis as it were he approacheth Kail\(\text{ासा} the mount of heaven. Dense mango-groves lie on every side, rising from the earth to the very sky. Each tall tree exhaleth the odours of mount Malaya,\(^2\) and the shade covereth the world as though it were the night. The shade is pleasant with its Malaya-breeze; e'en in the fiery month of Jyai\(\text{श्वा} \)\(^3\) 'tis cool amidst it. It is as though night cometh from that shade, and as though from it cometh the green-ness of the sky.\(^4\) When the wayfarer cometh thither, suffering from the heat, he forgetteth his trouble in his blissful rest, and whose hath found this perfect shade, returneth ne'er again to bear the sun-rays.

So many and so dense are these groves, that I cannot tell their end. The whole six seasons of the year\(^5\) do they flower and fruit, as though it were always spring.

\(^1\) Cakkawati = Cakrawarti.

\(^2\) The Western Ghauts (\(\text{घृंष्टी} \)) famous for their growth of sandal trees.

\(^3\) The hottest month in the year, May-June, with its pitiless burning blue-grey sky.

\(^4\) This is an example of the rhetorical figura उत्प्रेक्षा, or poetical fancy, with the word expressing comparison omitted. The poet fancifully states that this shade is so dark, that it is produced all night, while the green shade of the sky is its reflection.

\(^5\) Hind\(\text{स} \) divide the year into six seasons of two months each.

\(\text{J. 1. 21} \)
ANALYSIS
OF THE
PADUMĀWATI.

CANTO I.

The Invocation.

Praise of God, the Creator of the universe (1), and of all that is therein, (2); the maker of men and of all that man hath, (3); of pairs of opposites (4). His bounty (5), and might (6). He is an everlasting mystery, neither made nor created nor begotten (7). He is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, neither discrete nor indiscrete (8). He hath endowed man with many blessings, of which he cannot gauge the length or breadth or height (9). His wondrous works are indescribable (10). He made one man for the salvation of the world, the prophet Muḥammad (11), who had four friends, Abū Bakr Čiddiğ, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān, and 'Āli (12). Shēr Shāh Sūr is Sultan of Delhi. His might (13), valour (14), justice (15), comeliness (16), and generosity (17). Praise of Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngir, the poet's spiritual ancestor (18), and his two descendants Shekh Ḥājjī, and Shekh Mubārak (19). Praise of Muḥin’d-din, the poet's spiritual preceptor and his spiritual descent from Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngir (20). The poet's description of himself as blind of one eye. He is grateful to God for all his mercies (21). He had four friends, Malik Yūsuf, Salār Khādīm, Miyā Salōnī, and Shēkh Bađe (22). Filled with poetic inspiration he came to Jāyas, and studied rhetoric under pandits (23); and in the year 1540 A. D., began to write the poem of Ceylon, of Padmāvāti, of Ratna Sēna, of 'Alāu’d-din, of Rāghava Caitanya, and the siege of Citaur (24).

CANTO II.

Description of Siṃhala-dvīpa.

I describe Siṃhala, best of all the seven dvīpas (25). Gandharva Sēna was its king. No king over was so mighty (26). The dvīpa is covered with cool orchards, throwing inviting shade (27). Its fruit-
trees (28). The singing of the birds (29). Its wells and springs, surrounded by holy mon of various sects (30). Its tanks (31), the maidens who draw water therefrom (32), the birds that resort thereto (33). The fruit gardens (34), and flower gardens (35). The chief city, Simhala (36). Its streets and markets (37), its courtesan quarter (38), the bazārs (39). The citadel, its height (40), its strength (41), its guards and the regularity with which they are changed (42). Its two rivers Nīra and Kṣira, and the spring of Mōti Ćura. Its golden tree with magic fruit which gives new youth (43). The four captains of the citadel and their quarters (44). The doorway of the royal palace, with the elephants there (45), the royal stables and horses (46), the royal court (47). The palace buildings (48), the female apartments. The Chief Queen was Rāṇi Cambaṭavati (49). She becomes pregnant (50), and a girl is born (51). The naming-ceremony of the 6th night after birth. The Paṇḍīts declare her name to be Padmāvati (52). The astrologers bless her and go home. She grows up of perfect beauty and at the same time learned. Kings of all countries demand her in marriage but are refused (53). She becomes twelve years of age, and the king hearing that she is fit for marriage, builds her a magnificent palace, and gives her damsels to bear her company. She obtains a very learned parrot named Hirāmaṇi, and studies the āstras and vedas with him. Brahmā himself nodded his head as he heard the parrot’s explanations (54). Padmāvati becomes apta vīra. Her charms (55). The King, hearing that the parrot gives wisdom to Padmāvati, becomes enraged, and orders it to be killed, that it may not eclipse its pupil. The barber and torch bearer run to kill it, but the Princess hides it, and sends a respectful remonstrance to the king, ‘the parrot is only a bird. It loves food and flying, and speaks by roto’ (56). The parrot thanks the princess, and says there is no escape from an angry master (57). The Princess replies, ‘I cannot bear to lose thee, my darling parrot’ (58).

CANTO III.

THE BATHING.

On a certain festival Padmāvati and her damsels go to bathe in a lake. Description of the various damsels (59). They play on the bank of the lake, and call upon the princess to be happy while she may (60). They disrobe (61). They bathe (62). They sport (62a). A damsel loses her necklace in the water. They all dive for it (63). The

1 In some copies a new canto commences here.
2 Rām Jusan gives two stanzas the same number, 62.
lake, at the contact of their beauty, becomes clear and the necklace is found (64).

CANTO IV.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE PARROT.

While Padmāvati was thus sporting, a maidservant went into her palace to steal her flowers and betel to give to a lover. The parrot remonstrates (64 a). The maid in a rage twists the parrot’s neck, plucks him, and shuts him up in an earthen pot (64 b). The parrot’s reflections and self-reproaches. He considers what is best to be done (64 c). The maid takes the vessel and throws it and the parrot down a well in the forest. The parrot as he is thrown calls upon God (64 d). He has hardly finished his prayer when he sees a fig tree hanging over the well. He climbs into it, finds it full of fruit and thanks God. His feathers grow again (64 e). He flies away, and happens on a part of the forest where the birds treat him with great respect. He praises God (65).

When Padmāvati returns, the major-domo tells her that a cat had come into the house, and that the parrot had flown away from the cage. Her grief. She orders search to be made (66). Her maidens assure her that the search is hopeless (67).

When the parrot has rested a few days in the forest, his fellow birds see a hunter, hidden under a screen of leaves, approaching. Smitten with terror at the apparently moving tree they fly away, but the parrot who is absorded in contemplation, is struck by the bird catcher’s five-pronged rod, and caught by the bird-lime attached to it (68). The hunter breaks his wings and thrusts him into a cage with other birds, they ask him how a wiseacre like him has been caught (69). The parrot explains that it was his own fault. He had become happy and careless, and pride goes before a fall (70). The birds comfort him. They agree that the hunter should not be blamed for catching them, but their own stupidity and greed (71).

CANTO V.

CITaur.

Citra Sōna is king of Citaur. His son is Ratna Sōna. Astrologers promise great things for him. He will go to Śīhala-dvīpa and

1 From 64(a) to 64(e) is an interpolation, found only in some copies of very small authority. The style is different from that of the rest of the poem.

2 The ordinary editions insert a line here making the parrot escape from his cage in Padmāvati’s house.
bring back a lovely treasure (72). Some merchants of Cītāra start for Simhala-dvīpa to purchase goods. One of them is a poor Brāhmaṇa, who starts with borrowed capital. Prices of things in Simhala-dvīpa are so high, that he cannot afford to buy anything (73). The others return home with their purchase, and he is left lamenting (74). The hunter brings the parrot for sale in the market. The Brāhmaṇa sees it, and asks it if it is learned (75). The parrot replies that when he was free he was learned, but he has lost his knowledge, otherwise how could he be in a cage and hawked in a bazār (76). The hunter and the Brāhmaṇa converse. The latter purchases the parrot, and overtakes his companions on the way to Cītāra (77). In the meantime Rānā Sēna has succeeded his father Cītra Sēna on the throne, news is brought to him of the arrival of merchants from Simhala-dvīpa, and amongst them a Brāhmaṇa with a wonderful parrot (78). The Brāhmaṇa is sent for, brings the parrot, saying he had not intended to sell it, but his belly must be filled and he is poor (79). The parrot introduces himself to the king and praises his own qualifications. Says his name is Hirāmaṇi, and that he lived formerly with Padmāvaṭī (80). The king purchases the parrot for a lakh of rupees, and is pleased with its wisdom. He becomes fond of it, and learns much from it (81).

CANTO VI.

THE PARROT AND THE KING.

One day the King goes out hunting, and his chief-queen, Nāgamāti, adorns herself, and, being filled with vanity at her reflection in a mirror, asks the parrot if any one in the world is so beautiful as she (82). The parrot remembering the beauty of Padmāvaṭī, looks in the Queen's face and laughs. He says all the women of Simhala are more beautiful. She becomes angry (83), and considers that if the parrot is allowed to remain in the palace, the king will hear of their beauty, and will fall in love with them and turn a Yōgī. She calls a maidservant, says parrots are treacherous things, and orders it to be killed (84). The maidservant goes to do so, but pauses to consider that the king is fond of the learned bird, and will be sure to ask for it (85), so she only hides it. When the king returns from his hunt he does ask for it. The Queen says a cat has carried it away. 'It was an impudent bird. I asked about the women of Simhala, and it called me a Nāgini (snake), and said I was not as beautiful as they. The parrot was pretty but unbearable like a too-heavy golden ear-ring' (86). The king is angry, and maintains that the parrot was learned and wise (87). The Queen is afflicted at the king's anger. She goes to the maidservant and laments.
(88). The maidservant says the Queen has brought it on herself by being angry. Anger is a bad thing (89). When the Queen is utterly downcast, she returns the parrot to the king, saying to the king that she only wished to test him. She consoles him (90). The king adjures the parrot to tell the truth about his history (91). The parrot says, I am Hiramaṇi, the parrot of Padmāvatī, Princess of Ceylon, a lady of peerless beauty (92). The king's curiosity is excited. He asks for further particulars about Padmāvatī, and says he would like to go to Śimhala (93). Parrot describes the charms of Śimhala and its women. Its king Gandharva Śeṇa and his lovely daughter Padmāvatī (94). The king asks the parrot to say all this over again. It complies, and the king becomes enamoured of Padmāvatī from the parrot's description (95). The parrot warns the king, that the way of love is hard, and may cost him his life. ‘Learn wisdom from the cry of the peacock, “I die, I die,” mvo, mvo, for he hath given himself up to love.’ So also other animals are shown as a warning:—the lizard, the ringdove, and the partridge (96). The King replies that he knows that the path of love is hard at the beginning, but he will dare all for the sake of Padmāvatī. He asks the parrot for a complete account of every feature of his beloved, in the form of a nakh'sikh (97).

CANTO VII.

A Tale of Beauty (the Nakh'sikh).

The parrot describes Padmāvatī's hair (98), and its parting (99), her forehead (100), eyebrows (101), eyes (102), eyelashes (103), nose (104), lips (105), teeth (106), voice (107), cheeks (108), ears (109), neck (110), arms (111), bosom (112), belly (113), back (114), waist (115), navel (116) and thighs (117).

CANTO VIII.

The King's Passion.

The King is thrown into a fever by this description of Padmāvatī's beauty, and lies senseless (118). His relations and friends come with doctors. They diagnose the disease as the same as that from which Laksmana suffered when struck by Rāvana's arrow, but the magic root which alone cures the disease is not available. They recommend that it should be searched for regardless of cost (119). The King revives, but only raves unintelligently, or cries like a newborn child. He complains that he has been brought back from the city of immortality to that of mortality. He asks to die (120). They remonstrate, and say it
is useless to fight with fate. 'Thy love is unattainable, therefore do not yearn for it' (121). The parrot gives similar advice. 'Thou canst not conquer Simhala by force of arms. The way is difficult, and can only be traversed by Asceties, Sannyāsis, Yōgis and the like. Thou could'st not bear the discomforts of such a life. An ascetic who doth not practise austerities hath no success (122). No success can be gained without austerities, and thy body is besieged by the thieves of thy passions; awake, fool, cre they steal all that thou hast' (123). The king, aroused by these remonstrances, discovers that he is involved in the darkness of ignorance, and that without a (spiritual) guide he cannot find his way to Padmāvatī (i.e. wisdom) (124). His Hindu friends remonstrate, but he refuses to hear them; without a guide (or guru), he can do nothing (125). He gives up his kingdom, becomes a Yōgi, and puts on the ascetic dress (126). The astrologers say it is not a lucky day for starting. He retorts that in love-matters, no one considers lucky times or hours. They are for people who are in possession of their senses. 'Doth a satā ask if it is a lucky day when she mounteth the funeral pyre? I must start on my quest. Do ye all return to your homes' (127). The captains of his army call upon all to accompany him to Simhala, after providing themselves with necessaries (128).

CANTO IX.

THE FAREWELL.

The King's mother implores the king to stay (129). He asks her not to tempt him from the right way. 'Earthly joys are fleeting. My guru hath ordered me to journey to Simhala. Farewell' (130). Nagamatī weeps. 'Let me go with thee, as Sitā did with Rāma. Thou wilt find no Padumī as beautiful as I am' (131). He replies, 'When Sitā accompanied Rāma, Rāvaṇa carried her off. I cannot take thee and be a Yōgi. See how Rāja Bhartṛihari left sixteen hundred wives, when he took to a life of mortification,' saying this he starts on his journey (132). His mother weeps. So also his Queens. They break their ornaments. Nine maunds of pearls and ten maunds of crystal bracelets are destroyed. At first there was a great confused sound, and then all was silence (133).

CANTO X.

THE LAND JOURNEY.

The king departs from the city, the people hear of it. Sixteen thousand knights accompany him. They all become Yōgis, and take
the salmon-coloured vestments (134). The good omens at departure. Girls with full waterpots; Gôalinś crying 'buy my tyre;' flower-girls with garlands; khañjan birds seated on snakes' heads; deer to the right, and door-keepers to the left; dark-coloured bullocks lowing on the right, and jackals motionless on the left; white quails in the sky to the left, and foxes coming out and showing themselves; crows on the left, and owls on the right. Vyûsa has promised success to him who sets out with omens such as these (135). He sets out and says, 'Let to-day be a short stage. To-morrow we must take the long journey (i.e., to-day we live, to-morrow we die). There are mountains and rivers to be crossed, with robbers lurking in the by-ways. He who goeth steadily forward at ten kûs a day will arrive safely (136). Go carefully along the road, picking your way, with sandals on your feet. The road is rough and thorny. On the right lies Bidar (Vidarbhâ) and on the left Candëri, one road goes to Simhala-dvîpa and another to Lañkâ (sic)' (137). Then says the parrot, 'Let him be guide who knoweth the way. Can the blind lead the blind?' So they asked the way of Vijaya-girî, King of Vijayanagara. He says, 'Behind are Kunda and Gôlî (Golconda (?) ). Leave on the left (?) Adhiâra Khañôla. To the south on the right lieth Tîlingâ, and directly to the north is the Karahakañtángî (? Karñâtk). Midway is the main gate of Ratnapura (Kânôi), and to the left is the hill of Jhârakhandâ (Baijnâth). To the left front is Orissa, and cross ye the sea to the south' (138). They wander through the forest, and sleep on the ground, the King alone waking through the night, playing on his five-stringed lute, and with his eyes fixed on the road to Padmâvati (139). After a month's journey they come to the sea-shore. King Gajapati approaches and asks who they are. Ratna Sûna asks for boats (140). Gajapati agrees, but warns him of the danger of the passage. 'There are seven seas to cross, viz., the Kûra, the Kşîra, the Dadhi, the Udadhi, the Snrâ-jala, the Kilakilikûtâ (and the Mânasara). There is no one capable of crossing all' (141). The King replies, 'To one in love what is death? I am compelled to follow my path. I am a disciple of Rañga Nâtha (?) Kriñña, Çri-ranga).

1 The poet's strong point is certainly not Geography.
2 All this is simply a tentative paraphrase. The readings have not been established yet. Pañçiti Sutdåkara Drivedî suggests that the correct reading may be hoi kara ekatângā, the fabulous land of one-legged men.
3 The enumeration of the Viññ Purâṇa is Lavañṇa, Ikṣû, Surâ, Ghrâta, Dadhi, Dugdha, Jala Kilakila is the boiling sound of rushing water. Kûta is a ādîth word meaning 'uncertainty, guess.' Akûta means 'without uncertainty,' hence 'extreme.' Kilakilakûtâ is the extremely turbulent sea roaring with the boiling caused by subaqueous fire (bodavîgni). The seventh or Mânasara sea is not mentioned till stanza 161. This last name is in direct contradiction to the Purânas. Note to stanza 2 above should be corrected according to the above list.
I must go where he leadeth me (142). The sea of love is deeper than any of the seven seas. I am not afraid of them (143). I welcome dangers. I have given away all that I have, perhaps God will pass me over in return’ (144). Praise of charity (diyā, with puns on diyā, a thing given, diyā a light, and diyā, a continent) (145).

CANTO XI.

THE SHIP.

Gajapati seeing his warnings ineffectual gives fully equipped ships (146). They bring the ships to the shore. A minnow, the size of a mountain, appears. The knights express their devotion to the king (147). The boatmen laugh. ‘Sea-fish are bigger than fresh-water ones. This is only a minnow. Wait till you see a salmon, which can swallow a thousand of these at one gulp. Then there is a bird, which can carry off a salmon in its beak’ (148). They catch the minnow on a fish-line, with an elephant for bait. They pull it in, with difficulty, and it dies (149). Description of the vast size of the minnow. It is cut up and eaten. The knights again express their devotion, at the same time pointing out the dangers of the sea (150). He expresses his determination to go on in spite of dangers, till he finds Padmāvatī (151).

CANTO XII.

THE SEVEN OCEANS.

They embark, set sail and are tossed about. Faith in a spiritual preceptor leads one across all oceans. They cross the Kṣāra, (salt) sea (152). Description of the Kṣāra (milk) sea (153), of the Dadhi (tyre) sea (154), of the Udadhi (hot) sea (155), of the Sura (wine) sea (156), of the Kilakilakūta (boiling) sea. Its flames and whirlpool (157). Hirāmanī, the parrot, explains that this is the most dangerous. It can only be crossed by the elect, and on a path like a sword edge,1 too narrow even for an ant. He who falls goes to hell. He who crosses safely gets heaven (158). Tho king gives the betel leaf (token of acceptance of a dangerous task by the recipient) to his followers and encourages them. He is determined to go on (159). The various ships of the fleet. How they fared. First goes the king’s ship, and he is led by the parrot. They all pass the Kilakilakūta sea (160). They come to the seventh sea, the Manasara. Description of this sea. Its delights (161).

1 An adaptation of the well-known Muhammadan legend.

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CANTO XIII.  

THE ARRIVAL AT SIMHALA-DVĪPA.  

The king notices that the air is balmy (162). Hirāmaṇī congratulates him, and points out the chief town of Simhala-dvīpa (163). He points out the fort, and describes it, and its inaccessibility (164). ‘Within it dwelleth Padmāvatī. If thou desire to see her, follow my advice. On that glittering mountain is the temple of Mahādeva. In the latter fortnight of Māgha,1 occurs the festival of the Črī-Pañcamī (now called Vasanta Pañcamī). The doors of the temple are opened on that occasion and all the people go there to worship. Padmāvatī will come to worship on that day, and then thou canst meet her. Do thou go and wait at the temple, and I will go to Padmāvatī and ask her to come’ (165). The king says he will climb to heaven if necessary, let alone a mountain. The higher he goes the better. Description of the advantages of elevated aims (166), and of the disadvantages of low aims (167). Hirāmaṇī starts for Padmāvatī’s palace, and the king for the mountain. The latter finds a golden temple there, with four doors, and, inside, four pillars. It is a popular place of pilgrimage, for the wishes of pilgrims are granted by it (168).  

CANTO XIV.  

THE GARDEN, THE GROVE, AND THE TEMPLE.  

The king, escorted by 30,000 Yōgis, circumambulates the temple, and prays for a sight of Padmāvatī (169). A mysterious voice issues from the temple, in answer to his prayers. ‘Love conquereth all. He who serveth a God with all his heart and soul, when the God is pleased, obtaineth the fruit of his service.’ On hearing this the king seats himself at the eastern door as a Yōgi (170). There, seated on his tiger-skin, he does austerities, ever muttering the name ‘Padmāvatī, Padmāvatī.’ The eyes of his ecstatic sight are ever fixed on her vision. His very clothes are burned with the heat of his fever (171).  

Padmāvatī at this time, by a coincidence, falls into the toils of love. She passes restless nights, and burns with fever (172). Her condition further described. Her nurse asks her what is the matter with her (173). She describes her fevered state (174). The nurse warns her of the dangers of love (175). Padmāvatī replies,—‘The pangs of separation from a beloved one are intolerable’ (176). Padmāvatī not being comforted, the nurse consoles her, and recommends  

1 Note that the month is Pūṟṇimānta. The Črī Pañcamī is the 5th of the light half of Māgha.
virtue, (love, of course, means search for wisdom in the allegory), and patience. ‘Just as one who restraineth his breath is a Yógi, so she who restraineth her passions is a sati, a virtuous woman. The spring festival of Cṛ-Paṅcamī approacheth. Worship God on that day’ (177). Till the day of the festival is reached, Padmāvatī becomes more and more fevered (178). While she is in this condition, Hirā-manī arrives. She embraces him and weeps. Her companions sympathize (179).

CANTO XV.

THE MEETING OF PADMĀVATĪ AND THE PARROT.

Padmāvatī asks after the parrot’s health, and why it had abandoned its cage. The Parrot replies, and tells the story of its escape. ‘The hunter sold me to a Brāhmaṇa who took me to Jambu-dvipa. There he took me to Citra Sēna, king of Citaur, who was succeeded by his son (180), named Ratna Sēna. He is all-perfect. I considered him a fit mate for thee, and praised thee to him (181). Fired by my description, he hath been filled with love for thee. He is become a Yógi and come to Sīnphala with 16,000 knights as his disciples, beside other innumerable friends and companions, who make a crowd like a fair at the temple of Mahādēva. There he is watching for thee. Thou art the lotus and he is the bee’ (182). Padmāvatī pleased at the account. She becomes filled with pride. ‘Who hath dared to put his hand in the lion’s mouth? Who will dare to tell my father? Who in the world is fit to be my husband?’ (183). The parrot insists that Ratna is a golden jewel, and is worthy of her, and describes his pitiful condition (184). Padmāvatī affected by the description. ‘Let me go and see him burning thus. Yet gold improves by burning. I am to blame for this burning. I will visit him. The festival of spring approacheth. I will go to the temple on pretence of worshipping’ (185). She rewards the parrot, who prepares to fly away. She taxes him with faithlessness. He says he must return and give the news to Ratna, who is anxiously awaiting him (186). He comes to Ratna, and tells him the news. ‘I have met the Guru Góракṣanāthā,1 and he (she) sent a gracious message. The Guru is like the black bee,2 and the disciple like the fly. That fly alone meeteth the bee, which is ready to give up its life for one meeting.

1 Here Padmāvatī (wisdom) is shown as the supreme preceptor of all Yógis, Góракṣanāthā.

2 The Bhrirgā, or potter-bee, devours insects and they are born again as Bhrirgās. It is now-a-days called the kumhariya, bilāni, or bisundharī.
The Guru hath shown great kindness to thee, and hath given thee knowledge in a new incarnation. Thou wilt live by thy death, and the Bhrámara-bee will find the lotus, and drink its nectar. The spring time cometh, and then the bee findeth the nectar. The Yógi who fully beareth austerities obtaineth final success.’ (187).

CANTO XVI.

THE SPRING FESTIVAL.

The festival of the Çré-Pañcamí comes on. Padmávatí summons her companions to attend her to the temple of Mahádeva (188). They assemble with music, and in gay dresses. All princesses, and of perfect beauty. It is spring time, and they are like spring themselves (189). She starts. Her retinue of various castes (190). Continuation of names of castes (191). They rejoice amongst themselves (192). The fruit they take with them (193). The flowers (194). The musical instruments. They dance as they go (195). They arrive at the temple. The Gods, seeing them, are astonished, and say they must be nymphs escaped from heaven. Other Gods give other similar explanations (196). Padmávatí enters the temple. She makes her offering of flowers and fruit, and prays. ‘All my companions are married. I alone am a maiden. Give me a husband.’ (197). Mahádeva being struck senseless by her beauty\(^1\) gives no answer. A mysterious voice tells her this. Padmávatí complains that it is no use praying to Gods like him (198). Just then a companion comes and tells her that she has seen at the eastern door of the temple a remarkable Yógi, who looks like a prince (199). She goes to see him. Their eyes meet. He falls senseless with love (200). Padmávatí sprinkles sandal on him to revive him. He does not wake. So, with the sandal, she writes on his chest over his heart, ‘Thou hast not learned the art of asking alms. When the damsels come thou didst fall asleep. How canst thou get thy living? If the sun (i.e., thou) be enamoured of the moon (i.e., me), it climbeth to the seventh heaven (i.e., the seventh story of the castle).’ She departs with her companions (201). They leave the hill. Lamentations of the Gods at their departure. They are all dead (202). Padmávatí enters the palace, sleeps, and dreams a wonderful dream. She asks her friends to interpret it (203). They interpret it as meaning her marriage (204).

\(^1\) Padmávatí’s ‘fatal beauty’ has this effect on every one who sees her for the first time. So Ratna (200), Rághava (489), and Alán’d-dín (609).
CANTO XVII.

THE AUSTERITIES OF RATNA SENA.

Ratna Sêna awakes from his faint. His desolation at finding Padmâvatî gone (205). The very sandal on his chest burns him (206). His lamentations (207). He complains of Mahâdêva not answering his prayers. Mahâdêva is a mere stone. There is no good in watering a rock (208). Mahâdêva explains that he himself was struck senseless at Padmâvatî’s beauty, and could not help (209). Ratna admits the justice of the excuse. He gives up, and prepares for death (210). He arranges to burn himself to death on a pyre lit by the fire (of separation) which consumes him. The Gods fear that the intense heat will consume the universe (211). Hanumân, who was the guardian of the mountain, goes and warns Pârvatî and Mahêça.¹ ‘I, who burned up Laṅkâ, am about to be burned by this Yogi’ (212).

CANTO XVIII.

PÂRVATÎ AND MAHÊÇA.

Mahêça, Pârvatî, and Hanumân haste to the temple. They remonstrate with Ratna on the dangers of a general conflagration (213). Ratna accuses Mahêça of wantonly causing his death, and tells of his hopeless love for Padmâvatî. As he says this, the fire of his woe blazes up still more furiously, and, had not Mahêça extinguished it with nectar, the whole world would have been burnt (214). Pârvatî determines to test his passion if it is real or not. She takes the form of a celestial nymph, and tempts him (215). He withstands the temptation (216). Pârvatî recognizes the love as genuine, and recommends Mahâdêva to grant him his desire (217). The king recognizes them as Gods (or perfected ones) (sûdhâ), for flies do not settle on their body, they do not wink, they throw no shadow, and suffer neither from hunger nor from illusion. Judging from his appearance, this must be Mahêça. Without a Guru no one finds the path, and without Gorakshanâtha, no Yogi obtains perfection (sûdhî) (218). He falls at Mahêça’s feet, and weeps floods of tears (219). The universe is flooded: Mahêça consoles him. Advises him,—‘Until the burglar breaks into the house, he gets no booty. The fort of Sinhalâ has seven stories, no one returns alive who once sets foot upon it’ (220). Description of the fort, being at the same time a metaphorical description of the human body. At the foot of the fort is a tank with subterranean gallery. Thou must dive into the tank and enter by this, as a thief enters a house by a mine (221).

¹ The poet identifies Mahêça and Mahâdêva as the same person.
The tenth or inmost door, i.e., internal perception, is only to be approached by mystical suppression of breath, and by suppression of self. He who doeth this, understandeth that the 'Ego’ is all in all, and alone existeth. He is himself both teacher and pupil, life and death, body and soul (222).

CANTO XIX.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE CASTLE.

Ratna having thus received instruction in perfection (siddhi) from Mahéca, offers thanks to Gâneça, and, under Mahéca’s advice, the Yôgis surround the castle. As a thief first examines a house before attacking it, so intend they to dig a mine. The gates are closed, and the King is informed that an army of Yôgis is surrounding the fort. He sends messengers to find out the truth (223). The messengers come to Ratna and ask if they are Yôgis or merchants. Directs them to go to a distance from the fort. The King will be angry. ‘If ye be merchants, do your traffic and depart. If ye be Yôgis, finish your begging and go’ (224). Ratna replies, ‘I am come to beg, and will take what the King giveth. Padmâvati is the daughter of the king, I have become Yôgi for her, and am come here to beg for her’ (225). The messenger is angry. Threatens Ratna. ‘If the king hear he will let elephants loose on thee, will fire thunderbolts at thee. Thou art demanding a thing thou canst not even see. Art thou mad?’ (226.) Ratna replies, — ‘I am a Yôgi, and can but do what becometh my profession. Thy power is in the elephants of Sinhala, and mine in the elephant of my Guru. He can destroy thine elephants, and turn mountains into dust’ (227). The messenger returns and reports Ratna’s words to the king. The latter is enraged, and orders the Yôgis to be killed. The prime minister remonstrates. ‘If thou kill them, they are but beggars; and if thou art defeated, thou wilt be disgraced. Let them remain below the fort. How many Yôgis have come and gone. Leave them alone, and they will have to go away for want of food’ (238). Ratna wonders why the messenger does not return. He writes a letter to Padmâvati, and sends it to her by the parrot (229), with a verbal message, recalling their former meeting (230), and describing his woes (231). He ties the letter with a golden thread to the parrot’s neck. The latter carries it to Padmâvati. Her lamentable condition (232). She addresses the parrot, and laments her separation. The parrot

1 In the previous stanza, the nine openings of the body are described as doors, and the tenth door is internal perception.
2 One of the exercises of Yôgi austerities.
replies,—'The Yogi whom thou sawest at the temple of Mahādeva is distraught for thee. He doth nought but murmur thy name' (233). His sufferings. 'His life-blood is reddening the whole world.' Her cruelty in not returning the love (234). 'When thou didst sport at the spring festival, thou didst mix the vermilion of thy forehead with his blood. He wept, and would have burnt himself upon a pyre had not Mahēça and Parvāti intervened. They extinguished the fire and showed him the road,—the road that leadeth to death. The path of love is difficult. If a man climb it, heaven is at the top; if he fall on the way, he falleth into hell. His desire is now but to see thee, whether he receive consolation from thee or die hopeless. He hath sent a letter to thee. Now give the order whether he is to live or to die' (235). He gives her the letter. Poetical description of the effect of the burning words contained in it (236). Padmāvatī takes the letter, but doubts the sincerity of his love (237). She writes a letter in reply:—'When I visited the temple, why didst thou not tie the marriage knot? Thou becamest senseless, and, for modesty, I could not speak before my companions. I threw sandal on thee, but thou didst not awake. Now he, who like the moon, climbeth the sky, and risketh his life, obtaineth his object (238). Other heroes have unavailingly aspired to my hand. I am queen Padmāvatī. I live in the seventh heaven (or story of the castle). He will obtain me who first destroyeth himself (239). I am pleased at receiving thy letter. Dare greatly, and thou wilt obtain me' (240).

Description of Ratna's condition, while waiting for a reply to his letter. He is at the point of death, when the parrot arrives with Padmāvatī's letter, which was like medicine to him (241). He revives. The parrot gives him the letter and message of Padmāvatī, viz., 'The Guru calleth his disciple quickly. She wiseth to make thee perfected. Come quickly. Life dwelleth in thy name. Thy way is within mine eyes, and thy place is within my heart' (242). Ratna gets new life. His delight, and desire to obey her (243). He goes by the path which Mahēça had pointed out to him, and dives with his disciples into the tank at the foot of the fort.1 He finds the door of the secret passage. He finds a zig-zag path, but it is morning when he commences to ascend the fort. There is a noise in the town that thieves have entered the castle (244). King Gandharva Sēna sends for his pandits, and asks them what is the proper punishment for Yōgis who do house-breaking. They reply, impalement (248). The Prime Minister warns the king to be careful. 'Take care lest these Yōgis be perfected ones (siddha)' (246). The king orders his army to assemble to seize the Yōgis. The

1 See 221.
portents which ensue (247). Ratna Sêna's companions wish to fight the army (248). Ratna Sêna dissuades them. He is ready to sacrifice himself (249). The king surrounds them. Ratna consoles them, and sings on his lute in honour of the Guru (250). ‘I trust in my Guru and care not for what may happen (251). Padmâватi is my Guru, and I am her Cêlā. I am her slave’ (252). Padmâватi fades away in Ratna’s absence (253). She is heart-broken, her companions sympathize with her (254), and try to console her, but in vain (255).

CANTO XX.

The Consolation of Padmâватi.

The companions console her (256). She laments, asks for poison. She calls for Hirâmaṇî (257). The nurse brings him. He comforts her. She faints, and recovers (258). He continues; describes Ratna Sêna’s condition (259). Hirâmaṇî feels her pulse, and finds out that the creeper of love has really taken root in her heart. He describes to her the plant (260). Padmâватi expresses her trust in the parrot; asks him to bring about a meeting between her and her beloved (761). The parrot tells how Ratna had attempted to approach her, but as morning came before he had ascended, he had been seized and condemned to the stake (262). Padmâватi’s consternation. ‘If Ratna dies, I shall die too. I am no longer Guru. He is Guru, and I am Cêlā’ (263). The parrot replies,—‘Although he is thy Cêlā, he is now perfected. Thy perfection hath gone to him, and his sorrows have come to thee. Ye are one in one. He cannot now be harmed by death’ (264). She is comforted and tells the parrot to tell Ratna to give up asceticism and act as a king, for he is king of her heart (265).

CANTO XXI.

The Impalement.

Ratna is led with his followers to the place of impalement. The people pity him and say he cannot be a Yôgî. He must be a prince in love. When he sees the stake he laughs. The people ask why (266). He replies that he is glad to die. He has wished for death. Asks that there may be no delay (267). They tell him to call the one he loves best to mind. He proclaims his love for Padmâватi (268).

The Yôgis being in this danger, the throne of Mahâdeva is shaken. He discusses with Parvati as to what had best be done. They disguise themselves as bards (bhâtâ) and go with Hanumān to the scene of execution and hide themselves. There Gandharva Sêna has a large army
Ratna is calling to mind Padmāvati, and thanking Māheśa, who showed him the way to her. Pārvatī moved to pity looks at Mahādevā. She asks Mahādevā to save him (270).

In the meantime Hirāmapī comes to Ratna with the message of Padmāvati. Ratna Sēna rejoices at the message. The parrot, and, in sympathy with him, all the people, moved to tears. The parrot and the Bard (Mahādevā) agree to risk their lives, and go towards the king Gandharva Sēna (271). The Bard, seeing Gandharva Sēna, and unable to bear Ratna Sēna’s ill-treatment, determines to be a man and risk his life. He approaches Gandharva Sēna, and salutes him and the court with his left hand. He says,—‘Yogīs are water. Thou art fire. When these two fight, the fire is extinguished (272). This is not merely a Yogī. He is a great king. If thou kill him there will be a tremendous battle, and every being will help him. When Mahādevā (his protector) rings his battle-bell, Brahmatā, Vāsuki, and the eight elephants of the quarters will appear. Volcanoes will burst forth into action, and mountains will be rent into dust. Krīṣṇa will come, and a crowd from Indra’s heaven, thirty-three crores of Gods and ninety-six cloud-armies. The ninety nāthas1 and the eighty-four siddhas will come. Garuḍa and vultures will hover in the sky’ (273).

Gandharva Sēna asks,—‘Who is this insolent bard who salutes me with his left hand? Who is this Yogī who comes to my palace and enters it by a mine like a thief? Indra, Krīṣṇa, Brahmatā, Vāsuki, the Earth, mount Meru, the Moon, Sun and Sky, the clouds, the mundane tortoise all fear me. What fear I for all this?’ The Bard warns him to have a care (274). He quotes as an example the case of Rāvāṇa who was killed by two ascetics, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Pride goes before a fall (275).

The Bard, seeing the king angry, comes forward humbly, and addresses him. ‘Bards are sacred persons. Bards are incarnations of Rāma. A Bard comes with his life in his hands. He is inviolable.’ The king asks why the Bard has been so insolent, and tells him to be more respectful, and to tell who he and the Yogī are (276). The Bard replies:—‘The truth is, there is one Ratna Sēna, son of Citra Sēna, King of Cītaur in Jambu-dvipa. Him alone do I salute with my right hand, and none else. My name is Mahāpātra, and I am his impudent beggar’ (277).

Mahādevā ashamed (at the king not believing him, and seeing himself compelled to disclose his real name), still in his character as a bard,2

2 Jagannātha, Vaidyānātha, &c.

3 Dasaunādhī, means ‘bard.’ It is the Sanskrit daśaṇḍhi, ‘the man of ten wits.’ It is commonly used together with bhāṭa, the two words together meaning ‘bard.

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again addresses the king in humble language. 'Gandharva Sēna, mighty king, I am an incarnation of Mahēca, hear what I say. I must tell thee what will happen. Why shouldst thou be angry? This is a prince, and not a Yogi, who heard of Padmāvati, and became ascetic for her sake. He is the son of a king of Jambu-dvīpa, and what is written in the book of fate cannot be erased. Thy parrot brought him hither, and thou becamest angry thereat. Then this matter was heard in Ciivaloka. Marry the pair and do a virtuous action. He who begged from thee, will not leave thy door till he dieth. Even though it be a golden cup, give him alms, and kill him not' (278). Gandharva Sēna angrily calls him a beggar-bard, and tells him to go. 'This Yogi must be impaled. I fear no one. Who is powerful as I (279) ?'

Mahēca at length brings up his troops, and puts the Yogis behind them. The Prime minister advises the king not to fight, but the latter obstinately persists. Ṛṣīgada, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, comes to help the Yogis. He begins by flinging five of the king's elephants into the sky (280). The battalion of elephants is ranged so as to protect the rest of the king's army. Hanumān comes and sweeps away the battalion with his tail (281). Īcvara's battle-bell, and Viṣṇu's battle-conch is heard. All the Gods, demons, &c, come down to the fight. Gandharva Sēna falls at Mahādēva's feet, prays for mercy, and offers to give his daughter to whomever he may order (282). Thus Mahēca performs the office of an ambassador; at first bitter, then sweet. Recommends Gandharva Sēna to ask Hirāmaṇi about Citamr. 'Ratna is a jewel; test him, and marry him to your daughter' (283). The king sends for the parrot and asks him how the Yogis came to the palace (284). The parrot begins by flattering the king (285). He tells his adventures and why he brought Ratna here. The king is pleased (286). The king is convinced, first by the words of the bard, and then by those of Hirāmaṇi. He sends for Ratna Sēna. He is identified as a prince by the thirty-two signs (287). Every one seeing him to be worthy of Padmāvati, rejoices. The war music is changed to nuptial melodies (288). The king consents to the marriage. The Gods go home. Ratna Sēna and his princes put off their ascetic garments. General happiness (289).

[Here an Urdu edition adds:—

The body is Citamr-fort, and the soul is the king. The heart is Simhala-dvīpa, and Brahmā is the Padmīnī. The guru is the parrot who sets one on the way. Illusion is 'Alān'd-dūn, and Satan is Rāghava. Worldly cares are Nāgamati (the snake-queen), who biteth those who love her.]

1 See stanza 212, note 1.
CANTO XXII.

The Marriage.

The date fixed for the marriage. The preparations (290). The dress for Ratna Sêna (291). The marriage procession (292). Padmâvatî mounts to the top of the palace and watches the procession (293). Her companions point out the bridegroom (294). Padmâvatî's happiness at seeing Ratna. She faints from ecstacy (295). She recovers and explains that she had fainted in sorrow at the thought of leaving her home (296). The arrival of the procession (297). The feast prepared. The table arrangements (298). The food at the feast (299). There is no music, and Ratna and his guests refuse to eat. The Paññit asks why (300). The king explains that there is no music. Sound was created before the Vedas. When Adam was created, knowledge entered into his body with sound. At mealtimes there should be enjoyment. The eyes, tongue, nose, and ears should all be gratified (301). The Paññit replies that music is intoxicating and excites the passions; hence it is not allowed at meals (302). Sharbat and attar are distributed; the marriage ceremonies are performed (303). Continuation of marriage ceremonies (304). Ratna Sêna receives the dower, and is invited by Gandharva Sêna to remain in Simhala-dvipa (305).

CANTO XXIII.

The Nuptial Chamber.

Ratna Sêna is given a palace to live in (306). Description of it (307). Of the slaves in the nuptial chamber (308). Of the nuptial bed (309). The bridesmaids separate the bride from the bride-groom till night-fall, and proceed to adorn the latter. The weariness of the hours without Padmâvatî (310). At night-fall the bridesmaids come and ask him (teasing him) where she is (311). Ratna entreats to be allowed to meet her (312). (No. 313 not in any edition). His entreaties continued 1 (314). The bridesmaids tease him still. They say they do not know where she is. He is a Yôgi. What has he to do with princesses? She is busy with the twelve methods of adornment (abharaqa) which are as follows (315),—bathing, application of sandal, vermillion on the parting of the hair, a spangle on the forehead, collyrium, earrings, nose-stud, betel to redden her lips, necklets, armlets, a girdle and anklets. Then there are the sixteen graces (çrigyâra),—four long, four short, four stout, and four thin (316).

Description of Padmâvatî adorning herself (317). Her features

1 310-314 are full of similes derived from chemistry.
(318). Her ornaments (319). Being fully adorned she delays going to her husband. She is frightened at what may happen (320). Her bridesmaids encourage her (321). She sets out for the nuptial chamber. Her charms as she goes (322).

She enters the nuptial chamber. Ratna Sêṇa is struck senseless by her beauty. They revive him, saying his Guru (i.e., Padmâvatî) is here (323). He takes her arm and leads her to the bed. She modestly shrinks back. She says he is a Yôgī and she does not like him (324). He says he became Yôgī for her sake. He recounts the dangers he has gone through (325). She replies that self-praise is no recommendation. No one ever heard of a Yôgī-king. She teases him. 'Thou art not a Yôgī, but a mere beggar. A Yôgī, by suppression of his breath, can mount into the air and fly in spirit where'er he listeth. Thou art but a beggar disguised as a Yôgī, as Râvana was who carried off Sîtâ. When the night sees the moon it is no longer dark, and so, Yôgī, now that thou hast become king thou hast forgotten thy austerities' (316). He repeats that he was but a pilgrim of love. 'He kind. Even Sîtâ gave alms to Râvana. I have become erimson, (i.e., glorious) from the reflection of thy colour, and like the sun have I mounted to the sky. Where the moon is cool, how can I be hot? Therefore, lady, fulfil my heart's desire (327)! She replies (teasing him still). 'Thou sayest thou art erimson. How didst thou get this colour? It is not from thy fine clothes. It seemeth to come from a burning heart. The red majîtha dye cometh from long cooking. The Palça tree has to be burnt before it beareth its scarlet blossoms. Betel and the areca nut do not become red till caustic lime is added' (328). He replies. 'I have been burnt in the fire of love' (329). Padmâvatî,—'Thou art a wandering Yôgī, thou wilt not remain faithful' (330). Ratna;—'Though I may roam, I will never forget. But I will not even roam' (331). She challenges him to play caunpar. He consents (332). He admits that he is beaten by her. Figurative comparison of caunpar, and the game of love1 (333). Padmâvatî laughs. 'I see indeed thou art erimson from my colour. I went to the temple when Hirâmaqi told me thou wast there. I was enchanted at thy beauty, and I loved thee (334).2 What magic art thou master of, that thy pains were reborn in me? I suffered all the pangs that thou didst suffer. There is naught between us now, all

1 Till a proper text is obtained it will be impossible to translate 332 and 333 correctly. They are full of metaphorical allusions to the game of caunpar or causar, the Indian Backgammon. I have taken the trouble to learn the game, and have consulted several good players, but none of them can interpret the present printed text satisfactorily.

2 It is possible that this stanza represents the words of the Prince.
I have, my body, my soul, my youth, my life, I dedicate to thee' (335). Again she adds, 'Verily thou art crimson from my colour. Thou art a Rājā of noble family. But thy home is in Jambu-dvīpa, how didst thou learn of Sinhala? How did Čaṅkara teach thee this love?' (336). Ratna replies, 'I did what Hirāmaṇī told me, and I became absorbed in thee' (337). She smiles and confesses that she fell into a like state with regard to him at Hirāmaṇī's words (338). **Morning comes, then Ratna leaves her.** The bridesmaids come and see Padmāvatī sleeping (345). They wake her. Her disarray (346). They laugh, and tease her about her disarray and ask how Ratna had treated her (347). She replies that she had learned that there is no one dearer than a husband and that her maiden fears were unfounded (348). She gives further particulars (349). They comment on her disordered condition (350). They run and tell her mother Queen Campāvatī, that Padmāvatī is not well. 'She looketh withered, and her colour is gone.' Campāvatī hearing this, knows what it means, and languishes. She goes with the tiring women to Padmāvatī, kisses and blesses her (351). The women sit round and commiserate Padmāvatī. 'The child is restless,' they say. 'The lotus bud is full of tenderness, and slender, and delicate is her waist. She is like the moon in eclipse, she who shone like the sun with a thousand rays.' They anoint and bathe her, and again she blooms like the full moon (352). They clothe her in beautiful garments (353).

Ratna Sēna appears in public. His friends who accompanied him from Citaur congratulate him (354). He replies and gets 16,000 Padmāni girls, and gives them to his friends as wives (355).

Padmāvatī calls her companions, and gives them presents. They rejoice (356). She then goes to Mahādēva's temple and worships him (357).

Night approaches. The bride and bridegroom meet again. Amorous talk. He challenges a fight. She prepares the artillery of her eyes, and calls on him to fight with an equal. She is a Queen and he a Yūgī (358). He replies, 'I am a Yūgī who conquereth both in love and in war. I am both Hanumān and the god of love. A master of horses and of the lower lip. I wound my enemy with the sword, and thy heart also, &c., &c.' (359).

**CANTO XXIV.**

**The six Seasons and the twelve Months.**

Spring (Vasanta) comes, a season of joy (360). The hot season (Gri̇ṣma) (361). The rains (Pācasa) (362). The autumn (Çarad)
(363). The cool and dewy season (Çipira) (364). The winter (Haimanta) (365).

Queen Nāgamatī, Ratna’s deserted wife, in Citaun, laments her lonely lot (366). Her sad state (367). Her companions console her (368). The Bārah Māsā, Asāḍha (339), Çrāvaṇa (370), Bhādra (371), Āśvina (372), Kārttika (373), Agrahāyaṇa (374), Pauṣa (375), Māgha (376), Phālguna (377), Cāitrā (378), Vaiśākha (379), Jyaiṣṭha (380). The year of Nāgamatī’s torture again comes round with Asāḍha (381). Thus month by month she weeps throughout the year (382).

CANTO XXV.

NAGAMATI’S MESSAGE.

Nāgamati is distraught and wanders in the forest asking the birds for news of her husband (383). She tells the birds her woes (384). A bird named Vihangama1 hears Nāgamati’s cries at night, and asks her what is the matter, she tells her woes. ‘My husband hath become a Yogi and gone to Sīnhala-dvipa. I get no news of him (385). I am dry and bare as a lute (naught but wood and strings, i.e., bones and muscles). Who will go and tell my husband (386)’? O, tell Padmavatī to let my husband return to me’ (387). The woes of Ratna Sēna’s mother Sarasvatī (388).

Vihangama takes the message to Sīnhala. The burning message parches all the country. He rests on a tree by the edge of the sea (389). Ratna Sēna is hunting in the forest, and turns to the tree. He ties his horse and sits down. He looks up, sees Vihangama, and asks his name and why he is black. The bird replies ‘Two months ago I went to Jambu-dvipa, I saw a city called Citaun. How can I tell its misery. I am burnt black (390). The Rājā became a Yogi and departed. The city became empty and dark. His Queen Nāgamati is burnt by unhappy love. By this time she is probably burnt to ashes. The fire of her woe is consuming the universe, and I was burnt black then, and fled for my life’ (391). Ratna Sēna tells who he is and asks for further news (392). Vihangama reproaches him (393), describes his mother’s condition (394), and Nāgamati’s (395). The effects of Nāgamati’s sorrow on the outer world (396). The Rājā welcomes the bird, and asks it to come down to him. Vihangama refuses. He prefers freedom (397), and departs. Ratna goes home sorrowful and determines to return to Citaun (398). He is distraught and full of regrets (399).

1 Vihangama, is also the name of an exercise (mārya) of Yoga. There is of course here (as throughout) the double meaning.
He sends his compliments to Gandharva Sêna (400). He goes to him and says that he has had news that Citaur is threatened by the Emperor of Delhi, and that his brother is also threatening it. He must go home (401). The court regrets his departure. He asks for a lucky day to be fixed for the departure (402). Padmâvatî ineffectually remonstrates (403). Distress of her companions (404). She calls them and bids them farewell (405). Their lamentations (406). They counsel her to obey her husband (407).

CANTO XXVI.

The Astrologers.

The astrologers describe the luck of departures on the various week days (408). On what days of the month the unlucky Yogini prohibits departure in certain directions (409). The lucky days of the lunar month (410). The signs of the zodiac (411). When the moon and stars are powerful on certain days (412). The Nâksatras and Yogas (413).

CANTO XXVII.

The Journey and Shipwreck.

Padmâvatî mounts her litter (414). She departs with Ratna. Her attendants and their glory. The king sends with Ratna valuable presents (415). Ratna, seeing all this wealth, becomes proud. The sea determines to ask for toll (416). The sea appears in person as a beggar, and asks for charity (417). Ratna angrily refuses. The sea threatens him (418).

Before they get half way across the sea, the wind rises. The ships lose their course (419). A sailor of Vibhîṣâna, a frightful Râkṣasa, appears in the sea (420). He is delighted at seeing the ships out of command. 'These Padâmis will be dainty morsels for Vibhîṣâna.' He approaches the ship and asks what is the matter (421). Ratna calls him and asks him to show the way. He promises jewelry if he brings the ship safe to land (422). The Râkṣasa offers to conduct the ship to the Sêtubandha, if he is given a present beforehand (423). The Râkṣasa takes the ship to where the bones of Mahîrâvana lie, in a great whirlpool. The ship revolves in it. The King calls out 'What are you doing? Here is the Sêtubandha' (424). The Râkṣasa laughs. 'This is the city of Mahîrâvana. He used to bear the weight of the earth. When he died his bones remained here' (425). The ship is merged in the whirlpool. The elephants, horses, and men on board all sink. Carnivor-
ous animals assemble. The Rākṣasa dances with delight, but at that moment a huge bird comes and carries him off. The ship is broken to pieces and Ratna and Padmāvatī are floated off in different directions, each clinging to a plank (426).

CANTO XXVIII.

THE SEA AND LAKŚMI.

Padmāvatī is borne fainting away. Lakśmi, the daughter of the Ocean was sporting with her friends on the sea-shore, and just then the plank with Padmāvatī was thrown up by the waves. They go up to look at her (427). Lakśmi sees the 36 auspicious marks on her, and takes measures to bring her to life. She takes Padmāvatī's head in her lap, and has her fanned. Consciousness returns. They give her water. Then Lakśmi kindly asks about her troubles, and who she is (428). Padmāvatī opens her eyes. Asks where she is, and who they are. Where is her husband? (429). They say they do not know. They had found her thrown up by the sea. Gradually memory comes to her. She is almost mad with sorrow (430). Her lamentations. She wishes to become Sati (431). She uncovers her head to become Sati.1 Her grief (432). Lakśmi tries to console her. Promises that her father (the Ocean) will watch at every landing place for her husband. Lakśmi goes to her father and entreats him to bring the husband and wife together (433).

Ratna Sēna is thrown ashore at a high mountain. He ascends it and sees no one. When he thinks of his lost wealth he strikes his beard and weeps. 'Where is Padmāvatī? I have been lost through my egoism (434). Where is Padmāvatī (or wisdom)? I will search for her till I find her (435). Where am I to go to find her? (436). He addresses God (Gosā, the creator). God's might (437). 'Let me die, murmuring Padmāvatī's name, unless thou seest good to reunite us. Yet I fear another separation, if we do meet again' (438). So saying he walks into the sea, and prepares to plunge his dagger into his neck. The Ocean (seeing that his egoism has diminished) approaches him as the form of a Brahmaṇa. He blesses Ratna and asks for his story. Warns him that suicide is a sin (439). Ratna tells his condition. He owned Padmāvatī and wealth, and has now lost all in the sea (440). The Ocean smiles, and says, 'It is all the fruit of thine egoism. Had all this been really thine, thou wouldst have it still. All is illusion. Everything

1 To allow the flames to burst forth. A true sati dies of spontaneous combustion. That is a general belief of even educated men at the present day in Bihār,
belongeth to Him who gave them. If he take them back, why dost thou lament?' (441). Ratna,—'I care for naught except Padmāvatī. The sea hath taken her, and I will go to heaven and complain of the injustice' (442). The Ocean,—'Be brave like Rāma, and thou wilt find thy Sītā. Close thine eyes, and I will bring thee to Padmāvatī.' Ratna complies, and immediately the Ocean takes him to where Padmāvatī is (443). Padmāvatī's sorrow (444). Lakṣmī takes the form of Padmāvatī and waits at the landing-place by which Ratna is coming. Ratna seeing her runs to her, but discovers it is not Padmāvatī, and turns from her. Lakṣmī runs to him weeping. 'Why art thou deserting me, my husband?' (445). Ratna says, 'I know thou art not Padmāvatī. Thou art like the jasmine, but hast not the scent' (447). Lakṣmī smiles and offers to conduct him to the jasmine. She brings him to Padmāvatī. To Padmāvatī, she says, 'Drink, O weary lotus. Thy sun who was hidden in the sea hath risen.' To Ratna she says, 'Lo, I have brought the bee to the jasmine' (448). The meeting (449). The same (450). Padmāvatī asks Lakṣmī to restore also all their companions, followers, and property. Lakṣmī goes to her father and gets the request granted. The companions, followers, and property are all returned (451). The Ocean also gives them presents of many precious jewels (452).

CANTO XXIX.

The Return to Citaur.

They remain ten days as guests of the Ocean, and then take leave. The Ocean gives Ratna five priceless jewels (naga), viz., Amrita (ambrosia), Hanṣa (the swan), Simurgh (the father of all birds), the Young Lion, and the Philosopher's stone. They mount on horseback, and set out escorted by a merman (jala-manuṣa), after bidding farewell to the Ocean's wife. The merman conducts them to Jagannāth (453). They worship at Jagannāth and spend all their money there. The King's reflections to Padmāvatī on the necessity of money (454). Padmāvatī says that Lakṣmī gave her at starting a betel leaf in which a number of jewels were wrapped up. He should sell one of these and put himself in funds. Ratna collects his followers and starts for home (455). They approach Citaur (456). Their feelings after the long absence (457).

1 446 is missing in Rām Jasan's edition.
2 These five mystic jewels, the translation of which, it will be seen, presents some difficulty, have a prominent part in the story, vide 500, 526, 573.

At nightfall Ratna visits Nāgamati; filled with jealousy of Pādmāvatī, she sits with her face turned away from him. She reproaches him (463). He comforts her. Says he still loves her. He embraces her (464). She is consoled; laughs, and asks what kind of women he met in his travels. 'Is Pādmāvatī as beautiful as I am? Bees wander from flower to flower.' He explains that he cannot compare the two. There he loves one, here he loves another (465). Night passes in conversation. In the morning he goes to Pādmāvatī. She reproaches him for deserting her for Nāgamati (466). He says he loves her alone. She tells him he should not go to Nāgamati (467).

CANTO XXX.

THE RIVAL QUEENS.

The beauty of Nāgamati's garden. She goes into it with her companions (468). Pādmāvatī is told of this, 'Nāgamati is in the garden and the king is sporting with her and her companions' (469). Pādmāvatī cannot contain her wrath. She hastens to the garden with her companions. She meets her co-wife, they smile and sit down together on the same seat, with sweet words, but hatred in their hearts. Pādmāvatī remarks on the beauty of the garden, and adds that it is not right that the Sugādhraś flower should be in the same garden with the jasmine and the Nāgēsar. Who cares for Jāmun fruit if the Mango grows with it in the same garden (470)? Nāgamati replies, 'That fruit is the best which the bee loveth. The Jāmun, the Kastūri, and the Cōa fruits are (it is true) all black, (but still they are the best). The mango is set on high but it weepeth in its heart out of jealousy of them, for the bee loves them and not the mango. So doth the bee love the black Jāmun that he hath planted it in the midst of his garden' (471). Pādmāvatī replies that the shrubs in her garden may be thorny, but
the fruit is not so bitter as in Nāgamāti’s. In the latter there are no oranges or vines, and so on. ‘Remain in thine own garden and do not fight with me. There is no flower equal to the jasmine’ (472). Nāgamāti praises the fruits of her own garden. ‘When a tree bears fruit, people throw clods at it. When a tree bends humbly down, it is because of the weight of its fruit. I am beautiful, may she who separated me from my love be burnt to ashes. My love is a Rājā, thine is a Yōgī’ (473). Padmāvatī,—‘I am a perfect lotus. I was created to be worshipped. Thou art the snake (nāga) of the world, to every one. Thou art dark-featured. Thou art a black bird, and I a swan. I am a pearl-brodered, and thou art a glass-bead-brodered bodice. Thou art an emerald dulled by being beside a diamond. Thou art eclipse, and I the moon. A dark night is not equal to the day’ (474). Nāgamāti,—Thou art hard within, like a lotus. Thou spendest thy night lamenting thy husband’s absence’ (475). Padmāvatī,—‘I am the lotus beloved of the sun. My heart expandeth when he shineth; while thou, gazing regretfully at the sky, art dried and burnt up. He and I are all in all to each other. Thou art like a wild fig full of flies, whose wings are born, but when it is time for them to die. Thou art a nāgin (snake) whose bite is mortal’ (476). Nāgamāti,—‘A lotus bloometh when the sun riseth, but its roots, if touched, foul the water. It grows in stinking slime, and its companions are fish and frogs and turtles. If it be washed a thousand times it will still stink. What shall I say to that beloved who has put coals of fire on my head? In the hope of sport with him, thou hast won and I have lost’ (477). Padmāvatī,—‘Yes, I have won all the charms of the world, my face from the moon, my hair from the black snake, my eyes from the deer, my throat from the voice of the koil, &c. To my form I gave the fragrance of Malaya. Thou art envious of me’ (478). Nāgamāti,—‘Why art thou proud of charms borrowed from others. I am dark with brilliant eyes, my face is fair, and my voice is like the cātaka’s, my nose is like a sword, my brow like a bow, &c.’ (479). Padmāvatī unable to bear any longer cries, ‘Nāgamāti, thou snake, speak no more.’ Then each speaks at the same time. They scream and fight like nymphs wrestling. Each holds the other’s arms; bosom to bosom, neither turns back. In vain each tries to bring the other down. No one dares to interfere (480).

The wind whispers in Ratna’s ears what is going on. He hastens there and remonstrates. ‘Do ye not understand that sometimes it is night, and sometimes day? Ye are like the Ganges and the Jamunā’ (481). The two wives embrace. He takes them into the palace and feeds them. He gives Nāgamāti a golden palace, and Padmāvatī a
silver one. They live happily (482). In due course Nāgamaṭi has a
son, named Naga Sēna, and Padmāvati a son called Kamala Sēna.
Astrologers prophesy that both will be great rājas. They are richly
rewarded (483).

CANTO XXXI.

Rāghava Caitanya.

Amongst the paṇḍits attached to Ratna Sēna’s court was one
Rāghava Caitanya. He is the wisest of them all (484). Every one
has his unlucky moment. One day when it was the first day of the
new moon, the king asks when the second of the lunar month would
come. Rāghava, by a slip of the tongue says ‘to-day.’ All the other
paṇḍits say ‘to-morrow.’ Piqued, he adheres to his statement, and, by
force of magic, when evening comes, makes the moon appear as if it was
the moon of the second day (485). The paṇḍits disgusted. Next day
comes, and, behold, the moon is again the moon of the second. They
accuse him of being a wizard (486). Ratna in a rage orders Rāghava
to be expelled from the country as a wizard (487). Padmāvati hears of
this, and by her fore-knowledge perceives that the expulsion will lead
to calamity. She sends for Rāghava to the foot of the palace. A Brāhman
will go anywhere for hope of a reward, in calem jusseris ibit.¹ He
comes there (488). Padmāvati appears at the lattice above, like a spot-
less moon. Rāghava blesses her. She gives him a bracelet. As she does
so the string of her necklace breaks, and the stones of it also fall. Rā-
ghava, startled by her glory and the jewels, falls senseless (489). Pad-
māvati smiles and tells her maidens to revive him. They take him to
the shade, and ask him what ails him (490). Rāghava comes to himself
with difficulty, and casts his eyes towards the lattice. He speaks inco-
herently of having been robbed. ‘When Padmāvati looked at me, it
was like a thag’s poisoned sweetmeat’ (491). He tells how he has
been striken by Padmāvati’s eyes (492). The maidens conclude that he
has gone mad. They admonish him, and say that many men have been
struck senseless by Padmāvati’s beauty, but she is unattainable (493).
He comes to himself. He determines to profit by what he has seen.
‘I will try and earn another bracelet. The Turk has come to Delhi,—
Shāh ‘Alān’d-dīn, the Emperor. In his mint gold is melted and
twelve kinds of dinārs are made. To him will I describe the lotus, and
he will come and be the sun to it’ (494).

¹ Svarga jāne jō hōc bolāvā.
CANTO XXXII.

Rāghava’s Journey to Delhi.

Rāghava starts for Delhi. He reaches the door of the Emperor’s court. Can get no admission, and is in danger of being trampled to death by the crowds of horses (485). The Emperor knew all that was going on. He hears that a Brāhman beggar is standing at his gate with a bracelet in his hand (486). He sends for Rāghava. He has pity on foreigners. He also has been one (497). Rāghava appears. The Emperor asks, ‘Why dost thou beg when possessed of such a bracelet?’ He replies that Ratna Sēna has a lovely Pādmiṇī of Simhala-dvipa, for his wife, in Citaur. ‘She is beauteous as the moon. She appeared at the lattice, gave me this bracelet for a reward, and took away my life’ (498). The Emperor laughs and does not believe him. ‘Thou art praising up a piece of glass. Where is this matchless lady? I have sixteen hundred, and, if there is a perfectly beautiful lady anywhere, she is in my palace’ (499). Rāghava replies,—‘Thou art an emperor, and I a beggar. I have travelled East and West, North and South, but there are four things that thou hast not got, the Pādmiṇī, Amṛita, Haṃcā, and the lion’s cub. I have travelled far and wide and if I am ordered, I will describe the four kinds of women, the Hastinī, the Simhīnī, the Citriṇī, and the Pādmiṇī (500).

CANTO XXXIII.

The Tale of Fair Women.

Description of the Hastinī (501), the Simhīnī (502), the Citriṇī (503). General account of the Pādmiṇī (504). Further particulars (505). Such is the Pādmiṇī who has come to Citaur (506). The dangers of her beauty (507). The lightning of her smile (503). Her raven locks (509). The parting of her hair (510). Her brow (511). Her eyebrows (512), her eyes (513), her nose (514), her lips (515), her teeth (516), her voice (517), her ear (518), her cheek (519), her neck (520), her arms (521), her bosom (522), her gait (523), her delicate grace (524).

The Emperor is struck senseless by this description of Pādmiṇāti’s beauty. He becomes enamoured of her, and asks Rāghava once more to tell him about Citaur and the Pādmiṇī (525). Rāghava says that beside her there are five other jewels in Citaur, and describes them (526). The Emperor richly rewards Rāghava, giving him not only elephants and horses, but a pair to the bracelet, in which were fixed

1 See 453.
2 See 453 and 500.
thirty crores worth of jewels. He promises Rāghava the throne of Citaur on the day on which he obtains possession of Padmāvati. ‘I will first take the five jewels and then her.’ He calls Sur'jā the wrestler,¹ and gives him a letter to take quickly to the king of Citaur- fort. The king (Ratna) receives the letter which, after the usual polite expressions, runs, ‘Send me, quickly, the Padmīnī of Simhala- dvipa’ (527).

CANTO XXXIV.

The War between the King and the Emperor.

Ratna’s rage on hearing the letter read. He will not kill Sur'jā for the insult. ‘A thirst which the sea cannot extinguish is not affected by a little dew’ (528). Sur'jā replies,—’I am come here prepared to die. The Emperor sent me knowing this. Beware of his power. He can destroy thee if he will. Citaur existeth but by his favour. If thou wilt give the Padmīnī, thou may’st keep Citaur, and will be given Candéri in addition’ (529). King,—’If my wife go, what is Citaur, and what Candéri? I am ready to fight like Hammira, of Ran’tambahaur; like Hanumān, or Rāma Candra. I have founded an era, like Vikrama. If the Emperor want money, I will give it him; but if he wish a Padmīnī, let him go to Simhala-dvipa, and fetch one’ (530). Sur'jā,— ‘Boast not, O king! All the earth boweth before the Emperor. If he wish to go to Simhala, he can, but the day he besieges thy fort, he will take all that thou dost possess. Be advised in time’ (531) ! King,—’Go and tell the Turk not to run hither to his death, like Alexander, who hastened to the Kajali forest for ambrosia, but obtained naught but regrets. My fort is strong. Let him come to attack it when he wisheth’ (532). Sur'jā returns to the Emperor, and reports. The King refuses to listen. The Sultan’s rage. He declares he will destroy Citaur like Ran’tambahaur (533).

He sends out letters in all directions, and calls his nobles. The countless army which assembles (the stock similes) (534). Enumeration of the various kinds of horses (535). The elephants (536). The nobles, and the various countries they come from (537). The equipment. They march (538). The terror inspired in the various citadels on the way (539). Only two citadels stand firm, Citaur and Kam- bhal’nér.² Ratna hears of the approach of the Turk. He sends letters to all Hindū Rājās,—‘Citaur, the holy place of Hindūs, is being attacked by Turks. The sea is in flood and there is no embankment.

¹ See 682.
² This fort plays a prominent part in the poem subsequently; see 628 and ff.
1 alone am the dyke. Help it, for your own sakes, otherwise he will attack you all. As long as the dyke remaineth standing, it is well, but once it is breached, the flood cannot be stopped. The betel\(^1\) is ready.' (540). A similar message is sent by Ratna to the Hindū Rājās who are bound by feudal ties to the Emperor. They meet and approach the Emperor, saying, 'Citaur is the mother of the Hindūs, nor can we forget the relationship, even though it cause us peril. Ratna Sēna is ready to sacrifice himself, and he is the greatest King amongst the Hindūs. Be friendly and forgive him, or else give us betel as a token that we may depart. Then will we go and die, that the name of our honour be not wiped out.' The Emperor gives them leave to go, and three days' law (541). Ratna Sēna puts Citaur in battle array. The kings come and salute him. Enumeration of Rāj'pūt tribes. They are ready to fight to the death (542). The citadel is provisioned for a seven years' siege. A strong moat is dug zig-zag round it. Range over range of cannon. The battlements crowded with warriors, &c. (543).

The Emperor marches. Description of the effect of the cavalry and elephants (544). The cannon (545). Comparison of a cannon with a lovely woman (546). The progress of the elephants (547). Further description of the progress of the elephants. The dust raised made the world dark as the Kajali forest, when Alexander went to it (548). The dust and consequent darkness (549).

The army approaches Citaur. Ratna and his generals mount the battlements to see it, but its rear reaches so far as to be invisible. The Queen ascends to the roof of the palace, crying, 'Lucky am I in having a king, against whom the Turks have had to raise such an army' (550). Ratna is undismayed at the sight. He and his friends prepare for a sally of cavalry (551). Description of Ratna's steed (552), and of the royal elephants (553). The cavalry and elephants are ready for the fray. In front are the chariots, and in the rear are the death-flags, behind which there is no retreat. The army sallies forth (554). The two armies meet in conflict (555).

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**CANTO XXXV.**

**THE TRUCE.**

Description of the elephants fighting (556). The hand-to-hand fight (557). The terrific combat. Delight of ghouls (558).\(^2\) The Emperor urges on more soldiers to meet the ever-advancing Hindūs

\(^1\) Taken by a hero before going on a desperate fight.

\(^2\) Throughout the following the King and his army are compared to the moon, and the Emperor and his army to the sun.
(559). The Rājputās are beaten back by the Emperor's troops, as a lily closes before the sun (560). The Emperor attacks the fort in the day time (561). By night, the 'Moon' (i.e., the Rāja) rises, and fires blazing bombs at the enemy, which cannot be withstood (562). At day-break, the 'Sun' (the Emperor) again comes forth, and attacks the citadel. The fight lasts the whole day, without result, and so affairs go on day by day (563). The Emperor lays a mine, and bombards the fort. His artillery is officered by Abyssinians (Hubshī), Greeks (Rūmī), and Portuguese (Firangi). The mine explodes (564). The confusion which arises and the damage done in the fort (565). The King, so far from being dismayed, makes arrangements for a dancing entertainment, in full view of the Emperor. Catalogue of the musical instruments. Every device of joy is there; five nautch girls dance. While the Emperor is besieging the fort, the king is diverting himself with a nautch (566).

Description of the songs. High up on the fort the dance proceeds, while below the Turks fire off their cannon, as their generals watch the entertainment, rubbing their hands, beating their heads, and crying, 'When will these fall into our hands?' (567). The Dancers (568). In the course of the dance, one of the dancing girls turns her back towards where the Emperor is sitting, down below. The Emperor is angry at the insult. He orders arrows to be fired, and the arrow fired by Jahāngīr, Rāja of Kānauj, strikes the girl, and she is killed. The nautch is stopped. The Turks below applaud the shot (569). The King's people build ramparts of earth and repair the damage caused by the explosion (570). They make preparations for performing Jānkar, if the worst comes to the worst (571).

The siege goes on for eight years. Trees planted by the Emperor grow up and bear fruit. He becomes weary of his task. Just then news comes that, 'Harēwā, the Lord of the West, who used to fly before thee, has now stood up to face thee. He whose face was in the ground has raised his head to heaven crying, "The Emperor is safe fastened at Citaur"' (572). Hearing this, the Emperor meditates, and determines to take Rātna by treachery. He sends Surjā, telling him to go to the king and speak gently to him: say, 'I will not take the Padminī. If I am but allowed to see her, I will raise the siege. Take Nehicala and Candērī, in addition to thine own dominions, and only give me the five jewels which the sea gave thee' (573). Surjā goes to the king, and commences by explaining that the Emperor has him like a bird in a cage, and can crush him at any moment, as he did Hammīra (574). The king replies, 'I am not an era-maker like Hammīra, like Bhoja, or

1 By tradition, Harēwā is said to have been a noted ḍhay chief.
2 See 458.
Vikrama. But still we have withstood the siege for seven years, and have no want of food. There is also a plentiful natural spring of water. We are still ready to fight, and are still prepared, if need be, to die' (575). Sur'já,—‘O king, he who disobeyeth the Emperor must finally be destroyed,' and so on. ‘Thy fort is on the point of crumbling, take heed to what I say if thou would'st escape. Let him see thy five jewels. If his soul is pleased with one, he will forgive all thy wickedness' (576). King,—‘The Emperor is my elder (or superior). He can forgive me and do what he wisheth. What are my five jewels? My whole treasury is his. Can Darius cope with Alexander? What thou hast said, I humbly accept, but I will not be satisfied without an oath.’ Sur'já takes the oath with intent to act treacherously, and the king accepts it and summons a herald (577), to whom he makes over the five jewels, and despatches him to the Emperor, with this message,—‘O, sun of the world! light of the earth! the black crow boweth himself humbly before thec. Thy glorious light illumineth the world. Nothing in the nine continents is hid from thee. Anger and mercy are both at thy service, thou killest in thy fierce sunshine, and revivest in thy shadow. Let not the Sun be angry with the Moon, who is eclipsed, and confined in a cage. To-morrow morn, the crow will humbly approach thee' (578). When the herald finishes his message, the Emperor replies. He reproaches Ratna for disobedience. This disobedience has made the crow's feathers black (579). 'Go tell the king that, if he is true, there is no fear. He who trusteth himself to me is safe from harm, To-morrow the Sun, (i.e., the Emperor) will visit the fort, that thou may'st lay thine arms before him.' The Herald, taking the betel of friendship, returns to the king, and gives the Emperor's message. The King immediately orders preparations to be made for a feast for the Emperor (580).

CANTO XXXVI.

The Feast to the Emperor.

Description of the animals and fowl brought for the feast (581), the fish (582), the wheat and cakes (583), the rice (584), the spices for the meat (585). The pasties and fruit (586). The way the fish are cooked (587). How the vegetables are cooked (588). The pulse-meal cakes (bara) (589). The sweetmeats (590). Everything that is above-mentioned has first to be treated with water before cooking. Praise of water (591).

They spend the night in cooking. In the morning the Emperor comes, preceded by Rāghava Caitanya (592).
CANTO XXXVII.

The Emperor's visit to the fort.

Description of the seven-storied palace. The King meets the Emperor at the gate. The Emperor admires the fort (593). Beauty of the palace. Its gardens and temples (594). The Emperor, looking round, notices Padmāvatī's palace. Its beauty, and the way in which it is guarded (595). He arrives at the seventh story. Its magnificence, with its wonderful mirrors. The Emperor is seated on a magnificent throne amidst the mirrors. But he thinks most of all of Padmāvatī (596), who however is not visible. The King's hospitality. The Emperor converses with the king, but his soul longs for Padmāvatī (597).

Gōrā and Bādal¹ suspect the Emperor, and whisper to Ratna that they fear treachery (598). Ratna refuses to believe them, especially as treachery always recoils on itself. Witness the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauṇavas (599).

The King has 1,600 women slaves, out of whom he selects 84, whom he produces before the Emperor. They all use the artillery of their eyes upon him. He asks Rāghava, which of them is Padmāvatī (600). Rāghava replies,—'These are only her maidservants. These are merely the pearls which set off the diamond. As long as you look upwards (towards the lattice windows of the female apartments), she will not look up.' The Emperor immediately ceases looking up, 'A guest has no right to do so. I will act like Arjuna, and succeed with a reflection in a mirror' (601). He is served with food by damsels beauteous as Indra's nymphs (602). He cannot eat (603) or drink, 'I would drink with mine eyes, and not with my tongue' (604). The meal being over, the king waits upon the emperor, offers him trays of jewels, and asks for forgiveness, and that the sun of the Emperor's kindness may shine upon him (605). The Emperor expresses himself pleased, tells him to retain his own country, and to have the land of Mūrō in addition. He leans upon the King's shoulder, so that, deceiving him by a show of affection, he may capture him by fraud (606). The Emperor sits down to a game of chess with the King, first arranging a mirror on the wall so that it may reflect the lattice window of the female apartments. He sits facing the mirror. The game of chess described metaphorically (607).

The maidens who had served the Emperor go to Padmāvatī, de-

¹ See 656.
scribe him to her, and advise her to look at him, or she will miss a sight she will not have a chance of seeing again (608). She goes to the lattice and looks out, and the Emperor sees her reflection in the mirror. Ho who has been desiring a castle (rukh) in the game of chess, is checkmated when he sees Padmavati's face (rukh). He falls into a stupor. The king, not knowing the reason, expresses concern. Rāghava says he is only overcome by the betel nut,¹ and has him put to bed. Night passes. The Emperor comes to himself in the morning (609). Padmavati has disappeared, and the Emperor rises, looking like a Yōgi. Rāghava goes to him, saying,—'Hath the lotus become poison, when it saw the sun? Thou art all-powerful. Why art thou so destraught?' (610). Emperor,—'I have seen a wondrous vision. A curtain which had been before my eyes was raised. I saw in my mind a lake, in which water had been, and was no longer, Heaven came down and covered the earth. It came upon the earth but I could not grasp it. Again I saw in it a lofty temple. It was within reach of my hand but I could not touch it. In it, I saw, in my mind, an image, but it appeared without body and without life. It was bright as the full-moon, but, like the philosopher's stone, it showed itself and disappeared. Now my life is where that full moon is. How can the sun find the new moon? The lotus bloomed at night, like a flash of lightning (611). That beauteous form hath entered into my soul and dragged out my life. I saw a lion's waist, the might of an elephant, snakes for the elephant goad, and a peacock for its rider. Over it was a lotus blooming, round which bees hovered and drank the odour. Two fluttering Khañjan birds, between which sat a parrot, while a two-days-old moon rose with a bow in its hand. A deer appeared and then became invisible. The moon became a snake, and the sun a lamp. I saw it very high, and then start away. Mine eyes followed it, but I could not reach it. While I gazed at it, it faded away. It went, as I gazed and meditated on it' (612). Rāghava explains the vision. 'The wondrous form which thou didst see was certainly Padmavati. She hath a little waist like a tiger's, and her gait is that of an elephant. Her neck is graceful as a peacock's, and her hair (brilliant as the lamp of the sun) resembleth black curling snakes. Her face was the lotus, exhaling gentle odour to the Zephyr, the fluttering khañjans were her eyes, and the parrot her nose. The bow is her eyebrows, and the two-day moon her brow. She is that deer which appeared and became invisible, whose locks are like black snakes, and whose soul is a lamp. Thou did'st see her reflection in the mirror, and therefore the image which thou did'st

¹ The Areä nut eaten with betel sometimes causes faintness. The idiom used for it is sopari lag gay hai.
see had no life within it. Now take thought and act. He tasteth the
fragrance of those locks on whose lips they fall' (613).

CANTO XXXVIII.

The Capture of the King.

The Emperor asks for his litter, and starts on his return to the
camp. The King, delighted at his kindly words sees him off, and heed-
lessly accompanies him part of the way. The Emperor, conversing with
the King, leans his hand upon his shoulder in a friendly way, and uses
words which are sweet in the mouth, but poison in the belly (614). As
the Emperor passes Padmāvati's palace, she is filled with forebodings.
As they pass the first palace, the Emperor gives the King a robe of
honour, a hundred horses, thirty elephants, a kettle-drum, and a spice
vessel. As they pass the second palace, he gives cavalry; at the third,
costly jewels; at the fourth, 10 millions of money; at the fifth, two
pairs of diamonds, at the sixth he gives the kingdom of Māro, and at
the seventh that of Candēri; and when they pass the seventh gate, he
has the King seized and carried off a prisoner (615).

Reflections of the poet. There are many waters in this world,
Some men cross them and some sink. Some are blind, and cannot see
the fire in the way, and others can see clearly and cleverly. To the
King success became a disease, for he left heaven and fell down to
earth. Why should he have trusted an enemy whom he had released
after having him in his grasp,—and so on. A cruel lesson on imprudence
is it to the King (616).

They load the King with fetters, and put him in a cage. The news
reaches Citaur, and spreads over the country. Lamentation of the
people. 'To-day the sun is set and Citaur is in darkness' (617). The
cry is 'the Musalmān has conquered the Hindū.' The Emperor marches
off with the King. The moral effect of the capture on the whole of
India. All tremble, and become submissive to him. He returns
to Delhi. All those who had rebelled, again submit (618). The cruel-
ties of the King's imprisonment. He is taunted and beaten if he asks
but for water. Burning, in want of water, he falls asleep, and wakes

1 I have given a more full translation of these three verses than usual, as they are
of some importance for following the plot. The passage, as printed, is, however, very
corrupt, and the details cannot be accepted as correct.

2 A caughari, is a silver or gold jewelled case in four (or more) compartments
for holding cardamoms, otto of roses, cloves and the like, when presenting them to
a guest.
in the morning after dreaming of oceans (619). They continue taunting him about his disobedience, and tell him his only chance of success is to send for Padmāvatī if he wishes to escape (620). He gives no reply, and prepares for death. Description of his ill treatment (621).

Padmāvatī's anxiety about her husband's continued absence. She can get no news of him. Her sorrow (622). Her lamentations for her absent husband (623). The same continued (624). Nāgamaṭi's sorrow (625, 626, 627).

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CANTO XXXIX.

Kumōdīni.

Rājā Dēva Pāla of Kambhal'ner,¹ a bitter enemy of Ratna Sēna, hears of his imprisonment, and determines to try and get Padmāvatī into his power. He sends for an old bawd named Kumōdīni, a Brāhmaṇī by caste, and gives her a betel bīrā,² telling her to go to Citaur and by force, or fraud, to bring Padmāvatī to him (628). She is ready to go, and boasts of the power of her charms and incantations (629). She fills a basket with cakes, and starts for Citaur (630). She arrives at Citaur, and after reciting her incantations goes into the palace, finds Padmāvatī's apartments, and takes the cakes to her. As she enters, she opens her arms, but Padmāvatī does not recognize her. Then she cries. 'Thou and I were born in the same town. My father's name was Bōni Dūbē, Gandharva Sēna's private priest. When thou wast a child in Sinhala Dvipa, I used to give thee milk to drink. I have made a second home in Kambhal'ner, and hearing that thou art in Citaur, I have come to see thee.' (631). When Padmāvatī hears the name of her father's house, she falls on the old woman's neck and weeps. She laments fate. 'Why did my parents give me this unhappy lot by marrying me, and giving me a husband who hath been imprisoned? I wish to die, but my shameless life doth not abandon me' (632). Kumōdīni embraces her and weeps, and washes Padmāvatī's face. Consoles her. 'Who can wipe out what is written on the forehead?' Padmāvatī gives no reply, and remains unconsoled (633). Kumōdīni uncovers the trays of sweetmeats, but Padmāvatī will not eat them. She refuses even to touch them (634). Kumōdīni stays. She proffers further consolation. 'Thou art still a young lotus. Thou art still in thy tender youth. Why wear these unbecoming weeds of

¹ See 540, Note 2.
² Offered to a person entrusted with a dangerous mission, and accepted by him or her.
sorrow. Adorn thyself. Sit upon thy throne, and sport. Enjoyment is but for a few days, and youth once gone doth not return' (635). Padmāvatī refuses comfort. 'She hath youth who is in the shadow of her husband's face. The jasmine of my body will take new shoots, when the lord of the house, its waterer, returneth. Till then it will remain withered' (636). Kumōdinī,—'Think not thus of life. As long as there is youth there are lovers. No husband is ever constant. Youth, like water, diminisheth day by day, and birds only seek the pond while it containeth water' (637). Padmāvatī,—'What is life and youth without a husband. She who is wedded to a lion desireth not a jackal. The true beauty is chastity. Sin maketh the most lovely to be black' (638). Kumōdinī,—'Old age will come. It will then be too late for joy. Thy beauty will all disappear; now is the time for happiness' (639). Padmāvatī flames up. 'May her beauty be burnt up, who deserteth her own, and lusteth for another. Two kings cannot sit on one throne. Youth may go, and lovers may go, but not the memory of my husband's love. If we meet not in this world, we will meet hereafter. I am sinner enough as it is, for I still live' (640). Kumōdinī,—'No taste is appreiated till a new taste cometh on the tongue. Thou hast not learned the taste of another man. They only know the taste of the first, who have tried another. One sip of nectar filleth not the heart, till another hath been drunk' (641). Padmāvatī. 'Thou art my enemy, not my nurse: with inky words hast thou eome to cheat me. Water is clean till ink fa1leth into it. The very moon would become black if defiled with such ink. Thou art insulting me with a smile upon thy mouth. My husband (cyāma)-lover is brilliant as the sun, other lovers are black (cyāma) as ink.' (642). Kumōdinī,—'Thou hast already black ink upon thee,—I see it in the blackness of thine eyes, Nay, black co1lyrium is adorment; so also is the black mole on the cheek. A line of ink giveth an enhanced charm. The pupils of the eye are black, and the whole world is seen by them, and so on. How can there be whiteness where there is no black? How can there be a body, when there is no reflection? Dēva Pāla is an all-powerful king. Thou wilt forget Citaur, when thou hast gone to Kambhalnēr' (643). Padmāvatī bends her brows in wrath. 'Dēva Pāla is my husband's foe, How paltry is the bear compared to the lion; and, lo! a harlot is telling me a love-message from him. Were my lord here he would cut thy nose, and ears, and paint thy face black. He would shave thy head, and mount thee on an ass' (644).

1 So the printed editions. The original was probably a pun, or corrupted form of svānī and cyāma.
Padmāvati founds a Dharma-çālā, in the hope of earning the release of the king. To every traveller who resorts to it, she gives food and water. From all she asks for news of her husband. The Emperor, hearing of this, sends for a harlot, clever in acting. He dresses her like a Yōgini, and sends her to Citaúr with instructions to persuade Padmāvati to become a Yōgini, and to bring her to Delhi. She arrives at Citaúr, dressed as a Yōgini (645). She comes begging to the palace door. A maid-servant tells Padmāvati of her. ‘A Yōgini is at the door, and beggeth like one who hath lost a beloved. Though still in her first youth, she is living in austerity. She hath torn her veil and hath put on the beggar’s blanket. She hath the ashes of separation, and matted hair, a skin over her shoulder, and a rosary round her neck. Her voice is wild, and her very footsteps burn the earth’ (646). Padmāvati calls her, and asks her whence she has come. ‘Why art thou so distraught?’ ‘My beloved hath gone to a far country, and for him am I become a Yōgini. What are life and youth and body, when my love is gone? So I tore my veil and took the beggar’s blanket. I wander everywhere and call for him. Though he dwelleth in my heart, he answereth not (647). I have wandered and wandered. I have gone to Banāras, to Gayā, to Jagannāth and Dwāraka, to Kedārānātha and Ayōdhya (648), to Gaumukha, Haridwāra, Nagarakōta, the Tilā of Bālanātha and Mathurā, to Suryakūṇḍa, Badaṛinātha, Rāmanātha, Gomati, Guradvār, Sētubandha, Sumēru, Alakāpura (the city of Kuñvāra), Brahmāvarta, Benī Sāngama (i.e., the Prayāga), Nilakaṇṭha, Miśrīka, Kurajēta, and Gōnakshānātha. I went as far east as Patna, but found not my beloved (649). I wandered everywhere. I saw the Turks at Delhi, and the prisoners of the Emperor. Amongst them I saw one Ratna Sēna, exposed to the sun and denied all shade. I saw other kings prisoners there, who, seeing me to be a Yōgini, fell at my feet, (and implored me to release them). But what could I do. Delhi is not such an easy place. There is no escape from prison there. My body hath lost its soul in compassion at his suffering. How can she live whose husband is such a prisoner?’ (650).

Padmāvati learning that her husband is a prisoner, her grief is a hundred-fold intensified. It is like melted butter added to fire. She falls in horror at the Yōgini’s feet. ‘Let me have thy feet, that I may lay my eyes upon them. O, take me where my husband is! Show him to me as thou hast seen him, and I will give my life to thee as a sacrifice. I will give thee all the rewards of my chastity and religious virtue,
if thou wilt only tell me of him. Thou art Guru, I am thy cēlt. I was wandering in error and thou hast shown me the way. Wait for me but for a moment, that I may dress as a Yōgini and go with thee.' Her maidens advise her to restrain herself. A Yōgini cannot divulge her Guru's instructions (651). The maidens (suspecting the falseness of the Yōgini, continue to her). 'Take alms Yōgini, and go.' Then, to Padmāvati, 'Thou wilt not find thy love with such trivial deception. Remain at home till thy husband returneth. Let thy austerity be to remain at home. Instead of thy ascetic's vessel, wear thy modest veil, and for thy ascetic's horn, take thy sighs. For thy matted locks, bear the pangs of separation,' and so on. 'Before going with this woman, first seek advice from Gōra and Bādal' (652).

CANTO XLI.

THE COUNSEL OF GŌRA AND BĀDAL.

Taking the advice of her maidens, she herself runs on foot to Gōra and Bādal's palace. The two heroes come out to meet her. She refuses to be seated. They ask her why she comes in such haste on foot and in public (653). Padmāvati's tears. Her distraught condition (654). 'Ye, Gōra and Bādal are two pillars. No one is brave in the battle-field like ye. The creeper of separation hath become a tree, and overshadoweth the earth. Let me become a Yōgini and run thither where my love is a prisoner. Let me be bound, and let me release him' (655).

Gōra and Bādal are greatly distressed. Say they, 'We were vexed with the king and warned him against entering into treaty with the Turk.' Our suspicions have been realized, but as long as we have life we will not retreat, nor should'st thou become a Yōgini while thy husband liveth. Be of good cheer. The star Canopus is risen, and the Hathiyā asterism roars. The waters abate, the king will surely return. The rains are over and Canopus appeareth. We will saddle and away. We will smite the demon of eclipse and release the sun, and no root or sprout of grief will remain' (656). Padmāvati gives Gōra and Bādal the betel, exclaiming, 'To what can I compare you? Ye are like Hanumān and Arjada, like Arjuna and Bhīma,' and so on. 'As Hanumān served Rāghava, so do ye the king; as Bhīma showed valour in the burning lac house, risking his life for others when he dragged the blazing beam, so do ye' (657). Ye are Rāma and Laks-

1 Gōra was Padmāvati's uncle and Bādal her nephew.

2 See 598.

3 I. e., Autumn, when Kings go out to fight. The 'Vikrama Kāla.'
manḍa, Dṛṇa and Gāṅgēya,¹ Nakula and Sahadēva, Yudhiṣṭhīra and Duryodhana, Bhōja and Nala, Rāghava and Paraśu Rāma, Bharata and Čaṭrugma, opponents of Kaṃca and Cānura, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Help me as Bhīma helped the Pāṇḍavas’ (658). They take the betel, and tell Padmāvati to call her litter and return home; she should not walk. She revives, and returns joyfully to her palace in a way consonant with her dignity (659).

CANTO XLII.

The Departure of Gōrā and Bādal.

Yaṣōḍā, the mother of Bādal, comes and clasps his foot; saying, ‘Thou art but a child, what knowest thou of battle? Mighty kings who opposed the Emperor could not protect Hammīra.’ Description of the Emperor’s power. ‘Where great kings crash to ruin, what hast thou to do? To-day is the day for receiving thy bride home from her father’s house. Remain at home and be happy’ (660). Bādal,—‘Mother, think not of me as a green boy. I am Bādal, the lion of battle. When a lion heareth a herd of elephants his soul is mightily moved, and his lion-racehood² cannot be hidden. I am ready to fight the Emperor alone. I would stand before a mad elephant unmoved, and tear its trunk and out-root its tusks. I will plant myself in the battle-field firm as Angada. Consider me not as a child. Where’er the king is imprisoned, there will I enter and release him, even if it be hell’ (661). As Bādal equips himself for battle, the marriage procession of Bādal’s bride approaches. The bride appears, moonfaced, and brave in all her finery. Her beauty. She laments when she hears of her husband’s departure; ‘As I arrive at my husband’s gate, he departeth to a distant land.’ Her bridesmaids try in vain to console her (662). She casts aside her veil, and stands humbly at the door. She casts a piercing glance at Bādal and gathers up her raiment, but her husband looks another way and hardens his heart. Then she smiles and looks towards him, but he turns his back to her. Turning his face away he is wroth, ‘I will not walk towards the woman’s face.’ The bride wonders at his ill-omened conduct. She is too modest to address him (663). Then she considers, ‘I have not gained my love by my modesty, let me cast it aside and address him?’ She smiles and catches his waist-band, saying, ‘A husband should not refuse his wife’s request. To-day I am come for the first time from my father’s house, and thou, my love, art going to the battle. I have left my home but to meet thee; what leaving home is that, when my lord leaves me?

¹ The grandfather of Bhīma.
² Rājput call themselves Singha, lion.

J. 1. 26
The bride hath not seen her beloved even one eye-full, and the beloved hath not yet met the bride once in his life. I am a lotus full of hope of union, and the bee who sippeth my nectar should not desert me. I lay my forehead at thy feet, (Hear me, my Lord), and, lo, now thy feet are bound in the tangles of my locks, so, how can'st thou leave me?' (664). Bādal,—'Lady, loose my waist-band. When a husband goeth forth to war, his wife should never grasp it. 'Tis true, fair lady, that for thee to-day is thy starting for thy new home, but for me it is the starting for where my king is in prison. Till my king return free, heroism alone fills my soul, not love. Women and land are hand-maidens of the sword, whoso sword conquereth them, to him do they belong. In whoso house the sword is pulled from the fist of the wielder, there is there no virile power, no moustache nor beard. On my face hair has come, let me play with life for a stake, and earn heaven in my master’s service. The word of a man ne’er turneth backwards, e’en as the tooth of an elephant, once grown, doth not return into his mouth. Thou art but a girl, O lady, and understandest not. He who fighteth understandeth. A man whose heart is full of war, careth not for love.' (665). The bride replies,—'If thou would’st fight, I have made preparations for a love conflict. My bosom have I made the van, and the army of love in wrath is routing the troops of separation. My heroism is the vermillion on my brow, like the red blood on a naked sword. My brow is a bow, and mine eyes provide the arrows,’ and so on. ‘First fight with me and then think of war’ (666). She is unsuccessful in her entreaties. She weeps, in vain (667).

CANTO XLIII.

THE TALE OF GŌRĀ AND BĀDAL.

Gōrā and Bādal consult together. They determine to meet deceit with deceit. They will deal with the Emperor as he has done with them (668). They prepare 1,600 covered litters, and fill them with knights. They prepare one special litter to represent that of Padmāvati, in which sits concealed a smith. They adorn it, and surround it with maidens with waving chowries. They cover the litters with jewelled covers. They accompany the litters, proclaiming that Padmāvati is travelling. ‘The Queen is going to release the king, offering herself as a hostage. Thirty thousand horses is she taking, and sixteen hundred litters’ (669).

Gōrā goes to the jailor in whose charge the king is. He gives him 10 lakhs of rupees as a bribe and flatters him. ‘I supplicate the
Emperor. Padmāvatī is come, saying, "I am come humbly to Delhi with the keys of Citaur." She begs, that as she has the keys of the treasury with her, she may obtain permission to see the king for one hour, to make over the keys to him. She will then present herself to the Emperor in the palace. The jailor, when he sees the bribe, becomes like water. Reflections on the effect on the moral character of taking bribes (670). Under the influence of the bribe the jailor omits to examine the litters. He goes to the Emperor, and says, 'O sun of the earth, the moon hath come, and all the planets and stars with her in 1,000 litters. Padmāvatī has come with the keys of the treasury of Citaur. She begs, with folded hands, that she may make them over to the king, for one hour. She begs that she may first see her husband, and then she will come into thy female apartments' (671). The Emperor gives the order to allow one hour's interview, and the royal litter goes in to the king with the others. The smith who is inside disguised as Padmāvatī gets out, cuts the king's fetters and makes obeisance. Fury rises in the king's heart as he is made free. He leaps on to a horse and roars like a lion. Gōrā and Bādal grasp their swords, and the other knights mounting their horses all stand ready. Each considers himself devoted to death and slays his thousands. News of the trick, and that they have cut their way out, is brought to the Emperor (672). They take the king off to Citaur. They are pursued by the Emperor with an immense army. Gōrā says to Bādal, 'One eclipse is over, another is about to commence. 'See the immense army.' Bādal replies, 'Do thou accompany the flight of the king, and I will stay behind and meet the Emperor's troops. I would play a game of polo with the Emperor, and do it alone. I will earn my name of Bādal, when I carry off the ball from the field' (673). Gōrā insists on Bādal accompanying the king, while he stays behind. He is old, what regret will there be for his death. He keeps a thousand knights with him, and sends the others with Bādal, and the King. He awaits with his thousand men, the onset of the Emperor (674). The game of polo begins in right earnest. Poetical comparison of the game of polo to the sport of a woman's love (675). Gōrā roars a challenge in the battle (676). The battle. The charge of Gōrā and his companions (677). The thousand knights are slaughtered one by one. Not one turns his bridle, all their wounds are in front; as one falls another presses forward to die in his place. Finally they are all killed, and Gōrā alone remains alive (678). Gōrā sees that all his companions are dead, and knows that his fate is at hand. He flings himself furiously into the battle, one against thousands, but does not die. He fights desperately. The Emperor orders him to be taken alive without delay,
for Ratna Sēna is escaping (680). The Turks call upon him to surrender. He replies not. He looks upon his death as certain, and refuses to be taken alive. No one captures a lion alive. When he is dead they may drag him as they will. He is determined to cover Ratna’s retreat (681). Sūr’jā, the wrestler, attacks him, with Mīr Ḥāmza, ‘Ali, Ayūb and Tāyā, the general who had conquered Landhaur. Gōrā is struck in the belly with a javelin, and as it is withdrawn his bowels fall out. A bard exclaims, ‘Well done, Prince. Carry thy entrails on thy shoulder that thy horse may not tread on them’ (682). Gōrā cries, ‘It is the end, I must fall to the earth. It is the end, and my head must roll in the dust.’—He rushes upon Sūr’jā, who again wounds him with a javelin, while Gōrā strikes him with his sword. He strikes a second blow which Sūr’jā receives on his shield, and a third which falls on his helmet (683). Sūr’jā finally strikes a terrible blow and smashes Gōrā’s head. The portents which occur at Gōrā’s death. Thus Gōrā dies, and the gods bring him water, while Bādal escorts the king safely to Cītaur (684).

Pādmāvatī’s joy at hearing of her husband’s release (685). The rejoicings when they meet. She worships his feet, and he kisses her head (686). Pādmāvatī expresses her desire to sacrifice herself for him (687). Then she addresses Bādal and praises him (688). The King tells her the horrors of his imprisonment. His only consolation was the hope of meeting her again (689). Pādmāvatī tells the story of her sorrow (690).

CANTO XLIV.

THE TALE OF DĒVA PĀLA.

Pādmāvatī continues,—‘In addition to this I tell a thing that wringeth my soul. A cruel mountain of sorrow fell on me. Dēva Pāla sent a bawd, in disguise of a Brāhmaṇī, who came to me deceitfully. Her words were like poison to me. I restrained my five senses, and I repeatedly mortified myself’ (691). When he hears the conduct of Dēva Pāla, a hard thorn falls into the heart of the King. He determines to seize Dēva Pāla before the Turk arrives at Cītaur. He remains awake the whole night. Next morning he sets out to besiege Kambhalnēr, a difficult fort to take. He has a terrible fight (692).

1 See 527.
2 This refers to an old Rājput legend. The poet is hardly responsible for it.
3 In the original the sound excellently re-echoes the sense.
G. A. Grierson—Analysis of the Padumāvati.

CANTO XLV.

The Fight with Déva Pāla.

Déva Pāla roars forth in the battle to Ratna, 'Let me and thee fight in single combat.' He strikes Ratna in the belly with a poisoned javelin, which pierces through his body and comes out at the back. Ratna himself strikes Déva Pāla and cuts off his head. He then falls senseless, and loses his power of speech. He is brought home on a bed.

CANTO XLVI.

The End of the King.

The King dies, after making over charge of the fort to Bādal. Padmāvati dons her silken sari and goes forth with her beloved to the pyre. She adorns herself to become Sati.

CANTO XLVII.

The Sati.

Both Nāgamatī and Padmāvati become Satis. They prepare the pyre, distribute alms, circumambulate seven times, and are burnt without contortion of a single limb.

While they are burning with their beloved the Emperor comes and besieges the fort. He hears the fate of Ratna and Padmāvati and throwing a handful of ashes in the air, declares that all the world is illusion. His whole army does the same, and cries, 'Until this dust falls on our tombs, the desire of the world will not be satisfied.' Then they take the fort by assault, and Bādal dies fighting in the gate.

Before the Emperor's army takes it, the women of Citaūr immolate themselves, and the men all die in battle. He destroys the city, and CITAUR BECAME ISLĀM.

'I asked the meaning of all this from learned men, and they told me that they understood it not. The fourteen continents are all in man's body. Citaūr is the body, and the King is the soul. Siṃhala-dvipa is the heart, and Padmāvati is wisdom. The parrot is the Guru, who showeth the right way, without whom the world is void of quality, and Nāgamatī is the cares of this world, and he is saved who is not caught by her. Rāghava, the pandar, is Satan, and 'Alān'īd-din, the Emperor, is illusion. So meditate on this love-story, and let him who can understand Turkish, Arabic, Hindū, whatever languages there are, in whatever tongue the way of love is told, all praise it.'
I Muhammad have collected and written this book. He who heareth it may gain the pangs of love. I collected and joined it with my heart's blood, and, with the love of love, mine eyes flowed tears. Knowing this did I compose my lay, that so a mark might remain of me in this world. Where is now that Ratna Sēna, and where that wisdom-bearing parrot? Where is that Alān'd-dīn the Emperor, and where that Rāghava who told him tales? Where is that lovely swan Pādūmāvatī? Naught of them hath remained, but their story. Happy is she whose fame is like unto hers. The flower may die, but its odour remaineth ever.1 Who hath not sold his fame in the world, and who hath not bought it? If a man read this lay and also remember me, he hath bought two-fold weight, (i.e., he benefiteth himself and me) (700).

Muhammad, thou art old. Thy youth is gone. Thy strength is departed and thy body is lean. Thy sight is gone and thine eyes give naught but tears. Thy teeth are gone and thy cheeks are sunken. Thy tongue is stiff and thy words are halting. Thy wisdom is gone and people call thee mad. Thy pride is gone and thy head is bent. Thine ears are gone and thou only hearliest those who speak loud. The blackness of thy locks is gone, and thy head shaketh. The black bee of thy locks is gone and hath left them grey. Thy youth hath won the game and carried it off for its prize. As long as there is life, youth remaineth, but when death comes, it becometh another's.

When an old man noddeth his head, it shaketh in anger on that account (that his youth is gone). Who was it that blessed me and wished that I might live to (forsooth) a good old age? (701).

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF FLOWERS AND TREES.

In several passages Malik Muhammad gives long lists of names of flowering plants and of trees. Their identification has been difficult, the ordinary dictionaries having been found to be untrustworthy guides. The following is a list of most of the names which occur. The spelling of the vernacular words is only provisional, pending the fixing of a correct text.

I know nothing of botany myself, and must express my acknowledgments to Dr. Prain, of the Botanical Gardens, Sibpur, for the identifications given. The list will be found useful by future lexico-
graphers. Many of the plants named are little known, and a convenient list giving the scientific nomenclature authoritatively has long been wanted.

Ajirī, the common Fig, Ficus carica, L.
Amrita hē̄li, (?) the Black Currant, Ribes nigrum, L.
Ānna, ? Aolā, the Emblic Myrobalan, Phyllanthus emblica, L.
Āba, or āma, the Mango, Mangifera Indica, L.
Āma, see āba.
Imūlī, the Tamarind, Tamarindus Indica, L.
Katahari, the Jack-fruit, Artocarpus integrifolia, L.
Kadamba, the Kudum, Anthocepalus eadamba, Miq.
Kamarakha, the Averrhoa, Averrhoa carambola, L.
Kareūdā see Rāi-kareūdā.
Karanū, the Citron, Citrus medica, L., var. acida, Brandis, C. acida, Roxb.
Kisimisa, the Grape Vine, Vitis vinifera, L. The same as dākha. A Persian form.
Kunda, the Indian Jasmine, Jasminum pubescens, Willd.
Kujā, a kind of Rose, Rosa Brunniana, Linūl.
Keorā, see kētāki.
Kētāki, or keorā, The Fragrant Screw-pine, Pandanus odoratissimus, L.
Kērā, the Plantain, Musa paradisiaca, L.
Kēsara, the Safflower, Crocus sativus, L.
Khajūra, the Date-palm, Phoenix sylvestris, L.
Khirānī, the Mimusops hexandra, Roxb.
Khurukhūrī, the Khurhur, Ficus cunia, Ham.
Galagala, the Elephant Lemon, or Kumaon Lemon, Citrus Limonum, L.
Guāla, the common Basil, see below. Ocimum Basilicum, L.
Guā, the Areca-nut palm, Areca catechu, L. Roxburgh says this is the Bengali name of supāri.
Camēli, the Arabian Jasmine, Jasminum sambac, Ait.
Campā, the Champak, Michelia champaca, L.
Cīraūjī, Buchanania latifolia, Roxb. Its kernels are used instead of the dēśī bādāma.
Chōhārā, the Date-palm, Phoenix dactylifera, L.
Jābbhīrī, the Orange Citron, Citrus medica, L. var.
Jāiphara, the Nutmeg, Myristica officinalis, L. fil.
Jāmūna, the Black Wild Plum, Eugenia jambolana, L.
Jāhī, the Spanish Jasmine, Jasminum grandiflorum, L.
Jāhī, a variety of Indian Jasmine, Jasminum auriculatum, Vahl.
Tārā, the Palmyra Palm, Borassus flabelliformis, L.
Tūruṇjava, the Citron proper, Citrus medica, L.
Tātī, the Mulberry, Morus Indica, L.
Dākha, the Grape Vine, the Hindi name of *Kisimusa*, *Vitis vinifera*, L.
Dārīū, or dārīna, the Pomegranate, *Punica granatum*, L.
Nāriara, the Coconut, *Cocos nucifera*, L.
Nāgēsara, the Rose Chestnut, *Mesua ferrata*, L.
Nāvāğa, the Orange, *Citrus aurantium*, L.
Nimbū, see Nīvū.
Nīvū, or nimbu, the Sour Lime, *Citrus acida*, Roxb.
Nevaāñjī or nyaāñjī, the Red Currant, *Ribes rubrum*, L. The name is only known in Lāhūl now-a-days.
Nyaīñjī, see Nevaāñjī.
Bakaurī, the Abelia, *Abelia triflora*, Br. Most of the species are Japanese and Chinese. This one is found in the N.-W. Himalaya.
Badahari, the Barhal, *Artocarpus lakoocha*, Roxb.
Badāma, the almond, not the *Terminalia catappa*, but the *Prunus Amygdalus*, Baill.
Bōri or baira, the Jujube, *Zizyphus jujuba*, L.
Bolasari, see mōlasari.
Mahuā, the Mahoowa tree, *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.
Mūlātī, the Clove-scented Aganosma, *Aganosma earyophyllata*, Don.
Mōlasari or Bolasari, the Mimusops elengi, Linn.
Rāi̇̄karaŭdā, the Corinda, *Carissa carandas*, L.
Rasa bēlī, the Wax-plant, or Honey-plant, *Hoya lanceolata*, Wall.
Saykhadrāvū, Sorrel, *Rumex vesicarius*, L.
Satibaragā or Sadabaragā, the Marigold, *Calendula officinalis*, L.
Sīgārahāra, the Weeping Nyetanthes, *Nyetanthes arbor-tristis*, L.
Sudarasana, the Rose-apple, *Eugenia jambos*, L.
Sūpārī, see Gūā, the Areca-nut palm, *Areca catechu*, L.
Seoti, the Dog-rose, *Rosa glandulifera*, Roxb.
Sēu, the apple, *Pyrus malus*, L.
Sōnijarādū, the Oleaster or Wild Olive, *Elaeagnus conferta*, Roxb.
Hariphārayaurī, the Indian Gooseberry, *Rhodomyrtus tomentosa*, Wight.

Dr. Prain continues:

'By the bye, the majority of the names have a Pañjābī ring about them, and most of the plants that are not natives of the N.-W. Provinces are ones that come from the West (Pañjāb to Persia), or that come from the Kumoān Hills, rather low down.

'Thus, taking the flowers—

'The kadamba, karanā, kunda, campā, jāli, mūlātī, sīgārahāra, and sudarasana might be natives of the writer’s country. (But the kadamba may have been introduced from the Lower Provinces.)

'The kēsara, cumōlī, jāli, satibaraga, are Western plants introduced before his time to Oude. (The jāli may also be from Kumāon).
PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.


No. 4.—Raverty, The Mihrán of Sind and Tributaries, (Continued).

PART II.—NATURAL SCIENCE.

No. 1.—King, Materials for a flora of the Malay Peninsula. Prain, Novicæ Indicæ V. An undescribed Mesoneuron from the Andaman Group.

No. 2.—Bigot, Catalogue of the Diptera of the Oriental Region, Parts II and III.

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"The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia: and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature."—Sir William Jones.

** Communications should be sent under cover to the Secretaries, Asiatic Soc., to whom all orders for the work are to be addressed in India; or care of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., Paternoster House, Charity Cross Road, London; W. C. or Mr. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, Germany.

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On a new find of old Nepalese Manuscripts.—By Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, 245

* Plates VIII and IX will be issued with No. IV, A. S. J.
'The kadamba, kētaki, nāgēsara, mōlasari (perhaps), must have been introduced from the eastward by way of the Lower Provinces.

'The jāhī (see however note above), kūjā, baḥauri, rasa-bēli, sotē, and sōnijarada are natives of N.-W. Himalaya, and, except the jāhī, which also comes from Afghanīstān and Persiā and can stand a deal of heat, can hardly have been known to him, unless he was in the habit of going some way into the hills, for I do not feel sure that they could have been grown in the plains. At any rate, if he could grow them below, they came originally from the hills of Kumāon or Kāshmīr.'

In another communication regarding the trees, Dr Prain writes: 'The names of the oranges and lemons are interesting and fall in exactly with those known to Bonavīa, in the very country in which the poet wrote.

'You will note again the very marked Paṇjaḥī and Himalayan ring about the names, e.g., in the red currant, with a regular Hill name. In this case, I think that the amṛita bēli 1 must be the black currant. I cannot think why the author gives (in the same passage) the two names, supārī and guā, of the betel-nat. They mean exactly the same now-a-days. The name for sorrel 2 I do not find in any of our books, I give, however, the Latin name of sorrel. The Indian gooseberry 3 has not any name quoted so far as my reading goes. I give its Latin name also. It is an exception to the rest of his fruits, for it comes from South India and Ceylon, (the only thing that is restricted to these parts in his whole list.)

'Gulāla is the common basil of old-fashioned English gardens. The name is usually given, not to the green-leaved plant we know, but, to a purple-leaved form that one gets in India. By the way, the plant is generally spoken of as gulāl tulśī, so that the word is used as an adjective. Our basils are, of course, the Indian tulśīs, but, owing to our and their interest centering on different ones, they give their name, unqualified, to a different one from the one that is unqualified by us. Thus:

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1 Bēli is the Paṇjaḥī name for the black currant.
2 Sājkhadrava, which I had identified with the Sanskrit Sājkhadrava, which the dictionaries translate by 'sorrel.' G. A. G.
3 Hariphāryaurī, translated in all dictionaries by 'Indian Gooseberry.' G. A. G.
APPENDIX II.

LIST OF BIRDS.

The poet also gives (stanza 29) a long list of birds. Unfortunately I know even less about them than I do about botany. I accordingly applied to an acknowledged authority, Dr. Scully. The following is condensed from the information which he very kindly gave me, together with what I have been able to make out from inquiries from natives.

Kāga, the Indian Crow, Corvus splendens, Viellot.
Kūla, the Indian Cuckoo, Eudynamys honorata, L. According to the poet, its cry is 'kuhā, kuhū.'
Guḍurū. An Urdu glossary translates this by pūdanā, the Smaller Skulking Warbler, which Forbes says is Sylvia olivacea. Its cry is 'tuhi, tuhi.'
Papīhā. Dictionaries call this the Sparrow-hawk, which is wrong. It is the Hawk-cuckoo, Hierococcyx varius, Vahl. It is a true cuckoo and not related to the sparrow-hawk. The poet says its cry is 'piū, piū' (beloved, beloved). The ordinary native tradition is, that it says 'pi kuhā' (where is my love?) It is the 'Brain-fever Bird' of Anglo-Indians.
Parēwā, the Blue Rock Pigeon, Columba intermedia, Strickland.
Pāndulki, a sort of family name for many species of doves. We may perhaps consider that the particular species intended is the Indian turtle dove, Turtur meena, Sykes. Its cry is 'a single tuhī.'
Bhīgarāja, or Bhimarāja. The dictionaries wrongly call it a Shrike. It is the Racket-tailed Drongo, Dicrurus paradiseus, L. Sanskrit Bhṛigga-rāja. It is a sort of King-crow. As the poet says, 'It speaks many languages.' It is an excellent talker.
Mahari, not identified. Its cry is dahī, dahī.
Mōra, the peacock, Pavo cristatus, L.
Sārō, not identified. Forbes gives sāru, a kind of bird, a species of black-bird. In the poem it is coupled with the suā or parroquet. The cry of both is said to be raha-caha, which seems to mean twittering.
Suā, see sārō. It is a Parrot or Parroquet. Dr. Scully says, 'In the absence of evidence tending to fix the particular species, we may take the commonest species, viz., the rose-ringed parroquet, Palœornis torquatus, Bodd.'
Harēwā, a v. l. for parēwā, above, the Gold-fronted Green Bulbul, Phyllomis aurifrons, Temm. It is a well-known cage-bird and a beautiful songster.
Ilārīla, the green pigeon, Crocops phœnicopterus, Latham.
Study of Sanskrit in Ceylon—By Pandit Hari Mohan Vidyabhushan.

The island of Ceylon has been known to us from very early times: first, as a fabulous country inhabited by a class of men called Rakshasas, who, though civilised in arts and sciences, were yet rude in their habits of life; secondly, as a country of precious stones during the Buddhistic period; and lastly as a country occupied by a large colony from the city of Sinhapura in Western Bengal, then called Rágha. But after the Arabs, the Portuguese and the Dutch came to trade in the East, and became the lords of the Indian Seas, the Bengalese who used to go to Ceylon, embarking at the ancient port of Tárnluk, the modern Tamluk, ceased to make sea-voyages.

It is owing to this fact, that, at present, communication between Ceylon and Bengal has become a thing of the past. With the exception of a few natives of India who happen to visit Colombo on their way to Europe, the people of this country know very little of Ceylon.

At a time when the spirit of adventure awakened the dormant energy of the Indian people to action, and when the barriers raised by Hinduism against sea-voyages were removed by the enlightened spirit of Buddhism, thousands of barks used to sail from Tárnlupá to the shores of Ceylon, (i.e., Támrarpú or Támravenu of the ancients). It was through the efforts of those merchants that the fame of the mineral wealth of Ceylon became known to the Romans and the Greeks, who had intercourse with the empire of Magadha. More than two centuries before Alexander's conquests in the East, Indian merchants from Srávastí, the ancient capital of Oudh, used to visit Ceylon, evidence of which is now coming to light from the sacred books of the Buddhists, preserved in the Archives of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa.

Besides what can be gathered from Tibetan sources, something can be gleaned from the Kalpañú, the Ratnamálá, and other Sanskrit works lately recovered from Tibet by Bábú Sarat Chandra Dáś.

The story of Muktálátá, which has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series contains the following:

नन: कदाचित्रिष्णु: श्रावशिद्धार्थयिन: ।
मकराकरवुणीय मिस्त्रविद्धिपायु: ॥

* * * * *

कालेन बिश्वसुयुगीय सम्प्राप्तं भिजां परिसु ।
प्रामयाविच तदूःस्वं दृष्यं समाप्तं ॥

i.e., "Some time afterwards native merchants from Srávastí crossed
over the sea and reached the island of Ceylon. Having resided there for some time they crossed the sea again and reached their native town; and after bowing before their Lord they gave him an account of her (i.e., the princess') behaviour and handed over her letter to Him."

Mr. James D'Alwis, in his preface to the descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit, Páli, and Singhalese literary works, observes:—"If the Orient pearls for which Ceylon has been famed from all antiquity, are still highly prized amongst the nations of the world, the intellectual pearls which Oriental scholars of many nations will be enabled to gather from Lanká's store-house of Literature, will not be esteemed as less precious or valuable." This remarkable passage struck me very much when I glanced over the pages of his catalogue. Being a Bráhman, I did not attach much value to the numerous Páli and Singhalese Buddhist works which have been enumerated in it, nor did I wonder at the mineral wealth and pearls which Ceylon possessed in olden times. What struck me most was the account of the study of Sanskrit which prevailed in Ceylon during the early centuries of the Christian era.

So early as the fifth century the study of Sanskrit was considered essential for all those who passed for literati in Ceylon, and Sanskrit scholars were respected side by side with the professors of Páli, the sacred language of the Buddhists. We are told in the Mahávamsa that Brahmánism flourished in Ceylon for about ten centuries, till 1000 A. D. This statement is borne out by facts and also by the Sanskrit works which were written by Singhalese authors. It is also very interesting to note that while the nine gems, called náva rátna, adorned the court of Vikramáditya during the 6th century A. D., the Augustan age of India, there should have been a king on the throne of Ceylon, who in scholarship in Sanskrit and in versification was not less gifted than the son of Sarvasvatí—the immortal Kálidásá.

The fame of Kumáradása as a poet had spread far and wide, and Kálidásá who had read one of his productions—the "Jánaki-haraṇa"—was so much struck with the true poetic genius of the Royal Poet of Lánká that he was induced to make a journey to Ceylon to meet him.

Oriental scholars have not yet been able to gather sufficient chronological information about the age of Kálidásá to enable us to enter into a discussion on the subject. There are so many conflicting statements as to his date, that one is apt to be bewildered by them. There is a tradition in Bengal that he died in the house of a courtezan. This statement, whether true or false, is borne out by a tradition which can be gathered from Singhalese works. The learned Bhikshu Dharma-ráma, in the preface to his edition of the "Jánaki-haraṇa," gives prominence to this account. It is said that Kálidásá struck with the wonder-
ful poetic genius of Kumáradása, undertook a long and tedious journey from Central India to meet the royal bard in his native land.

"Kumáradása who was a profound Sanskrit scholar and poet reigned nine years, and ended his life by throwing himself into the funeral pile of his friend Kálidásá." The following lines from the Singhalese work called "Perakumbásirita" fully corroborate the above statement and further record the very high merits of the king as a poet:—

Ejara Kiivyara pinin Jánaki-haranaé mahakavbendi,
Kumaradas radu Kálidas nam Kivindu Haṭa Siya divipidí.

i.e., "The king Kumáradása who with immortal poetic felicity composed the Jánaki-harana and other great epics, sacrificed his life for the great Kálidásá."

An episode so interesting for the light it throws on the lives of Kumáradása and Kálidásá demands our attention. The Singhalese story in brief is this:—

The king was in the habit of frequenting the house of a woman to whom he was attached. On one of these visits he wrote on the wall the two lines—

Padmát padmaṁ samudbhútam
S'ráyate na cha drisyate.

i.e., "It is heard, but not seen, that a lotus flower is produced from another lotus flower."

Under them he wrote a line offering a reward to the person who should complete the verse. Kálidásá, then on a visit to the great royal bard whose poem he had seen in India, took lodgings that evening, as chance would have it, in the same house, and happening to see the lines on the wall, completed the verse by adding,—

 Bálé tava mukhámbhojat
Tvannetrendivaradvayam.

i.e., "O Maiden! from the lotus of thy face have sprung up the two blue lilies of thine eyes."

The woman to whom perhaps the poet meant the lines as a compliment, influenced by the hope of obtaining the promised reward, murdered Kálidásá that night and hid his body.

When the king visited her the following morning, she demanded the reward as the writer of the couplet. But Kumáradása, detecting in them the genius of a true poet, would not believe her, but insisted on her disclosing the real author. On being threatened, the murderess confessed her crime. When the corpse of Kálidásá was brought out, the king's
sorrow and consternation knew no bounds. He ordered a grand funeral in honour of the renowned poet. When the pile was lighted, the generous-hearted monarch, overwhelmed with sorrow, sprang into the fire and was soon consumed by the flames together with his brother bard. Five queens of the king instantly followed his example. According to the Singhalese custom, seven monuments were erected, and seven bó-trees planted on the spot of the cremation. This sad event appears to have happened at Mátāra (or Mahátírtha), where the king is said to have resided at the time.

Within the town there is a place by the name of “Hat Bódiwata” (सयवैसिधिक— the garden of seven bó-trees), which tradition points out as the scene of this tragedy.

In India a similar tradition prevails regarding Kálidása, who is said to have written the following verse:—

कुहुम कुहुमामीति: शूष्येन न च हयाने।
वाज्वे नव युवामोले कथमिन्द्रीवर्द्यथ।

i.e., “It is a mere hearsay statement, that flower begets flower, but no one has realized (the truth of it) by actually seeing it. O Maiden, how is it that I see two lilies on your lotus-face?”

It is curious that the traditions that prevailed in both countries should be substantially the same, though expressed in different words. Of the two, the Indian sūkṣa is decidedly the better.

Some Oriental scholars have conjectured the date of Kálidása to be in the 6th century. That Kumáradása was a king of Ceylon in the 6th century is a historical fact, as can be gathered from the Mahávaṃśa, therefore it is not improbable that the great Indian poet Kálidása was a contemporary of Kumáradása.

It is to be regretted that the original works of Kumáradása should have been lost. But quotations from his Jánañkí-harana are to be found in Patañjali’s Mahábháshya, in Rájaśekhara’s work, in Ujjaladatta’s Unádi Vṛitti, and also in Kshemendra’s Auchityálamaṅkára. Prof. Peterson, in his paper “On the Auchityálamaṅkára of Kshemendra, with a note on the date of Patañjali,” made the following remarks:—

“कुमारदास्या——

अयुज विजयीच्छिद दठोप्यगुम्भ स्यज्ञ नवस्माकन्वलिष्वाय।
वेषणकराद्वम एव वर्तनि संपवद्विति कुकुटः॥

(Kshemendra’s Auchityálamaṅkára.)

i.e., “By Kumáradása——

O, give up the firm (warm) embrace and leave the lover who is
timid at this first union. O beauteous Maiden! the rays of the rising
sun arc appearing and the cocks are crowing."

"The discovery that Kshemendrā quotes this verse and assigns it to
Kumāradāsa will one day, I hope, prove a valuable datum for the Mahā-
bhāshya itself. Unfortunately we do not yet know Kumāradāsa's own
date. But the following verses by him are quoted here, as, with the
present example, presenting strong internal evidence that a writer who
quotes Kumāradāsa cannot have lived at the date now widely accepted
for Patanjali."

Prof. Peterson again published the following note in the Academy
for the year 1885, page 277:—"I have lately come across a date for
Kumāradāsa and the name of his book. In Jalhana's 'Súkti Muktávali'
the following verse of Rájasækhara's treats of this poet:—

\[ जानकीहरणल गरुंः लघूवच विष्णुः सति \]
\[ चन्द्र: कुमारदासास रावणास्त यहृत् चमः \]

"i.e., 'The poet Kumāradāsa and Rāvāṇa, if any, are the only
persons who can achieve the Jánaki-harana (or Rape of Sítā) in the face
of the Raghuvansha (or unawed by the dynasty of Raghu).'

"It is clear from this that Kumāradāsa wrote his 'Jánaki-
haraṇam' after Kálidása."

I think, by writing 'after Kálidása,' Prof. Peterson meant after the
"Raghu-Vamsa," for it is only stated in the above sloka that Kumāra-
dása's 'Jánaki-haraṇa' was a later production than the "Raghu-
Vamsa." But it does not necessarily follow that Kumāradása flourished
after Kálidása.

The 'Pada-Chandriká,' by Ráya-Mukutá, a commentary on the
Amarakosha, which is a work of the 15th century, has numerous
quotations from Kumāradása's 'Jánaki-haraṇa.' This shows that the
work was largely used in India during the 15th century.

We are told by the Singhalese historians that about the 14th
century certain Dravidian kings conquered Ceylou and exterminated
all the Sanskrit and Páli works of that island; so much so that the
Singhalese, after the downfall of this dynasty, had to bring all the sacred
books from Burmah. It seems that Kumāradása's works were also
destroyed at that time in Ceylon. But as the Jánaki-haraṇa was extant
in India up to the 15th century, we may hope that it will, some day, be
discovered by the Pândits who are now engaged in collecting Sanskrit
Manuscripts under the auspices of the Government.

In 1870 Mr. James D'Alwis, who was entrusted with the work of
searching for Sanskrit and Páli manuscripts in Ceylon, discovered a
manuscript of the Singhalese Sanna, i.e., a literal translation of the
work, the "Jánaki-haraṇa." Being himself a great scholar, he was able to appreciate its excellence. He caused a Pauḍit to restore ten verses of the work from the said saṇṇa, or Singhalese commentary.

I here quote his remarks on the poem: "The Jánaki-haraṇa is a very ancient and very interesting Sanskrit poem. A Singhalese Saṇṇa, or literal translation of it, alone has been discovered. It is, however, possible that the original work may still be found in some nook of an old monastic library. Like all Singhalese Saṇṇas, this translation quotes the words of the original in their integrity, and it is therefore not impossible to restore the words to their original poetical form; though, we confess, the manuscript in our possession requires much correction after comparison with other copies, which, we hope, may yet be found. But its restoration into metre is undoubtedly a very arduous work. Considering, however, that this poem, according to the opinion of the learned in Ceylon, is 'not inferior to the works of Kālidāsa,' the Indian Shakespeare, and that it may be ranked amongst the Mahākāvyas, or great poems, it may be well worth the trouble of some Oriental scholar in Europe to undertake the work of restoration."

I am glad to notice here that recently Bhikshu Dharmārāma, the learned Principal of the Vidyālaṅkāra Oriental College, Ceylon, has done great service to Oriental scholarship by restoring Kumāradāsa's Jánaki-haraṇa into metre from the Singhalese literal paraphrase. He has collected several manuscripts of the saṇṇa, and has built an edifice with the material contained in them—which, I may hope, will be found to resemble its prototype—the lost Jánaki-haraṇa, if found out in future. Had Mr. D'Alwis been living now, how glad he would have been to see the realization of his hopes about the work in the labours of Bhikshu Dharmārāma—twenty years later.

To enable us to form an estimate of the comparative value of the restored verses, I subjoin a transcription in Devanāgarī of the first 10 verses of the Canto IX from the present edition, side by side with those restored by Mr. D'Alwis. (See Appendix I.)

From a careful examination of the above it will be seen that the spirit of the verses given by Dharmārāma and D'Alwis is the same, though a slight alteration in the arrangement of the lines may be noticed here and there.

The occasional deviation of Dharmārāma’s ślokas from those given by Mr. D'Alwis is due to the use of synonymous words. This is chiefly due to the fact that Dharmārāma had access to more correct and trustworthy manuscripts than Mr. D'Alwis had access to twenty years ago. It is also to be noted that he took greater pains than Mr. D'Alwis, as he had gleaned materials from different sources with a view to publish
the complete work of the “Jánaki-harana.” Mr. D’Alwis had frankly confessed his inability to procure further materials, and so he was content with restoring to us only ten verses of the entire work.

It is a pity that Bhikshu Dharmarāma should have thought it fit to publish his edition of the Jánaki-harana in the Sinhalese character, which is not intelligible to many of us. I believe, if the production were transliterated into Roman or Devanāgarī character, it would be sure to receive the recognition it deserves at the hands of many Oriental scholars.

I beg to submit the first forty-two verses of Canto I, which I have transliterated into the Devanāgarī character. I rejoice to say that, in my humble opinion, true signs of poetic genius can be seen from the verses I have already transliterated.* (See Appendix II.)

APPENDIX I.

VERSES RESTORED BY BIHKSHU DHARMARĀMA.

CANTO IX.

\[ \text{Verse text transcribed into Devanāgarī script.} \]

CANTO IX.

VERSES RESTORED BY MR. D’ALWIS.

H. M. Vidyabhushan—Study of Sanskrit in Ceylon. [No. 3,
CANTO IX.

Translation.

1. Thus when his (eldest) son had happily spent a few months, the king got his three remaining sons married and started for his capital.

2. (The Princess) born of the earth, when about to start in the company of her husband, touched in reverence with tearful eyes the feet of her father. Her steps were graceful and slow owing to the heaviness of her heart (at the prospect of separation) and also to that of her limbs.

3. Then her father addressed his accomplished daughter in language which was (at once) instructive and also befitting the vows of purity in the fair sex; so that she might always abide in virtue.

4. "O my daughter, being possessed of extraordinary self-respect, do not be proud of your personal charms, your high accomplishments, your royal parentage, or of your budding youth; for the welfare of the female sex consists in the love of their husbands.

5. "The worldly success of men is not due to woman. But men are the source of the good fortune and prosperity of their wives. For there cannot be lightning without clouds, though the clouds appear charming when there is no lightning.

6. "Even when you become angry, do not use a strong word to your husband. It is said that silence is the best resource of a noble wife when she is reproved by her husband.

7. "A wife devoted to her husband by her chastity, charms a good husband. A wife who has abandoned a virtuous life, incurs the irredeemable displeasure of a virtue-loving husband.

8. "Your behaviour should be good, so that when it reaches my ear, my heart which is sore and infirm with age, may not be pained in a thousand parts.

9. "Let not this cherished hope of mine, which is centred in you, even by chance end in nothing." When the old man expressed himself in this manner, sorrow choked his throat and he could not speak any more.

10. The couple at last set out from their father's home, having bowed their head to the feet of king Janaka. The wreaths of flowers which adorned the crown of the bridegroom which was topped with glittering gems, and also the dressed locks of the bride now covered the feet of king Janaka.
APPENDIX II.

जानकी-हरणम्

CANTO I.

हासीदवन्यामतिभोगभारादिकोज्वलीयो नगरीये दिखा।

चचाराजस्माति संबद्धा पुरामयोपें गि य पराणा ॥

यत्-सौध-द्रव्य-सरोज-राज-रत्रभावाविचुक्तिः प्रशान्तः ॥

पौराणान्त-रत्रभावानि जगाम रोमाविद् शोचितलम् ॥

कलापि सरस्य सुदृं च संबद्धा। कुर्याय नाभुद्दिसानिकाराम् ॥

विश्वासु या काल-तोरणश्च ततुर्मिर्मित्व-निर्मित-राशि: ॥

चीनांचुरं द्विविष्णु-परकस्त्रमवर्धकमित्रं द्विविष्णु-चाराम् ॥

विषवेद्वजः प्रजाविष्णु-चतुर्रत्र--निम्मिकपृठार्य या ब्रमसे ॥

विषेदः प्रजाविष्णु-चतुर्रत्रय वरद मुक्त: वेदांसु ॥

समार्थ तु दतरात्र-कृत्वा भागवक्ष्वदी भागां-भागांस्य ॥

रथाय यस्या रद्दिनो यज्ञायामानं दिव्य खलबन्धाः: ॥

स्वभावाचार्यां तत्र प्रसारं चकुमंदामोरं नमत्तिहितानाम् ॥

इति जीविमानस्तितस्मिन् द्विविष्णु विष्णु गन्धेन समरर्येन ॥

द्विधा स्तं वाल-स्वामिः-स्तमुः करोति च च च भक्तयुक्तम् ॥

वस्यं दुःखवी विक्षिता विधाचा रलीतिवार्त्येव: प्रकर्षम् ॥

प्रवासीर्यां वर्तनं शुचिवं भूतमायामाहवाणु वहक्त: ॥

चालिजयं तुदं वंदने-निदिवं विष्णुभिताल्यानि युक्तवेद् ॥

यवसौधानं नर्तिज्ञां चं वं च शारसमुदि नमस्त् ॥

स्माय-विख्यातिभिंतत्वा यत्काल तस्मिनमुद्ध्वद्याः यस्याम् ॥

विष्णुभावमा भक्तपिन्धारस्त तत्तैं तोयं शिखितानुसरयम् ॥

विष्णुभावमा भक्तपिन्धारस्त तत्तैं तोयं शिखितानुसरयम् ॥

यस्मादि चर्चे-विश्ववाचार्यनं भवस्य निर्माणः ॥

तन्त्रभाष्यं विष्णुभावमारीणं भवस्य निर्माणः ॥ १९
व्यक्तिमानो नवनेष्ठराणां माण्यो ग्रामिणो ग्रामेश्मोऽवैःः।
दियो श्रीरिम्भः पीढम-शुभकारः राजा रजतवदातः। १९ ।
निधियुराजजन्मनदौकसृ पूवं विनिमयानसतिरात्जगाः।
दिवः घडमयजः समवज-प्राच-छान्यपः श्रीनय-वाजिवः। २४ ।
तेनानवलं पुष्पोपलेन विनिमयारापायः।
चेलोक-दुन्द्वय-दुममन नागनामोगामध्यायि तेने। २५ ।
दशरस्ताः खुर्वं शिष्यायोः कथं विक्षणु विभियावख्षः।
वाणिष-दुनिमभ्राधिष्यच दिशं ज्वसूरी ज्ञाविविषयः। २६४।
सन्दर्शनं सन्तापिते-पूवेक्षः ग्रोणीयमात्र खणं कठार्यः। १७ ।
ब्रजजमप्रार्घितं-रेश्यवा बालीयुद्धार्घितं-सार्थोऽकः।
दिनेहिता करिणं दल-भोग्यं वेषिण खुल्ला नवरेण तेने। २० ।
विनिमयिनोदेश्य श्रीरय घारं ज्ञातसरास्रोपसारुपायः।
ध्यात्माननेरसामान्यां मने मनसी खुर्वं यावनेन। २६ ।
तेनानासनाध्य ज्ञताशनेन श्रीवसार्थं प्रदर्शनं तुष्यमः।
ध्यात्मानानमात्रथिर्धभोगाश्रीमतिस्वमनं सर्वभीचारः। २०।
परेऽरं वायायपरेः हितोऽस्मो श्रीघरार्थायो खुर्वं चिन्तिताः।
ध्यात्माननेर्गुत-वार्तिष्ठिरानायति श्रान्नं रिमृकामिनीगामु। २९।
तस्यतः वायायातं धार्याय प्रकोपक्षाय चर्चारिते।
ध्यात्मानं सर् सर्वनेष्ठमेविरलभायात्काकन्महिं गानिः। २२।
श्रीकाति श्री खुर्वं द्वारागोरी कृतिप्रति ग्रामकायामानेन।
ध्यात्मानं कुसूर निरोच्च सुयो चे चन्द्ररूद्यान्विताति। २३।
सन्दर्शनं सिावतभोगमात्रः क्षीमायक्तायायः।
ज्ञाताः चुरुक्षमपरशुराराणनोऽष्टाविनायायाः। २४।
नयः चन्द्रस्य श्रीज्ञातिलोक्यत्वस्य महीमयक्तायायः।
तहें अर्थार्थायनने सुवाकान्तियतिहें तुदृष्टं ताताः। २५।
माला भविष्यी महाक्षेत्रायं ज्ञानिष्ठवतुनिर्दुर्वनस्य।
तेनापूर्वे समव विदिषा अणेः समवं विविधाविष्ठः। २६।
सहिक्षकान्य सन्धाय देवाः सुकुल्मायखर्षिर्मरुः।
प्रादेशिको शितमकाश्रे मुखे सुकृतिविनिर्जने। २७।
बीलामातेरण निःसाहित्य यथा न दली सुविस्मो न चंसः।
इत्यव यातयां तद्यत चन्द्र तुलाको स्वहितरोऽरितानि॥
तस्या हरे मन्यं वार्ताग्रस्तिः शक्तर विधानु न स्विस्तहः।
जैव विधाता तु हालो कचं ताविवहार तस्या सम्मेरितविकोः॥
विभाग्यराय नवरथसोही-सम्प्रसंतो वधिमभिन्ननानि।
इत्यव वजा रसनायोरो उपेक्षा पुरोऽक्षणबिहिण्योऽः॥
अयोद्यर भूततुल्योऽभूतसंस्कृतिः भास्यचार्ययोऽः॥
संयोगाणं एव संग्रहानलिकाः विनिलु वैवः सुद्यः॥
वेषः प्रकार्यदुपृथीयन स्त्रीनवनसहस्योऽदशोऽयोऽः।

हवनकारः वरन्यात्यायता संहं जगापित धम्मिह तकः॥
अराजेश्वर व्यक्ति विधाता विधिस्माने चरावृत्ति कायायत्।
चुसचा विद्वद्धसितस्य माणार्केक्स्तः रजने नवरोवरान्ति॥
तस्या शुक्लेन्तु कृष्णचारवाकायं यथाम विश्राम्याहि दयं नैः।
नां श्रीश्री तत्रल्पल्ल्वमन्यदिति शत तावऽदिव्य प्राप्तस्यौ॥
विशेषस्य शुभविवृचितो तौ तन्या सुरूची विन्य सद मयं तत्य चितम्॥
काव्यमान्येष दशसंधेरथ विश्वाखने वज्जवन्त छरक्यः॥
तस्या गहोप्राकरसरोगमत्स्य हस्तक्ष यथानमहस्य स्रागः॥
वाँ असिद्धमेव अश्वलक्षड़चन्द्रस्य च मातेस्यः।
विभिन्नं पूर्वं सकलं कुरुक्षेत्र तस्येव नेत्रडिवर्य विद्वेषः॥
कान्तिभविष्य विलिन्तपुण्यारागः यमोऽपहर दयामेव प्रक्षम्॥
वात्र्विवं जगान्त जानेन खोजेन हस्ता वदनार्थनिल्म्॥
इत्वरविन्यार्थं मेददशा नेत्रौलकायी यतो विभाषोः॥
विभिन्नुपि नैं सच्छ्ने सुखायमाक्ष्य तत्यावपरं श्रापादः॥
वम् भवविचर्चणानां ऋणा-सम्प्रत्येकाया विभिन्नार्थं चालय॥
प्रीतस्स दूरोत्सर्यं विधिस्म प्रायो तस्याविति ने विभक्तं॥
ववज्जा श्रुमास्याविचिताकर्मभारस्य वासः शिशिनो वनेः॥
कान्तं निर्लक्षमं जातु चेतनां जनन शृवाशितति श्रापादः॥
दौष्ट्येतिपि यथा सुवर्णवयसं भूमि रत्नोमणान्वितखः।
अहारपि कन्या गितमिध्यक्ष्या तादेहम् हस्तं भूमे देवी॥

H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇ—Study of Sanskrit in Ceylon. [No. 3,
CANTO I.

Translation.

1. In this earth there once was a great city of the name of Ayodhyá; a city that surpassed all other cities in respect of wealth and prosperity. So prosperous (was it, that it looked) as if it had fallen down from heaven by the weight of its great wealth. It was a city which was a great resort of the Kshatriya race, as the Sámi tree is the constant abode of fire.

2. The moon became radiant by the reflected refulgence of the rubies that decked the spires of the lofty edifices of that city. Nay, her (the moon's) countenance became florid through jealous wrath at the sight of the superior charms of the fair females that lived there.

3. The opulence and prosperity of that city brought joy to all, except to young maidens that sought their lovers. For the lustre that issued from the gems of the golden gates of that city dissipated darkness and made night bright as day.

4. The glowing flags of China satin, which streamed in the sky from the lofty steeples of the mansions of that city, seemed like projections chiselled out from the moon.

5. The swans that were swimming in the moat surrounding the city-wall cast wistful looks towards the lakes of the city; but out of despair, owing to the lofty walls which stood in their way, they were reminded of the exploits of Paraśu-ráma, who by his arrow cut a passageway through the Mount of Krauncha.

A brief account of Bháskara, and of the works written, and discoveries made, by him.—By the late Paññit Bápu Deva Sástrí, C.I.E.

[Note by Editor.—The following paper was found amongst the papers of the deceased Paññit after his death in 1890 and communicated to the Society, of which he was an Honorary Member, by his relations. It forms a portion of the preface to his revised edition of Mr. Wilkinson's translation of the Gáḍáhyáya of the Sídhaánta Sríromayí, published in the "Bibliotheca Indica," so far back as 1861. This preface was, apparently by an accident, not printed at the time, and the Paññit kept it by him, and spent considerable pains over numerous and careful corrections, which he subsequently added. There seems to be no doubt that he intended to publish it on some future occasion, and there cannot be a better place for its appearance than the Journal of the Society of which he was so long a valued member.]

Bháskara was born in 1036 of the Sáliváhana era—or in the year 1114, A. D.—Some authors mention that he was an inhabitant of Bira, a Maráthá village; but he himself states, at the end of his Gáḍáhyáya, that his native place was near the Sahyádri, or the Western Gháts,
and it appears to me that he was an inhabitant of Víjapura, the ancient metropolis of the Karnatik. Some say that he was a Maráthá Bráhman follower of the Yajurveda; but his method of annotating, which is still current in the Karnatik in annotating poetical works, shews that he was a Karna Bráhman of Víjapura. His father, named Maheśvara, was a very great Paṇḍit and Astronomer, and a virtuous man. He had acquired the title of Āchārya (Doctor) in the assembly of the Paṇḍits.

Bháskara studied all the sciences acquired by him with his father. It cannot be ascertained whether he or his father was patronized by any Rájá, or whether he was a rich or poor man. But it is certainly true that he was expert in science, a very great poet, and an excellent Astronomer.

In his time, Lalla's work on astronomy, called Síshya-dhérvidhída-Tantra, more usually styled the Dhérvidhída simply, was much used, as the Súdhánta-Sírománi is at present. Bháskara first made a commentary on Lalla's work, and then wrote his own work on astronomy, called Súdhánta-Sírománi, in two parts, Gañitádhíyáya and Goldádhíyáya, composing before it two introductory works: the first on Arithmetic, called Páṭi, or Lálvat, and the second on Algebra.* He compiled his excellent work Súdhánta-Sírománi in the 36th year of his age, or 1150, A. D. Its first part, Gañitádhíyáya, is divided into 12 chapters, viz.:

Chapter I. Called the Madhyagati, which treats of the rules for finding the mean places of the planets, contains 7 sections.

Section 1. Kinds of time.
Section 2. Revolutions of the planets, &c.
Section 3. Rules for finding the akargaya (or enumeration of mean terrestrial days elapsed from the commencement of the Kalpa) and thence the mean places of the planets, &c.

Section 4. The dimensions of the Brahmánda (universe), and of the orbits of the planets, and thence the rules for finding the mean places of the planets.

Section 5. This section, called Pratyabda-Suddhi (the remainders of additive months at the beginning of each year), treats of rules for finding the remainders of additive months, subtractive days, &c., at the beginning of each year, the small akargaya (or enumeration of the days elapsed from the beginning of the current year) and thence the mean places of the planets.

Section 6. Determination of additive months and others.
Section 7. The Desántara correction, &c., and conclusion of the first chapter.

* [Or Víjyanítau. Both have been translated by Colebrooke,—Ed.]
Chapter II. Called the Spashta-gati, which treats of the rules for finding the apparent places of the planets.

Chapter III. Called the Triprāśaṇa, treats of the rules for resolving questions on time, finding the positions of places and directions.

Chapter IV. Called Parva-sambhava, on the possibility of the eclipses of the sun and moon.

Chapter V. Of lunar eclipses.

Chapter VI. Of solar eclipses.

Chapter VII. Rules for finding the lengths of the shadows reflected from the planets.

Chapter VIII. On the rising and setting of the planets.

Chapter IX. On the phases of the moon and the position of the moon’s cusps.

Chapter X. On the conjunction of the planets.

Chapter XI. On the conjunction of the planets with stars.

Chapter XII. Rules for finding the time at which the declinations of the sun and moon become equal.

The second part of the Siddhanta-Siromani, called Goloāhyāya is divided into 13 chapters, with an appendix. Of this part the translation is given here.

[The translation of the Goloāhyāya, or Treatise on the Sphere, being now out of print, the following account of its contents is added for the sake of completeness:—

Chapter I. In praise of the advantages of the study of the sphere.

Chapter II. Questions on the general view of the sphere.

Chapter III. Cosmography, (including a refutation of the supposition that the earth is level).

Chapter IV. On the principles of the rules for finding the mean places of the planets.

Chapter V. On the principles on which the rules for finding the true places of the planets are grounded.

Chapter VI. On the construction of an Armillary Sphere.

Chapter VII. On the principles of the rules for resolving the questions on time, space, and directions.

Chapter VIII. The explanation of the cause of eclipses of the sun and moon.

Chapter IX. On the principles of the rules for finding the time of the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies.

Chapter X. On the cause of the phases of the moon.

Chapter XI. On the use of astronomical instruments, viz., (1) the gnomon, (2) the vertical circle, (3) the Phalaka (invented by Bhāskara), (4) the Yastī, or staff, (5) the Dhi-yantra, or genius-instrument, (6) the self-revolving instrument, (6) the syphon.

J. 1. 29
Chapter XII. The seasons.

Chapter XIII. Useful questions,—a collection of problems. Ed.]

In this work Bhāskara has variously exposed the errors of Lalla, whose work he had formerly annotated.

We now proceed to mention the discoveries of Bhāskara.

1. He discovered that the earth has the inherent property of attracting all things around it,* and

2. That portion of the equation of time which is due to the inclination of the ecliptic to the equinoctial.†

3. He found out the tatkalika, or instantaneous motion of the variable quantities—the planet’s longitude, and the sine of the arc.

Bhāskara says “the difference between the longitudes of a planet found at any time on a certain day, and at the same time on the following day, is called its rough motion during that interval of time; and its tatkalika motion is its exact motion.”

The tatkalika, or instantaneous motion of a planet, is the motion which it would have in a day, had its velocity at any given instant of time remained uniform. This is clear from the meaning of the term tatkalika, and it is plain enough to those who are acquainted with the principles of the differential calculus, that this tatkalika motion can be no other than the differential of the longitude of a planet. This tatkalika motion is determined by Bhāskara in the following manner:‡

* * * * * * * * *

Now, the term tatkalika applied by Bhāskara to the velocity of a planet, and his method of determining it, correspond exactly to the differential of the longitude of a planet and the way for finding it. Hence it is plain that Bhāskara was fully acquainted with the principle of the differential calculus.§ The subject, however, was only inci-

* [Siddhanta-S'iromani. Chap. III, 6.—Ed.]
† [Siddhanta-S'iromani. Chap. V, 16, 17.—Ed.]
‡ [The calculations given by the author are omitted, as they have already been published in J. A. S., B., Vol. XXVII, pp. 213 and ff.—Ed.]
§ [See, however, two papers by Spottiswoode in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII, p. 222 and Vol. XX, p. 345. Mr. Spottiswoode considered that the pandit had overstated his case. He added ‘Bhāskara undoubtedly conceived the idea of comparing the successive positions of a planet in its path, and of regarding its motion as constant during the interval, and he may be said to have had some rudimentary notion of representing the arc of a curve by means of auxiliary straight lines. But on the other hand, in the method here given, he makes no allusion to one of the most essential features of the Differential Calculus, viz., the infinitesimal magnitude of the intervals of time and space therein employed. Nor indeed is anything specifically said about the fact that the method is an approximative one.

'Nevertheless, with these reservations, it must be admitted, that the penetration
dentally and briefly treated of by him, and his followers, not comprehend it fully, have hitherto neglected it entirely.

4. The ancient astronomers Lalla and others say that the difference between the mean and true motion of a planet becomes nothing when the planet reaches the point of intersection of the concentric and excentric. But Bhāskara, denying this, says that when the planet reaches the point where the transverse diameter of the concentric cuts the excentric, the difference of the mean and true motions becomes 0.*

For let $p$ be the mean place of a planet at any time on a certain day, and $p'$ that at the same time on the next day; and $e$ and $\epsilon$ be the amounts of the equation respectively: then $p + e$ and $p' + \epsilon$ will be the true places of the planet; \( p' - p + (\epsilon - e) \) will be the true motion of the planet; taking $p' - p$ the mean motion from this, the remainder $\epsilon - e$ is the difference between the amounts of the equation. Thus, it is plain, that the difference between the mean and true motions of the planet is the rate of the increase or decrease of the amount of the equation. Therefore where the amount of the equation becomes greatest, the rate of its increase or decrease will be nothing; or the difference between the mean and true motions equals 0. But as the amount of the equation becomes greatest, when the planet reaches the point of the excentric cut by the transverse diameter of the concentric (see the note on verses 15, 16 and 17 of Chapter V), the rate of its increase or decrease must be nothing; that is, the difference between the mean and true motions will be nothing at the same point. This is the principle of the maxima and minima, with which, it is thus evident, Bhāskara was acquainted.

5. He ascertained that when the arc corresponding to a given sine or cosine is found from the table of sines, this will be not far from its exact value, when it is not nearly equal to 90° or 0° respectively.†

6. He discovered the method of finding the altitude of the sun, when his declination and azimuth and the latitude of the place are given. This is a problem of Spherical Trigonometry, which he first solved by two rules in the Ganiṭdhyāya. Of these two rules, we have shown one in the note on verse 46 of the 13th Chapter of the Golādhyāya, and the other is the following:—

shown by Bhāskara in his analysis, is in the highest degree remarkable; that the formula which he establishes, and his method of establishing it, bear more than a mere resemblance—they bear a strong analogy—to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy; and that the majority of scientific persons will learn with surprise the existence of such a method in the writings of so distant a period, and so remote a region." Ed.]

* [Siddhanta-S'iromani. Chap. V, 39. Ed.]
† [Siddhanta-S'iromani. Appendix. Ed.]
Multiply the equinoctial shadow by the radius and divide the product by the cosine of the azimuth. Assuming the result as an equinoctial shadow, find the sine of an assumed latitude, i.e., finding the *Akshakarya* from this equinoctial shadow, say:

\[
\text{as the } \text{Akshakarya} \\
\text{: the equinoctial shadow or the result} \\
\text{:: the radius} \\
\text{:: the sine of assumed latitude.}
\]

Now the sine of the sun's declination multiplied by the sine of latitude of the given place gives the sine of assumed declination.

Add the assumed declination to the assumed latitude, when the sun's declination is south; but when the declination is north, subtract it. The result will be the zenith distance of the sun.*

Demonstration. First of all he found the shadow of the gnomon, when the sun, revolving in the equinoctial, arrived at the given vertical circle, i.e., when the sun has the given azimuth, as follows:

Draw a circle on a level surface with a given radius, and draw two diameters perpendicular to each other, east and west and north and south; then, at the equinoctial day, if we place a gnomon of 12 digits on the level so that the end of its shadow fall on the centre, the distance of the gnomon's bottom from the east and west line must be equal to the equinoctial shadow of the given place. Now draw a line from the centre to the gnomon's bottom and produce it. It will meet the circumference at the distance of the complement of the azimuth from the east or west point.

Then say—

\[
\text{as the cosine of the azimuth} \\
\text{: the radius} \\
\text{:: the distance of the gnomon's bottom from the east and west line, i.e., the equinoctial shadow} \\
\text{:: the gnomon's shadow.}
\]

From this shadow find its hypotenuse, then say

\[
\text{as the hypotenuse} \\
\text{:: shadow} \\
\text{:: radius} \\
\text{:: the sine of the zenith distance when the sun is in the equinoctial having the same azimuth.}
\]

Call this sine the sine of assumed latitude.

Then by similar triangles—

\[
\text{as the sine of the latitude of the place in the plane of the meridian}
\]

* That is, assuming the given place of the observer to be in the northern hemisphere.
: the sine of the assumed latitude in the plane of the vertical
:: the sine of the sun's declination in the plane of the meridian
::: the sine of the assumed declination in the plane of the vertical.

This is the sine of the arc of the vertical circle intercepted between the equinoctial and the sun's place.

Add this arc to the assumed latitude, or to the arc of the vertical circle from the zenith to the equinoctial when the declination is south; but when it is north subtract the arc, the result will be the zenith distance of the sun. Hence the rule.

Then he says that if the complement of the sun's azimuth be less than his amplitude, when he is in the northern hemisphere, the vertical circle will cut the diurnal circle in two points above the horizon. Hence on the same day the sun will enter the same vertical circle at two different times, and therefore the sun's zenith distance will admit of two different values. Bhāskara determined these two values thus:

Subtract the assumed latitude above found from 180°. The remainder will be the second value of the assumed latitude. Then from these two values of the assumed latitude find the two different values of the zenith distance. The reason is very plain.

7. The ancient astronomers, Lalla, Śripati, &c., erroneously used the versed sine and radius in finding the valana or variation (of the ecliptic). Bhāskara himself refuted their rules variously, and used the right sine and the cosine of declination in the place of the versed sine and the radius respectively (see the last portion following the 29th verse of the 8th chapter of the Goldādhvīya).

8. It is stated in the Śūryasiddhānta and other ancient astronomical works, that the end of the gnomonical shadow revolves in the circumference of a circle, which Bhāskara boldly refuted.

Besides the above Bhāskara discovered many other matters which are not so important as to deserve mention here. He wrote an annotation called Vāsanābhāshya on his work himself, the style of which is very good and plain. Before he wrote this commentary, he composed two other works,—one a Karapa* and the other called Sarvatobhadra-yantra, to find the hour of the day. Both of these works are now extant. He wrote another Karapa in the 69th year of his age, which is now very common. It appears, therefore, that Bhāskara lived to the age of more than 69 years. After him, no great astronomer has appeared among the Hindūs up to the present time.

* A treatise on astronomical calculation, where the epoch is taken from the commencement of the work.
On some new or rare Muhammadan and Hindu Coins, No. III.—By
Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. (With two Plates).


In the course of examining coins that are submitted to me under the Treasure Trove Act, I have come across some that deserve a fuller description than I could give them in my Reports to the Government.

(A) Coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal.

Towards the end of 1891 I received a lot of coins from Sibsagar in Assam. Among them there were 38 coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal. In July 1892 I received another set of 28 coins of the same Sultans from Bhagalpur. Reports on both finds are published in the Society’s Proceedings for August 1893. Among these coins I found the following new types or new varieties of known types.

(XXXV.) Jalal-u-d-din Muhammad Shah.

817–835 A. H. = 1414–1431 A. D.

(1) See Plate VIII, fig. 1. Now in the Indian Museum. This is merely a new variety of the coin, published by Mr. Blochmann in this Journal, Vol. XLIII, p. 294, pl. XIII, No. 2, and in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 87. The legends on both faces are in tughra characters.

Obv.: مالك الامام من الجهمير

خليفة غر

The date 834, in very large figures, is on the left, and the mint Chatgdon on the right side, partly illegible. In the specimens published by W. Blochmann, the date as well as the mint is on the right side. On the British Museum specimen the mint is said to be beneath. But I doubt this; it appears to me to be the usual legend خليفة غر. The date and mint would be on the sides, but the coin is too badly disfigured by cuts to show them.

(2) Plate VIII, fig. 2. Now in the Indian Museum. This is another specimen of that published in the British Museum Catalogue,

* Unfortunately, owing to a knob caused by a shroff mark on the reverse, the date has not come out very clearly in the photograph. It is however, perfectly distinct on the coin itself.
No. 83, and I only publish it here, because it is in nearly perfect condition. The beginning of the name Jalāl is lost or disfigured in every other specimen I have hitherto seen. The mint also is a curiosity; for it seems to read (left-hand margin) Ế al-Firūzābād. The more usual form is سجن al-bildat Firūzābād. The date is 824 (Arab bottom margin). The whole margin reads:

The date is in large sprawling figures.

(3) Plate VIII, fig. 3. Now in the Indian Museum. This is a new type which I do not remember having seen published anywhere. The obverse legend is new.

Obv.: in circular area:

نا الإسلام
و اضر
لمسلمين
خاد ملكه

Margin: ضرب هذة السكة في ( سنة م 832). (3)

Rev.: lettered surface with usual legend in tughra.

The date is 83(3?); the last figure may be 3 or 4. I cannot identify the mint name; it seems to be a new mint of 7 or 8 letters, ending in $h$.

(4) Plate VIII, fig. 4. Now in the Indian Museum. This is another new type, with an entirely new kind of obverse design. It consists of a small circular centre with the legend $Abdul-Jabbār$ ‘Servant of the Omnibountiful’ Around is a broad inner circle and a narrow margin, both covered with arabesques. At the bottom of the margin there appears to be the date 83(825 or 835), now partly obliterated by a shroff-mark.

The reverse has the usual legend in tughra, as, e.g., in the British Museum Catalogue, No 33.

(XXXVII.) NāṣIRU-D-DĪN MAHMÚD SHÁH.

846-864 A. H. = 1442-1459 A. D.


1. Plate VIII, fig. 5. Now in the Indian Museum. This is a new variety of the same type to which “Col. Hyde’s” coin, published by Mr. Blochmann in this Journal, Vol. XLI, p. 295, belongs. The
peculiarity of this type is that both its margins are not filled with legends, but with various ornamental markings. The present coin differs from Col. Hyde's in showing on the reverse the "kunyat" Abul Mujāhid, and bearing no date. There are also some other slight differences in the arrangement of the lettering and in the ornamental markings.

Obverse: in circular area:—

البرید
بتفاہد الرحمن
خلفية الله
واهد
بالحیثت ابر
Margin: ornamental scrolls.

Reverse: in circular area:

الدینا 
ناصر ولدين
إبر لمجاهد محمد
شاه إلستان
Margin: ornamental scrolls.

There is neither mint nor date.

2. Plate VIII, fig. 6. Now in the Indian Museum. This is merely another die of the same variety of coin, which has been published by Mr. Blochmann in this Journal, Vol. XLIV, p. 289, Pl. XI, No. 9, and by myself in Vol. LII, p. 218, Pl. XVII, No. 9. I publish it for three reasons. In the first place, because it is in very good condition and shows plainly the "kunyat" Abul Mujāhid. In the second place, because it gives a new date; and in the third place, because it shows that my description given in Vol. LII, p. 219 is wrong. The obverse legend is not (as I then thought, being misled by the bad condition of the coin) distributed over area and margin, but area and margin have, each, their own distinct legend.

Obv.: in circular area:

نَا الإسکة
واخر
لللمسلمين
خاد ملکه

Obv. margin:

ضرب هذه المسكه
في (........) سنة 842

Rev.: in circular area, within ornamental margin:

الدینا
ناصر
والدين ابر
المجاهد
محمد شاه
الستان

The date (just above of Nāšir) is 842. This is noticeable. The earliest proved date, hitherto known, of Maulmūd Shāh was 846, and he reigned up to 864. Native historians give him 27 years (or even
32) of reign. Accordingly his reign should have commenced in 638. Mr. Blochmann, after discussing the subject (Vol. XLII, p. 269), adds: “We require, therefore, more evidence to fix the beginning of Mahmūd’s reign.” Here, then, we have evidence carrying that Sultan’s reign back to 842.

The mint name I am unable to read satisfactorily, but it is apparently the same as that above on No. 3 of Jalālū-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāḥ. The first part, here, might be al-Balad; though, perhaps, the name is only a very crude way of writing Fīrūzābād; compare the appearance of the latter name on No. 3, below.

There were five specimens of this coin. One has no date; another has 843; on the remaining two the unit figure is not distinctly legible, it may be 1 or 2 or 3. The specimen dated 843 is now in the British Museum. The undated specimen seems to be of the Mu’azzīzīmābād mint.

3. Plate VIII, fig. 7. Now in my own cabinet. This is a new type.

Obv.: area in indented quatrefoil:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.: margin in sections:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upper left: ضرب هذه السكة في</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower &quot; : إسمك السلطان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower right: زر زر سنة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upper &quot; : 843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rev.: in circular area within ornamental border:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الدنيا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ناصر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والد ين ابو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ظاهر سعيد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شاه السلطان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No marginal legend.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noticed that this is again a coin of the Abul Muğāhid type, and that the date is another early one of 843.

There were seven specimens of this coin; all, except two, dated 843. On the remaining two the date is lost. One of them is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; another, in the British Museum.

4. Plate VIII, fig. 8. Now in the Indian Museum; the only specimen of this kind in the find. It is apparently a duplicate of the coin published by me in this Journal, Vol. LII, p. 218, Pl. XVI, No. 4, but it is in much better preservation, showing all the peculiarities of this type of coin.
Obv.: in circular area, within ornamental margin:

عَمَّتِ الَّذِيْنَ
مَكَّة
وَالمِصْرِينَ خَلَد
في فيروزراباد 868

Rev.: in oblong double-lined toothed area, within a circle surrounded by dots:

الدَّنيَا وَالإِيْمَانَ
وَلَا تَخْلُقُينَ
[للسلطان)

The date 858 is distinct. The mint Firúzábád is probable.

I wish to draw attention to two points:—

Firstly, these new coins carry Naṣīr-u-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh’s rule back to the years 843 and 842. The end of his reign is well ascertained to have been in 864, by Bárbak Sháh’s inscription of 865 and Maḥmúd’s own coin of 864 (Journal LiI, p. 216, No. 8b). This gives Maḥmúd Sháh a reign of, at least, 23 years, and goes some way in support of the statement of the native historians. Some of them say, that he reigned 32 years, others, that he reigned “not more than 27” years. These conflicting statements are susceptible of a not improbable explanation. Giving Maḥmúd Sháh 32 years, his reign would have commenced in 833. Mr. Blochmann (Journal, Vol. XLII, p. 268) shows with great probability, that Shamsu-d-dín Alīmád Sháh’s reign must have commenced in 834 or thereabouts. He was the third member of an usurping Hindu dynasty, and the native historians relate, that he was so cruel and tyrannical that Naṣir Sháh (afterwards Maḥmúd Sháh), a descendant of the old Muḥammadan dynasty of Ilyáš Sháh, with the support of the old party, set up an opposition reign. What happened, I suppose then, was this: Alīmád Sháh succeeded in 832; soon afterwards, in 833, Maḥmúd Sháh set up his counter-reign; Alīmád certainly lived to 836, as shown by one of his coins (see this Journal, Vol. XLII, p. 268, and Brit. Mus. Cat., No. 88), and he probably lived to 888, in which year accordingly Maḥmúd Sháh became sole and indisputed ruler of Bengal. Counting Maḥmúd’s reign from 833, we obtain a total of 32 years, but counting from 838, a total of 27 years.

Secondly, in this Journal, Vol. LII, pp. 212–216, I have fully proved, that Maḥmúd Sháh I made use of the two kunyats, Abul Mughifar as well as Abul Mujáhid. I gave another proof of the use of two kunyats in Journal, Vol. LIX, p. 167. The coins I now publish add further proof, if any were needed. In the British Museum Catalogue published in 1885, I see, there are two coins still ascribed to Naṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh II (Nos. 103, 104), following herein Mr. Blochmann, who in 1873
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(first ascribed that type of coin to Maḥmūd II. The only reason for this determination, given in the British Museum Catalogue (p. 42, footnote), is that this type of coin gives the kunyat Abul Mujāhid, which is said to distinguish Maḥmūd II from Maḥmūd I and Maḥmūd III, both of whom use the kunyat Abul Muẓaffar. I proved, already in 1883, that this reason was worthless; for Maḥmūd II uses both Abul Mujāhid and Abul Muẓaffar. Now the coin, British Museum Catalogue No. 104, is not dated, and therefore there is just a possibility that it may be a coin of Maḥmūd II (who, however, was a mere child and only reigned for six months); but there is no argument in support of that possibility, and the probabilities are all in favour of Maḥmūd I. He coined a great variety of types, and the style of the reverse of that No. 104 reminds one of the very similar style of Maḥmūd I’s son and successor Bārbak Shāh in his coin (Br. M. Cat.) No. 90. For my part, therefore, I prefer to ascribe the coin No. 104 (Br. M. Cat.) to Maḥmūd I, until dated coins of Maḥmūd II are found to prove the contrary. For another striking instance of the use of two different kunyats see below under Shamsu-d-dīn Muẓaffar Shāh.

(XXXIX.) Shamsu-d-dīn Yūsaf Shāh.

879–886 A. H. = 1474–1481 A. D.

(1) Plate VIII, fig. 9. Now in the Indian Museum. Only one coin of this type was found. It is an entirely new type.

Obverse: divided by four intersecting lines, so as to form a central square, with four exterior segments, the centre square itself being divided by a horizontal line into two equal oblong compartments. Thus:—

The two central compartments contain the creed; the four segments, the names of the four Imāms, of which, however, only 'Alī’s name is fully legible in the top segment.
The Reverse is divided into four parallel compartments by three horizontal lines. The legend is as follows:

إدنا إله
شمس وين
لملفريفوسف
إي أبو شاه إسطان
باربكشأ إسطان صحمود
[شاة] إسلام [طان]

There is no mint name and date on the coin, so far as I can see.

(2) Plate VIII, fig. 10. Now in the Indian Museum. Only one coin of this kind was found.

Obv.: in circular area: The Creed.
Below: Mint and date illegible.

Rev.: in lozenge area:

نيا
إد و
شمس لدين
إي أبو مللفريفوسف شاه
إسطان إين باربكشأ
إسطان إين صحمود
شاه إسطان

The marginal segments of the reverse are too much abraded to distinguish whether they bore any legends or merely ornamental scrolls; probably the latter.

(3) Plate VIII, fig. 11. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind.

Obv.: in circular area:
لا إله
إله محمد
رسول الله

Rev.: lettered surface:

(الدنة و الدين)
شمس سف
إي أبو الجاحد يو
شاه إين باربكشأ إين
صحمود شاه إسلام[طان]

There appears to have been no mint or date on this coin; at least I can discover no space for them.

What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that here we have again further evidence of the use, by the same king, of the two kunyats
Abul Muqaffar and Abul Mujahid. The usual kunyat of Yusuf Shah, on coins and in inscriptions, is Abul Muqaffar; but on the present coin it is Abul Mujahid.

(XLI.) Jalalu-d-din Fatih Shah.

886–892 A. H. = 1481–1486 A. D.

1. Plate VIII, fig. 12. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind. It is a new variety of the type, given in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 97. The only difference is in the arrangement of the lettering on the reverse.

Obverse:
The Creed.
Below: خزينة
(Treasury, 890 A. H.)

Reverse:

El Sultan (Ibn)
El Sultan Jalal ad-Din
Wa al-Din Abul-Mezaffer
[Fath Shih]

2. Plate IX, fig. 13. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind. This is a new variety of the type described in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 98. The latter is not figured, but, to judge from the arrangement of the lettering, I assume it to be the same as that published by Laidlay, in this Journal, Vol. XV, p. 329, No. 15. There the legends are in circular areas within ornamental margins. In the present coin, the arrangement is as follows:

Obv.: area,
double-lined octagon within a circle:
El Sultan
Ibn El Sultan
Jalal ad-Din
Wa al-Din Abul-Mezaffer

Rev.: area,
double-lined octagon within a circle:

El Sultan
Ibn El Sultan
Jalal ad-Din
Wa al-Din Abul-Mezaffer

The mint is clearly Muhammadabad, and the date 88* figures. The unit figure unfortunately is deleted by a shroff mark.

The riddle of this coin is the correct reading of the phrase in the fourth line of the reverse. This phrase is undoubtedly the same as that which occurs in the third line of the British Museum Catalogue, No. 95, and of this Journal, Vol. XI, pl. IX, No. 8. Mr. Blochmann (p. 282) read it on the latter coin as مجددة إله إفخ. This is unques-
tionably wrong, as the letters on the coins are not so many. The British Museum Catalogue (p. 39) reads it Al-Husain Shâhî. On the coins, however, there is no letter (s) but the letter (m). The latter is distinct enough, even in the photograph of the British Museum specimen, but it is quite unmistakable on the present specimen. Accordingly I prefer to read al-Hamîd Shâhî. This phrase al-Hamîd Shâhî is probably of some historical importance. The similar phrase al-Husainî is found on coins of the king 'Aláu-d-dín Husain Shâh, where it is applied to Sayyid Ashraf, the father of Husain Shâh. It distinguishes Sayyid Ashraf as belonging to the line of Husain. In the present case the term al-Hamîd Shâhî is applied to Maâhmûd Shâh, the father of Fath Shâh, and distinguishes him as belonging to the gUILD of Hamîd Shâh. Now the Riyâzu-s-Salatîn (Bibl. Indica ed., p. 108, see also Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 93, and Journal, Vol. XLII, p. 260, footnote) relates that the king Ghiyâsu-d-dîn 'Azam Shâh was a pupil of a Shaikh Hamûdû-d-dîn of Nagor, whom he used to visit to be taught divinity. Such holy men are not uncommonly popularly called by the title of Shâh. Accordingly Hamûdû-d-dîn would be popularly known as Hamîd Shâh, and pupils of his, or men professing his guild, would be called Hamîd Shâhî. Sultân 'Azam Shâh would be known as al-Hamîd Shâhî or 'the pupil of Hamîd Shâh'; and this honorific epithet would be retained by his direct descendants. It would, thence, follow that, in all probability, Maâhmûd Shâh was a younger son of 'Azam Shâh, his elder brother, who succeeded 'Azam Shâh, being Hamzah Shâh. Maâhmûd Shâh, in the histories, is simply described as a son of one of the descendants of Iyâs Shâh; and he took possession of the throne, after the short-lived usurpation of the Hindû family of Râjá Kans, on that title of being a descendant of the old legitimate royal family. If I am correct in my combinations, this coin of Fath Shâh would thus prove that Maâhmûd was a son (if not a grandson) of 'Azam Shâh. 'Azam Shâh, probably reigned up to 799 H., and Maâhmûd Shâh's usurpation, probably (see supra), commenced in 833 H. He may, therefore, have very well been a younger son of 'Azam Shâh, being, at the time of his usurpation, a man of between 40 and 50 years. In fact, Maâhmûd Shâh may, in his early youth, have still known Hamîd Shâh, and have accompanied his father in his visits to the saint.

(XLV.) Shamsu-d-dîn Mu'âAffar Shâh.

896–899 A. H. = 1490–1493 A. D.

1. Plate IX, fig. 14. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind. It is a new variety of the type published in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 105, and by Laidlay in this Journal, Vol. XV,
There is a slight difference in the arrangement of the lettering, but the main difference is the use of the kunyat Abul Muzaffar instead of the usual Abun-Nasar, and in the absence of khazánah.

Obv.: lettered surface:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{لا إله} \\
\text{لا إله محمد} \\
\text{رسول إله} \\
\text{8 * 8} \\
(8 * 8 A. H.)
\end{array}
\]

Rev.: in circular area:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{إليزريه} \\
\text{شمس} \\
\text{و إلدين إبو} \\
\text{الظفر مظفر شام} \\
\text{السلطان خلده} \\
\text{للملكة و} \\
\text{سلطانه}
\end{array}
\]

The date, of course, must be 898. The curiosity of this coin is the kunyat Abul Muzaffar. Its letters are absolutely distinct, which is more than can be said for the kunyat Abun Naṣar, which is usually read on his coins. I have never met with any specimen on which Abun Naṣar could be read with equally absolute certainty; at the same time, I admit that the reading Abun Naṣar on those coins (as on Br. M. Cat., No. 105) is very probable. Any how, the kunyat Abun Naṣar as the usual one of Muẓaffar Shāh is proved by his inscriptions which uniformly give it to him (see this Journal, Vol. XLII, p. 290.) Here, then, we have another evidence to confirm the fact that more than one kunyat might be used by the same king. I may add that Blochmann in this Journal, Vol. XLIII, p. 297, footnote, affords another evidence in the fact that Aurangzīb uses the two kunyats Abuz Zafar and Abul Muzaffar, on his coins and in his inscriptions respectively. He calls this a "confusion" (whose?), but it is simply a well-established practice of some kings.

(B) Coins of the Kalachuri kings of Chedi.

In January last, I received from the Political Agent of the Chhatisgarh Feudatory States, Raipur, 56 old coins which, on examination, turned out to be coins of some of the Kalachuri kings of Chedi. A report on them has been published in the Society’s Proceedings for April last. These coins had been found in the Sarangarh State. In May last, I received three more Chedi coins, which had been found in the bed of the river Ang, in the state of Patna, and a report on which is published in the Proceedings for August last.

As these coins, as far as I know, are the first of their kind ever found, or at least have never been published, I publish them now the more so, as in one respect I have altered my opinion published in the Proceedings for April last.
For information on the Kalachuri dynasty of Chedi I may refer to General Sir Alexander Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XVII, p. 71 ff., and Professor Kielhorn's paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135–138. On the accounts there given the subjoined genealogical list is based:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Approximate date of accession</th>
<th>Names of kings</th>
<th>Actual dates from inscriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1000 A. D.</td>
<td>Kokalla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1030 ”</td>
<td>Ratnarája I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1060 ”</td>
<td>Prithvídéva I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1090 ”</td>
<td>Jájalládeva I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1120 ”</td>
<td>Ratnádeva I</td>
<td>1114 A. D. (836 K. S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1135 ”</td>
<td>Prithvídéva II</td>
<td>1141 (893 K. S.),* 1145 (896 K. S.), 1158 A. D. (910 K. S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1160 ”</td>
<td>Jájalládeva II</td>
<td>1167 A. D. (919 K. S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1175 ”</td>
<td>Ratnádeva III</td>
<td>1181 A. D. (933 K. S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1185 ”</td>
<td>Prithvídéva III</td>
<td>1190 A. D. (1247 V. S.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is a list of the coins that have been found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>large</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jájalládeva</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ratnádeva</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prithvídéva</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of the coins are of pure gold; viz., one large coin of Jájalla (found in the Patna State), and the large coin of Prithvi Deva. All others are of mixed metal, containing gold in very varying proportions, which could only be determined by a regular assay. The other large coin of Jájalla, found in the Patna State, as well as his small coin, found there, appear to be of nearly pure gold.

In weight and size they are all practically alike; that is, the larger coins measure 0·65, the smaller, 0·5 inches; and the larger coins weigh 57 grains, the smaller, 15 grains. The large gold Prithvi Deva weighs 59 grains, and one large Jájalla Deva of mixed metal weighs only 56 grains; also one small Jájalla, only 14 grains.

* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 84.
In design the coins are all alike. The margin is formed by a circle of dots. On the obverse is the crude figure of some animal, and on the reverse, the legend.

The legends are the following:—

I. Jákalla (Pl. IX, 15-19).  
II. Ratna Deva (Pl. IX, 20, 21.)

III. Prithví Deva (Pl. IX, fig. 22).

The Jájalla coins of mixed metal show on the obverse of the large specimens the akshara ma, on that of the small, ma. On the obverse of the gold Jájalla and the gold Prithví Deva, in the corresponding places, there is also some mark, which seems to be some akshara, it resembles the numeral figure (5).

What animal the figure on the obverse represents, I do not venture to say. At first, I thought it was the standing figure of Hanumán, and this opinion I expressed in my report, published in the Proceedings for April last, p. 92. This figure can be recognized, if one takes the coin (e.g., the gold Prithví Deva, Pl. VII, fig. 22) with the reverse (legend) side facing, and then turns over the obverse side, side-ways, from the right to the left. The obverse side, as then presented to the spectator, shows a crude figure of Hanumán standing, with his head turned to the left (showing profile), body to front, and feet to right; one of the two scrolls being his tail. The figure, of course, is very crude.

But I have since found, that holding the obverse side in a different position, other figures can be made out; and accordingly, I wish to withdraw, for the present, the conclusion which I drew from my recognition of the figure of Hanumán, in the April Proceedings, p. 93. If, instead of turning the gold Prithví Deva side-ways, from right to left, it be turned downwards from top to bottom, the obverse side, as now presented to the spectator, shows a distinct small figure of an elephant, in the lower half of the coin. His head, on the right hand side, is quite clear; his trunk is raised up and curves over; within the curve is seen one of his tusks; his body is encircled by a heavy chain (of the howdah); the upturned tail is just seen on the left margin; the fore-legs are partially visible, the hind-legs are cut away. This much is very clear, but what the marks on the upper half of the coin may mean, I cannot make out, unless they can somehow be taken to represent a howdah. See No. 21 on Plate IX.

There is still a third possibility. Holding the obverse side, in nearly
the same position as for the elephant, it is just possible to recognize the figure of a bull (or a horse, or a lion), to the right, in the same recumbent position as seen on the so-called "Bull and Horseman" coins. See obverse of No. 15 on Plate IX. What was before the upturned trunk of the elephant, are now the fore legs of the bull turned under his body. A part of what might be the howdah (?) is now the head of the bull (or other animal), near the right hand margin.

I may add, that holding the coin in the position, now described, the akshara मा मā presents itself upright, which renders it probable that this is the proper position in which the coin should be held. See No. 17 on Plate IX.

All this requires some exercise of the imagination, and I will leave it to more experienced numismatic eyes to determine the real nature of the obverse figure. Only one thing appears to me impossible: to recognize in it any figure of the goddess "Durgā, four-armed, seated to front." And in this respect, the coins of the present finds still appear to me very noteworthy. For all coins of the Kalachuri dynasty that hitherto have become known, show on the obverse the figure of Durgā, which is also said to have been "the cognizance of the Haihaya or Kalachuri Princes of Chedi."*

It is impossible to say, to which of the kings of the above given list the coins may belong. Ratna Deva and Prithví Deva, both occur three times, and Jájalla Deva occurs twice. Coins (gold, silver and copper, see Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. X, p. 25) of the Kalachuri king Gangeya Deva are known; so also gold coins of a Kalachuri king, Prithví Deva† (see Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 292, and Thomas' Chronicles, No. 17, p. 19.) All these, however, are of a different type. They show, on the obverse, the figure of Durgā, seated to front. No coin of any other Kalachuri king has become known before the finds now described by me. Gangeya Deva's date is about 1120–1140 A. D. There is an inscription of his, dated in (789 K. S.) 1038 A. D.;‡ He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Ratna Deva I. General Sir Alex. Cunningham has shown (Survey Reports, Vol. XVII, p. 71) that a Kalachuri king Gayakarna Deva was reigning in (866 K. S., or) 1115 A. D., in the very same year as Jájalla Deva I; and that, therefore, there existed two distinct kingdoms of Chedi, one having its capital at Tripuri, on the Narbuda, in Western Chhatisgarh; the other in Ratanpur, in Northern Chhatisgarh. Gangeya Deva was a king of Western

† That this is the Kalachuri Prithví Deva, and not a Chandel king, is shown by the form of the name. The Chandel is called Prithví Varmma.
Chhatisgarh or Dahal; he is called so in one of his inscriptions (Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI, p. 113). It may be suggested, that the two Chedi kingdoms had coinages of distinct types. Western Chedi had the four-armed seated Durgá, while Northern Chedi had the coins which I have described in this paper. In that case the Prithví Deva, whose coins show the Durgá device, would not be identical with any of the three Prithví Devas in the list above given, which is a list of the Ratanpur kings of Northern Chedi. He would be another king of the Tripuri dynasty of Western Chedi.

(C) Coins of the Sultáns of Delhi.

1. See Plate IX, fig. 23. This is a copper coin of uncertain attribution, which I discovered among the coins of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is clearly dated 841 H., and it shows the type current in those days in the mints of the so-called Pathán Sultáns of Delhi. Compare, e. g., the small copper coins of Mubárak Sháh II (824–837), and Muḥammad Sháh IV (837–847). It bears, however, the name of Jaláí Sháh. There is no Sultán of that name in the known list of the Sultáns of Delhi. Thomas, in his Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 375, mentions a Jaláí Lodí, who was a brother of Ibráhím Lodí, and who was placed by the nobles of his own tribe of Lodí on the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpur. But Ibráhím’s date is 923–937, and his brother Jaláí’s date is therefore too late for the present coin. The first known interference of the Lodís with the Delhi Saltanat is connected with Bahlol Lodí, the grand-father of Ibráhím Lodí and of the above-mentioned Jaláí Lodí. He was nominally Governor, but virtually, master of the dependencies of Láhor and Sarhind, under the Sultán of Delhi, Muḥammad Sháh IV bin Faríd (837–847). His aid was called in by that Sultán, to relieve him from the attack of Ibráhím, king of Jaunpur. This happened before 844, the date of Ibráhím’s death. Bahlol’s first mention, therefore, goes back to at least 844 H. (See Thomas, ibid., pp. 320, 336). It might be suggested that Jaláí may have been Bahlol’s father; but his father’s name is given as “Máhlk Kálá” in Beale’s Oriental Biographical Dictionary. I referred the question to Mr. Rodgers, who possesses an unrivalled acquaintance with the Muhammadan coins of that period; but he was not able to throw any light on Jaláí Sháh’s identity. The coin reads as follows:—

Obverse: 

*فَتْحَ الْدِّنَٰنِيَّة
وَالْدِيْن
٨٤١

Reverso: 

*جاَلِل شَٰه
١
سلطان
I give the obverse legend, as Mr. Rodgers reads it, though I am not fully satisfied as to its correctness.

2. See Plate IX, fig. 24. This is a rupee of Sher Sháh from my own cabinet. It is of a well-known type, but I publish it for the sake of the strange reverse legend ‘Alá’-d-dín, which is clearly shown in the bottom segment. It appears in the place, where one usually finds Sher Sháh’s name Farú’-d-dín. I cannot account for this anomaly, nor can Mr. Rodgers to whom I referred the coin.

(D) Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi.

1. See Plate IX, fig. 24. This is a square rupee from my own cabinet. The date is perfectly distinct, 1010 H., and the coin, therefore, refers itself to Akbar’s reign; yet its true attribution is not without difficulties. I referred the coin to Mr. Rodgers, who informed me that there are two coins like it in the Lahore Museum and that he possesses one specimen himself. He believes that they are “Jahangir’s coins with Akbar’s name, struck in Bengal.” He reads the legends as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse:</th>
<th>Reverse:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Creed.</td>
<td>شاہ سليم 1010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>اکبر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>کا بورس ضرب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>سےکہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بنگالہ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He tells me that “Akbar,” “Sháh Salim” and mint “Bangáláh” are plain on one of the above-mentioned three coins. Jahangír succeeded his father Akbar in 1014 H.; his earlier name was Salim Sháh, which appears on some of his early coins, for which see British Museum Catalogue, Nos. 288, 289.

2. See Plate IX, fig. 25. This is a rupee of Jahangír, of the well-known type of the months of the Iláhí years. I publish it, however, for the sake of the mint Rohtás, which is a new one. The legends run as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse:</th>
<th>Reverse:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>اکبر</td>
<td>مالا إسفنداري ایجی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شاہ شاہ</td>
<td>ضرب 19 رهناس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نگر</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نورالدین جها</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. See Plate IX, fig. 26. This is a new variety of the well-known type of Shâh Jahân’s rupees with two straight-lined square areas. The novelty is that the square is made with double lines, resembling in this respect a certain variety of Sher Shâh’s rupees, which is less rare, and a specimen of which is figured in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 544. Shâh Jahân’s rupee of this variety is extremely rare. I have only heard of one other specimen, through Mr. Rodgers who informs me that he has seen it in the collection of Mr. Durkee, an American who visited India in the course of last year. The legends are the usual ones; there is, however, one peculiarity, that the Hijra date is given twice, while the Jalûs year is omitted. The date is 1056, and is given in the top segment of the obverse, together with the mark of a “sword;” and it is given again in the bottom segment of the reverse with the mint Kaṭṭak (कट्टक).

Postscript: The above was in print before I discovered that Jalâl Shâh’s coin (p. 243) had been already published in the Appendix to the British Museum Catalogue of “The Muhammadan States,” No. 500, p. 168, among the “unidentified” coins. In a footnote, it is suggested by the author of the Catalogue that it belongs to the Gujarât group of coins, on the ground that it is “precisely similar” to the coins of Ahmad I of Gujarât. It seems to me that the similarity is much more striking to some of the Delhi emperal issues, and that, therefore, the prince who issued these coins was more likely to have been one who “made himself temporarily independent” from a Delhi emperor than from a Gujarât king. The facsimile of the Brit. Mus. specimen confirms Mr. Rodger’s reading of the obverse legend.

On a new find of old Nepalese Manuscripts.—By PANDIT HARA PRASÁD SHÁSTRI.

I have been fortunate enough to obtain through the good offices of my friend Bábú Kshírod Chandra Rây Chandhuri, Headmaster, Chapra Zilla School, a collection of ancient Sanskrit MSS. from Nepal. They are twelve in number, eleven of which have been acquired for Government. Five of them are Buddhist works, four of which are absolutely unknown to the learned world. Six of them are Hindu works, five of which are well-known; one only being new to the world. The twelfth work was marked unknown and appeared to be in utter confusion. The great merit of the five Hindú MSS. which are already well-known, and indeed that of the whole collection, is their ancient date. The MSS. were written between 1026 and 1481 A.D.
The most important works of this collection are two; namely, a commentary on the celebrated work on Buddhist philosophy entitled *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, noticed by the late Rājā Rājendralal Mitra on page 47 of his work on the Nepalese Buddhist MSS. Mr. Bendall in his "Cambridge Catalogue" says that this work is the 9th Section of the well-known *Āsokāvadānamālā*. It is divided into 10 chapters, and is perhaps the only work in which four of the six *pāramitās* have been fully explained. Though it is a part of the Āsokāvadāna, it is always regarded as a separate work on account of the importance of its philosophical doctrines, which are couched—as all such doctrines are—in a language scarcely to be understood without a commentary. And such a commentary is furnished in one of the twelve works in the new collection.

The commentary is by Prajñākara who is styled *Pandita Bhikshu*, i.e., a learned monk. Bābū Sarat Chunder Dās tells me that Prajñākara was a famous disciple of the still more famous Dīpaṅkara Śrī Jñāna of Vikramaśīla who introduced the reformed Buddhist faith into Tibet, where he is known as Atiśā. This is probably correct. The MS. was copied by one who, from the use of the phrase *Prajñākarapādānām*, appears to have been Prajñākara's disciple. The work was copied in the year 198 of the Nepalese era, i.e., 1078 A.D., and Dīpaṅkara's journey to Tibet is said to have been undertaken in the year 1066. Atiśā was about seventy when he was invited to Tibet, and it is quite possible that one of his young disciples wrote a running commentary on one of the most important works of Buddhist philosophy, and that it was copied by a pupil of this disciple.

As a specimen of the commentary, I subjoin an extract from page 213A to the end:

Text

अजसर्वकालिन्यासिविविष्ठरत्नोऽभासम्

आयामकालिकोपदो धोरा: छला भरणमयत: ||

Comm. अजसर्वकालिन्यासिविविष्ठरत्नोऽभासम्

यत्यामराजग्नामसमभुवाभिवधीन लीता विवेचित्यं वेंढां ते तथोस्तः

तेषसमव-मनवा वीजया विवेचरतः विशिष्टां विचरता सतामायाख्यिन्ति तौक्षिण्यतः

वापदो मिलनस्य सबे ते दु:क्षेत्रवेदी तरायाख्यिन्तभव: ||

धोरा चतुर्भयक्ष्यः कथा-

भाषायाख्यिन्ति || छला भरणसम्यतः ||

समस्तप्रतिकारयथारः मलयभ्यतः पुरः

छला || भवते कृष्णाभ्योगित राजावादुस्ते, तथाः,

समतागच चतुर्भयो दिग्विजयः

मिलरः धार्मिकन्यः दु:क्षाः सरावनः छलकः वर्षितः यसुपितः संस्क्रितः

ब्रजगम्यः नमःवृत्तः एथिरीविवेचितः ||

ब्रजगम्यः नमःवृत्तः एथिरीविवेचितः ||

सङ्ग्रहस्य ग्रहायायं गुणपलाबादिः
एवं दुःखः श्रीलालानां शालिं कुमारां कहताः。
पुष्पमेचमसूचित: सुखोपकारण: खङ्के:॥ 
P. 45, b. B. 42.

इत्यादि जातिरिदुखिनीमां दुःखापहरयाय खालिदाभिर्‌माः, एवः- 
मिलयिद् ज्ञातिकारिकी शैला दुःखास्मिनां दुःखापहियायः। तीः स- 
न्तापितानं सचारां शानि जातिरिदुखिनीति भ्रमणां विकारिता विचारात्‌ 
वधिताः कालियोः ज्ञात्वहरयाय शानिः।
Hara Prasad Shastri—Old Nepalese Manuscripts. [No. 3, 248

कासिन्दु काले कुलाँ विद्यायां। कार्तब सहोपकारेण: खचः सहस्योप-
करणां नुसाधनां विशाराङ्गानुवदनामानान्दशास्त्रीयो
कन्नुदुपार्जिनि-
तरवेद नेवारां, खचः: साँखियां। सचा सहस्युपार्जिनिश्चितायः। कि जिन्नाशास्त्रादि-
प्रदानितकान्ताय पुराणसहस्युपदेशः। पुराणानवेद भिया: सच्चुदं: सहस्यानन्दशास्त्रान-
सहोपकारश्रीलवधिप्रदाननिदानवात्। तेषां: समुद्रभूलां जावावि ते।

यह्ये श्रीब्रह्मसूत्राभि देशविद्यामध्ये शृण्यताम्।

समुद्रभूमचलोन पुराणभारभाद्वात्। प. 45, b. B. 42.

यस्मादभूमचलोपरेयां चेवो विद्याय निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।

कदेवादि। कदा कासिन्दु कालेपुराणमहत्त्वो भावालीभावानिधिषेको देशविद्यामध्ये ग्रन्थाभावानिधिषेको देश-
विद्यामध्ये श्रुतां तथाधरभावानिधिषेको श्रुतां तथा धर्मभावानिधिषेको निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।

स्वयं युः विक्षामविधायत्तरामनपञ्जुसंख्यताय देशविद्युमश्लाभावात् तथा निःसर्गसम्प्रति 
श्रुतां तथाधरभावानिधिषेको श्रुतां तथा धर्मभावानिधिषेको निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।

परे चण्डालो निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत। श्रुतां तथाधरभावानिधिषेको श्रुतां तथा धर्मभावानिधिषेको निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।

कदेवादि। कदा कासिन्दु कालेपुराणमहत्त्वो भावालीभावानिधिषेको देशविद्यामध्ये ग्रन्थाभावानिधिषेको देश-
विद्यामध्ये श्रुतां तथाधरभावानिधिषेको निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।

स्वयं युः विक्षामविधायत्तरामनपञ्जुसंख्यताय देशविद्युमश्लाभावात् तथा निःसर्गसम्प्रति 
श्रुतां तथाधरभावानिधिषेको श्रुतां तथा धर्मभावानिधिषेको निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।

परे चण्डालो निःसर्गसम्प्रति प्रदानयत।
The commentary comes down to the end of the 9th chapter of the Bodhikārīvantāra, the chapter dealing with Prajñāpāramitā. The first page of the MS. is missing; others are missing here and there, and the number of missing pages is about 29.

The second important work is a complete copy of the Chāndra-vyākaraṇa which represents one of the eight great schools of Sanskrit grammar as stated in the celebrated verse:

\[ \text{"\begin{align*}
\text{श्रवनशरीरः काणात्वात् भस्मविश्लेषणखङ्कारःह़।}
\text{पाणिन्यसर्वसः स्त्री न्यायविद्याधिशत्तकः।}
\end{align*}"
\]

A complete copy of this book is a great desideratum. Mr. Bendall’s catalogue of MSS. in the University Library of Cambridge mentions J. 1. 32
two MSS. of this work, but both of them are incomplete. Our MS. was transcribed in the Nepal year 476 corresponding to 1856 A.D., and the paleography exactly corresponds with that of the 14th century as given in Mr. Bendall’s Tables of letters and numerals. It was written at a time when all Nepal was in a state of confusion, owing to a Kosala invasion led by Hari Singh of Simraon. The MS. was copied by Kshemendra, the principal Achārya of a Vihaṇ named Yosvāccha (?), in the reign of Rājadhīraj-paraṁśvara-paramabhaṭṭaraka-śrī-śrī-vijayarāja-deva—a king whom it is very difficult to identify. Mr. Bendall is perfectly right when he says that “the Chandra-vyākaraṇa follows Pāṇini both in style and treatment and often in actual words, many of the Sūtras being identical.” This is also the case with many other grammars, some of which have been compiled simply to avoid the study of the cumbrous and diffuse Pāṇini. Mr. Bendall also says that the Chandra-vyākaraṇa is divided into six adhyāyas, each of which again is sub-divided into four padas, though in my MS. the 6th adhyāya contains 3 padas only.

The next work in importance is a complete copy (one leaf only missing) of the Amara Kosha written in the mouth of Chaitra in the 24th year of Govinda-pāla Deva whose accession to the throne of Magadha in the year 1161 is known from an inscription in Vol. III of Cunninham’s Archeological Report. Thus his 24th year corresponds with 1185 A.D. I have compared portions of the MS. with the printed text of Colebrooke. In the printed text there are metrical colophons at the end of every kāṇḍa. But the MS. has no metrical colophons. The last colophon of the MS. is simply Liṅga-saṁgrahāḥ saṁaptāḥ.

Many lines and verses, which are known in latter MSS. as interpolations, do not occur in our MS.—for instance, the synonyms of Lakṣmi occupy two lines in ordinary MSS. and printed texts of the Amara Kosha, whereas our MS. has only one line; and many old pandits whom I consulted, and who in their early youth committed the whole of the work into memory, told me that the second line was always regarded as an interpolation.

The fourth work is a copy of the Chaṇḍakauśikā by Arya Kshemiśvara, dated 1331, A.D.* So the writing of this work also falls within the period of confusion in Nepal. The Sanskrit scholarship of Nepal at that time was so poor that they could not correctly ascertain the name of the work, but labelled it, in the same character in which the whole book is written, as Hariśchandra-vikrīya-pustakam.

* चन्द्रकाउशिकी अर्यक्षेमीश्वराचार्य
पीढीकाही पालकां घराण श्रीकामदासान्।
Five leaves, from three to seven, are missing. The book is in other respects complete, and it affords many readings which are much better than those found in the Calcutta editions of the work.

The book contains some hints about the time when it was composed in the following couplet:—

Mahipala has been put down by Cunningham as the 11th king of the Pala dynasty whose reign commenced in the year 1015. But the question is who the Karnatas, mentioned here, were? Are they the people of Karnata, or do they belong to the dynasty of Karnatas who reigned in Mithila and Nepal for a long time in the next two centuries. On page 99, Vol. I. of South Indian Inscriptions, Dr. Hultzsch speaks of a Mahipala Deva whose dominions extended to the sea, and from whom eleven elephants were wrested by Rájendra Chora Deva of the Súryavaminá, who reigned from A. D. 1022 to 1063. This is Mahipala of Magadha, who reigned from 1015 to 1040. The Pálas made extensive conquests at this period of their existence. One of their dynasty has been placed by Albiruni on the throne of Kánaúj about this period, 1020. There is every probability of the Mahipala mentioned in Chañdakaushika being the same person as the Mahipala of 1015 to 1040. He had to fight with a South Indian Prince—a Karnata. The Karnatas were the enemies of Hemanta Sena the great grand-father of Ballála Sena. Hemanta retired to a place on the Bhágirathi, in Bengal, after a life-long contest with the Karnatas, and his grandson, Vijaya, is said to have defeated Nánáya Deva, the founder of the Karnátaka dynasty of Nepal. (Epigr. Ind., Vol. I.). These reigned in Nepal for several generations (see Bendall’s Catalogue) and the Maitilila King under whose patronage Chañdésvara wrote his Smriti works and led his victorious armies to Nepal, also belonged to the Karnátaka dynasty. (See Eggeling’s Cat. I. O. L. MSS.)

The work was very popular at Mahipala’s court where a nobleman named Kárñika gave the author Árya Kshemísvara a large quantity of gold, silver, and land, as appears from the last verse.
A drama describing the self-sacrificing spirit of Harišchandra cannot but be interesting to a Buddhist audience.

The fifth work is Śuddhiratnākara, by Chaṇḍesvara. The work has been noticed by the late Rājā Rājendralālā Mitra in his Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. VII, No. 2384, as belonging to one Bhaiyalāla Jhā, of Dhamdaha-gram in Purnia. The India Office Library has a very imperfect copy of the work, in which both the beginning and the end are missing. The MS. is one of the seven great works of Chaṇḍesvara's digest. Pages 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 39, 77, and some leaves at the end, in our MS. are missing. The MS. is a much better one than the India Office copy, which is in modern Bengali characters; while ours is in ancient Bengali, and may, on palaeographical grounds, be referred to the 14th century.

The sixth work is Buddha-kāpāla-tīhā. This is a commentary on the Buddhakāpāla—a Buddhist tántric work not yet obtained. The MS. was copied by a pupil of the author—Abhayākara, a monk belonging to the Vihāra of Vikramaśila. The work is complete in 14 pātalas. The name of the commentary is Abhaya-paddhati. On palaeographical grounds the work may be referred to the palmiest days of Vikramaśila, in the 11th and 12th centuries of the Christian era.

The seventh work is Saṅgīta-ratnākara, in ancient Bengali character, dated 362, i.e., 1481 A.D. The work is complete in three chapters, and deals with instrumental and vocal music and dancing. It has marginal notes in Nepalese handwriting. It has already been printed and published at Calcutta.

The eighth is Samputodbhava, written in Buddhist Sanskrit prose in the style of the Prajñāpāramitā. The MS. is complete, the first two pages are slightly injured, so portions of them are mounted with paper in which the injured portions of the text have been restored in a later hand. It is a Tántric work consisting of ten chapters, each divided into three to four prakāraṇas. It was copied in 146 of the Newārī era, i.e., 1026 A.D.

The ninth work is Vajradāk-tantra. This is a Tántrik work in 51 pātalas, treating of mystic mantras and mystic observances. The invocation of serpents, Dakinis, dead bodies, &c., forms the chief feature of the work. The work is incomplete and breaks off with the 225th leaf.

The tenth work of the collection is a beautiful copy of the Prajñā-pāramitā in 8,000 slokas. The work is on palm leaves pressed between two wooden boards, with sticks inserted through holes in place of
strings. One of the boards is besmeared with sandal paste, which has accumulated there for ages. The MS. was evidently an object of worship and as Prayñāpāramitā is also called Rakshā-Bhagavatī it appears to have been regarded as a charm for protection against evils. The MS. was copied in the 38th year of Govindapāla who is styled Gaureśvara, i. e., the year 1198 A.D. Govindapāla had certainly lost his kingdom before that time, because his kingdom is not mentioned as a pravardhana-māṇa-vijaya-rājya, as usual, but as an atilā-rājya, i.e., that his kingdom was lost but he was living, perhaps a fugitive. Three of the MSS. belonging to the same reign have been examined by Mr. Bendall at Cambridge. In one of them, that belonging to the 38th year of this reign, occurs the word vināshṭa-rājya, showing that the kingdom was lost at that time. The word used in our MS. is atilā, which is the same as vināshṭa. The book was copied at Jayanagara in Magadhā Manḍala at a Vihāra established by Rāṇī Khetalīya Devī by Jaināchārya Sṛkamalapāla. It was a gift by a lay disciple belonging to the Mahāyāna School named Maluka (?), the son of Maharāhasōṣṭhane (?). Jayanagara at this time was a sort of second capital of Magadhā. Cunningham says it was situated near Lashkhnāscra. That it was a place of importance is testified by two facts: (1) by the discovery of a number of inscriptions in the 12th century character, and (2) by a number of coins in the Indian Museum, belonging to this place. The rulers of Jayanagara seem to have held a semi-independent authority under the Pālas. Govinda Pāla in this MS. is called the king of Gauḍa; this was a mere title. He had no authority in that city which was under the power of the Senas, and Lakṣmīnārāma Sena is said to have changed its name into Lakṣmīnāvātī, and one of his inscriptions is dated from Paṃḍravardhana, which is by many and, indeed, by the late Mr. Blochmann, identified with Hazarat Paṇḍu, so near Gauḍ.

I have compared the first few leaves with the printed text of Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, and I found them to agree perfectly. This work has not been acquired.

The eleventh MS. is a collection of Śaiva tantras. On a careful examination of the whole MS. it appears to be a collection of six Śaiva works. (1) Śivapadma, 12 complete chapters, (2) Śivapadmottara, complete in 12 chapters, (3) Śivapadma Śamgraha, complete in 12 chapters, (4) Umā Mahēśvara Śamvāda, 21 chapters, not complete. Works of this name, belonging to the Skanda and to the Linga Purāṇas, are mentioned in Aufrecht’s Catalogue, but there is no good notice of these works. (5) Śivopanishad, complete in eight chapters. This is different from the Śivopanishad by Harihar, noticed by Rājendralāla Mitra. (6) Uttarottara Tantra, complete in 10 chapters. The work can safely be placed on palaeographic grounds in the 12th century.
The twelfth MS. is labelled as unknown. The first page is missing and the end is far away. On examination it is found that pages from 2 to 210 exist, with the exception of the 129th page. The handwriting is beautiful, much older than the rest of the collection. On examination it proved to be a portion of the Vṛihat-kathā, about a-tenth of the whole work. It is not Somadeva's Kathā-Saritśāgara, nor Kshemendra’s Vṛihat-Kathāmañjarī because in both these works the chapters are divided into lambakas and taraṅgas, whereas in the present MS. it is divided into adhyāyas and sargas. The work contains one complete adhyāya and a portion of the second. It has altogether 26 sargas, the colophons of many of which do not give any information at all. But in some of them appear these significant words Vṛihat-kathāyām-śloka-saṅgraha. In the colophons appear the names of the sargas; they often contain proper names, none of which I have been able to identify either in Kshemendra’s or in Somadeva’s work. So this fragment appears to be a third Sanskrit redaction or version of the original Paisāchī Vṛihat-kathā by Gūpāḍhya, and the MS. which has been labelled ‘unknown’ by my Nepalese vendor, turns out to be the most important work of the whole collection.

The letter क in this MS. has a more archaic form than in most of the Nepalese MSS., which leads me to think that this MS. is of higher antiquity than the rest. The क has the turn of the Guptalipi. I may therefore be allowed to venture to say that I have laid my hands on a work copied even before Kshemendra and Somadeva wrote their works on the Vṛihat-Kathā. Bühler, in his paper in Vol. I, Ind. Ant., says that Kshemendra had the Paisāchī version of Gūpāḍhya before him. Might he not have consulted a big Sanskrit version, too, from which to abridge? I have read the first sarga in my MS. It treats of king Gopāla renouncing the world, because people calumniated him as a parricide, and making over his kingdom to Pālaka, his brother, in spite of the remonstrances of the Brāhmanas. This is a very large work, the first adhyāya alone containing more than 4,200 ślokas. While Kshemendra’s whole work, according to Bühler, consists of a little more than 7,000 ślokas. I give here the colophons of this work.
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Note on the Official Reckoning of the reigns of the later Moghul Emperors and on some of their Mughal Towns.

By W. Irvine, Esq., I.C.S. (retired.)

In the Philological Secretary's Report on a recent find of coins (Proceedings for June 1893, p. 116), I see that he adopts 1069 H. (Sept. 1658—Sept. 1659), as the year from which Aurangzib 'Alamgir's reign is reckoned. On grounds which I think are overwhelmingly strong, I propose to substitute 1068 H. (Sept. 1657—Sept. 1658.) Among European writers we find considerable difference of opinion as to the year in which 'Alamgir began his reign. To mention the latest writer first, Mr. S Lane Poole, in his "The Moghul Emperors of Hindustan" (1892), p. xxvi, says "in May 1659 (1069) he," i.e., 'Alamgir, "was proclaimed Emperor." I see, however, that in his later work "Aurangzib" (1893) in the series "Rulers of India," Mr. Lane Poole dates the reign from July 1658 (see the Table on p. 21 of that work). Again, in the "Oriental Biographical Dictionary" of T. W. Beale, p. 33, we read "but ('Alamgir) was not crowned till the first "anniversary of his accession, a circumstance which has introduced "some confusion into the chronology of his reign." This statement, in identical words, is found in Elphinstone's "History of India" (4th ed. p. 525), and he relies on Kháfi Khán. Grant Duff ("History of the Mahrattas," Bombay reprint, note on p. 72), although he prefers 1658 (i.e., 1068 H.) to 1659 as the correct year, seems to have suggested Elphinstone's remark. Grant Duff writes "Aurungzebe appears to "have begun by reckoning his reign from the date of his victory over "Dara, to have subsequently ascended the throne in the following year, "and then changed the date, which he again altered by reverting to "the former date (i.e., 1068 H.) at some later and unknown period." Grant Duff, like Elphinstone, relies upon Kháfi Khán. Now, Kháfi Khán (in the printed text, at any rate) is not to be altogether trusted in the matter of chronology; but I think that in this instance Grant Duff's note misrepresents the facts, even as recorded by Kháfi Khán.

Kháfi Khán founded his statements, as is tolerably obvious, on the Tárikh-i-dahsálah or 'Alamgir-náma of Muḥammad Kážim, and on the Mağir-i-'Alamgírí of Muḥammad Sáki Masta'Íd Khán. The latter for the first ten years of the reign, is itself an abstract of Muḥammad Kážim's work (see p. 65 of the printed text of the Maşir). The facts, then as related in the 'Alamgir-náma, the source from which all others are drawn, are as follows:
Muḥammad Kāzīm commences the second year (1069 Ḥ.) with a long excursus on the necessity for a system of chronology and the varying modes of reckoning time, with some remarks on Akbar’s Divine Era and that followed by Jahāngīr. Those two sovereigns reckoned from the 1st Farwardin and used a solar year. He then informs us that Shāhjahān restored the use of the Muḥammadan era; and that Jahāngīr followed his father’s practice. “And although the first fortunate enthronement happened on the 1st Zūl-ka’ādīh, 1068 Ḥ.; yet, the effulgence of victory and success and the rising of the world-illuminating light of that founder of the horoscope of felicity and prosperity having thrown the ray of joy on the world in the month of Ramznān of their year (1068 Ḥ.), and the appearing of the star of strength and perpetuity of that chosen one, full of splendour, having lighted up the face of Fortune and Good Luck in those days; the first day of that month of blessed omen, which was the new moon of limitless felicity and pregnant with both worldly and spiritual blessings, was chosen as the first day of the years of that reign, rich in mercies; and the exalted order obtained issue that in offices and calendars and patents and rescripts, they should make record after that manner, and reduce into writing after that fashion all occurrences and the reports of events. Accordingly, by the rule so fixed, I have to this point written with my descriptive pen the story of one year and twenty-four days belonging to the felicitous epoch of the sovereignty and empire of that One worthy of the faith-protecting throne. And previous thereto there are entered the events of four months belonging to the auspicious time of his being still only a Prince of the Blood, beginning from the day of the departure of the victorious army, intent on world-conquering and realm-seizing, from the province (khitah) of fortunate foundation, Aurangabād, which took place on the 1st Jamādī I, 1068 Ḥ. (in words), ending” [i.e., the said four months, Jamādī I, Jamādī II, Rajab, and Sha‘bān, 1068 Ḥ.] “with the 1st of Ramznān of that year, which is the first day of the years of that reign full of happiness. Altogether the period covered is 1 year, 4 months, and 24 days. Then will follow the second year.” After this passage he goes on to the festivities held to celebrate the accession, the abolition of the Nau-roz festival, and the substitution of another to be amalgamated with that of the ‘Īd-ul-fiṭr. Next, we have the appointment of a Muḥtasib, or Censor, as in Muḥammad Sākī. (‘Alamgīr-nāmah, B. M. Addl. MSS., Nos. 26, 229, foll. 102b. to 104a.) I have no copy of the printed text, and therefore cannot give references to it, but the passage can, I have no doubt, be very easily found.

Next in order of date comes Muḥammad Sākī Musta’īd Khān and
his Maḍīr-i-Ālamgīrī. The parallel passage to that quoted above from the Ālamgīr-námah will be found on pp. 22-25 of the printed text. But I will turn first to an earlier page as it explains the circumstances of the previous enthronement in 1068 H. Ālamgīr determined to proceed to the Panjāb in pursuit of his brother, Dārā Shukoh. He set out from Akbarābād on the 22nd Ramzān, 1068 H. (23rd June 1658.) The astrologers having selected the 1st Zāl-ka'dh, 1068 H. (31st July 1658), or 11th Amardād of the Ilāhī year, as the auspicious moment for his enthronement, and there being no time to proceed to the palace at Dīhlī and there prepare for this august act, Ālamgīr halted for several days at the garden of Agharābād [also called Shālīhmār, it was just north of Dīhlī] to take advantage of the said propitious moment. There he seated himself on the throne of good fortune......As the preparations for this ceremonial were on a limited scale, most of the observances of an enthronement were put off to the second anniversary (jalās). On this occasion no khaṭbah was read, no coinage issued, and no imperial titles fixed upon. These matters were postponed. [Maḍīr-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 8].

[Idem, pp. 22-25.] Year 1069 H. This corresponds to the extract above given from Muḥammad Kāzīm, "Since the ceremonial of "the first enthronement, by reason of the advance into the Panjāb and "from want of time, was on a reduced scale, while the reading of the "khaṭbah, the issue of coin, and the fixing of the imperial titles were "postponed; now that more important affairs had been arranged, orders "were issued to prepare for the festival "...... "And on the fortunate "day, Sunday, the 24th of the blessed month Ramzān, in the year "1069 H. (15 June 1659), or the 25th Khurdād of the Ilāhī year, when "his age was 40 solar years, 6 months, and 17 days, or 41 lunar years, "10 months and 2 days, Ālamgīr seated himself on the throne." The "khaṭbah was read, coin issued, offerings presented, and gifts bestowed.

The Muhammadan creed was no longer to be impressed on the coin, but, instead, a distich, composed by Mīr Abd-ull-Bākī, was approved. The new emperor's titles were settled; and farmāns issued to all provincial governors, announcing the new reign. Several chronograms for the occasion are given; these yield 1069 H. Then follow these words: "As the shining of the light of the victory diffused its felicitous rays "on the world in the month of Ramzān, the exalted order was issued "that they should record in offices and calendars the 1st of that month "as the commencement of the years of this reign." After this comes a passage about the abolition of the Nau-ros festival, and the institution instead of it of a festival to be called Nishāt-afroz. It will be noticed that Muḥammad Sākī does not expressly state the year, from the 1st
Ramzan of which the reign was dated. But neither he nor Muhammad Kázim, from whom he copies, give any countenance to a reckoning commencing with 1069 H. On p. 30 and p. 34 we find that according to Muhammad Sáki, the third year (not the second) began in Ramzan 1070 H., the fourth year (not the third) in Ramzan 1071 H., and so on, throughout the book, to the end of the reign. For his period, the first ten years, Muhammad Kázim follows exactly the same rule. Finally, Muhammad Sáki [Ma'áṣir-i-'Alamgírí, pp. 520 and 523] records that 'Alamgír died early on Friday, the 28th Zúl-ka'dh 1118 H. (2nd March 1707), in the 51st year of his reign, having reigned 50 lunar years, 2 months, and 27 days. This accords exactly with the mode of reckoning laid down by Muhammad Kázim. For, if we calculate from the 1st Ramzan 1068 H. to the 28th Zúl-ka'dh 1118 H., we get as result (1118 y. 10m. 28d.) = (1068 y. 8m. 1d.) = (50 y. 2m. 27d.). Kamwar Khán, in his Tavíkh-i-Sulátín-i-Chagháníyáh, gives the same number of years, months, and days; but I attribute to him no independent authority for this reign, having found wherever I have compared the two authors, that Kamwar Khán gives Muhammad Sáki's facts, in identical order, but in different words.

I add two more extracts from Muhammad Sáki, as the second of them records a slight change in the observance of the anniversary, and this may have been the reason that Grant Duff thought the date of accession had been twice altered—[Ma'áṣir 'Alamgírí, p. 30]. Year 1070 H. The third year of the reign commences. The anniversary ceremonies begin on the 24th Ramzan (4th June 1660). [Idem, p. 34]. Year 1071 H. The fourth year commences. "Although the date of enthronement (sarir-áváí) was the 24th Ramzan, and in the previous year "the festival began on that day, yet owing to its falling in the time of "the Fast, when there is no inclination to enter into rejoicings, the bear- "ginning of this year's festival was fixed for the day of the 'Id" (i.e., 1st Shawwáil). It lasted ten days.

Kháfi Khán's passage, parallel to those in Muhammad Kázim's 'Alamgír-náma, and Muhammad Sáki's Ma'áṣir i 'Alamgírí, will be found in the Bibliotheca Indica Text, Vol. II pp. 76–79. As it is translated, nearly in full, by Dowson in Elliot's History of India, VII, 241, I need not reproduce it here. I only note that Dowson's "4th Ramzan" is the 24th Ramzan in the printed text. Although Kháfi Khán here expands rather than contracts what Muhammad Kázim wrote, it is strange that he omits the all-important statement that the reign was made to begin on the 1st Ramzan. I have looked through the text on pp. 76–80, and I cannot find any mention of this fact. Kháfi Khán, II, 549, gives the length of the reign as 50 years, 2½ months; and even these figures, though not
strictly accurate, preclude any reckoning from 1069 ی, but carry the first day into 1068 ی.

Again, I find in a somewhat later writer, Khushal Chand, author of the Nawadir-us-Zamani, the following statement. He wrote in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1131-1161 ی) and was old enough to recollect the excitement caused in Delhi by the news of Alamgir's death. He himself, like his father before him, was a clerk in the Central Revenue Office, and a man likely to have, if any one had, exact knowledge on the point under discussion. His words are: "Although the first auspicious enthronement took place on the 1st of the month Zul-khadeh, 1068 ی. "(30th July 1658), yet as the blessed rays of the brilliant light of victory and success were displayed to the world in the month of Ramazan, the first day of that blessed month was assumed as the commencement of these years full of miracles, and the exalted order issued that in all offices, and calendars, and patents of appointment, and royal rescripts, this rule should be adopted, in opposition to that of previous sovereigns, rulers in Islam who, following the practice of Jamshid, Kakhir (Kasru?) and others, held Farwardin to be the most excellent month, and appointed it for the commencement of their reigns. This "rule was now abrogated, and the years of the fortunate reign were appointed to be reckoned by lunar months from the month of Ramazan." [B.M. Addl. MSS. No. 24027, fol. 490b.] For this work and its author, see Elliot, VIII. 70, 71. Here he is evidently writing with Muhammad Kajim's or Muhammad Saki's work before him. The 1st Ramzan, 1068 ی., is equivalent to the 2nd June 1658.

We can now account for Muhammad Saki's statement (Majalis-i-Alamgiri, 523), that Alamgir reigned 50 years, 2 months, 27 days.

I think that these authorities prove, without any room for doubt, that Alamgir counted his reign from the 1st Ramzan, 1068 ی., and after that date had been once fixed upon, no alteration was ever made. This is the result arrived at by considering the historical evidence alone. Do the extant coins of the reign conflict in any way with its historians? Now, there may be some reason for thinking that occasionally some numismatists (in this branch of their subject, at any rate), concentrate their attention too much on the coins themselves, to the neglect of contemporary historians from whom they might derive much assistance. For we are dealing here with a modern period, on the history of which there is an abundance of material available. Be that as it may, let us, too, confine our attention for the moment to the coins themselves. The coins of Alamgir, which are already to be found in the British Museum collection, constrain us, unless some of those coins are a posthumous issue, to throw back the initial year of the reign from 1069 ی. to 1068 ی.
Dated coins for the 51st year of a reign necessarily imply fifty completed years of that reign. Now, the silver coins Nos. 843–846 in the British Museum, are dated in Alamgir's 51st year. On the other hand, there is no dispute about the date of his death; it took place in 1118 H. Even if we allow up to the last day of that year, where can you find room, within that limit, for fifty completed years, unless you throw back the first day of the reign into some part of the year 1068 H.?

As I am led to believe, the argument for 1069 H. is founded on the rule that the enthronement, the reading of the "khutbah," and the issue of coin, taken together, form of themselves the official act of accession. In cases where there is no proof to the contrary, I see no reason to quarrel with this assumption. Indeed, for some purposes, it might even be the only right date to consider. For instance, if I wished to fix the date from which Alamgir became undisputed sovereign, I should, with Mr. S. Lane Poole, elect for the year 1069 H. On the other hand, if a sovereign, in defiance of facts, chooses to fix an assumed or fictitious date for his accession, it is useless for us to say that he had no just right to do so. The all-important things for us are: 1st, to know that he ordered the adoption of such official date; and 2ndly, to ascertain, on the best evidence, what that date was. Of all the acts of sovereignty hardly one can be held more formal and official than the issue of coinage: and can we suppose that on the face of that coinage any date would appear, other than one fixed according to official reckoning? Over and over again, we find that the official reckoning and the date of accession, according to actual facts, are altogether discrepant. It is so in the case of Alamgir.

W. Irvine—Reigns of the later Moghul Emperors. [No. 4,

[Dánishmand Khán, "Alí, in his Bahádur Sháh-námah, entry of the said date and Kháfí Khán, Text II, 607]. The passage in Dánishmand Khán reads as follows: "The 1st Shawwáli, 1st year, Ghásí Rám, principal clerk to the Chief Intelligencer, or Wákíhánigár-i-kul, made a report asking for orders fixing the date from which the reign was to be reckoned, that the same might be entered in the official proceedings. "Orders issued to take the 18th Zút-ı-Hağj, and a report was called for as to the New Year's day by the solar year. In reply this was stated to be the 1st Farwardín and a Sunday. That day was accordingly "fixed and ordered to be recorded." [B.M. Oriental MSS. No. 24, fol. 95a.]. This may mean that the 1st Farwardín or the 18th Zút-ı-Hağj was adopted. If the former, that would be the 10th or 11th March, equal to the 5th or 6th Zút-ı-Hağj, 1118 H.

Jahándár Sháh. As he did not survive to begin a second year's reign, there does not appear to have been any order passed fixing an official date for his accession. He was enthroned in the plain east of Láhor on the 21st Şafar, 1124 H. (29th March 1712) [Núr-ud-dín, Multáni, Jahándár-námah and Kábíwar Khán, Táríkh-i-S.-i-Ch.], his father, Bahádur Sháh, having died on the 20th Muharram, 1124 H. (27th February 1712) [Kábíwar Khán].

Farrúkhísíyar. He heard of his father Azím-ush-shán's death near Láhor, when he was himself at Patúa-Azhímábád. He was enthroned there, in the bágh known as Afzal Khán's, on the 29th Şafar, 1124 H. (6th April 1712) [Muhammad Ahsan, Ijád, Farrúkh-siýar-námah, B.M. Oriental, No. 25, fol. 40a.] On the 9th Jumádí I, 1125 H. (2nd July 1713), he ordered that Jahándár Sháh's reign should be struck out of the records and treated as non-existent. He directed at the same time that his own reign should be dated from his enthronement at Patna, namely the 29th Şafar, 1124 H. [Kábíwar Khán, Táríkh-i-S.-i-Ch.: entry of 9th Jumádí I, 1125, and Khushál Chand, B.M. Or. 3288, fol. 397a.] Kháfí Khán, II, 737, has the wrong year, 1123 instead of 1124. He and Khushál Chand have the 1st Rabí', which is, of course, the next day to the 29th Şafar, so that there is no practical difference, on this point, between them and Kábíwar Khán.

Rafi'-ud Dárját. As he reigned for a few months only, no order was passed fixing officially the first day of his reign. He was enthroned in the palace at Díhlí on the 9th Rabí’ I, 1131 H. (28th February 1719) [Kábíwar Khán, Táríkh-i-S.-i-Ch.: and Kháfí Khán, II, 816]; he was deposed and sent back into the palace on the 17th Rajab, 1131 H. (4th June 1719), and he died there on the 24th of the same month (11th June 1719) [Kábíwar Khán, and Kháfí Khán II, 530].

Rafi'-ud-Dauláh. This prince was the next elder brother of the
preceding. At his brother Rafi'-ud-darját's earnest request he was selected as successor, and raised to the throne some days before his predecessor's death. The enthronement took place in the palace at Dihlí, on the 19th Rajab, 1131 H. (6th June 1719) [Kámwar Khán, but Kháfi Khán, II, 831, has the 20th]. The prince died in camp near A'grah, on the 4th or 5th Zúl-Ka'dh, 1131 H. (17th or 18th Sept. 1719) [Kámwar Khán]. In his case also no question can arise, as he did not survive to enter a second year.

NEKÚSIYAR. This pretender, son of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, the fourth son of 'Alamgír, was proclaimed by the mutinous garrison from the battlements of A'grah Fort, on the 29th Jamádí II, 1131 H. (18th May 1719) [see Kháfi Khán, II, 825, Kámwar Khán's Táríkh-i-S.-i-Ch., and Muḥammad Kháim's 'Ibratnámah]. Nekúsiyar surrendered to Sayyad Husain 'Alí Khán between the 22nd and the 27th Ramžán, 1131 H. (July 7-12, 1719) [Kámwar Khán].

Muḥammad Kháim. This prince was brought from Dihlí and reached the imperial camp on the 11th Zúl-Ka'dh, 1131 H. (24th Sept. 1719) [Kámwar Khán and Kháfi Khán, II, 840]. He was enthroned on the 15th Zúl-Ka'dh, 1131 H. (25th Sept. 1719), at a village called Bidýápur, between A'grah and Fathpur Sikrí, three kos and a fraction from the latter place [Kámwar Khán and Kháfi Khán, II, 840]. It was directed that his reign should be reckoned from the deposition of Farrukhsíyar [Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, Táríkh-i-Muzaffári and Kháfi Khán II, 841]. Accordingly it is counted usually from the 9th Rabi' II, 1131 H. (28th Feb. 1719). But the contemporary authority, Kámwar Khán, gives the first of that month, namely the 1st Rabi' II, 1131 H. (20th Feb. 1719), as the exact reckoning.

I may note that the dates of the Christian era, given in this paper, are all calculated according to the Gregorian or New Style. I have used the "Practical Tables..." of Johannes von Gumpach, London, James Madden, 1856.

Although not strictly within the scope of this paper, I append some remarks on Moghul mint-towns, as likely to be of use to any one interested in my more immediate subject, and I am not likely to find any other early opportunity of placing the results on record. These notes are in continuation of those printed in the Society's Proceedings for January 1893.

'Alamgírpur. Places with this name seem very hard to find; I therefore note those I know of. But in the absence of special reasons for doing so, it would be hazardous to suggest that either is the mint-town for coin No. 772 of the British Museum Catalogue. I find by an J. 1. 34
entry in Kámwar Khán's Tárikh-i-Saláfín-i-Chaghtáiyah, that on the 22nd Ramžán, 1122 H. (13th Nov. 1710), Bahádúr Sháh was encamped at Azímábád Taláórí, "alias Alamgirpur," being the halting place between Karnál and Thánésar. Also, if I recollect rightly, there is a village Alamgirpur close to the east or left bank of the Jamuná, in the Saháránpur district. Alamgir was in that part of the country, on at least one occasion, on a hunting expedition to Bándsháhi Mahal and parganah Faizábád (Saháránpur District).

Mu'a'azzamábád. I have little or no doubt that this mint town should be identified with Gorakhpur, Sábah Audh. When I was serving in that district I recollect seeing the name Mu'a'azzamábád, Gorakhpur, used in the Mavázinah and Kañángōl papers of the end of the last century, which twenty years ago were still in existence. Only a few days ago, I was reading the autobiography of some un-named dependant on Fázíl Álí Khán, once 2amīl of Gházipur. For a few years Fázíl Álí Khán, was Faujdār of Gorakhpur (F. Curwen's translation of Khair-ud-Din Muhammad, Allahábádî's, Tuhfah-i-Tázah, p. 19). When speaking of this appointment, this anonymous writer calls the place "the Sirkár of Sarwár, otherwise Mu'a'azzamábád-Gorakhpur."

Naṣratábád. In the Ma'áşi-r-i'Alamgíri (p. 304, year 1098 H.) Alamgir, after taking Haidarábád, advanced against Sakkhar, a place between Bijaipur and Ḥáidarábád. It was then ruled by Naund (or Parya, or Paid) Náík, a man of the low Dheph caste. After it had been taken, the country (álkah) of Sakkhar was by the Emperor's orders renamed Naṣratábád [ibidem, p. 307]. For other notices of it, under its new name, see pp. 344, 345, 360, 364, 384, 410, 416, and 513 of the same volume. It is also mentioned as Naṣratábád-Sagar in the Ma'áşi-r-ul-Umrá, II, 291. Thornton, Gazetteer, 936, states that "Suggur" is a town in the Nizam's territory, Lat. 16° 36', Long. 76° 51', 124 miles S.-W. by W. from Ḥáidarábád. On the map of India in Johnston's Royal Atlas it appears as Sagar.

Sháhábád Kanuaj. In the British Museum Catalogue, p. 212, there is a coin No. 1019, which the author assigns (p. lviii) to Sháhábád in Audh, disregarding the second word, which he reads Patúk. I think there can be little doubt that this word should be read Kanuaj. قنوج. The name is usually spelt by Muhammadans with ق, see, for instance, Kháfi Khán, Text I, pp. 63, 73, 109; also throughout the 2bin i AKBARÍ, Blochmann's translation, I, 32, etc. (entered in his Index under Q). I was four years in the Farrukhábád district (in which Kanuaj is included), and my recollection is that the old official name of the place was Shahábád Kanuaj. It is so styled in Dowson's Elliot, VIII. 46. I thus propose Kanuaj, Sábah Akbarábád, instead of Sháhábád, Sírkár Khairábád, Sábah Audh.
Zafarábád. Since I wrote my former remarks I have found a direct mention of the occasion when Bidar was re-named Zafarábád. It is also frequently called Muhammadábád Bidar. The passage I refer to is in Kháfi Khán, II. p. 3. He tells us that in 1066 H., the thirtieth year of Sháhjahan, Prince Aurangzib was appointed to make a campaign against Bijápur, just after he had "by notable exertions, acquired the fort of "Bidar and the Šúbah of Ahmedábád, and the fort of Káliyání, and "had re-named them the Šúbah of Zafarábád."

Note on the preceding Paper.—By Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

I fully agree with Mr. Irvine that Aurangzib's reign should be dated from 1068-1118 A. H. or 1658-1707 A.D. I had never made any special enquiries on the exact official date of his accession, and the initial date 1669, given in my coin-reports in the Proceedings was simply quoted as that usually assigned. That it is wrong,—if the reign is to be counted from the officially fixed date, and not from the date of the actual accession,—Mr. Irvine has amply established; and I agree with him, that it is more reasonable to accept the official date as fixed by an emperor himself.

I should, however, put "the two all-important things for us" rather in this form:—1. To know what date was officially fixed by an emperor; 2. to ascertain whether the date, officially fixed, was actually adhered to in dating coins and documents of his reign.

Now with regard to Aurangzib, nearly all his coins do adhere to the officially fixed date. There are, however, a few exceptions:—

1. There is the coin, No. 845 of the British Museum, dated in 1119 Hijrah, and 51 regnal. It is the only one with this peculiar date that I remember to have come across. As Aurangzib died on the 2nd March 1707, and the Hijrah year 1119 only commenced on the 3rd or 4th April 1707 (or the 1st Muḥarram 1119), it is clear that either the date 1119 is wrong, or that the coin is posthumous. That the latter may be the true explanation, appears from the following facts:—Aurangzib's successor was Bahádur Sháh. He heard of his father's death only three weeks afterwards, on the 22nd March 1707, and his actual enthronement took place only on the 26th April 1707, that is, on the 24th Muḥarram 1119. It was not till the 25th December 1707, that the official date of his accession was fixed to be the 22nd March 1707. It is, therefore, quite possible that coins struck in the time intermediate between the 2nd March 1707, the date of Aurangzib's death, and the 26th April 1707, the date of Bahádur Sháh's actual accession, were still issued in Aurangzib's name. It would thus occur that a coin,
struck between the 1st and 24th Muḥarram of 1119 Ḥijrah, would be
issued as one of Aurangzib's, dated in his 51st year and in 1119 Ḥijrah.
This practice would cease as soon as the actual enthronement had taken
place, and notice of the fact had been proclaimed in all mint-towns.

It would be interesting to know what the actual practice was with
regard to coining during a period of temporary vacancy, whether
actual or official, of the throne. When an emperor died, did the coining
in his name cease in a mint-town, as soon as the news of his death
reached that town; or was coining in his name continued, till news
arrived of the actual accession of his successor; or was it continued
till information was received of the officially fixed date of accession?
Thus to take Aurangzib's case as an example, did coining in his name
cease from the 2nd March 1707 (the date of his death) in Ahmadnagar
(the place of his death), and similarly in other mint-towns as soon as
the news of his death was received? Or did it cease from the 26th
April 1707, the date of Bahádur Sháh's actual enthronement, in Láhor,
and in other places as soon as information of the enthronement was
received?

2. There is no real difficulty in the case of coins like the preceding.
It is different with such coins of Aurangzib as are dated in his first
regnal year, and in 1070 Ḥijrah. No. 728 in the British Museum is
such a coin of the Patna mint. It is figured on Plate XIX of the B. M.
Catalogue. The regnal year is expressed verbally aḥad. In my own
collection, I have two such coins, of the mints Multán and Zafarábád
respectively. The latter is from a treasure trove found in Champaran
in 1892.

Now, reckoning by the official date, Aurangzib's first year runs
from the 1st Ramazán 1068 to the last Sha'bán 1069, and the second
year, from the 1st Ramazán 1069 to the last Sha'bán 1070. Accordingly
the coins of his first year might be dated in 1068 or 1069, those of his
second year, in 1069 or 1070. But no coin could be dated both in his
first year and in 1070. That dating is only admissible, if the accession
of Aurangzib is placed at some point of time in 1069.

These coins require some explanation. They certainly do not
agree with the official reckoning. They are undoubtedly exceptional
specimens, but they are not exceptionally rare, nor are they a vagary of
some obscure or outlying mint-town. They were issued from places so
well-known and so far apart, as Patná and Multán. It does seem
that in the case of these coins, at least, the accession of Aurangzib was
dated from the 24th Ramazán 1069 (15th June 1659), the day on which
the second enthronement took place with full ceremonials. But if so,
how is the non-observance of the officially fixed date to be explained?
Is it possible, that there was an interval between the receipt of the news of the second enthronement and the receipt of the information of the officially fixed date, and that those exceptional coins were struck during that interval? The interval could not have been of long duration, and this explains the paucity of those peculiar coins. One can easily imagine that the news of the ceremonies of the second enthronement travelled faster, than the communication of the matters officially settled at that time. Still the interval must have been, at least, three months; for the Hijrah year 1070 commenced on the 18th September 1659; and no coin, with the dates 1070 and aḥad, could have been struck before the first month, or Muḥarram, of 1070 Hijrah (18th September to 17th October 1659). On the theory, here suggested, it is quite possible that also some of the extant coins, dated 1069 Hijrah and aḥad (or 1st year) regnal, were struck by the same wrong reckoning, that is, after the termination of the officially fixed first year. This would be the case with all those coins which were struck after the second enthronement and during the three last months of the Hijrah year 1069. When once the accession was officially antedated on the 1st Ramāzān 1068, the three months after the Ramāzān of 1069 (and in fact, that Ramāzān itself) fell outside the first year of the reign. As the months of coining are not mentioned on Aurangzib’s coins (as they are on some classes of coins of his predecessors), it is now impossible to determine, whether any of the coins, with 1069 aḥad, are really wrongly dated, if regard is had to the official reckoning.

For easy reference I here re-print, from the B. M. Catalogue (p. 392), the portion of the comparative table of the years A. H. and A. D. which is in question. The month, day, and day of the week of the Christian year are placed under each Muhammedan month, and correspond to the first of that month. The week-days are lettered from A (for Sunday) to G (Saturday). The months are indicated by Roman numerals. Thus the first entry 9 X C shows that the month of Muḥarram 1068 began on Tuesday the 9th October 1657.

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<th>A. H.</th>
<th>A. D.</th>
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<td>8 XI E</td>
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<td>58, 6 I A</td>
<td>4 II B</td>
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<td>1069</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>29 IX A</td>
<td>29 X C</td>
<td>27 XI D</td>
<td>27 XII F</td>
<td>59, 25 I G</td>
<td>24 II B</td>
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<td>1070</td>
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<td>18 IX E</td>
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The Koch Kings of Kamarupa.—By E. A. Gait, Esq., I. C. S.

INTRODUCTION.

Perhaps the most interesting epoch in Assam history is that in which the Koch dynasty rose to power, and after defeating the petty chiefs amongst whom the country had been split up after the fall of the Pála rulers, succeeded in consolidating their rule throughout the ancient Kamarupa, and in reviving for a time the pristine glories of that once famous kingdom.

Several accounts of the Koch dynasty are already available,* but by far the most detailed narrative of the early founders of this kingdom with which I am acquainted, is that contained in a manuscript history [Váṃśávali or Purúshanáma (Sanskrit)] in the possession of Raja Lakshmítıräráyana Knar, the leading representative of the Dar-rang branch of the Koch family.

This history is supposed to have been written, about 1806 A. D., by Súrya Hari Gañaka, under the orders of Raja Samudra Náráyana.† It is inscribed on oblong strips of Sáchí bark, and each page is illustrated. The story ends suddenly with the death of Paríkshit, and as there is nothing to show that the work was considered finished, it is conjectured that the author died before he had completed it.

As no account of this Váṃśávali has hitherto appeared in print, I propose to furnish an abstract of it now, and to take the opportunity to give a sketch of what is known of the country before the Koch kings rose to power, and to examine one or two questions connected with this dynasty regarding which existing accounts differ, in the light of the information afforded by this history and also of inscriptions on temples and other sources.‡

* Cf. Aśāmiyuvanjis by Bívéśvar and Ráí Guñábiráím Barua, Robinson’s Descriptive Account of Assam, Dr. Hunter’s Statistical accounts of Koch Bihár and Rángpur, and the accounts by Buchanna Hamilton, Babu Rám Chandra Ghosh and other authorities cited in Dr. Hunter’s works.

† Súrya Hari Gañaka is reputed to have been the greatest Sanskrit scholar of his time in Assam. He was the author of numerous Sanskrit and Assamese works, and his descendant, Manbhál Mañjal, holds a deed of gift dated 1720 Sak (1804 A. D.) by which the Ahom King made a grant of land to Súrya Hari in recognition of his learning and piety.

‡ Including the Váṃśávali of Rájá Prasiddha Náráyana Knar, a manuscript copy of the Yagíní Tantra in the possession of Bráhmaṅi Hānli Mohampur, in which the prophecies of the gods have from time to time been brought up to date, and lastly a few inscription in temples, and the references made to the Koch
The early history of Kamarúpa is wrapped in mystery, and our
knowledge of it is drawn from dubious and
fragmentary references in the Mahābhārata, and
in the Purāṇas and Tantras, chief amongst which may be mentioned the
Yoginī Tantra and the Bhāgavata and Kālikā Purāṇas.

The boundaries of the country varied greatly from time to time.
In the Yoginī Tantra it is said that Kāmarúpa comprised the country between the Karatoya and the Dikrai, so that it included not only the whole of what is now known as the Brahmaputra Valley, but also Rangpur and the State of Koch Bihār. It was subdivided into four portions, viz: Kānapitha from the Karatoya to the Saunoshi, Ratnapitha from the Sankosh to the Rupahi, Saunrajapitha from the Rupahi to the Bharali, and Saumarpitha from the Bharali to the Dikkara-basini or Dikrai. It is described as bounded on the North by Kuñjagiri, on the West by the Karatoya, on the East by the Girikanjaka, and on the South by the junction of the Brahmaputra and Lakshma rivers. It is added that Kāmarúpa is three cornered and is 100 yojanas in breadth and 300 yojanas in length. According to the Kālikā Purāṇa, Kāmākhyā and Prāgyotishapura were situated in the centre of Kāmarúpa, and the Vishṇu Purāṇa adds that the country extended around it for 100 yojanas in all directions. In the Mahābhārata, Bhagadatta's Empire of Prāgyotisha or Kāmarúpa is spoken of as extending to the seacoast; and the copper plate of Vanamala, which will be referred to further on, says that the rule of that monarch also extended to the sea.

Hinen Tsiang places the circumference of the country when he visited it, at 10,000 li, from which General Cunningham infers that it must, at that time, have comprised the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley as well as Koch Bihār and Bhotān.

The name of the country is mythologically explained as follows:—
When Sāti died of grief at the reproaches of her husband Siva, the latter, overcome by remorse, wandered about the world carrying her dead body on his head.

In order to put a stop to his penance Vishṇu followed him and lopped

Kings by Musalman historians, which have been made accessible by Blochmann in the J. A. S. B. for 1872.

‡ Sābhā Purva, XXVI, XXVII: The references found elsewhere to the different parts of the Mahābhārata are to the translation of Pratāp Chandra Roy.
§ J. A. S. B. IX, (Part II) 773.
|| Ancient geography of India, Volumo I, Buddhist period, p 500.
away the body piece-meal with his discus. The body fell to earth in 51 different pieces, and wherever each piece fell, the ground was held to be sacred. Her organs of generation fell on Niláchala hill near Gauháti, and the deity of that place was thenceforth known as Kámákhyá, the goddess of sexual desire. As Śiva still continued to do penance, the other gods became afraid that he would thereby acquire universal power, and accordingly despatched Kámadeva, the Indian Cupid, to make him fall in love again, and thereby break his penance. Kámadeva succeeded in his Mission, but so enraged was Śiva at the result, that he burnt him to ashes by a fiery glance from the eye in the centre of his forehead. Kámadeva eventually recovered his original form, and the place in which this took place was ever afterwards known as Kámarúpa.

The earliest recorded king of Kámarúpa, of whom however, very little is known, was named Mahíraṅga Dánava.† He was succeeded by his son Háṭaka Asura, after whom came Sámbara Asura and then Ratna Asura.‡

After this, there was a chief named Ghaṭaka, the ruler of the Kiráta, who are said to have been a powerful race, much addicted to eating flesh and drinking strong drinks.

Ghaṭaka was defeated and slain by Naraka, who was born of the earth by Vishńu, and had been subdued by him to exterminate the Kiráta. Having succeeded in doing this,§ he made Prágyotishapura (the modern Gauhati) his capital, and settled numerous Bráhmans at Kámákhyá. His rule extended from the Karatoya on the West, to the Dikráṅg on the East. It is said that he married Máya, the

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* Notices of Mahíraṅga and his successors will be found in the Kálká Puráṇa Chaps. 36-42, and on page 81 of the Yogint Tantra. In the Raghuvanña, it is related that Raghu crossed the Brahmaputra with a view to attacking the king of Prágyotisha or Kámarúpa. The latter is said to have submitted without venturing to give battle, and to have paid a tribute of war elephants. The name of the king is not mentioned.

† The names Dánava and Asura, indicate that these kings were of aboriginal origin. According to the Vañkávali of Prasiddha Náryan Kuar, Sambár, who is mentioned in the text as the grandson of Mahíraṅga, was the founder of the dynasty. He is there spoken of as the son of Brahma, and is said to have had his capital at Raṅgámáṭ.

‡ Apparently he only subdued them. In the Udyoga Parvan, his son Bhagadatta is referred to as bringing Kirátas to the aid of Duryodhana. (XVIII, 15-16.)

§ There is a hill near Gauháti which is still known as the hill of Naraka Asur.
daughter of the king of Vidarbha or Kunḍina. Naraka was greatly
favoured by Vishnu who placed him in charge of Kámakhyá, and told
him that so long as that goddess was pleased with him he would do
well, but that if he angered her, he would suffer, and that he himself
would then desert him. It is said that Naraka carried off 10,000 girls
as wives, and that he became so proud that he asked Kámakhyá to
marry him. To this the goddess assented on condition that he erected
a temple to her on Niláchala and also constructed a tank and a road
to the temple in a single night. Naraka accepted the terms and had
almost accomplished his task, when the goddess caused a cock to crow
before dawn, and saying that that was a proof that day had come,
revoked her promise and refused to marry him. Overcome with rage,
Naraka slew the cock, and the place where he did this is still known as
Kukúñá-Káta (the place where the cock was killed). But Naraka’s
crowning misfortune was his refusal to permit Vaśishthá Muni to go
to worship at Kámakhyá, in consequence of which the Muni cursed
Naraka and Kámakhyá, saying that thenceforward no one who wor-
shipped at Kámakhyá’s shrine should see the fulfilment of his desire.
By the aid of Śiva, the duration of this curse was limited to three
hundred years, but Naraka had now completely alienated both Kámak-
hyá and Vishnu and was eventually slain by the latter in the incarna-
tion of Kríṣṇa. Kríṣṇa’s invasion of Prágjyotisapura is described in the
Bhágavata and Víshnu Puráñas, in the latter of which it is stated that
his attack on Naraka was instigated by Indra.* The capital was defend-
ed by sharp pándúś and by numerous outworks erected by the Asura Mura,
but Kríṣṇa cut his way through with his discus and slew Mura and
his sons. He then entered the city and engaged in a terrible combat
with Naraka, and after killing thousands of daityas, he clove Naraka in
twain with his discus. He recovered the golden earrings of Aditi and
other property seized by him, and sent the 10,000 girls imprisoned in his
harem together with his 6,000 elephants and his horses to Dváракa.

Naraka left two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, of whom the
former was appointed by Kríṣṇa to succeed him as king of Prágjyotisha. Bhagadatta
is frequently referred to in the Mahábhárata. In the Sabhá Parvan, it is related that he was defeated by Arjuna after a battle which lasted for eight days.† Later on, when the forces of the Kau-
ravas and Páṇḍavas were being mustered for the last struggle,

* Bhágavata Puráña (Edition published at the Bangobashi press) X, 59, and
Víshnu Puráña, pp. 81—83 (V, 29).
† Sabhá Parvan, secs. XXVI and XXVII. His troops are described as a host of Kirátas and Chinas, and numerous other warriors that dwelt on the seacoast.

J. 1. 35
Bhagadatta went to the assistance of Duryodhana with an Akshauhini of troops consisting of Chinas and Kiratás.* At the final battle of Kurukshetra, he performed prodigies of valour, and no less than four sections of the Droga Parvan are devoted to a narrative of his heroic deeds, from the time when he rescued Duryodhana from the onslaughts of Bhima to his fight with Arjuna, in which he was at last defeated and slain. The issue of this last combat is ascribed to the magic intervention of Krishna, who rendered harmless the invincible weapon which he had previously given to Bhagadatta's father Naraka.†

Bhagadatta was succeeded by others of his line, one of whom, Bhagadatta's successors. Pralambha, is described as having been an unusually powerful prince. By his wife Jivadá, he had a son named Hajara, and the latter, by his wife Tárá, who was an incarnation of Lakşmí, had in his turn a son named Vanamála. A copper plate containing a grant of land by the latter to a Bráhmana which was found near Tezpur in 1840 A.D., is the authority for the account of Bhagadatta's successors here given.‡

It has been assumed that Vanamála was of the Pála dynasty, but his asserted descent from Naraka makes this impossible; this assumed ancestry, and the fact that he bore the Kshattriya title Varman or Barman, renders it much more likely that he was a converted aboriginal potentate of the same class as the Khyen and Koch kings.

The so-called Rájás of Ráni, in Kámrúp, claim to be descended from the lineage of Bhagadatta.

Krishna frequently appears in Assam Mythology. We have already seen how he slew Naraka and set up his son Bhagadatta in his stead. He is also said to have carried off his bride Rukminí from her father Bhishmaka, the king of Kuňḍíla.§ or the country around Sadiyá, between the Dikráng and Dibong rivers. The name of this monarch is still preserved in upper Assam, and a ruined fort, some sixteen miles north of Sadiyá, is attributed to his reign.|| The name of the kingdom survives in the Kuṇḍil river.

* Udyoga Parvan, sec. XVIII.
† J. A. S. B. IX, p. 766. The plate bears a date in an unknown era—"Samvat 19". Presumably this refers to the date of the king's succession.
‡ J. A. S. B. IX, p. 766. The plate bears a date in an unknown era—"Samvat 19". Presumably this refers to the date of the king's succession.
§ According to ordinary Paurânik accounts, Bhishmaka was king of Kuṇḍíla or Vidarbhá, the modern Berar, in Central India.—Ed.
|| These ruins were described by Colonel Hannay in the J. A. S. B. for 1848, p. 459. It is not unlikely that further research amongst this and other ruins in the same direction, would add considerably to our knowledge of ancient Assam history.
Krishṇa's grandson, Aniruddha, carried off Ushā, the daughter of Bāna Rājā, king of S'onitapura, the city of blood, now known by the Assamese equivalent, Tezpur—in consequence of which he was caught by that monarch and imprisoned. The subsequent invasion of Bāna Rājā's kingdom by Krishṇa and the rescue of Aniruddha is described in the Bhāgavatā Purāṇa and elsewhere. From the Kālikā Purāṇa it appears that Rājā Bāna was the contemporary and friend of Naraka.*

From these stories, all that we can gather with certainty is that the Brahmaputra Valley was known to the Aryan invaders of India at a very early period, and that the process of converting the aboriginal tribes to Hinduism, which is going on before our eyes to-day, commenced long before the time of which we have any authentic record.

Kāmarūpa appears to have been a famous place for pilgrimages and devotions, and the fame of Kāmākhyā and the Brahmakūṇḍa had spread abroad at a very early date. In the Tantras it is said: “Elsewhere deities are scarce, but in Kāmarūpa, they are found in every house.”

At the beginning of the S'akāditya era, a king named Devesvāra ruled somewhere in Kāmarūpa, but the site of his capital is unknown. He was a S'ūdra by caste, and is said to have tried to prevent the spread of Buddhism and to propagate the worship of Kāmākhyā, but without any very great success.

In the Yogini Tantra, mention is made of Nāgasāṅkara or Nāgākhya, who is said to have been born of the Kagarāyā river, about 378 A. D., and to have founded a dynasty which ruled for four hundred years. His capital was above the Nāgasāṅkara temple at Pratāpgarh, in Vishnunātha (Bishnāth).

Our earliest authentic knowledge of the country is derived from the writings of Hīuen Ts'ing, the celebrated Chinese traveller and pilgrim. He visited Kāmarūpa about 640 A. D., at which time a Hindū prince named

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* Vishnu Purāṇa, Book V, Chaps. 32, 33, and Kālikā Purāṇa, p. 94. The events described here form the subject of one of the earliest known epics in the Assamese language. It is known as Kamāra-harṣya, and is said to have been written by Śrī Chandra Bhāratī.

It should be noted that Tezpur is not the only place which claims to be the site of Rājā Bāna's capital. The remains of what is said to be the city of this king, are still pointed out at a place a few miles south of Dinajpur, which to this day is known as Bān Rājār garh. (Anandarām Borān's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 113.)
Kumāra Bhāskara Varman* was on the throne. He describes this ruler as a Brāhmaṇ, but by this it seems doubtful whether he meant anything more than that he was a Hindú and not a Buddhist. Barman is a well known Kṣhattriya title, and is one which is commonly adopted today by Kachārīs, when they accept Hinduism and assume the sacred thread, on the fiction that they are concealed Kṣhattriyas. The method of conversion by fictions such as this is, doubtless, of very ancient date, and from the fact that this prince described himself as "Barman," it seems not unreasonable to presume that he was a Hindú convert from some aboriginal tribe. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that his subjects are described as being of small stature with dark yellow complexions, and by our knowledge that subsequent rulers, e.g., the Khyen and Koch kings, were nothing more than Hinduised aborigines.

Hiuen Tsiang reports that the people adored and offered sacrifices to the Devas, and adds that although Buddhism was not forbidden, its votaries were scarce.

The soil is described as being deep and fertile, and the towns were surrounded by moats filled with water brought from rivers or banked up lakes.† The people were fierce in appearance, but upright and studious; their language differed somewhat from that spoken in Mid-India. In his time, as now, the country was famous for wild elephants, which were especially numerous in the south-east.‡

After Hiuen Tsiang's account, we are again left with no authentic information regarding the country. It is said that Subáhu was born in the 19th generation beginning from Naraka, in the lineage of Bhagadatta. Subáhu became an ascetic and went to the Himálayas, and was succeeded by his son Suparurú who was killed by his ministers.

Then a Kṣhattriya Sannyásī named Jitári, came from the west and founded a kingdom. He deserted Gauhá蒂 and built a capital further west. His contemporary Jalpeśvara had his capital where the Sākta temple of Jalpeśvara (which he founded) now stands, in the Jalpaiguri District. Jitári was succeeded in turn by Subalí, Padma Náráyanā, Chandra Náráyanā,

† The Ahom capitals were in the same way encircled by moats, and the old Kachārī capital at Dimápur was similarly protected on two sides, while the Danhsiri flowed along the third side.
‡ These animals appear always to have been plentiful, for we read in the Raghuvanaśa that the king of Kāmarāpa or Prágjyotisha gave many elephants as tribute to Raghuv (IV—83), and in the Vishū Purāṇa (p. 81) it is stated that Krishaṅg took 6,000 elephants from Naraka's capital, after he had defeated and slain that monarch.
Mahendra Náráyaṇa, Gajendra Náráyaṇa, Práṇa Náráyaṇa, Jaya Náráyaṇa, Kshobha Náráyaṇa, and Ráma Chandra.*

The next king to be mentioned is Arimatta, who ruled the country on the south bank of the Brahmaputra from the neighbourhood of Gauháti, as far as Ráhá in Nowgong. He is said to have been born of a princess of the house of Ráma Chandra,† who was raped by the Brahmaputra river. According to the Vamśávali of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa, Arimatta ruled at Baidaragāth until 1160 Sak. (A. D. 1238.)‡

His son Jaṅgál Báláhu was a mighty warrior, and and was engaged in constant feuds with the Kačháři and Jaintiá Rájás. The ruins of a fort said to have been built by him are still visible in Sabari Mauza, near Nowgong. He eventually made peace with the Kačhář Rájá, and married his daughter, but hostilities again broke out and he was defeated. He fled covered with wounds, and was drowned in the Kallang river.

Four kings, named Mimaṅg, Gajaṅg, Siṅbaṅg and Mrigaṅg are mentioned by Guṇábhiráṃ as having reigned for 200 years at Lohityapur in Kámarúpa, and as having been succeeded by Phéṅguá Rájá. In Prasiddha Náráyaṇa’s Vamśávali, on the other hand, it is said that Naraṅg and Mrigaṅg were son and grandson of Arimatta, and that the latter being very pious made over his kingdom to Jaya Simha, a learned Bráhman of Darrang. But these accounts are so vague and uncertain that it seems to be useless to try to reconcile them or to construct a connected history from them.

The Pála rulers still remain to be mentioned. There is no doubt that kings of this name at one time possessed great power in the country, but our information regarding them is very meagre. Rai Guṇábhiráṃ Baruá in his

* So Guṇábhiráṃ and an old chronicle in the possession of a Bráhman, to which reference was made by General Jenkins in the J. A. S. B., IX., p. 766. Prasiddha Náráyaṇa’s Vamśávali says that Ráma Chandra was 14th in descent from Jitári. Hannay (J. A. S. B. 1818, p. 464) identified Jitári with Dharma Pála, and says that his kingdom was in Central Assam and that the dynasty became extinct with Rája Súkráṅka in 1478 A. D. He quotes no authority for these statements.

† So the Vamśávali of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa. Guṇábhiráṃ says that the princess was of the Nágákhyá line.

‡ The so-called Dimuriá Rájá in Kámrúp claims to be descended from Arimatta, and will not touch the Aryan fish in consequence. Baidaragáth is near Betná in Kámrúp. Guṇábhiráṃ says that local tradition ascribes its erection to Phéṅguá Rájá. Traditions regarding Arimatta and his son are still current amongst the people, and their history is said to be narrated in an old pathl (now very rare) which I have not yet succeeded in obtaining.
Buranji gives a list of 17 Pála princes who reigned in Kámarúpa, viz: Jayanta Pála, Chakra Pála, Bhúmi Pála, Prima Pála, Paksha Pála, Daksha Pála, Chandra Pála, Náráyaṇa Pála, Madhu Pála, Indra Pála, Sinha Pála, Kríṣṇa Pála, Su Pála, Gandha Pála, Mádhava Pála, Sýáma Pála, and Lakshmi Pála. He adds that these princes were Buddhists, and that Lakshmi Pála was followed by a king of the name of Subáhu who died childless and was succeeded by his Mantri Sumati.*

There is a tradition amongst a colony of Bráhmaná (called Basat-tariá, i.e. 72) resident at Suálkuchi in Kámarúpa, that they settled there in the reign of one Dharma Pála, and a copperplate in their possession records a grant of land made to them by that prince.

Another plate found recently at Benares and deciphered by Professor Venis, records the grant of two villages Badá and Mundará in the Vishaya of Badá in the Bhukti of Prággjyotisha in the Mañjála of Kámarúpa to a Bráhman named Sridhara. The date of the grant has not been deciphered, but Professor Venis is of opinion that it was about 1142 A. D. The name of the prince making the grant is Kumára Pála, son of Ráma Pála and grandson of Vignáha Pála. The inscription says that Ráma Pála killed a certain Rájá Bhíma. Kumára Pála is styled Lord of Gauḍá, and his General is said to have slain a rebellious vassal named Tíngyá, or Tishya Deva in the East.† From the mention of Ráma Pála and Vignáha Pála and the title Gauḍésvára assumed by Kumára Pála, this plate would seem to prove that the Rájá in question belonged to the Pála dynasty of Bengal, and the probability that this was so is strengthened by the fact that Deva Pála of that dynasty (who according to General Cunningham ruled from 850 to 885 A. D.) is said to have conquered Kámarúpa.‡

* In an ancient-looking chronicle shown by a Bráhman to General Jeukins, Lakhi Pála, Subáhu and Sumatí are mentioned first, then Jitári and his descendants, then the Pálas, and lastly Mimaṅg and his successors. It is almost impossible to give reasons for arranging these dynasties in one order rather than in another, particularly as it seems probable that they ruled in different parts of the country. It is supposed for instance that Mimaṅg, and his family reigned at Lohítyapura in Kámarúpa, and that the capital of Jitári was outside modern Assam in the Jalpaígúri District.

The list of Pálas in this document differs slightly from that quoted in the text, and is given by General Jeukins as follows:—

Japandú Pála, Hari Pála, Dhamba Pála, Ráma Pála, Paksha Pála, Chandra Pála, Náráyaṇa Pála, Mantri Pála, Haíma Pála, Sýáma Pála, Naktu Pála, Su Pála, Gandha Pála, Mádhava Pála, and Lakhi Pála. The differences are however in many cases clearly due to misreadings of the original.

† Supplement to Pandit for February, 1893.

‡ Vide copperplate found at Bhágalpur and translated by Rajendralála Mittra, J. A. S. B. 1878 page 407. The conquest of Kámarúpa is however uncer-
Mr. Westmacott in his "Traces of Buddhism in Dinajpur," was of opinion that the Bengal Pála dynasty at one time ruled the country north of the Padma, and Mr. Ferguson in his paper on Hiuen Tsiang says that "Pála kings were ruling east of the Karatoya long after "Bengal had been subdued by the Senas, before whom indeed the Pálas "probably retreated by degrees to the north-east." The only conquest in Kámarúpa claimed by the Sena line, who succeeded the Pála dynasty in Bengal, is that of Vijaya Sena (1046–1066 A. D.) who is said in the inscription found at Rajshaliye by Mr. Metcalfe, to have conquered the Kings of Gauḍa, Kámarúpa, and Kaliṅga.*

On the other hand it should be mentioned that the name Pála alone creates very little, if any, presumption regarding the lineage of the rulers bearing it. Many of the Bhuiyás were named Pála, and Dalton speaks of an Aryan dynasty of that name which ruled over Kuṇḍilya or the country around Sadiyá, and succumbed to a Chutiya or Kachári invasion, probably about the same time that the Koches rose to power lower down the Valley.

According to Doctor Hultzsch the meaning of the verse is that Deva Pála supported the king of Kámarúpa against the king of Utkala (Ind. Ant. Vol XV, p. 308). Cf. Dr. Kielhorn’s paper on the Dinajpur Inscription; J. A. S. B., Vol. LXI, Part I, pp. 77 and ff. The line of Pála Kings is now established to be as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Gopála I.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) Dharmapála. Vákpála.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Devapála. Jayapála.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Vigrahapála I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Nárâyanaapála.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Rájyapála.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Gopála II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Vigrahapála II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Mahápála.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(10) Nayapála.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Vigrahapála III.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It is doubtful whether Deva Pála was nephew or son of Dharma Pála.

The dates of Deva Pála, as given above, are those given by General Cunningham, (Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind., XI, 181). Dr Rajendralála Mittra gives 895–915 A. D.

* J. A. S. B. 1878 page 401. It is however not very clear from his inscription whether the conqueror was the Sena prince or the ruler of Gauḍa.
In Glazier’s Report on Raṅgpur, Dharma Pāla is mentioned as the founder of a dynasty. It is said that he was succeeded by his son Bhava Chandra, whose successor, Pāla, was the last of the line. The remains of a fortified city which even now retains the name of Dharma Pāla, are still to be seen in Raṅgpur, and in the Baghdwār pargana of the same district are the ruins of Udayapura, the city of Udaya or Bhava Chandra.

Leaving the Pāla dynasty we come upon somewhat more certain grounds. Tradition says that there was a certain Brāhmaṇ who had a most restless and troublesome cowherd. Going one day to chastise him, he found him asleep and a cobra shading him with its hood. He then noticed from the marks on his feet that he was destined to be a king. He informed him of the fact, released him from menial work and made him promise to make him his mantri when he rose to power. In course of time, acting under the advice of the Brahman, the quondam cowherd deposed the last representative of the Pāla race and ascended the throne, making the Brāhmaṇ his councillor. He assumed the name of Niladhvaja, and bringing many Brāhmaṇs from Mithilā did much towards re-establishing Vedic observances. He is said to have belonged to the Khyen tribe, but on conversion to Hinduism, he declared his caste to be that of High Sūdra, just as the next dynasty—the Koch—called themselves Rājavaṃśīs. He removed the capital to Kamaṭhapura,* on the western bank of the Dharlā in Koch Bihār. The ruins still exist, and are described by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton who visited them in 1809.† He says that the city was very extensive, being no less than 19 miles in circumference, of which five were protected by the Dharlā and the rest by a rampart and a ditch. The city was built on the usual plan, enclosure within enclosure, wall within wall, the king’s palace occupying the centre of the whole.

His son Chakradhvaja succeeded him, and the latter was in turn followed by his son Nilāmbara, who attained to great power. His dominions included the

* He was on this account known as Kamaṭheśvara. It is doubtful how far Niladhvaja’s empire extended, and it is not unlikely that in some portions of Eastern Kāmarūpa other rulers were at the same time exercising sovereign rights. The Musalmān historians of the time sometimes refer to Kāmarūpa and Kamatha as if the kingdoms were distinct, and sometimes speak as if the terms were synonymous and referred to one and the same country. “Comotay” is shown in the Map in Blaeu’s Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Vol II (Amsterdam 1650); but the map is too sketchy to enable the boundaries of the country to be ascertained from it.

† Buchanan-Hamilton’s account is reproduced almost verbatim in Hunter’s Statistical Account of Koch Bihār, p. 362. See also Statistical Account of Raṅgpur, p. 314.
greater part of Kamarupa, Goaldiá and Raúgpur, and also part of Bengal. His attempts to extend his dominions were facilitated by the struggles which the Afghan Kings of Bengal were then making to maintain their independence of the Delhi Emperors.

Nilambara did much to improve communications, and amongst other works, constructed a magnificent road from Kamathapura to Gho-rágháta, a portion of which still forms part of the main road between Koch Bihár, Raúgpur and Bogra. The fall of this monarch was in this wise. The son of his councillor, a Bráhman named Saúchi Pátra, was enamoured of the queen, and the king, hearing of it, ordered him to be killed and some of his flesh to be cooked. He then invited the father to a banquet, and, after making him partake of his son's flesh, told him what he had eaten and explained the circumstances under which the punishment had been inflicted. The councillor at once left the kingdom, under the pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges in order to wash away the sin committed by his son. But his real object was revenge, and to obtain it, he went to Husain Sháh, the Nawáb at Gauḍá, and telling him of the weakness of the kingdom, persuaded him to send a large army to invade it. The siege of Kamathapura is said to have lasted for twelve years, at the end of which period Husain Sháh gave out that he was going to abandon the siege and return to his own country, but that before doing so, his wife wished to pay a visit to Nilambara's Ráni. Under this pretence some armed men were introduced into the city in litters, and with their aid the city was captured. Nilambara was taken prisoner and put in an iron cage to be taken to Gauḍá, but he made his escape, and Buchanan Hamilton says that in his time the common people of Kamarupa still looked for his restoration at some future date. The Assam chronicles fix 1498 A.D. as the date of the capture of Kamathapura, and this date is confirmed by a contemporaneous inscription found by Mr. Westmacott, at Maldah bearing date 907 A. H. (A. D. 1501-2), which belonged to a Madrasah built by Husain Sháh in commemoration of his conquest of Kamatha and Kamarupa. The author of the Riáž refers to the conquest of these and other places, and mentions Rúpa Náráyaña Pála, Kuńwar Gosa, Lakkhan and Lachhami Náráyaña amongst the princes subdued. Husain Sháh left his son Dányál with a strong army to complete the conquest, "but when the rains set in and the roads were closed "the Rájá issued with his men from the hills and in a short time they were all killed." A very similar account is given in the Fatihiyah

* This is doubtless an exaggeration.
† J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 231. A.D. 1498 is also accepted by Blochmann as the correct date (J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 79).
i 'Ibriyah, from which it appears that the Rájá who drovo out the Musalmáns was the Ahom king.*

A few years later (1506 A. D.) a Paṭhán named Turbuk is said to have advanced as far as Koliabar, where he defeated the Ahoms and was not finally expelled from the Province until 1532 A. D., when he was defeated and slain, and his army chased as far as the Kuratóyá river. This invasion is recorded in the Ahom histories, but is not mentioned by Musalmán writers. The Mariášs are said to be the descendents of prisoners taken in this war.†

Although Ḥusain Sháh's invasion constituted the first serious attempt of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal to permanently occupy Kámárúpá, accounts are not wanting of earlier invasions which, however, seem to have partaken more of the nature of filibustering expeditions than of real attempts at conquest.‡

Ghiyásu'd-din Bahádur Sháh is reported to have invaded Assam about 1220 A. D. and to have ascended the Brahmaputra as far as Sadiyá, but in the end he was defeated and driven back to Gaṇḍa.§

Ikhtiyárn'd-dín Yuzbák Tughríl Khán invaded the country in 1256-57 A. D. For a time he was successful and he celebrated his conquest by erecting a mosque, but, when the rains set in, and the country was flooded, large numbers of his men died. The king of Kámárúpá then returned from his hiding place in the hills and gave battle. Tughríl was killed and his army defeated, and only a few escaped to Bengal to tell the tale.|| Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughluq Sháh,

* Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1872 pp. 79 and 336. Tho general account of the Khyon dynasty given above is taken from Guṇábhirám's Aśám buranjí.

† In the Fathiyáh i 'Ibriyáh it is said that they are the descendánts of prince Dányál's army. As Turbuk's name is not mentioned in Musalmán histories, it is possible that the name is an Ahom designation of Dányál or some other comman-
der of the forces left by Ḥusain Sháh in Assam.

‡ I do not mention Bakhtiyár Khalíf's invasion, because it has been shown that he did not, as was once supposed, enter Assam and cross the Brahmaputra at Gau-
háti, but that he marched northwards along the Karatóyá river which formed the boundary of the kingdom of Kámárúpá.

§ Guṇábhirám's Aśám buranjí p. 81. 

|| Guṇábhirám's Aśám buranjí p. 82 and Tabaqát i Nášírí 263. The practiso of flooding the country here referred to was common in early warfare in this part of India. Ḥusain Sháh's second invasion of Tippera was frustrated by a similar operation (Long's Analysis of the Bajmálu, J. A. S. B. 1850 p. 543). Cunningham (Arch.: Surv.: of India Vol XV p. 170) mentions a tradition that Mughíṣu'd-dín was killed near Sonárgáó, but it is not quite certain that the same person is referred to, and in any case the version given in the text seems to be more authentic.
invaded the country in 1337 A. D. He sent "100,000 horsemen well equipped to Assam; but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft, and no trace of it was left. He sent a second army to avenge the former disaster, but when they came to Bengal, they would go no further, and the plan had to be given up."

In the reign of Barbak, some time about 1460 A. D., Ismá’il Gházi, the celebrated Pír, is said to have defeated Kámeśvara, king of Kámarúpa. The story is told at length in a manuscript found by the late Mr. Damant in the possession of a fakir in charge of Ismá’il Gházi’s tomb at Kuntá Duár, Rangpur, but no reference is made to the subject in any Assam Chronicle or tradition.†

The records of these earlier Muhammadan invasions are very scanty, and very few traces of them now remain, beyond a few ruined fortifications (such perhaps as the Baidargary already referred to), a few occasional finds of coins and the names of places indicating a previous Musalmán occupation.‡

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to give some account of the Búro Bhuiyás. It is generally admitted that they were foreigners, but accounts differ as to the circumstances under which they came to Bengal & Assam. Buchanan’s version is that twelve “persons of very high distinction, and mostly named Pála, came from the west and settled” at Mahásthán. He was of opinion that they belonged to the Bhumíyá tribe. Cunningham on the other hand thinks that they were Bráhmaṇs and that the name Bhuiyá is a corruption of Bhumíhára, a term applied to them as indication of the fact that they had taken to cultivation as a means of livelihood. He says that they still call themselves Bábhan, and claim to be Bráhmaṇs, but that their enemies say that they are the descendants of men of low caste whom Jarásandha raised to the priesthood. He mentions that they form a large part of the population of Magadha, the chief representative of the clan being the Rájá of Tekári, and from this he surmises that the Pála Rajas “must have been of this caste, as they would appear to have been descendants of some of the Búro Bhuihír Pálas, while in their inscriptions they are silent as to their ancestry.”

* Alamgirnámah, p. 731.
† J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 216.
‡ 30 silver coins were recently discovered near Gauhátí by a cooly working on the Assam-Bengal Railway. They bore dates from 1310 to 1399 A. D. Most of them were coins issued by the independent Sultáns of Bengal. Mahmúd Sháh II, Ghíyás’ú’d-dín Bahádur Sháh, Iyás Sháh, &c. A previous find of 33 coins at Gauhátí in 1880 formed the subject of an article by Dr. Hoernle in the J. A. S. B. of 1881, p. 53.
Buchanan's identification of the Báro Bhuiyás with the aboriginal tribe called Bhungiyá or Bhuiyá was endorsed by Dalton and other writers, but Dr. Wise has made it clear that the word “Bhuiyá” has nothing to do with caste but is simply a word formerly used to denote a chief or ruler.* He shows that one at least of the “Bhuiyás” was a Mnsalmán, and quotes Janic as follows:—“Non se tamen dixere reges sed Boiones, quasi forsan Principes.” Bhuiyá therefore simply means chief, and connotes nothing regarding the caste of the persons to whom it is applied.

Why these Bhuiyás should always be referred to as 12 in number is less clear. It may be that the term was originally “Bar” or “great,” and somehow got changed in course of time to Báro or twelve; but this seems unlikely. All that can be said in explanation is that twelve seems to be a favourite number to be fixed for councilors or feudatories in the constitution of kingdoms in this part of India. The Rájá of Jaintiá had twelve dalais, and we shall see subsequently that when Visva Simha came to the throne, he appointed twelve chief Ministers of State.†

The tradition current in Assam regarding the immigration of the Báro Bhuiyás of this Province is as follows:—A Rájá of Kamathapura named Durlabha Náráyaṇa went to war with another Rájá named Dharma Náráyaṇa, who called himself Gauḍēśvara—the Lord of Gauḍa.‡ When peace was concluded Gauḍēśvara§ sent seven houses of Bráhmans and seven of Súdras (Kayasthas) to Durlabha who settled them on his frontier as lords of the marches and gave them lands and slaves. From the position accorded to them, it seems certain that they must have been persons of position in their own country. The names of the seven Bráhmans were Krishna Paññīta, Raghupati, Rámanara, Lohár, Bányan, Dharma and Mathurá; and of the seven Kayasthas—Hari, Síri Hari, Srípati, Sridhara, Chidámanda, Sadámanda and Chañḍívara. The last mentioned, who was the ablest and

* It is in fact simply the Sanskrit equivalent of the Persian word Zamindár.
* The title was sold by the last kings of Cachar to any one willing to pay for it. Dr. Wise's essays on the Báro Bhuiyás of Bengal will be found in the J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 197 and 1875, p. 181.
† Cf. also the 13 misals of the Khāliṇa.
‡ The whole story is told at length in the Guru Chariya.
§ It appears that this title was often claimed, even by petty princes, and in the time of the visit to Paundradesa of Jayapúra, the Rájá of Káśmir (779-813 A. D.) there were no less than six petty princes in the province of Gauḍa or Varendra all of whom claimed the title of Gauḍēśvara. The same state of affairs is said by Táránatha to have prevailed in the beginning of the ninth century, immediately before the rise of the Pála princes. (Arch. Sur. of Ind. Vol. XV, p. 111.)
most learned, was chief of the Báro Bhuiyás, and acted as their priest, from which fact he was also known as Devidása.* A story is told of Chaṇḍívara to the effect that he and the other Bhuiyás† went home to fetch their families, and that on starting to return they were seized by Gauḍēśvara and east into prison. Shortly afterwards a pandit from Benares visited the country and defeated all the learned men there in argument. The king confronted him with Chaṇḍívara, who soon overcame him, and he left the country covered with shame at his defeat. This so pleased the king that he at once released Chaṇḍívara and his companions and supplied them with boats in which to return to Kāmarūpa. They went and settled at Paimagurī, where Chaṇḍívara earned the gratitude of the peasantry by constructing a bund in Bangsi pargana, which the Chandhrí of the place, by name Gandharva Rái, had in vain attempted to make. Subsequently the Bhotiás raided and carried off a number of people including Chaṇḍívara’s son Rájadhara. Gandharva Rái fled to the south bank of the Brahmaputra, but Chaṇḍívara with the other Bhuiyás followed up the Bhotiá raiders and rescued their captives.

After Nilámbara had been overthrown by the Musalmáns under Husain Sháh and the latter had in their turn been expelled by the Ahoms, the country appears to have been broken up, as it had often been before, into numerous petty kingdoms, and amongst the rulers of these small principalities were twelve Bhuiyás, but whether these were descendants of the Bhuiyás imported by Devesvara or not is uncertain.

* His son Rájadhara was the great grandfather of Saṅkara Deva, the celebrated religious reformer.

† The following list of Bhuiyás is taken from Lakshmináraýana’s Purushávali: Chaúr, Ugurí, Kusum, Kália, Lúkí, Járgáóú, Kabila, Karṇapur, Phulguri, Biju, Dighala and Pratáp. Of these Ugurí, Lúkí, Járgáóú, Karṇapur, Phulguri, Biju and perhaps Dighala are names of places, and Chaúr, Kusum, Kália, Kabila and Pratáp are the names of rulers whose states are not mentioned. The twelve Bhuiyás were not the only rulers in the country during this period of anarchy. Amongst others, two brothers named Chandana and Madana are mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton as having ruled for eight years at a place called Marálávásá about twenty miles north of Kamaṭhapura. In a lecture by Bábá Rám Chandra Ghosh, quoted at page 407 of Hunter’s Statistical Account of Koch Bihár, it is stated that Chandana and Madana were the children of Hariá Maṇḍal by his wife Jírá. But as will be seen hereafter, there is not sufficient evidence to justify this statement. The same Bábá adds that Chandana became king in 1511 and was succeeded by Víśva Sínха in 1524, after a reign of thirteen years. Guṇábhírám mentions the kings of the following places as having been subdued by Víśva Sínха—Dima-rí, Belto, Ráni, Lúki, Bógái, Pántan, Boko, Bangaót, Moirápur, Bholágáon, Chaigáon, Barnagar, Darrang, Karábírí, Attábhírí, Kamathábírí, and Balarámpur.
THE KOCH KINGS OF KÁMARÚPA.

In the meantime the Koch chiefs were gradually rising to power. Bisu and Sisu.

In tracing their history I shall follow generally the account given in the Purusahanáma or Vanávali of Rájá Lakshmi Náráyana Kuar, but shall collate this with other versions and endeavour, where they differ, to show which is most probably correct.

The account begins with the usual attempt to prove that the ruling tribe was of Kshattriya descent. It says that Sahasra, son of Rájá Haihaya stole the milch cow of Jamadagni. Paraśuráma, son of the latter, on hearing of the theft, slew Sahasra and restored the cow to his father. In revenge, Sahasra's sons, taking advantage of Paraśuráma's absence, killed Jamadagni and cut off his head. When Paraśuráma returned, he waged a war of extermination against the Kshattriyas and recovered the head of Jamadagni, whom he then restored to life. The remnant of the Kshattriyas, flying before the wrath of Paraśuráma, assumed the guise of Meches and discarded the sacred thread. They multiplied rapidly, and eventually a chief was born whose name was Hídri, and who had twelve children—Pánbar, Phedelá, Aorko Guabar, Fed Fedu, Barihana, Jukuabar, Káthya, Båihágu, Meghá, Goratá, Jogai and Dukharn.* These sons founded twelve families and from one of these sprang Hariá Mañdal. One day, when his wife Hírá was carrying his mid-day meal to him in the fields, she was met by S'iva, who had assumed the form of Hariá Mañdal, and in that guise consumed the food intended for her husband and had intercourse with her. There was some misunderstanding between her and her husband in the evening, but matters were soon put right, for S'iva appeared to Hariá in a dream and informed him that it was he who had eaten his food and taken such liberties with his wife, and stated that as a result of his intimacy with her, a son would be born who would rise to be a mighty chief.

To complete the story, the legend adds that the lady was none other than an incarnation of Párvatí, who had been made to take the form of a Mecháni as a punishment for causing S'iva's death by a curse. Ten months later, on the 1st day of the Bihna, the promised son was born, amidst universal rejoicings, and was named Bisu, in commemoration of the time of his birth. By his second wife Jírá or Dhírá, Hariá Mañdal himself begot a son, whom he named Siśu.

The Purusahanáma continues, that in his boyhood Biśu was known as the chief of cowherds. When he grew up, he at once began to extend his father's principality by bringing the country ruled by the

* The occurrence of the number twelve will again be remarked. The Purushahanáma also speaks of the twelve sons of Sahasra.
Bhuiyās under his power. He defeated the Bhuiyās of Ugurī and Lukī* but was defeated by Chāru Bhuiyā. While wandering about after this defeat, he was met by Pārvatī disguised as a Meehnī, and following her advice, he again attacked Chāru Bhuiyā at the time of the Baisakh Bihu, when his soldiers had dispersed for the festival, and thus overcame and killed him and the few soldiers that were left with him. Following up this success, he defeated and slew the Bhuiyās of Phulguṛi and Bijnī, the former of whom is described as being of the race of Sīva.† He gradually extended his power, and after defeating all the Bhuiyās, went and‡ built a magnificent city in Koch Bihār. He worshipped Sīva and Durgā and gave gifts to the disciples of Vishnū. Other accounts mention that he assumed the Hindu name of Viśva Sīṃha and that his brother Sīsū called himself Sīva Sīṃha, while the men of his tribe who accepted Hinduism described themselves as Rāja-vamśis. He gave alms to the priests, and astrologers, and also to the poor and to the visitors from distant countries. He made Sīṣu Yuvarāja, and appointed twelve ministers from the twelve chief families of the Mecchēs, viz.—Two councillors (one for foreign and one for internal affairs), a commander of the army, a brāhmaṇ, an astrologer, a physician, a betelnut-bearer, a cook, a store-keeper, an accountant, a thār (prophet) and a porter. He also introduced a regular state organization by appointing Thakurās over 20 eolies, Saikids over 100, and Hazāris over 1,000, Umādūs over 3,000, and Nawāds over 66,000. Excluding the old and the young, he took an account of his able-bodied male subjects, and found that the number of persons fit to carry arms amounted to no less than 5,225,000. He is said to have possessed numberless elephants, horses, asses, buffaloes, and camels. It is related that he went to make war on the Ahoms, but fell short of provisions on the way, and thinking it wrong to plunder, returned home.§ He was preparing to undertake a second expedition, when Kālī appeared to him and told him not to engage in war himself. She told him instead to marry, and prophesied that he would have eighteen sons, who would conquer the whole world. In accordance with the divine mandate, he married in one day eighteen wives according to the Gaudharva ceremony. Two of these wives

* If this account can be relied on, it seems to prove that the Koch Kingdom rose in Kāmarūpa and gradually extended itself westwards, instead of beginning in Kangpūr as is generally stated.

† It may be interesting to note that the use of firearms is referred to in the account of his battles with the Bhuiyās.

‡ Guṇābhirāma says that he took from them as tribute muga silk, cotton, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold, iron, potters’ clay, &c.

§ The Ahom version which says that he was defeated and made tributary, is more likely to be the real explanation of his return.
came from Nepál, two from Kámarúpa, one from Káśmíra, four from Benáres, three from S'ójítapura (the Modern Tezpur) and two from Míthíla. Ten months later, each of his wives gave birth to a son, the names of whom were Nara Símha, Mallá Déva, who was afterwards known as Nara Náráyaṇa, S'układhvaja, Gosáĩní Kamala, Píd, Rám Chándra, Súra Símha, Máňa Símha, Meechá, Vríshaketu, Ráma Náráyaṇa, Aúanta, Dípa Símha, Hemadhara, Megha Náráyaṇa, Jagat Chandra, and Súrya.

Being undecided as to who should succeed him, Viśva Símha, following the advice of Sadá S'íva, caused 18 different articles (including gold, silver, iron, earth, &c.) to be tied up in bundles, and asked his sons to bring each one a bundle. Nara Símha brought the bundle of gold, and so was appointed to be ruler of a foreign country. Mallá Déva brought the bundle of earth, and was thus selected to succeed his father as king. S'układhvaja, who brought the bundle of iron, was made Yuvarája, while Gosáĩní Kamala, because he brought the bundle of wheat, was declared to have for his inheritance unspotted fame and pure glory, and to be destined to construct roads, monasteries and tanks. Minor appointments were allotted to the other sons, according to the contents of their bundles.

Viśva Símha died, after reigning 25 years, of sores brought on by the curse of a Bráhman,* but before his death, he enjoined his ministers never to get brides for his family from foreign races, but only from amongst the Meech, Koch and Kacháří tribes. It is said that he was carried up to heaven from S'ońitanagara in a chariot driven by Nándí, who had been sent to earth by S'íva for this purpose.

Gnálbhiráṃ tells a story which is not referred to in this Purusha-náma. He says that Viśva Símha re-discovered Kámákhýá. The story runs that he went to Niláchala, where he found only a few houses of Meches. No one was at home except one old woman, who was resting under a fig-tree, where there was a mound which she said contained a deity. Viśva Símha prayed that his followers might he caused to arrive, and his prayer was at once granted. He therefore sacrificed a pig and a cock, and resolved, when the country became quiet, to build a golden temple there. He ascertained that the hill was the site of the old temple of Kámákhýá, the ruins of which he discovered, while the image of the goddess herself was dug up from under the mound.

* He had asked the Bráhman why people worship the big toe of a Bráhman, and on being told in reply that it was because it contained white blood, which is the blood of Brahma, he had his toe pierced through with a chisel. No white blood was seen, but red blood flowed and could not be stopped, and so the Bráhman died saying, "As you have caused me this pain, so you also shall die of sores."
sequently he re-built the temple, but instead of making it of gold, he placed a gold coin between each brick. He brought Brāhmaṇas from Kannauj, Mithilā, Benares, &c., to perform religious ceremonies at this and other temples. Guṇābdhikrām adds that in Viśva Simha's time Raghagalūgarī was the eastern boundary of Koch Bihār.

Taking advantage of the absence of Mallā Deva and Śukladhvaja, who had been sent to Benares to study under a hermit of the name of Brahmānanda, Nara Simha seized the throne. News of this occurrence was sent to Mallā Deva by his nurse, and he at once returned with Śukladhvaja and defeated Nara Simha, who fled to the Morung country. Mallā Deva and Śukladhvaja defeated the Morung king, and Nara Simha fled to Nepāl, but the king of Nepāl was similarly defeated, and he then took refuge in Kashmir. Being unable to cross the passes Mallā Deva gave up the pursuit and returned to his own country. The Vamsāvalī says that Nara Simha subsequently became ruler of Bhotān, and that Pallavas, or local rulers were appointed by him. Their names were Dagar, whose jurisdiction lay in the east; Tongsrā in the south; and Pāro in the west. Three Jongpons are also mentioned as rulers over Tasirjim, Pūṛmakālā and Undipherā, respectively, and reference is also made to the "great dewan of Duneckāl," the 'lord of correspondence.'

Returning to Mallā Deva and Śukladhvaja, it is stated that on their return Mallā Deva became king and assumed the name of Nara Nārāyana. He made Śukladhvaja his Yuvarāja, under the name of Śilarāi, the king of the kites. He at once began to turn his attention to the extension of his kingdom, and first of all, he determined to carry out the decision formed by his father to conquer the Ahoms. Bearing in mind the cause of his father's failure, he first of all arranged for the construction of a road as far as a place called Parasu Kuthar, and this task was entrusted to Gosānī Kamalā. The latter set to work with vigour, and at the end of a year had completed the road, and had also constructed tanks at regular intervals along it.* Nara Nārāyana then called in Hindū paṇḍits and astrologers, and, after following the usual Hindū observances, prepared to start. But before doing so, he organized a Kachārī dance on the banks of the Sankosh, and calling in the aid of a Shamanist, went through the aboriginal rites of his tribe, this leaning to his old tribal superstitions being justified in the Vamsāvalī by the statement that Śiva himself had directed him to observe them. He then started. One night he halted at Tamtumani, where twelve tribes brought him pre-

* The remains of this road are still visible from North Lakhimpur; the portion which runs through North Kāmrūp and the Mangaldāi subdivision is still known as the Gosānī Kamalā Ali.

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sents, in consequence of which the place was called Bāraḍala. On another occasion he stopped at Bhramarakunaḍa where he built a fort and a monastery on a hill called Nil Khামার, a family of Kachāris being appointed to attend on Triśūladevi, the goddess of the place. It is said that he fixed the Gosāṃ Kamala Ali as the boundary north of which the Kachāri, Koch and Mech aboriginal forms of worship should be practised, while south of it Hindū observances were to be followed. Further on he halted at Singiri Parbat, and after that on the Bharali.

In the meantime, the Ahom king who had heard of the invasion, summoned a meeting of his councillors, and with their advice, caused an iron goat to be made. This goat he sent to Nara Nārāyaṇa, saying that if he could sever its head from its body at one stroke he should have his kingdom, but not otherwise. Nara Nārāyaṇa offered two goats to Kāli, and then taking a sharp sword struck off the head of the iron goat with such force that the sword buried itself in the earth. On hearing of this, the Ahom king was filled with fear, and fled to Charāi Kharang.† Nara Nārāyaṇa then entered Gaṛghaon. Finding that the Ahom king was not disposed to fight, Nara Nārāyaṇa, after halting for a year at Gaṛghaon sent word to him saying that if he wished to fight he should come prepared, and that if he did not come, and at the same time did not surrender, he would go and attack him at Charāi Kharang. On receiving this message, the Ahom king agreed to acknowledge himself a feudatory of Nara Nārāyaṇa, and sent as hostages a prince named Sundara and twenty families of the Ghar-mātha clan, together with one pot of gold and another of silver, 60 elephants and 60 pieces of cloth.‡

After that the Koch king left Gaṛghaon and proceeded first to Maraṅg and thence to Demora.

* According to other accounts, including that in Gunābhirām’s Asāṁ Buranji, the Ahom king is said to have for a time averted defeat by sending forward an army of S’udras mounted on cows. A similar stratagem is referred to in the Rājamālā or Chronicles of the kings of Tippera.

† The Purushanāma states that this was formerly the capital of the Chutiya Rājā. The Ahoms were unable to conquer this king and so made peace with him. Their ruler married his daughter, and through her discovered that her father’s supremacy was due to the possession of a golden cat. He made his wife steal this for him, and when he had got it, he attacked and killed the Chutiya Rājā, whose sons fled for refuge to the Mīrī and Miching country.

‡ Sundara and his comrades were subsequently released owing to Sundara having succeeded in worsting Nara Nārāyaṇa in a gambling contest. The Ahom chronicles add that when they returned to their own country, they took back goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and other artizans with them. (Gunābhirām’s Asāṁ Buranji pp. 68 and 117.)
Subsequently he deputed Silaráí to go and conquer Harmesvāra, the king of Hīdamba or Cachar. It is related that Silaráí broke open the gate of the capital with two strokes of his riding whip.* Seeing this, Harmesvāra feared to offer resistance and at once made his submission. He gave 84 elephants and other presents and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 silver and 1,000 gold mohars and 60 elephants.† The Koch king then sent messengers to the Rájá of Manipur, calling on him to submit and pay tribute, and the Rájá feeling himself too weak to resist so powerful a prince, at once complied with his requisition. His tribute is said to have been fixed at Rupees 20,000, 300 gold coins and ten good elephants. After this Silaráí gave battle to the king of Jaintiá and slew him with his own hand. Nara Náráyaṇa set up the deceased Rájá's son as king, after making him promise to pay an annual tribute, and then despatched Silaráí to wage war against the king of Tippera. It is said that Silaráí's army consisted of 40,000 men, and that in the battle which took place, no fewer than 18,000 men of the Tippera army were slain. The king is said to have met his death, like the king of Jaintiá, at the hands of Silaráí himself. Nara Náráyaṇa placed the deceased king's brother upon the vacant throne, and made him pay tribute to the extent of Rs. 10,000, one hundred gold mohars and thirty war horses. In the meantime, Viryavanta the Rájá of Khairam, having heard of Nara Náráyaṇa's prowess and wishing to avoid the fate which had overtaken the kings of Jaintiá and Tippera, hastened to make submission. His tribute was fixed at 15,000 Rupees, 900 gold coins, 50 horses and 30 elephants. He was also made to promise not to stamp coins in his own name, but in that of Nara Náráyaṇa.‡ The next victory was over the Rájá of Dimuriá who was taken prisoner, but was subsequently released on his undertaking to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000. In the course of this expedition, Nara Náráyaṇa is said to have straightened the course of the Brahma-putra opposite Páṇḍunátha, a place near the foot of the Niláchang hill, some four miles west of Gauhátí. After stopping some time at a village

* Other similar feats are attributed to Silaráí. On one occasion he is said to have leapt over the Bharali river on the back of his war horse.

† This story of the invasion of Cachar by Nara Náráyaṇa is confirmed by a tradition current amongst the Deháns, a small tribe of that district, who claim to be descended from the Koches who invaded the district. According to their account, however, the leader of the expedition was not Silaráí, but his brother Gosáti Kamalá.

‡ No coins of this king have as yet been found, and the earliest coin of the Rájás of Jaintiá which I have seen is dated more than a hundred years later. Excluding Ahom coins, the only extant coins of this period stamped by kings in Assam are those issued by Nara Náráyaṇa and his successors.
named Rohá, Nara Náráyaṇa determined to attack the king of Siratha (Sylhet), whose kingdom is described as being near Jaintiā, and who is said to have been a very powerful prince. Messengers were sent calling upon him to submit, but this he refused to do, and Silaráı was accordingly despatched with a strong force to overcome him. He met the army of the Sylhet king, and a battle took place which lasted three days. At the end of this time as the scales of victory still hung in the balance, Silaráı became impatient, and so seizing his sword and shield, he rushed forward like the kite, from which he took his name, and attacked the hostile army. It is related that 100,000 soldiers fell before his all-destroying sword, and that at last the king of Sylhet himself was slain. The king's brother Asiráı then tendered his submission and returned with Silaráı to the court of Nara Náráyaṇa, who appointed him king in the place of his brother and fixed his tribute at 100 elephants, 200 horses, 300,000 Rupees and 10,000 gold coins.*

Being thus victorious in three directions, Nara Náráyaṇa determined to invade the kingdom of Gaur (Gauḍa). Before doing so, he visited the temple of Kámákhyá, which he found in ruins. He intended to rebuild it, but being possessed by Śani (or the planet Saturn) he postponed this pious act until after his proposed expedition. This incensed the goddess against him, and his army, which was led by Silaráı, was defeated by the Pasha of Gaur, after a fight which lasted for ten days. Silaráı himself performed prodigies of valour, and after his weapons had been broken he disdained to fly, and so continued to fight with rushes until they also were exhausted, and he was taken prisoner. Subsequently, through the favour of Kálí, he succeeded in curing the Pasha's mother, who had been bitten by a snake which had been sent into her presence by Silaráı in the form of a rope. In return for this cure, Silaráı was released, and the Ganges was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

On his return home, he and his brother at once set about the erection of the Kámákhyá temple.† Twice they erected a temple of stone, and each time it fell in a night. Then Párvatí appeared in a dream and

* Sylhet was conquered by the Musalmáns in 1384 A. D., but may have been temporarily independent at the period here referred to, which was a troublous one in Bengal. Or it may be that the king of Sylhet here referred to was the ruler of Lúr, who long continued to maintain his independence of the Musalmán invaders.

† An inscription within the temple records its erection by Silaráı during the reign of his brother Nara Náráyaṇa. This inscription which bears date 1487 S'ak- (1565 A. D.) will be referred to again further on. Other accounts say that the temple took ten years to build. (Ganábhirám's Asám Buranjī page 68.)
said that the Musalmáns had destroyed the old stone temple, and as it was
now the Káli Yuga, the new one should be constructed of bricks. The
brick temple, was constructed in six months, and then Nara Náráyaṇa
consecrated it with numerous sacrifices, including 140 men, whose heads
he offered to the goddess on copper plates.* He made a grant of land
for the maintenance of the shrine, and gave away alms to the extent of
Rs. 25,000. He also caused a statue of himself to be made and placed
within the temple.† At this time he caused roads, monasteries and
tanks to be constructed, and trees to be planted. Under his auspices
the Sástras were published and the Ratnamálá was composed, and even
the common people were made to study religious books. Sáktism was
the State religion, but Vaishnávism was more than tolerated, and great
honour was done to Sáñkara Deva, Deva Dámódara, and other Vaishnava
divines. The country enjoyed a period of peace and religion, and trade
throve exceedingly.

Two years later, the Gaúr Pasha’s mother died, and Nara Náráyaṇa
then combined with Akbar to attack him. Sílaráí invaded his kingdom
with an army from the east, while Rájá Mán Singh, who was in com-
mand of the Imperial army, advanced upon him from the west.

The ruler of Gaúr being thus attacked from two sides at the same
time was easily defeated, and his kingdom was then divided between
the Koch king and the Emperor of Delhi. The Pasha himself fled to
the country of the Feringhis.

While engaged on this expedition, news came from the capital that
a son had been born to Sílaráí.‡ The latter, however, was destined never
to see him. He was attacked by small-pox and died on the banks of the
Ganges, after enjoining his brother Nara Náráyaṇa to take care of his boy.
Nara Náráyaṇa performed the funeral ceremonies with great pomp, and
at the conclusion sacrificed a bull.

After Sílaráí’s death, a long period of peace ensued, during which
the people enjoyed great prosperity, while Nara Náráyaṇa gave such
encouragement to religion that he became known as “the pious king.”

* The offering of human sacrifices was by no means uncommon among the
Sáktas of former times. Similar sacrifices were frequently offered at Sadiyá, and
at Beltola in Kámúrap, and it was the abduction of four British subjects for this
purpose which led to the annexation of Jaintí in 1835.
† Two statues, said to represent Nara Náráyaṇa and Sílaráí, are still to be seen
within the temple. An older figure carved in the rock on the road leading up to
it is said to represent Naraka, the first-recorded guardian of the shrine.
‡ It is related that in honour of this event grants of Brahmosttar land were
made in the village of Chinakoná (in the Mañgaldái sub-division.) This grant still
exists.
In the meantime Silará’s son, whose name was Raghu Rái, was growing up. He was a great favourite with the king, and when he attained the age of 16, two girls were given to him as wives. It is added that subsequently the number of his wives reached 120.

Shortly after Raghu Rái’s marriage, Nara Náráyaṇa himself was at last blessed with a son, to whom he gave the name of Lakshmí Náráyaṇa. *

Up to this time, Raghu Rái had lived in hopes of succeeding his uncle; but hearing that he was now likely to be passed over in favour of the latter’s own son, he left the capital with a small following, and settled down at Baranagara, or Vijayanagar, where he excavated a tank and built a town called Ghilajaipur. Nara Náráyaṇa sent a messenger, named Para Kárji, to recall him; but he refused to return, and when Kárji invested the place in order to seize him, he fought with, and defeated him. On hearing of this, it is related that Nara Náráyaṇa professed to be pleased at his nephew’s prowess, and as an acknowledgment thereof, sent him his wives, together with a large amount of money and jewels from the royal treasure-chest. A few months later, a heavy flood occurred, and taking advantage of it, Raghu made an expedition in boats and raided Bair Baku. When Nara Náráyaṇa heard of this, he went with an army to chastise him, but was prevented from attacking him by Raghu sending his 120 wives to attack Nara Náráyaṇa’s army. When the latter heard of this, he determined not to fight and so came to terms.

The kingdom was divided into two parts, and it was settled that Raghu should rule the country east of the Saúkosh and that Lakshmí should succeed his father as Rájá of the country west of that river. Raghu continued to reside at Baranagara. He visited five places of pilgrimage,—Ganeśa, Keḍára, Gokarṇa, Garṇa, and Kámeśvara; and rebuilt the Manikúṭa Temple, which had been broken by the Musalmáns. †

He endowed it with grants of land, and when it was finished, he sacrificed at the shrine 700 men, whose heads he offered to the goddess in copper plates. He had a large number of sons, including Parikshit, Indra Náráyaṇa, Jádurái, Bali Náráyaṇa, and Mána Síṁha. He is said to have been devoted to religion and to have made liberal gifts to Brahmáns. It is related that he buried 30,00,000 Rs. under the staircase of his palace. In the end he was killed by a demon (daitya) sent by an ascetic whose company he had exhorted his son Parikshit to eschew.

* It is said that Nara Náráyaṇa married Kamala-priyá, the daughter of Saúkara Deva’s brother Rám Rái. According to other accounts, however, it was Silará who married her.

† This is the Hayagríva Temple at Hájo, which stands on the hill called Maní. An inscription in the temple, dated 1583 A. D., mentions Raghu Deva as the king under whose orders it was re-built.
Parikshit, on the death of his father, went to Prágjyotishapura and worshipped three times at Kâmákhyá. An astronomer attached to the temple foretold that unless he became king within two days, he would not get the kingdom for twelve years, and he accordingly set sail and proceeded with all haste to Baranagara, where he was hailed as king. It is said that his boatmen were so exhausted by their exertions that on arriving they all lay as if dead, and were only brought back to life by the tender ministrations of 140 girls (sent for the purpose by Parikshit) who anointed their bodies with oil and acid fruits, and then passed the night with them. Next morning, says the Varmávali each boatman was married to the girl with whom he had slept. Parikshit is said to have built a town where North Gauláti now stands, and to have mounted cannon at Pañdínátha, which were still in position at the time when the Varmávali was composed. Subsequently war broke out between Parikshit and Lakshmi Náráyaña, and the latter being worsted, went to Delhi, and giving his sister to the Emperor in marriage, implored him to send an army to his assistance.

In accordance with his request, Paransubha and Mukarram Khán were sent against Parikshit. Parikshit was defeated and then entrenched himself in a fort which he built on the banks of the Sankosh, which the Musalmáns besieged for a year without success. They then resorted to stratagem, and by floating rafts of plantain trees down the river by night, made Parikshit believe that they had crossed it and were marching on his capital. Under this impression, he abandoned his intrenchments and hurried back to Vijayanagara.

In the meantime his brother Bali Náráyaña, after taking refuge for a year with a Bára Bhuiyá family residing at Maniári village in Dar-rang, went to the Ahom king, Svarga Náráyaña, and invoked his aid against the Musalmáns. The latter took the field with a large army, and defeated the Musalmáns, who fled across the Karatoyá. Svarga Náráyaña then placed Bali Náráyaña, whom he re-named Dharma Náráyaña, in charge of the conquered country, the boundaries being on the east the Bharali, on the west the Karatoyá, on the north the Gomiri mountains, and on the south the hills of Siri.

Comparison of the Vamśávali with other sources of information.

Thus far the Vamśávali of Rájá Lakhshmi Náráyaña Kuar. I now refer briefly to other accounts of the events with which it deals.* And first of all, as to the parentage of Bisu and Sisu.

* Minor points in which other accounts corroborate it, have been noted passim in the abstract of the Vamśávali given above.
Rájá Prasiddha Náráyaṇa’s Vainśávali agrees with it in all particulars, and the account given by Guṇábhirám in his Asám Br̲aṇji is also practically the same. In the latter, however, Hájo is mentioned as the father of Hirá and Jirá; it does not appear from his account that either of them had a husband, and Śiva is said to have been the father of Sisu as well as of Bisu. Buchanan Hamil̲ton says that Hájo Koch had two daughters, Hirá and Jirá, of whom the former was married to Hariyá Mech. She had a son, Bisu, while her sister (whose husband is not mentioned) had a son, Sisu. He adds that Śiva was claimed as the progenitor of both Bisu and Sisu. The Raikat family of Baikuṇṭhpur claim to be descended from Sisu, and over that he was the brother and not the cousin of Bisu. Another account says that Chandan and Madan were the children of Hariyá Mech by his wife Jirá and that Sisu and Bisu were born of his wife Hirá by the god Śiva.*

From these accounts we may, I think, conclude that Sisu and Bisu were the children of Hariyá Mech by his wives Hirá and Jirá, and that the latter were daughters of Hájo, who was of the Koch tribe, a fact which is proved not only by the authorities mentioned above, but also by the fact that the existing representatives of the family still describe themselves as “Koch,” and by the Musalmán names for the country, Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo. Ralph Filch also refers to Súklandhvaja as Shukl Koch. There is not sufficient evidence for assuming that Chandan and Madan belonged to this family.

There is less unanimity regarding the kings by whom the Koch kingdom was consolidated and extended and the division of the country into two kingdoms. The period at which it was divided into two parts.

According to Buchanan Hamilton, it was Hájo who founded the kingdom, and Viśva Siṁha who divided it into two parts, giving the position east of the Sanksho to Súkladhvaja and the position west of that river to Nara Náráyaṇa. The same version is given in the family history of the Rájás of Bijni. Other authorities however, agree with Rájá Lákshmí Náráyaṇa’s Vainśávali. Babu Rájm Chandra Ghosh, to whose lecture reference has already been made, says that Nara Náráyaṇa “with the assistance and advice of his younger brother Súkladhvaja, “otherwise called Silarāi, extended his kingdom in all directions. He “conquered the whole of Kármarúpa and carried off in triumph the “chhattra or umbrella of the king of Assam. The king gave to his elder

* Lecture delivered by Babu Rájm Chandra Ghosh before the Koch Bihár Hitaishini Sabha, and printed in Calcutta at the expense of the Ráj in 1865.
† Hunter’s Statistical Account of Raṁpur, page 351.
"brother, Nara Simha, the pargana of Paung; and to his younger brother Sukladhvaja, together with the title of Raja, he gave Bijni, Darrang, "Bentali (sic, Beltola?) and the northern part of the Kamakhya "kshetra."

In Bisvesvar's Asam Buranji, the agreement is still greater. He says: "Raja Nara Narayana, having no male issue, determined to appoint "his nephew Raghu Deva as his successor. When old, he had a son, and "Raghu Deva became hopeless. The latter therefore, quitted one day the "palace, under the pretext of going a hunting, but the Raja, in order "to console him, allotted to him a portion of the Raj."

The account given by Gunabhiram on pages 59–71 of his Asam Buranji also confirms that contained in the Vamkavali, and so does the allusion to the conquest of Ghaghao in the Ahom chronicles, and also the Musalmans version of the events dealt with in the Vamkavali as described in the Akbarnamah, except that in the latter, Raghu's rebellion is said to have taken place on the death of Nara Narayana, and not during his life time.*

In addition, we have contemporaneous evidence in the shape of two inscriptions, one of which is inside the Kamakhya temple and the other in the temple of Hayagriva at Hajo. The former runs as follows:

"Glory be to king Malladeva, who by virtue of his mercy, is kind to the people; "who in archery is like Arjuna, and in charity like Dadhichi and Karpa; he is "like an ocean of all goodness, and he is versed in many Sastras; his character is "excellent, in beauty he is as bright as Kandarpa; he is a worshipper of Kamakshya. His younger brother Sukladeva built this temple of bright stones on the "Nila hillock, for the worship of the goddess Durga, in 1487 Saka (1565 A.D.). "His beloved brother Sukladhvaja again, with universal fame, the crown of the "greatest heroes, who like the fabulous Kalpataru, gave all that was devoutly asked "of him, the chief of all devotees of the goddess, constructed this beautiful "temple with heaps of stones on the Nila hill in 1487 Saka."

Amongst the stone figures in the interior of this temple are two which are said to represent Malladeva and his brother Sukladhvaja.

The inscription inside the temple of Hayagriva may be translated thus:—

"There was a ruler of the earth named Visva Simha; his illustrious son, the "most wise king Malladeva, was a conqueror of all enemies. In gravity and "liberality and for heroism he had a great reputation, and he was purified by "religious deeds. After him was born his brother Sukladhvaja who subdued

* It may be explained here that Muhammadan historians refer to the countries ruled by Purkshit and Lakhshmi Narayana as Koch Hajo and Koch Bihir respectively. Nara Narayana was known to the Musalmans as Bal Gosaif, and Sukladhvaja as Shukl Gosain.

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many countries. The son of this Sukladhvaja was king Raghudeva, who was like the greatest man of the Raghu race: his glories spread out in all directions; the lord of Kamarupa, in obedience to the order of destiny, is the slayer of the wicked, who was like water to the flames of the fire of sorrow of the vast populace. Of the seeds of Sukladhvaja, a king was born of the name of Raghudeva, who consoled innumerable persons, and is a worshipper of the feet of Krishna; the king coming of age had a temple built on the hillock called Mani hillock, in 1505 "S'aka (1583 A. D.) The most skilful and efficient artisan Srídharā himself built it."

Apart from the authorities quoted in favour of the version given in the Vamsāvali, it seems probable that that version is correct; first, because it is far more detailed than any other, and secondly, because it is the version given by the descendants of Silarāi who would not have been likely to represent him as a subject of Nara Nārāyaṇa if he had really been an independent prince. We may, therefore, accept the story as told in the Vamsāvali as substantially correct.

The only alternative to accepting the version given in the Vamsāvali is by supposing Silarāi to have outlived his brother and to have rebelled when Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa succeeded him. This is the version given in the Akbarnāmah (J. A. S. B. 1872, page 53), and if correct would simplify the meaning of the inscription in the temple at Hājo. The account given in the Vamsāvali is however, so circumstantial that, in the absence of further evidence, it seems impossible to gainsay it.

Musalmān invasions during the period dealt with in the Vamsāvali.

The Vamsāvali says very little about the relations of the Koch kings with the Muamāns, and it will therefore be useful to supplement it in this respect by accounts drawn from other sources.

And first should be mentioned the invasion of Kālā Pāhār, otherwise known as Rājū, which took place in 1553 A. D. It is said that Nara Nārāyaṇa was afraid to fight him, and allowed him to pass up the Brahmaputra unmolested. He was a convert from Hinduism, and like all apostates, was a zealous persecutor of the faith which he had before professed, so that his name is remembered to this day, both in Assam and Orissa, as the arch destroyer of temples and images. To him is attributed the destruction of the old temples at Kāmākhyā and Hājo, but beyond these acts of sacrilege, he appears to have left no mark in the country. His invasion is not referred to in the Vamsāvali, except incidentally in the statement that Nara Nārāyaṇa rebuilt Kāmākhyā "which the wicked Musalmāns had destroyed."
Another incident not mentioned in the Vanikš-
dvali is that related in the following extract
from the Akbarnāmah:*

"To the events of this time (1578 A. D.) belongs the arrival of the
"Peshkash from Bengal and Koch Bihār. Raja Bāl Gosain (Nara
"Nārāyaṇa) who is Zamindār of Koch, submitted again, and sent valu-
"able presents from Bengal, with 54 elephants."

On the other hand, the Musalmān historians of the period make
no mention of the assistance said to have been rendered by Nara Nārā-
yaṇa in the subjugation of Dāud Shāh.

The Akbarnāmah tells us that when hostilities broke out between
Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa and the ruler of the eastern Koch kingdom, the for-
mer made his submission to the Emperor and met Rājā Mān Siṅgh at
Ānaḍāpur. It is added that he gave his daughter in marriage to the
latter, and not to the Emperor as stated in the Vanikšvali.

In the Tūzuk i Jahāngīrī it is stated that, in 1618 A. D., Lakshmi
Nārāyaṇa paid his respects personally at court in Gujrāt and presented
a nazzar of 500 mohars.

The invasion of Parikshit's kingdom however, is attributed, not to
the initiation of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa, but to a complaint made by Raghunātha, the Zamindār
of Sosang, whose family Parikshit had imprisoned.

The Vādūšmah contains a full account of the invasion which
followed. The following abridgment is taken from the translation
Mukarrem Khān invaded Koch Hajo with 6,000 horse, 12,000 foot and
500 ships, and took Parikshit's fort at Dhurī, at which place he halted
named Suckel Conse (Sukl Koch or Sukladvaja), because the part of the kingdom
which he visited was west of the Sankosh (cf. Blochmann, J. A. S. B., page 240), and
this part has never been claimed as having at any time belonged to Sukladvaja
or his descendants. It is clear, therefore, that there must be some mistake, and as
Sukladvaja was a far more prominent man than his elder brother, the real king,
it is not unlikely that Ralph Fitch thought that he was the ruler de jure as well
de facto. Or it may be, that Ralph Fitch's visit took place during the year for
which, according to Gupābhīrām, Nara Nārāyaṇa left his kingdom in charge of
Silarāi and wandered about in disguise, in order to avoid the disaster which it was
supposed would ensue from the influence of the planet Saturn, under which the
astrologers asserted that he had had the misfortune to come. The story of his
temporary abdication is not improbable, as the Gupāks have always exercised almost
unlimited power over credulous converts to Hinduism, and we have an exact parallel
in Ahom history in the case of the king Siva Siṅgha, who abdicated in 1720 A. D.
in favour of his wife Phūleśvarī, in consequence of an adverse prediction by the
astrologers attached to his court.

during the rains. Parikshit was defeated in a naval engagement in the Gajádhár river and retreated, first to Khelah and afterwards to Budhínagar on the Manás, where he at last surrendered, and by the Emperor Jahángír’s orders, was sent to Court. His brother Bali Náráyaṇa, or Buldeo, as he is called by the Musalmán historian, fled to the Ahom king.

The Musalmáns proceeded, under Sayyad Ḥákím and Sayyad 'Abá Baqr, to invade the country of the Ahoms, but were destroyed in a night attack. A fuller account of this invasion is contained in the Ahom chronicles, where it is stated that the Musalmáns proceeded as far as Bishnúnáth. They were at first victorious and took many captives, but were subsequently defeated by the Ahoms, who had called in the aid of the Kacháris of Kháspur. The cause of the invasion is said to have been the murder by the Ahom garrison, at Koliabar, of a Muhammadan trader who was suspected of being a spy. It is stated that 'Abá Baqr (who is called Bábákar in the Ahom Bharanjí) and his son Ghiyášu’d-dín were slain in the battle, and that the body of the latter was taken back to Hájo and buried there.*

The Pádishádmámah continues that Bali Náráyaṇa† then persuaded

* Guṇábhírám says that this invasion is described in the Guru Bhatíma, a collection of hymns written shortly after the time of the occurrence by Saṅkar Deva and his disciple and successor, Mádhava. I have not been able to procure a complete collection of these hymns, but in a selection of them published by Haribiláś Guptá, the only Musalmán invasion referred to (page 79) is one in which the ruler of Gaur is said to have been utterly defeated by Nara Náráyaṇa. In this account, the destruction of images is not mentioned, and it is possible that some other invasion is referred to.

† The Ahoms called him Dharma Náráyaṇa. In Ahom histories it is said that Bali Narayan or Baghu Deva (accounts differ) gave the daughter of the latter—Maṅgaldái by name—to Pratápa Simha in marriage. Maṅgaldái town and river are said to be named after this princess.

Ghiyášu’d-dín is said to have been a very pious and learned man, and the sanctity attaching to his tomb was consequently so great, that it became a very sacred place in the eyes of the Musalmáns, and was accordingly known as Powa Mekka. The origin of this name is differently accounted for by a writer in the Calcutta Review of 1887. He says that after the death of Husain Sbah’s son, Dánýál. Sultán Ghiyášu’d-dín succeeded him, and brought a colony of Musalmáns to Hájo, and made large assignments of lands for religious purposes. He resolved to build a grand mosque at Hájo, and brought earth from Mekka to give additional sanctity to the place. He died however before completing the mosque, and was buried under the holy earth. It is not known from what source this writer derived his information, but it seems on the face of it more probable than the other story, as it is hard to believe that a vanquished army would carry a corpse so great a distance as from Bishnunáth to Hájo. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Musalmáns re-
the Ahoms to invade Hájo, and the latter agreed and sent him thither with an army. He retook Darrang, and reinforcing his army by some discontented Musalmán Jágírdár's of Hájo, seized also parganas Luki and Bháomantí, and finally attacked 'Abdu's-salám, the Musalmán Governor of the country.

It is not stated how long these events took, but it would appear from other sources of information, that a considerable time must have elapsed between the retaking of Darrang and the attack on 'Abdu's-salám which led, as will be noted further on, to the defeat and death of Bali Náráyana.

The defeat of Paríkshit is stated to have taken place in 1614 A. D. and the final overthrow of Bali Náráyana in 1637. The Ahom chronicles place the defeat of Abá Baqr in 1549 Sak or 1627 A. D. and state that his army was pursued and the Ahom rule extended as far as Gauhati, and that Bali was set up as a tributary of the Ahoms in Darrang and Gaja Náráyana, brother of the latter, at Beltolá. Subsequently, it is stated, Pratápa Simlí became lord paramount of the Rájás of Rání, Luki, Mairápur, and other places. These events must have taken time to bring about, and it may therefore, I think, be assumed that Bali became ruler in Darrang at least, if not also in part of Kámráp, immediately after Abá Baqr's defeat in 1672, so that he ruled there for ten years before his final conflict with the Musalmáns.*

On being attacked by Bali, 'Abdu's-salám reported matters to Islám Khá'n, Governor of Bengal. Reinforcements were at once sent to him, but owing to the treachery of Sattrajit, the Thánádár of Páñdu, the dispositions of the Musalmáns were not as effective as they might otherwise have been. In several engagements in the neighbourhood of Páñdu, however, success remained with the Muhammedan army.

Subsequently, as 'Abdu's-salám was moving his fleet from Shrighát towards Hájo, he was attacked at night by the Ahom fleet which numbered 500 ships. Sattrajit took the first opportunity to retire with his fleet, and the Musalmáns were beaten. Bali Náráyana followed up this success by laying siege to Hájo, and after cutting off his supplies, forced 'Abdu's-salám to treat. The latter went with his brother to the hostile camp, where he was at once seized and sent off to Garhgaóñ.

* In Gunábhirán's Asám Buranji it is said that Bali Náráyana fixed his capital at Maṅgaldáí in Darrang, and ruled well.
The Musalmáns then tried to force their way through the enemy, but were all cut up in the attempt.

In the meantime, Parikshit’s son Chandra Náráyaña, who had established himself with 6,000 or 7,000 Ahoms and Kocheś at Karaibári, was attacked by the troops left at Srígháśť and forced to retreat to pargana Solmári. He was killed shortly afterwards. The Musalmáns then marched to Dhubrí where they found and arrested Sattrajít, who was subsequently executed for his treachery, and thence proceeded to Jogighopá, at which place as well as at Hirápur on the opposite bank of the Brahmaputra, Bali Náráyaña had erected strong fortifications, his fleet being anchored between the two forts. They were harassed on their way by the enemy’s troops, but drove them off, and after several assaults, they forced Bali Náráyaña to retreat, and followed him across the Manás river. He retreated to Budhnagar where he threw up a strong entrenchment, but withdrew to Chothri on hearing that Muḥam-mad Zamán was marching against him with a strong detachment, under the guidance of Uttama Náráyaña, the son of Sardáíbar, Zamindár of Budhnagar, who was well acquainted with the country.

This detachment halted at Bishunpur for the rains, but was shortly afterwards attacked by Bali Náráyaña, who had received reinforcements which brought the strength of his army up to 40,000 men. He threw up fortifications at the Kalápáni river, about three miles from Bishunpur, behind which he encamped on a well-selected site, protected by rising ground, a river difficult to cross, and dense jungle. From this vantage ground he harassed the Musalmáns by repeated night attacks.

At the close of the rains, in spite of Bali Náráyaña’s efforts to prevent it, a junction was effected between the detachment at Bishunpur and the main body of the Musalmán army, which had spent the rains at Chandankot. Having united their forces they attacked and defeated Bali Náráyaña, who fled to Darrang. A son of the Ahom king was taken prisoner in this battle and was put to death together with all the other prisoners. The Ahom forts at Pánḍu and Srígháśť were then taken together with 500 war sloops and 300 guns, and Koch Hájo again became a Musalmán province. Fort Kajlí (at the junction of the Kallang and the Brahmaputra) was also taken, and a detachment was sent to Darrang to hunt down Bali Náráyaña who fled to Siṅgiri, where he and his two sons shortly afterwards died. Gauháṭí was selected as the seat of Government of the Musalmán proconsul, and a financial settlement of the country was effected.

As already stated, the final overthrow of Bali Náráyaña is said to have taken place in 1637 A. D. Strange to say no mention of this struggle is made in any local history.
Datable of the kings mentioned in the Vamsávali.

Rája Lakshmí Náráyaná's Vamsávali mentions only one date—that of the erection of the Kámákhyá temple, and it is not very easy to fix the exact dates of the kings to whom it refers. Some dates are given in the Vamsávali of Prasiddha Náráyaná, in Guñábhirám's Ísám Buranjí, in Buchanan Hamilton's account of Raügpur and elsewhere, but these authorities often differ amongst themselves, and it is therefore necessary to examine the matter in some detail.

It will perhaps be easiest to arrive at the truth by dealing in the Dates of Rája Nara Nará-
yána. Three different dates are assigned for the time when he ascended the throne in succession to his father Viśva Simha, viz., 1528 A. D. by Guñábhirám, 1534 in Prasiddha Náráyaná's Vamsávali, and 1555 by Babú Rám Chandra Ghosh.

His death is said to have occurred in 1584 A. D., and Prasiddha Náráyaná's Vamsávali and Guñábhirám's Ísám Buranjí agree in fixing 1581 as the date of Raghu's accession to power in the eastern part of the old Koch kingdom, while the inscription in the Hayagríva temple at Hájo, which was built during his reign and bears date 1583 A. D., helps to confirm this as the date of the division of the kingdom.

It is recorded in the Akrarnámah that Lakshmí Náráyaná who had then succeeded his father, made his submission to the Delhi Emperor and paid his respects to Rája Mán Siñgh in 1596 A. D. On the other hand, the Musalmán historians refer to Nara Náráyaná as still reigning in 1578.† It is thus certain that Nara Náráyaná died between 1573 and 1596 A. D. and we may therefore, I think, confidently accept 1584 as the approximate date of his death.‡

* I do not refer to the dates given in the manuscript copy of the Yogini Tantra in the possession of a Bráhman of Haniú Mohanpur, as it appears that they are not trustworthy, so far as these earlier kings are concerned. Prior to the accession of Mahondra Náráyaná in 1630, only four dates are given, viz., the erection of Hájo and Kámákhyá and the accessions of Viśva Siñgh and Raghu Deva. The two former, which could always be ascertained from the inscriptions in the temples themselves are correct, but the two latter—1495 A. D. and 1555 A. D. are obviously wrong. It seems probable that the collection of dates in this volume was not commenced until long after the time of these two kings, and that when it was undertaken, their dates were filled in by guesswork.

† Bloehmann, J. A. S. B. 1872, page 53.

‡ Bloehmann, J. A. S. B. 1875, page 306. The name of the ruler mentioned in the Musalmán account is Bál Gosái, but this is clearly only another name for Nara Náráyaná. Bloehmann says that Bál Gossai was the son of Nara Náráyaná and father of Lakshmi Náráyaná, but this must be a mistake, as neither in the very full account contained in the Vamsávali nor in any other local narrative, is mention made of any
It is less easy to come to a definite conclusion regarding the date of his accession. According to the *Vamsádeva* of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa, this took place in 1534; Guṇábhirám following Bisvēśvar places it in 1528 and Bábú Rám Chandra Ghosh in 1555 A. D.* The last mentioned date may be at once rejected, on the testimony of a silver coin of this king which was found some years ago in the Gáro Hills and published in the J. A. S. B. for 1575, page 306.† This coin is dated 1477 S'ak (1555 A. D.), or the very year fixed for Nara Náráyaṇa’s accession by Bábú Rám Chandra, and as he had to fight with his brother Nara Simha before obtaining the throne, it is extremely unlikely that he began to issue coins in the very first year of his reign. It is much more likely that the time when this money was coined, formed the second period in his reign, namely, the interval of peace which followed his earlier expeditions and preceded the second war against the ruler of Gaur.

Perhaps the best way of arriving at the probable date of his succession will be to calculate it from several independent data, and then to strike an average. The *Akbandinámah* says that his son was born when he was fifty years of age. As the latter ascended the throne on his father’s death without, it would appear, the help of guardians, he cannot at that time have been less than 15 years of age. On this calculation Nara Náráyaṇa must have been born in 1519 A. D., and as he was still a student when his father died, he cannot at that time have been much more than 15 years of age. This would bring his accession to 1534 A. D., which is the very date mentioned in Prasiddha Náráyaṇa’s *Vamsádeva*.

Another way of arriving at the probable date of his succession is by calculating what time would be required for the different events referred to in the history of his reign, which occurred prior to the erection of Kámákhya temple, the date of which (1565 A. D.) is known to us by the inscription in the temple itself and by the concurrent testimony of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa’s *Vamsádeva*, and the manuscript edition ruler between Nara Náráyaṇa and Lakshmi, and all alike agree in saying that the latter was the son of the former. Besides Blochmann says that the brother of Bál Gosain was Sukl Gosain, who can be none other than Sukladvajya. In his notice of the *Akbandinámah* (J. A. S. B. 1872, page 52) he quotes a passage which says that Bál Gosain lived the life of an ascetic and did not marry until he was 50 years old, when he took a wife by whom he had a son named Lakshmi Náráyaṇa. Lastly, on page 100 of the number of the *Journal* just quoted, Blochmann himself, in a footnote, explains that Nara Náráyaṇa is called Bál Gosain in the *Akbandinámah*.

† A similar coin of Nara Náráyaṇa bearing the same date had been previously published in J. A. S. B. 1856, page 547, by Rajendralalá Mitra.
of the Yogini Tantra in the possession of the Brâhman of Haulí Mohanpur.

Briefly these events are:

(1.) Expulsion and pursuit of Nara Simha.
(2.) Construction of Gosaini Kamala Ali. This is said to have taken a year to make, but the real time it took was probably considerably longer.
(3.) Invasion of the Ahom kingdom. The Ahom chronicles mention at least two expeditions, and the Vamśāvali relates that Nara Nārāyaṇa remained a year at Garhgaon before the Ahom king submitted.
(4.) Conquest of Hiramba or Cachar.
(5.) War with the king of Jaintiá.
(6.) War with the king of Tipperah.
(7.) War with the king of Dimarua.
(8.) War with the king of Sylhet.
(9.) War with the ruler of Gaur.
(10.) Silará's detention at Gaur.
(11.) Erection of Kāmākhya. According to the Vamśāvali this was carried out in six months, but other accounts say that the temple took ten years to build.

It is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion as to the time which these events occupied, but bearing in mind the difficulties of locomotion at that time, and the fact that between each war it would probably be necessary for the Rájá to spend some time attending to the internal affairs of his kingdom and consolidating his rule, I do not think it would be safe to allow a smaller period than 30 years for these occurrences. Deducting this period from the date of the erection of Kāmākhya, we get 1535 A. D., as the date of his accession, which is again very nearly the date quoted in Prasiddha Nārāyaṇa’s Vamśāvali. On the other hand, the Ahom chronicles fix 1562 as the date of his invasion of their country, and as this is one of the earliest events of his reign as recorded in the Purushanámak, it would seem that his reign could not have commenced long before that date. As, however, it is certain that Kāmākhya was rebuilt in 1565, and all the intervening events could not possibly have occurred within the short space of three years, it is clear either that this date is incorrect or else that the Vamśāvali does not record events in their historical sequence. On the whole the weight of the evidence seems to show that Nara Nārāyaṇa came to the throne in 1534 A. D., or soon afterwards.

The same dates, of course, represent the conclusion of Viśva Simha’s reign. As regards its commencement, it will be remembered that Nilámbara was over-
thrown by Husain Sháh in 1498 A. D., and that afterwards Chandana and Madana reigned for a few years at Marálávása, a place some 20 miles north of Kamáthapura. If, therefore, Chandana and Madana ruled the whole of the country formerly under the sway of the Khyen Rájás, it would be impossible for Visva Simha to have begun to rule before 1515-1520 A. D. It has, however, already been shown that after the fall of Nilámbear, there was no ruler of the whole kingdom, but that many petty chiefs exercised supreme power in different parts of the country. This being so, there is no reason why Visva Simha should not have begun to rule some portion of the country while Chandana and Madana still held sway at Marálávása. Buchanan Hamilton says that "the Bihár Rájás reckon by the era of their ancestor, Visva, whom they suppose began to govern in the Bengal year 916 or 1509 A. D.," and as this, on the date arrived at, for Nara Náráyaña’s accession, would give him a reign of 25 years, there seems to be no reason for discrediting the date thus assigned for Visva Simha’s accession. We have seen that this prince gradually rose from the position of one of many petty chiefs to be ruler of the whole country from Rangpur to Kámárupa, and that he eventually found himself strong enough to march against the Ahom king in Upper Assam. It is very unlikely he could have effected all this in a shorter time than that allowed him according to the above calculation. Finally, Lakshmi Náráyaña’s Vamsávali mentions 25 years as the duration of his reign, and this is exactly the period intervening between 1509, the date of his accession according to the Koch era, and 1534, the date of his death according to Prasiddha Náráyaña’s Vamsávali.

Turning now to the kings who succeeded Nara Náráyaña, it has already been shown that Raghu Deva probably became king of the country east of the Sankosh in 1581 A. D. Guňábhirám and Prasiddha Náráyaña’s Vamsávali agree in saying that his death took place in 1593 A. D., and we know from the Pádisháhánámah that Parikshit was ruling when Jahángir came to the throne in 1605. We may, therefore, accept 1593 as the approximate date of Raghu’s death.

According to Guňábhirám, Parikshit died in 1606 A. D. at Patna. The Pádisháhánámah, however, places his defeat by Mukarram Khán in 1613-14, so that according to this account, his death must have taken place about 1614 or 1615 A. D.

Bali Náráyaña, who succeeded Parikshit, is said by Guňábhirám to have died in 1634 A. D.,* but it appears from the account given in the Pádisháhánámah that

* The same date is given in Prasiddha Náráyaña’s Vamsávali.
this is too early. According to this authority his death took place in 1637.

Regarding Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa, who succeeded his father in the western portion of the Koch kingdom in 1584 A. D., we know from Musalmān sources that he was still reigning in 1618. Babu Rām Chandra Ghosh says that he died in 1622 A. D.

The dates of these earlier Koch Kings appear therefore, to be approximately those shown in the following genealogical tree.

**HĀJO (PROGENITOR OF KOCH RAJÀS).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viśva Simha (1509-1531)</th>
<th>Sīva Simha (Ancestor of Raikat family)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nara Nārāyaṇa (1534-1584)</td>
<td>Sīlarāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa (1581-1622)</td>
<td>Raghu Rāj (1581-1593,) (Rājā of Goālpārā, Kāmrūp, and Darang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parikshit. (1593-1614)</td>
<td>Bali Nārāyaṇa. (1614-1637)</td>
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**SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE KOCH RAJÀS.**

The subsequent history of the descendants of Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa will be found in Hunter's Statistical Account of Koch Bihār, pages 409-426, and the only additional information of any importance of which I am aware, is that contained in the extracts from the Fathiyah iʿ Ibrīyāk which were published by Blochmann in the J. A. S. B. for 1872, pages 63-68. From these extracts it appears that in 1558 A. D., during the wars for the succession to the Delhi throne, Rājā Bhīma Nārāyaṇa took advantage of the disturbed state of the country, to make raids into Ghoraghāt and attempted to recover Kāmarūpa. In the latter endeavor he was thwarted by Jayadhvaja Simha, the Ahom king, who had also sent an army into Kāmarūpa. When Mir Jumla became governor of Bengal, he at
once took steps to punish Bhíma Náráyaṇa and Jayadhvaja Simha and to recover the lost territory. He began by invading Koch Bihár. Bhíma Náráyaṇa, asked for pardon, but Mir Jumla refused to accept his excuses, and in November 1661, he started from Jahángír-nagar with his army. Bhíma Náráyaṇa had fortified the road via the Yak Duár, and also the Khuṇṭágálát road, which passed by Rángámáti, but had neglected to protect a third which ran through the Moráng country. By this road, therefore, Mir Jumla advanced. The Rájá fled to the Bhotán hills, and the greater part of his baggage and guns and other munitions of war was captured by Mir Jumla's army. The latter sent to the Dharma Rájá of Bhotán, requesting him to deliver up Bhíma Náráyaṇa, but this the Deva Rájá refused to do. Being pressed for time, Mir Jumla did not stay to enforce his request, but proceeded to carry out his projected invasion of Assam.

The Koch King is described in the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah as being noble and mighty and fond of company. He was a great wine-bibber, and was so addicted to the pleasures of his harem, that he neglected to look after his kingdom. He had a magnificent palace. There were flower beds in the streets, which were lined on each side with rows of trees. The weapons of the people were swords, firelocks and poisoned arrows.

This invasion by Mir Jumla is not mentioned in the account given by Hunter. Moreover, the name of the king at the time in question is said by him to be Práṇa Náráyaṇa who came to the throne in 1627 and died in 1666 A.D.

The omission to refer to the invasion may be explained by the fact that it left no permanent effect. Mir Jumla advanced, and the king retreated without giving battle, and apparently returned again to his capital as soon as Mir Jumla vacated it. The discrepancy in the matter of names is also of very little importance. The character of the king as portrayed by Hunter agrees closely with that given in the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah; we know that Viśva Simha, Nara Náráyaṇa, Silarái and others of the family bore each two different names, and there is thus no reason why Práṇa Náráyaṇa should not also have been known as Bhíma Náráyaṇa.

After Paríkshit's defeat, his son Vijita Náráyaṇa was confirmed by the Musalmáns as Zamíndár of the country between the Manás and the Sankosh. He settled at Bijni and is the ancestor of the existing Bijni family. Under the auspices of this family, a small pamphlet was issued, some years ago, giving an account of Vijita's successors, but as they were not independent princes, there would be little use in dwelling on their history. It may,
however, be interesting to note the present status of the family and the manner in which it was created.* Under Mughal rule, the Rájá paid an annual tribute of Rs. 5,998, which was afterwards commuted to an annual delivery of 68 elephants. The Názin used to make up for short deliveries by sending a *Suzhval* into the Rájá's estates and levying the balance due by force, but when the East India Company came into possession of Bengal, this method of recovering outstanding payments was abandoned, and during the years 1776–1787 A. D., only 90 elephants were received out of the 816 which should have been supplied. The contribution of elephants was again changed for a money payment in 1788, the amount fixed being Rs. 2,000. Two years later the Rájá agreed to pay another thousand rupees a year, but this offer was declined by the Governor-General, on the ground that the chance of losing the attachment of a Zamindár in possession of a border estate should not be risked for the sake of Rs. 1,000. Subsequently a deduction of Rs. 850 from his annual payment was allowed as compensation for the abolition of *súyar*, so that the family now pay a total revenue of only Rs. 1,150, for an estate, the annual collections from which amount to very nearly two lakhs of rupees.†

In Darrang, Bali Náráyaṇa was succeeded by Mahendra Náráyaṇa, who is said to have made large grants of *Bráhmośtar* land to Bráhmans. He died in 1643 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Chandra Náráyaṇa, who died in 1660, and was followed by his son Súryá Náráyaṇa. This prince is said to have been worsted in battle by Manzúr Khán in 1682, and taken captive to Delhi.‡ He escaped, but declined to resume his place as

* This information is extracted from a note by Mr. Forbes in 1875, on certain bundles of paper received from the Board of Revenue.

† It has been argued that the estate has never been permanently settled, that the payment is of the nature of a tribute and not an assessment, and that as Bijni is no longer a border estate, the reason for an unduly low assessment no longer exists. But this is a matter with which we are not at present concerned.

‡ According to Gunabhirám. Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's *Vamsávali* says, that Manṣúm Khán was the name of the Musalmán leader, and fixes 1675 as the date of the occurrence. The manuscript Yogini Tautra on the other hand, says that it took place in 1700 A. D. No mention is made of the matter by Musalmán historians, and even the name of the Muhammadan leader does not appear in their accounts of events in Kárump. I have not mentioned Múr Jumla's invasion, which took place during this prince's reign, as that invasion was directed against the Ahoms, and there is no record of any conflict between Súrya Náráyaṇa and the Musalmáns. The only reference to this king in the *Fátihiyah* t'Ibríyáh is the following:—"At this time Makar dhvaj, Rájá of Darrang, who is subject to the Rájá of Assam, came and paid his respects to the Nawáb (at Gauháthí), presented an elephant, received a *Khil'at*, was promised protection, and was ordered to travel with the army."
Rájá.* He was succeeded by his brother Indra Náráyaṇa, who was at that time only five years old. During his minority, the Ahoms took advantage of dissensions amongst his councillors to strengthen their hold on the country. Darrang alone remained in his possession, and even for this he had to pay an annual tribute. During his reign, Darrang is said to have been surveyed under the orders of the Ahom Rájá, presumably with the object of ascertaining the amount of tribute which Indra Náráyaṇa would be able to pay.† When his son Aditya Náráyaṇa succeeded him in 1725, the kingdom consisted only of that portion of the present sub-division of Maṅgaldáí, which lies south of the Gosain Kamala Ali, and three years later, the greater part of this small vestige of the heritage of his ancestors was wrested from him by his younger brother, Madhu Náráyaṇa, who took also one of the two family idols.‡ From this time, the family sank into comparative insignificance. They were now mere subordinates of the Ahoms, and exercised no powers except such as were conferred on them by the Ahom prince.

Later on, their position was still further reduced, and instead of being tributaries, they were simply agents for the Ahom King, and in return for managing Deś Darrang were allowed the lands which were cultivated by their personal slaves and servants, which were surveyed, and carefully recorded in the state records of the Ahoms.§ When the English came into possession of the country they were allowed to retain these lands subject to the payment of half the usual revenue on the area under cultivation, so long as they themselves remained in possession. On alienation of any of these lands, however, the privilege of paying at half rates is withdrawn, and an assessment at full rates introduced. The existing representatives of the family still hold most of the land originally granted to them, but owing to their bad management and extravagant habits, they are now reduced to a condition of comparative poverty.

* In Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's Vasākāvati, it is said that he was detained in Bengal for 50 years and only returned to Assam in 1725 A. D., where he died ten years afterwards.

† According to the manuscript Yogini Tantra this survey took place in 1707 A. D., and was carried out by one Dhaniráma.

‡ These are the Durgā or Buri Gosaini and Siva or Burá Gosaini. The gold ornaments of these two idols were stolen within a few months of each other, some seven years ago.

§ Report on the Darrang district by Captain Mathie, Principal Assistant, dated 15th February, 1835.
Bijapur Inscription of Dhaval a of Hastikuṇḍī of the Vikrama year 1053.
(From the materials supplied by Munshi Deviprasād).—By Professor
F. Kielhorn, C. I. E., Göttingen.

This inscription was discovered, more than fifty years ago, by
Captain Burt, from whose rubbing fragments of the text and what
professes to be a literal translation were published in Vol. X. pp. 819-
821 of the Society’s Journal. The account, there given of its contents,
is however quite worthless, and it is therefore fortunate that this docu-
ment has lately been again brought to public notice by Munshi Devi-
prasād of Jodhpur, a gentleman who takes great interest in the history
and antiquities of his country. Munshi Deviprasād, in 1891, furnished
the Society with an account of it which will be found in the Proceed-
ings for 1892, pp. 2-3; and he has more recently sent in a fuller paper
on the same subject, as well as an ink-rubbing of the inscription.
These materials have been forwarded to me by the Philological Secre-
tary, with the request that I should publish the text of the inscription.
Although the rubbing sent to me does not enable me to do this as it
ought to be done, I have great pleasure in giving here, after revision,
the substance of Munshi Deviprasād’s notes, together with some extracts
from the Sanskrit text; and I trust that by doing so I may induce
those who have access to the original inscription to furnish either my-
self or some other scholar with carefully made impressions of it.

According to local report the stone which bears this inscription
was originally fixed* near the entrance of a solitary Jaina temple
which stands about two miles south of the village of Bijapur in the
Bali-Godwār District of Mrārwār, among or close to the remains of the
old town of Hatoṇḍī, the Hastikuṇḍī or Hastikuṇḍikā of this inscrip-
tion. From there it is said to have been removed, some years ago, to the
Dharmśālā of the Jaina community of Bijapur, where it was seen in
1889 by Mr. Joshi Aidān, Inspector of the Historical Department of
Mrārwār. That officer brought it to the notice of Munshi Deviprasād,
and it is now probably at Jodhpur, having been made over to the charge
of the Historical Department of Mrārwār.

The inscription contains 32 lines of writing which cover a space
of about 2‘6½” broad by 1‘4” high. Near the proper right margin, all
the way down, the writing has suffered a good deal, apparently from
exposure to the weather; but otherwise the inscription is in a
very fair state of preservation, and I have no doubt that, with a good

* Captain Burt found the inscription “in the interior of a gateway leading
to Mandir, distant one kosa from Beejapoor, on the route from Odeypore to Sirohee
impression, nearly the whole of the text may be made out with certainty. The size of the letters is about \( \frac{3}{8} \)". The characters are Nāgarī; they closely resemble, but look more modern than those of the Harsha inscription* of Vigrahāraśa of the Vikrama year 1030. The language is Sanskrit, and nearly the whole is in verse. Throughout, the inscription has been written and engraved with great care, and in respect of orthography it need only be stated that the letter \( b \) has generally (not always) been denoted by the sign for \( v \), and that the dental and palatal sibilants have sometimes been confounded.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part is a Praśasti of 41 verses which was composed by Sūryāchārya (line 21), and which is dated (in lines 19 and 22) in the year 1053, on the 13th of the bright half of Māgha, a Sunday, under the nakṣatra Pushya,—corresponding, for the expired Vikrama year 1053, to Sunday the 24th January A. D. 997, when the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 7 h. 5 m., and when the moon was in the nakṣatra Pushya up to 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. The proper object of this Praśasti is, to record the consecration by the Jaina sage Sāntībhadra or Sāntyāchārya, who during the reign of a certain Dhavala lived at that prince's capital Hastikunḍī or Hastikunḍika of an image of the Tīrthāmākāra Rishabhanaṭhadeva, at a temple that had been founded at Hastikunḍī by Dhaval's grandfather Vidagdha. But, as is usual in such cases, what is more valuable to us is the genealogy of the prince Dhaval which is given by way of introduction in lines 2–6, and which contains some interesting references to princes who (with perhaps one exception) are known to us from other inscriptions. This genealogical part of the Praśasti will be considered below.

The second part of the inscription, from line 23 to 32, is really quite an independent inscription, added on to the preceding Praśasti because it records endowments that were made in favour of the same Jaina temple, or of a sage connected with it, by the father and grandfather of the prince Dhaval, mentioned above. This second inscription also (in line 23) opens with some verses on the genealogy of the rulers of Hastikunḍī. First there was a prince Hariyārmaṇa. From him sprang the prince Vidagdha who was 'a tree yielding every desire in the garden which was the illustrious Rāṣṭrakūṭa race.' And his son again was the illustrious Māmāṭa. The inscription then records that, in the Vikrama year 973, Vidagdha made some donations in favour of a sage named Balabhādrā, and that those gifts were largely added to by the prince Māmāṭa in the Vikrama year 996.

From the second inscription we learn, then, that the chiefs of

* See Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. p. 120, plate.
Hastikundā here eulogized, belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, and that Vidagda, the son of Harivarman, was ruling in Vikrama-samvat 973, and his son Māmāta in Vikrama-samvat 996. According to the first inscription, which in verses 4–8 mentions the same princes, Māmāta was succeeded by his son Dhavala who was alive in Vikrama-samvat 1053, but had then made over the government to his son Bhālaprasāda. Of Harivarman, Vidagda and Māmāta the first inscription says nothing of importance. Of Dhavala, whose reign fell in the first half of the 11th century of the Vikrama era, verses 10–12 record certain dealings which he had with the princes Muṇjarāja, Durlabharāja, Mūlarāja and Dharanīvarāha, though, what these dealings were, is owing to the damaged state of the inscription, not in every case quite clear. From the first half of verse 10 it appears that Muṇjarāja, who must be taken to be Vākpati-Muṇja of Mālava for whom we have dates of the Vikrama years 1031, 1036 and 1050, invaded Medapāta (or Mewād), and the second half of the verse probably stated that the ruler of that country on that occasion was either supported or sheltered by Dhavala. Similarly verse 11 seems to record that Dhavala assisted a prince, whose name may have been Mahendra or Mahendra, against a prince Durlabharāja, who probably was the brother of the Chālamāna Vigharāraja of the Harsha inscription. And verse 12, again, states that Dhavala also supported Dharanīvarāha, when that prince was atttacked by Mūlarāja. That this last-mentioned prince was the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I., whose latest known inscription is dated in Vikrama-samvat 1051, is clear; his opponent Dharanīvarāha might perhaps be conjectured to have been one of the Chudāsamā chiefs, * but, before trying to identify him, it will be better to wait till his name is found in other records.

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**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

L. 2. • • • • • • • • 'मच्छिमुत्तः || ḍ [||x]'

चरितम्या व (व) सुवाच्छ भूविशुक्तवाधिक: || [४ ||x]'

सककालंकथिताः(च)गवंक्रमक्षुमुर्दकगुलव(व)लदिवाकरः: ||


J. 1. 40
3. [सत्त्र ?] मादि विवरण [तत्: ॥ ॥ ?] [४ ॥ ॥]

4. [ज ?]चे जनवति जन[ता]—रघु विजयानि।

5. [प्रम्पतिः म्री[मन्] ?] [युहा]

6. [प्रम्पतिः म्री[मन्] ?] [युहा]
10. [ṣu]नयननाथ राज्ये वाल]प्रसादमनिष्ठप-
    लवारिलवि निमंस्गो व(म)सुत सुधीः खर्य।
श्रवणप्रभार चाला चाल श्लोकमस्लिती-
    रक्षत सुखावी नै कालुण्यं करोति कलि: सता || [१२ ||]

11. राज्यानी सुवे भद्रस्मालो हिलिकुंडिकाः
    वज्रका धनविव धनाज्ज्ञानसेवी || [२२ ||]

14. ब्राह्मण चरित्स सुभाषिव शुभविनिर्वाणकसुखोष्ठि-
    श्लेष्मालाभि चित्तात्मावयविवि-

15. [सिता?][सतमनतकीसिः]
    नामा श्रीप्राणिवधिः[भव]दितिमवह[हु] भास्माना[च]माना-
    का माम कांम -- अनितजन । संयत्र [व]खं मूर्ति। || [२५ ||]

19. श्रीनाथचार्किमवचारसुखे प्रवसामियं
    माधुराचार्येनादश्यं सुप्रतिष्ठ: प्रतिष्ठिता ||२५ [॥]

22. संवत् १०५९ माधुरो १२ रविविन्द्रे यज्ञाच्च वृत्तिभमराधररवसः
    प्रतिष्ठा चाल मचाध्यज्ञाओपितः ||

23. ज्ञातीश्वरसंस्मृतं शुभमुखो भाष्यपालायणः(क्ष)को
    विश्वश्रुतिम् प्रभावकालो भुविप्रोत्सङ्गाधिविनः।
    वेगवि[ती ?]--

24. श्रीमान्ध्विन्याहः [उ]कसमस्मिः सद्दशाहें सुरी ||

* Read सुभुजमो.
† I believe that this is the actual (though incorrect) reading.
314 F. Kielhorn—Bijapur Inscription of Dhavala. [No. 4,

वङ्गाद्व(ह)भूत श्रवण श्रोरिष्यों ॐ ——
भुवमभूतसुकुटाचितव्यापितः।
श्रीराजकुलज्ञानकालवङ्गः
श्रीमालादर्पणवतिः प्रकटप्रतापः।
वथा[ह] ॐ

25.

ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — त: पर्वं भाज्यं
संबुतः शु(स,व,तुः: सुवौतितितिमान्* श्रीसंमटो वयायुः।
चेनामित्रज्ञानार्मणः मगने चंद्रायंति [चाष्ट्र]।
तेनेवं पिताश्रामः समर्थिनं बलभा पुनः पाल्यते।।
श्रीवल्मीकाचार्यं विद्वान्यवापूर्वः समर्थिनं
आचार्यांकृ बावन्तं भवेत् म • • • [1]

30. रामगिरियंदकालिते विरास्माकाले गते तु श्रविः[से ।]

31. [श्रीभ]व(ह)लम्बगुरोविंदाधराजः दसमितः।
नवसु प्रतेषु गते सु शश्वलोकमाधिकं माधवः।
श्रीविद्वानमित्र समायं[त म]मतोङ्ग(श)॥

32. इद्द चाचार्यभध्येिशाधवं श्रासनं श्रीविद्वान[व्र]पः। इद्द संवत् ६७६॥
श्रीसंमटर(श) ॐ। • • • संवत् ६६४॥ • • •

* Read ॐभाष्मी।.
The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa.—By H. Beveridge, B. C. S. (Retired).

Hiuen Tsiang, the Buddhist pilgrim, visited a town in Bengal which is spelt in Chinese, Kie-la-na-su-fa-la-na. M. Stanislaus Julien transliterates* this into the Sanscrit words Karṇa Suvarṇa, which may mean Karṇa the Golden, or Golden Ear, or simply, wearing gold earrings.† So far as I am aware, the site has not yet been satisfactorily identified, although it has been conjectured, chiefly from the similarity of name, that it lay on the Suvarṇa Rekhā, or Streak of Gold, a river which traverses Midnapur, and used to be the boundary between Bengal and Orissa. Some have placed it in Birbhum, and some in Singhbhum; and quite recently Dr. Waddell,‡ has suggested that it lay close to Burdwan and is the place now known as Kańchananagar. My chief object in this paper is to show that Karṇa Suvarṇa is probably identical with Raṅgamāṭi, in the Murshidābād district, and situated on the right bank of the Bhāgirathi, about six miles below Berhampur. But before I discuss this point, I am obliged to say a few words about the records of Hiuen Tsiang’s travels.

It is well known that we have two accounts of his journeying. One is called the Si-yu-ki, or Descriptions of Western Countries, the other is his biography by Hwui-li and Yen-Tsung. The Si-yu-ki is in twelve books, and is regarded as the original and more authoritative account. It was not, however, entirely drawn up by Hiuen Tsiang. He gave the materials, but the composition is by one Pien-ki. M. Julien conjectures that Hiuen Tsiang’s absence from China for seventeen years had made it difficult for him to write his mother tongue with the elegance required by Chinese officialism, and so the task was assigned to another monk. The biography is in ten books, and is mainly the work of Hwui-li. Both he and his continuator were contemporaries of Hiuen Tsiang, and as M. Julien remarks, their work is the livelier and more interesting of the two. It is also, I understand, written with greater elegance. That it is more interesting can easily be understood, for it is a biography and a record of Hiuen Tsiang’s adventures; whereas the Si-yu-ki is a sort of gazetteer or treatise on geography. It is necessary to give these details because there is a remarkable discrepancy between the two records about the route by which Hiuen Tsiang reached Karṇa Suvarṇa, and it is desirable to decide which account should have the preference.

* III. 84. Beal’s translation, II, 201.
† II. 248n. At 250 l. c. the Chinese translation Kin-eul is used.
‡ See note at end of this paper.
The following two tables of routes show where the discrepancy lies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places</th>
<th>Direction and distance, in miles</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Route according to the Si-yu-ki.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>I have reckoned the 里 as one-fifth of a mile, though it is a little more. Champá is Bhágalpur. Kajúghirá, or Kajínágar, has not been identified. Lassen points out that according to the biography, (I. 237, *) it lay partly at least, N. of the Ganges, though according to both the routes it lay on the W. bank. It is perhaps the Kajuráhi, or Khajura-bhága (Sachau I. 202), of Albidájini, which he puts as 30 farádkh east of Kánají, Sir A. Cunningham suggests Kánikjól, but the resemblance is only in position. M. Saint Martin suggests the Cudjirí or Kajirí in Rennel’s map (No. 15 of Atlas), near Farukhábád, and opposite Gaur. The first part of the word may be connected with khajur, a date tree. In going to Paúndra Vardhana, Híuen Tsiang crossed the Ganges from west to east. In all probability Mr. Westmacott’s suggestion that the place is Paúndá, in Maldáh, is correct. There is a river in this neighbourhood, and also according to Rennel, a town, called Páranabláha, which sounds like Paúndra Vardhana. On his way to Kámrúp, Híuen Tsiang crossed a great river. This should be the Brahmaputra, but it is curious that he does not name it. The mention of Náráyan as the ancestor of the royal family, seems to indicate that the place visited was Koch Bihár and not Assám proper. Samátáta (level shore) is the Ganges delta. The two routes agree as far as Paúndra Vardhana. The direct distance from Paúndra to Rañgamáti is about 75 miles. The direction is nearly due south, but if, as seems probable, Híuen Tsiang started from the monastery of Váçhpa († Vásíbhá) (I. 180 and III. 75)† 24 里 to the west, then the direction of Rañgamáti would be S. S. E. The delta is E. S. E. from Rañgamáti, and the direct distance about 180 miles. The direct distance from the sea face of the delta to Tamlúk is about the same. The capital of Samátáta is not known, but if Sañánka was a descendant of Adiáfrí, it might be Dacca or Sonárgoon. Samátáta extended to the sea shore, but as it was bounded on N. E. by Sylhet (I. 182 and III. 82), it must have extended inland as far as Dacca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champá</td>
<td>......</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajúghirá</td>
<td>E. 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paúndra Vardhana</td>
<td>E. 120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kámrúp</td>
<td>E. 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samátáta</td>
<td>S. 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamlúk</td>
<td>W. 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kárña Suvarná</td>
<td>N. W. 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>S. W. 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Route according to the Biography.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paúndra Vardhana</td>
<td>......</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kárña Suvarná</td>
<td>S. E. 140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samátáta</td>
<td>S. E. Not given</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamlúk</td>
<td>W. 183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>S. W. Not given</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Beal’s translation, p. 131.  † Beal’s Si-yu-ki, II, 195; Life, 181.
It will be seen that the Si-yu-ki makes Huen Tsiang diverge into Kāmrūp (Assam) and arrive at Karna Suvarṇa from Tamluk. But the biography makes no mention here of the Assam visit, and brings Huen Tsiang direct from Paundra Vardhana, or from Vachpā (? Vásibhā) to Karna Suvarṇa. M. Vivien de Saint Martin has pointed out the discrepancy in the note appended to M. Julien's third volume (p. 389). His idea is that the Si-yu-ki version should be unhesitatingly preferred because it is the primary account, and because it is more complete and consistent than that of Hwui-li.* But, as we have seen, neither account is exactly primary, and perhaps too M. Saint Martin has overlooked the difference in the character of the two works. The Si-yu-ki is a geographical treatise, and so all the information about each country is put in one place, whether the traveller visited it once or twice. For a similar reason, the order of visiting was, perhaps, not always exactly observed, though I have not found another instance of this. The biography on the other hand, joins the various journeys as they occurred. For instance, it describes Huen Tsiang as twice visiting Magadha or South Bihar; once on his way to Bengal and again on his return from Southern India, and after he had visited Gujrat, Sindh, and Mathurā. But the Si-yu-ki says nothing about the second visit. It also contains accounts of twenty-eight countries† which Huen Tsiang did not visit. It is therefore much less of a personal narrative than the biography is. The latter contains (Book V.) a detailed account of the Assam visit and of what had led to it. But it represents it as occurring after the second visit to Magadha, and it seems likely that Huen Tsiang went direct from Magadha to Assam, both because it was the shortest route, and because it was when he was at Nalanda that the Ambassadors from Kāmrūp came to him. It was there, too, that Śilabhadra urged his compliance with the invitation. Dr. Fergusson (J. R. A. S. VI. 252,) has also noticed the discrepancy between the two accounts. He believes that Hwui-li is more correct about the date and manner of the visit to Assam, but still he holds that he is wrong about the journey to Karna Suvarṇa!

There can be no question that the route through Bengal given in the biography is the more natural one of the two. It brings the traveller down to the delta along the course of the Ganges (in those days the Bhágirathi was probably the main stream), and then takes him west and south via Tamluk and Orissa. The Si-yu-ki on the other hand,

* At p. 365, l. c. M. Saint Martin in noticing another discrepancy between the two accounts gives the preference to the itinerary in the biography.

† The Si-yu-ki describes 138 countries, but Huen Tsiang only visited 110. Saint Martin, I. App.
makes Hiuen Tsiang diverge to the north-east,* or Paṇḍra Vardhana, and also causes him to describe two sides of a nearly equilateral triangle, between Tamluk and Orissa. This may be seen from M. Saint Martin’s map where, however, the route is made still more awkward by his supposition that Paṇḍra Vardhana is Burdwan. This it cannot be, for the itinerary places it on the east of the Ganges.† It is rightly placed there in the Chino-Japanese map of 1710, of which M. Julien has given a reduction. It seems very unlikely, too, that Hiuen Tsiang would turn inland and to the N. W. after arriving at Tamluk. Presumably he went there in order to embark for Ceylon, as his predecessor Fa-Hian had done. The biography, at all events, tells us‡ that he designed when at Tamluk, to sail to Ceylon and that he was dissuaded from doing so by a monk from southern India. This man advised him not to attempt so long and dangerous a navigation, but to sail from the S. W. point of India, whence he could make the journey in three days. This would give him an opportunity, the monk added, of visiting the sacred places of Orissa and other kingdoms, Hiuen Tsiang took this advice and started for the S. W. and arrived at Orissa. This is all straightforward; whereas the going to Karna Suvarṇa from Tamluk involved a détour of at least 140 miles.

For these reasons I am disposed to prefer the route given in the biography. I am not sure, however, if this is to the advantage of my contention that Karna Suvarṇa is Raṅgamāṭi. Neither route is discordant with the identification, but the Si-yu-ki one is more detailed. Raṅgamāṭi§ is nearly due north of Tamluk and 120 or 130 miles off, and the borders of Orissa are about an equal distance to the S. W. of Raṅgamāṭi. We must not press Hiuen Tsiang’s measurements closely, for we do not know the exact length of the li, nor do we always know to what points he refers. He generally speaks only of countries, not of towns, and it may be that the distances are those to and from the confines of kingdoms.

* It describes the direction as easterly, but Koch Bihār and Kāmrūp lie N. E. from Paṇḍuā.

† It seems a happy suggestion of Mr. Westmacott’s that the name Paṇḍra is preserved in Abūl Faţl’s “Sarkār of Paṇḍra.” The chief objection to the identification of Paṇḍuā with Paṇḍra Vardhana seems to be that the central or home-farm pargana of Sarkār Panjra, viz., Haveli Panjra, lies N. E. of Dinājpur and far from Paṇḍuā which apparently is in Shashhazārī. [Afn, III, XV; Vol. II, p. 136 of Col. Jarrott’s translation where it is called Sarkār Pinjarah. Ed.]

‡ I. 183.

§ There are several Raṅgamāṭis, and the best known, perhaps, is that in Lower Assam. But the one we have to do with is in Central Bengal and on the Bhāgirathi. Sir H. Yule suggested that it might be the Kartasīna of Ptolemy.
I now come to the principal object of my paper.

Hiuen Tsiang's accounts of Karna Suvarna are to be found at I. 181 and III. 84-88, of M. Julien's work.* He describes the kingdom as having a circumference of about 900 miles, and the capital as being about four miles round. The country was fertile and populous, and produced all kinds of fruit and flowers. The inhabitants were well off and had literary tastes, but they were a mixture of true believers (Buddhists), and heretics. There were thirteen monasteries, including those which followed the ritual of Devadatta, and there were fifty Hindu temples. Then comes the description which I rely upon: “By the side of the capital there rises the monastery called Lo-to-wei-chiseng-kia-lan. Its halls are spacious and well-lighted, and its towers and pavilions are lofty. All the men of this kingdom who are distinguished for their talents, their learning and their intelligence, assemble in this monastery.”

Lo-to-wei-chi-seng-kia-lan is, according to M. Julien, the phonetic rendering of the Sanskrit words Raktaviti Saṅghārāma, i.e., the monastery of Redlands, and the word Raktaviti is, I submit, merely a synonym for Raṅgamāṭi. Saṅghārāma is the Buddhist word for a monastery, its original meaning being the grove, or enclosed garden of the congregation. Wei-chi is phonetic for vīṭi, and Lo-to for rakta (blood,) and M. Julien and Mr. Beal agree in translating Lo-to-wei-chi as meaning red earth, one saying “limon rouge,” and the other, “red mud.” In his Index, III. 468, M. Julien uses a still more appropriate word for he renders wei-chi by “argile” or clay. Every one who has seen Raṅgamāṭi knows that its remarkable feature is the cliffs or bluffs of red clay. These extend for miles, are from 30 to 40 ft. high, and formed the bank of the river in the days when the Bhāgirathi was the main stream of the Ganges. I must acknowledge that I have not been able to find in the Sanskrit dictionary the word Vīṭi, though it is clear from the Chinese translation that it means earth. Raktaviti would, of course, mean red, but I suppose that the Sanskrit equivalent of Raṅgamāṭi would be Rāgamāṛṭṭika or Raktamāṛṭṭika. Possibly mrīṭikā or mrītī was what Hiuen Tsiang wrote, for in the biography† the word is given as Ki-tomō-chi for which M. Julien substitutes, in accordance with the Si-yu-ki, Lo-to-wei-chi. But mo-chi may be right and may be phonetic for mrītī. However this may be, I submit that the facts of the monastery being known by the name of Redlands and of Karna Suvarna, i.e., the golden fortress of Karna, being the traditional name of Raṅgamāṭi, are almost conclusive of the latter’s being the place visited by Hiuen Tsiang.

* Beal, Life, 131, Si-yu-ki, II, 201.  
† I. 181; Beal’s translation, 132.
It is unnecessary for me to dwell on the evidence of Raṅgamati’s having once been a great city. This may be found in the paper of Col. Wilford in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 39, and in the descriptions by Capt. Layard, and Mr. Long. Capt. Layard’s paper is in the 22nd volume of our Society’s Journal, p. 281. He gives the name as Kansonapuri or Kurn-sona-ka-ghur, but Lassen* says the proper spelling is Karṇa suvarṇa gāḍa. As noticed by Capt. Layard there is a mound at Raṅgamati, known as the Demon’s Mount. This is probably a Buddhist stupa and should be excavated. There is also a story of a large signet-ring having been picked up on or near the mount, and having been taken to England. The local legend about the prosperity of the place, and the origin of the title Suvarṇa is that Vibbhisāṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, visited the place on the occasion of the king’s son’s first meal of rice, and caused a shower of gold to fall on the land. It will be shown hereafter that there are other legends connecting the place with Ceylon. The Si-yu-ki goes on to tell how Buddhism was introduced into Karṇa Suvarṇa. It says that at a time when the people did not yet know the religion of Buddha, a heretical teacher came from the South of India and “beat the drum of discussion.” His belly was covered with plates of copper, and he carried a torch on his head.† When asked why he was so attired,

* III. 766 n.
† Reinaud in his “Mémoire on India before the 11th Century,” Paris 1849, p. 293, quotes an account from an Arabic work, the Kitābul-fihrist, of an Indian sect who took their name from the practice of girding their bodies with iron hoops. Every one who wished to enter this sect had to make a vow of sincerity and humility. He was obliged to have attained a certain degree of perfection before he could don the iron girdle. This girdle, according to the members of the sect, prevented the body from bursting with excess of knowledge, and power of contemplation.

The Kitābul-fihrist was written in 977 A. H., or 987 A. D., but it refers to an account of the Indian religions, which had been given by a man who had been sent in the last half of the eighth century by Yahya, the son of Khalad the Barmecide, to explore India. This account had been copied out by the famous Al-Kindi in 863 A. D. [Mr. C. J. Lyall, the President of the Society, has been kind enough to contribute the following note on this point:—

The passage in the Fihrist, to which M. Reinaud refers, is at p. 318, Vol. I, of Flügel’s edition, (M. Reinaud wrote long before the publication of the text, and relied only on one faulty MS.). It runs thus—

و منهم اهل ملة يقال لهم الإبكترينية يعني المصفدين إنفسهم بالجدامد و سنتم
إنهم يحملون رؤوسهم و أطامهم و يعورون احصارهم ما خلل الأروة و ليس من سنتم
إن علموا أحدا ولا يقتلونه دون أن يدخل في دينهم و يأمون من يدخل في دينهم
بالصفقة للتوافع بها و من دخل في دينهم لم يصفد بالجدامد حتى يبلغ المرتبة التي

he said that he had studied much, and had great wisdom, and so was afraid that he would burst; and that he carried a torch because he was moved with pity for the blindness of men. Ten days passed without any one being able to cope with him in argument. The king was in despair and said, "In the whole of my states are there no enlightened men? "If no one can answer the difficult questions of this stranger, it will be a great disgrace for my kingdom. We must search again, and in the "most obscure places." Then some one said, that there was an extraordinary śramaṇa who lived in a forest. The king went in person to bring him. The śramaṇa said that he, too, came from Southern India; and that his learning was but small. However, he would endeavour to satisfy the king on condition that, if he was not worsted, the king would build a monastery, and send for monks to promulgate the law of Buddha. The king assented, and the śramaṇa came to the hall of discussion. The heretical doctor produced a writing containing 30,000 words, but, in spite of his profundity and science, he was vanquished by the śramaṇa after a hundred words, and had to retire in disgrace. Thereon the king fulfilled his promise of building a monastery, and has since that time, says the biography, zealously propagated the teachings of the law. In the preface of the Si-yu-ki* there is an allusion to the copper-sheathed belly which seems to imply that Hiuen Tsiang was the victorious śramaṇa, but as M. Julien remarks, this does not agree with the account in the body of the work.

Probably the king who built the monastery was Si-ládiṭya (the Sun of Righteousness), the Buddhist ruler of Kanauj.† The expression

"Among them is a sect called the Bakrantinís (sic: conjectured to be Bakrantiya = Vajrabandhiya), that is to say, those who chain themselves with iron chains. Their custom is to shave their heads and faces and to go naked, except as to their private parts. It is their rule not to instruct anyone, or to speak with him, until he spontaneously becomes a member of their sect. And they enjoin upon those accepting their religion to do alms in order that their pride may be humbled. One who joins their body does not put on the iron chains until he reaches the degree which entitles him to do so. They wear the chains from their waists to their breasts, as a protection against the bursting of their bellies—so they say—from excess of knowledge and stress of thought."

The conjecture Vajrabandhiya is Haarbrcker's (see Fihrist, Vol. II, p. 183). The passage appears to recur in Shahristáni's Kitábu-n-Nihal wal-Milal, p. 449.—Ed.]

In English:

* II. XXXVII; Beal's translation, 1, 4.
† Possibly however it was Pú Rushvaraṃ U. P. 183.

H. Beveridge—The Site of Kārṇa Suvärṣa. 321.


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* II. XXXVII; Beal's translation, 1, 4.
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H. Beveridge—The Site of Kārṇa Suvärṣa. 321.
“in my states” seems to imply that he ruled over more than one kingdom. It is not likely that Saśānka, the Hindū king of Kārṇa Suvarṇa, would allow the introduction of Buddhism into his capital. I presume then that Hiuen Tsiang’s visit was made after Saśānka had been overcome by Silāditya.

There are seven other references* to Kārṇa Suvarṇa or to one of its kings. From them we learn that this king was called Saśānka, i.e., the moon, and that he was jealous of the power of Rājavrādhana, the king of Kanauj, and the elder brother and predecessor of Silāditya. He therefore lured him to a meeting and treacherously murdered him. Wo also learn that he was a great enemy of the Buddhists and cut down their sacred tree† (Bodhidruma). He must have possessed considerable power, for, after destroying the law of Buddha, he went to Patna and tried to deface a stone there which had been set up by Aśoka, and bore the marks of Sākyamuni’s feet. Lassen considers that the assassination of Rājavrādhana‡ took place in 614, the year of Silāditya’s accession. He also holds § that Saśānka must have retained his independence during Silāditya’s reign, or otherwise he never would have ventured to cut down the sacred tree. But it seems clear that Saśānka had done this long before and in the time of Silāditya’s predecessor. The words “dans ces derniers temps” do not mean recently, and we are expressly told in the 6th book of the Si-yu-ki (II. 349; Beal, II, 42), that the destruction of the law and the dispersion of the monks by Saśānka occurred a great many years ago. We also find the Bodhisattva, when exhorting Silāditya to accept the crown, referring to Saśānka’s previous acts in destroying the law. And at p. 251 l.c. (Beal, I, 213) we are told that Silāditya became master of the five Indies in his sixth year. According to Mr. Fleet, Harshavardhana, i.e., Silāditya began to reign in 606 or 607. So we may presume that Saśānka died not later than 613. The Si-yu-ki (p. 469; Beal, II, 122) describes the manner of his death and says it occurred a long time ago. Saśānka must then, have been dead twenty or thirty years before Hiuen Tsiang went to Kārṇa Suvarṇa. We know that there had been time to introduce Buddhism and to build a large monastery before he visited the place.

* I. 112, 235, II. 243, 349, 422, 463, 468-9; Beal, Life, 83; Si-yu-ki, I, 210-213, II, 42, 91, 118, 121-2
† Pārnavarman irrigated it with milk, and it shot up in a night to the height of ten feet. At the time of composing the Si-yu-ki it was 44 feet high. If this account be taken as correct, a botanist might calculate the date of Saśānka’s violence.
‡ He calls him Harshavardhana. Mr. Fleet holds that the accession was in 606 or 607.
§ 111, 686.
The name Saśāṅka,* does not occur in Abūl-fazl,† or Tieffenthaler,‡ but the first has a Shashatdhar, and the second a Scheschdar. These are clearly corruptions of Saśadhara, (the moon,) and it is quite possible that this is another form of the name Saśāṅka. Both words mean hare-marked or hare-bearing, i. e., the moon, and apparently the pilgrim translates Saśāṅka simply by the Chinese word for moon. If this is so, the fact is very important, for Saśadhara belonged to the line of Adiśūra, and was the eighth in succession from him. He is said to have reigned 58 years, but the reigns of all the princes of this line seem unreasonably long. However if Saśāṅka and Saśadhara be identical, Adiśūra can hardly have been later than the first half of the 6th century. There seems nothing incredible in this for Lassen§ says that he is wrongly referred to the 9th or 10th century, and that he must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century. But if he was not later than 600, he must, I think, be put back still further, for it was Adiśūra who brought Brahmans from Kamauj to Bengal. He could not have done this during the Aditya dynasty for they were Buddhists. Their dynasty began according to Lassen in 580, and so Adiśūra must have reigned before that date, and perhaps was contemporary with one of the early Guptas.|| M. Saint Martin suggests that Hiuen Tsiang went out of his road to visit Karna Suvarṇa, on account of the connection of the neighbourhood with Vijaya and the conversion of Ceylon. This is not very likely, since Hiuen Tsiang says nothing about it, and he was not deeply interested in Ceylon, for he never went there. The fable, however, about Vijaya is interesting as showing an early connection between Bengal and Ceylon. Vijaya probably came from Singbhūm.¶ His story

* Mr. Fleet's work, Corpus Inscriptum Indicarum, III, for a reference to which I am indebted to Dr. Waddell's paper, shows (p. 283), that there is an inscription of Saśāṅka at Rohtās. With reference to this identification, however, and also to General Cunningham's remark that there is a tank in Bogra named after Saśāṅka, it may be well to bear in mind that according to the Buchanan MS., Vol. Bhāgalpur I. 183, there was a Saśāṅka, a Kahetauri Rājā of Kharakpur, who was put to death in 1502 (910 Faslī). [Adapd Montgomery Martin, II, 57. Ed.]

† Kān I. 413.
‡ Tieffenthaler, I. 472.
§ III. 718.
|| III. 393.
¶ His mother was the daughter of the King of Bāṅga by a Kaliṅga Princess, a circumstance which points to an early connection between Bengal and the Madras coast. She was brought up in her father's city of Bāṅga which presumably lay in South-east Bengal or somewhere about Samatāta. There can be no doubt that the forest of Lāṃ where the caravan in its way to Magadha (S. Bhār) was dispersed, and she fell into the power of a lion, is the Rañh country west of the Bhāģīrathī. See Upham, Sacred books of Ceylon, I. 69 and II, 164.
is told in Chapter VI of the Mahavansa, and in the 11th book of the Si-yu-ki. A more historical event is referred to by Wilford and Layard when they mention the local tradition that Raṅgamāṭi was destroyed by an expedition from Ceylon. This must have occurred after Huien Tsiang’s visit to Karna Suwarna, and in my opinion, it belongs to the 12th century. I think that there is no reason to doubt the legend, for people are not in the habit of inventing disasters. But if true, it can only, I think, have occurred in the time of Parākrama Bāhu, the Great. His reign is described by Turnour as having been the most martial, enterprising, and glorious in Singhalese history. He, too, seems to have been the only prince of Ceylon who carried his arms across the Bay of Bengal, or who possessed a fleet. There is an account of the expedition in the 76th Chapter of the Mahavansa.* It was directed against the king of Arāmna, or Ramāmna, which according to Mr. Wijesinha lay between Arracan and Siam. Five ships came to the port Kusūmī, in the country of Ramāmna and the troops “like furious elephants destroyed a great number of cocoa-nut and "other trees, and the places round about them, and burnt many “villages with fire and destroyed half of the kingdom.” A Tamil general named Adhikāri, who had volunteered for this service, cast anchor in the port of Papphala (Pippli?). One of the ships attacked the island of Kākadvipa† (?) or Crow Island, and brought away many of the inhabitants as prisoners to Ceylon. Arimaddana, the king of Ramāmna was killed by the invaders. Perhaps his name was Ari-Mardana, i.e., the trampler of foes, or it may have been Hari-Madana. (It seems worth while to note here that there was a king of Orissa who was called Madana Mahādeva, and who had a short reign of four years from 1171-75.)

Kusūmī as the name of the port, reminds us of Wilford’s statement that Raṅgamāṭi used to be called Kusumapuri. The name, however, is a common one, and was applied to Patna and other towns. The statement that Ramāmna is the country between Siam and Arracan is, perhaps, only a conjecture of Mr. Knighton, though I find that Sir Arthur Phayre mentions Ram-ma-we-li as a town and country near Sandoway (J. A. S. B. XLI. 27). On the other hand, we have Ramana marked in Gastaldi’s old map,‡ as a place east of Orissa and near Hijli.

* Wijesinha’s translation. Colombo, 1880. See also Lassen IV. 328.
† Probably this is Cocanada in the Madras Presidency. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India the proper spelling is Kākā-nāḍa and the meaning is Crow-country. If the Coromandel coast was the point of attack one can see why the services of a Madras officer were valuable.
‡ Cluverius mentions Ramana as the capital of Orissa and as a mart famous for ivory and precious stones. He also says that the country was rich in salt. See
It may also be worth while mentioning that Sudhārāma is a native name for the district of Noakhāli. I do not know its age or origin, but it may mean Suddha-arāma, the place of delightful rest, and if so the last half of the name approaches the Arāmma of Turnour. One reason given for the expedition was that "the king of Ramāmma had obstructed per-
sous who were bringing presents from a king of India to Ceylon." On one occasion when a certain chief of India, Kassapa by name, sent presents unto him (Parākrama) of great value, with a letter written on a leaf of gold, he hindered the men who bore them from landing and then caused the presents to be taken from them with the letter and sent into the city with great dishonour.* This looks like the action of a king of Orissa or Benga], who would have control of the ports, such as Tāmralipti, &c. It appears, too, that the expedition ravaged the coast of Coromandel, and so may easily have also attacked Bengal and Orissa. However this may be, and allowing that the expedition was directed against Siam or Cambodia, it must have been easy for the armament, on its way to or from the seat of war, to sail or march up to Raṅgamāṭi and destroy it. It is not likely that the ships would steer right across the Bay, or sail direct from Ceylon to Siam. It is to be hoped that some day Kākadvīpa, Papphula, &c., will be satisfactorily identified.

As for the date of the expedition it was certainly not earlier than the 16th year of Parākrama Bāhu's reign. According to Turnour his accession took place in 1153, so that the 16th year would be 1169. According to the Wijesinha, Parākrama's reign began in 1164, which would give 1180 as the 16th year. Lassen adopts Turnour's date of accession, but places the expedition in the year 1172. We are told that five months were employed in making preparations, and that provisions for twelve months were collected. If Mr. Wijesinha's date of accession then be correct, the expedition may have been as late as 1182 or '83. Under any circumstances it would be some years before the Muḥammadan invasion of Bengal.

According to the tradition collected by Capt. Layard there was a king of Raṅgamāṭi called Karṇa Sena. If this was so, he cannot have been the Karṇa who gave his name to the city. The latter was, perhaps, the Karṇa of the Mahābhārata, who was sometimes called Karṇa Dātta, and was half brother of the Pāṇḍavas. He was king of Aṅga, and had seats at Bhāgalpur and Monghyr. No such name as Karṇa occurs in the lists of the Vaidya kings of Gaur.

Brum's ed., Amsterdam, p. 332. Philip Clavier or Cluverius was one of the most celebrated of our early geographers. He was born at Dantzic in 1580, and died at Leyden in 1623.

* Wijesinha's Mahāvansa, p. 228.
NOTE ON DR. WADDELL’S PAPER.*

I did not know of or see Dr. Waddell’s paper until I had nearly finished my own. He proposes to identify Karṇa Suvarṇa with Kaṇḍhamāṇa, near Burdwan. He has taken pains with the subject and his article contains some valuable information, but I think that his identification is quite untenable. It seems to me unfortunate that when Dr. Fergusson† and he had the clue in their hands they should have let it slip. Both of them refer to Raṅgamāṭi, in Murshidābād; but both of them put it aside. Fergusson thought that the capital might afterwards have been transferred to Raṅgamāṭi, and that in this way it got the name of Karṇa Suvarṇa, but he would not accept it as the place visited by Hiuen Tsiang, because he thought Hwui-li’s account of the route to it incorrect. Apparently, too, he failed to notice that Raṅgamāṭi was equivalent to the name of the monastery mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. He choose Nagar in Birbhūm, a place which I have seen and which I think, has no claim to be Karṇa Suvarṇa. But a writer who refused to believe that the Tāmralipti of Hiuen Tsiang was Tamluk cannot be regarded as a safe guide.

Dr. Waddell has rejected Raṅgamāṭi partly, as I conceive, because he has never seen it, and so does not know the evidence of ancient greatness which it exhibits. His words are as follows:—“The proposed identification with the fort of Kuru, near the village of Raṅgamāṭi, in Murshidabad district, about 130 miles to the north-east of Tamluk, is quite untenable, as it is so out of keeping with the pilgrim’s text, and possesses nothing suggestive of the site, except the local name of Raṅgamāṭi, and having proceeded so far northwards, the subsequent journey of 700 li to the south-west could not carry the pilgrim to the frontier, much less to the capital of Orissa, his next stage.”‡

I do not know what is meant by the phrase “proposed identification” in this extract. So far as I know, Raṅgamāṭi has never been proposed before. Perhaps Colonel Yule made such a proposal, but if so, the reference given by him, J. R. A. S. XVI1. 395, is wrong. The only reference given by Dr. Waddell is to Captain Layard’s paper, but certainly that says nothing about Hiuen Tsiang. It was hardly possible, if not quite impossible, that it should, for Layard’s paper was published in our Society’s Journal in 1853, and M. Julian’s translation of the biography only appeared in that year, and this translation of the Si-yu-ki not till 1858. Nor do I know what is meant by the “fort of Kuru.” Nobody has ever used that name or spoken about the Kurs in connec-

* Published by the Government of Bengal last year, as an Appendix to a paper on Pātaliputra.
† J. R. A. S., VI. 248.
‡ p. 25.
tion with Raṅgamāṭī. As to the distance-difficulty, I quite admit that so far Burdwan may agree as well with Huien Tsiang’s statement as Raṅgamāṭī. I do not think, however, that it has any superiority in this respect. I do not know why it should be assumed that Jājpur was the capital of Orissa in Huien Tsiang’s time, or that his distances are for capitals and not for the confines of kingdoms. The direction of Burdwan from Tamluk is a little more westerly than that of Raṅgamāṭī, but still it is mainly north. Besides Dr. Waddell takes no notice of the route given in the biography, viz., that from Paṇḍná, or from the monastery five miles to the west of it. That route certainly agrees better with Raṅgamāṭī than with Burdwan. However, I lay little stress on directions and still less on distances. The two strong points in favour of Raṅgamāṭī are—first, it used to be called the Fort of Karṇa Suvarṇa, and secondly, that Raṅgamāṭī is an equivalent for Rakta-Vīti and Lo-to-wei-chi, or Lo-to-mo-chi. Raṅgamāṭī is not the only place in the neighbourhood which is associated with Karṇa. The village and thāná of Go-Karṇa, i.e., the cowshed of Karṇa, is close by.

On the other hand, Kañchannagar seems to be an obscure place, a sort of suburb of Burdwan. No evidence is adduced of its having been “the traditional capital of the country.” I do not know who Belásur was, but I see that Captain Layard says there was a tank at Raṅgamāṭī called the Bel Talao. Probably the name is connected in both instances with the Bael tree, which is sacred to Siva. There is also at Raṅgamāṭī the almost obliterated site of an ancient tank called the Jamuná Tank and in which a curious image figured by Captain Layard was found.

Kañchannagar is a common name in Bengal, and has its own distinct meaning, viz., the city of gold. I do not see how it can be twisted into meaning the city of Karṇa Suvarṇa.

P. S.—I have lately come upon an interesting piece of evidence about the antiquity of the name of Karṇa Suvarṇa. In the genealogy of Rájá Rádhá Kánta Deva, prefixed to the 8th volume of the Sabdakalpadruma, and also in the sketch of his life by the editors of the second edition, it is stated that his earliest known ancestor, Śṛi Hari Deva, was a resident of Karṇa Suvarṇa, near Murshidábád. Rájá Rádhá Kánta was the twenty-fifth in descent from Śṛi Hari, and was himself born in 1783, so that Śṛi Hari probably lived in the 12th century. Rájá Rádhá Kánta lived to at least the age of 76, and if we allow 26 years for each generation of his ancestors, Śṛi Hari may have lived at Karṇa Suvarṇa before its destruction by the troops of Parākrama Bálān.

For convenience of reference I subjoin Wilford’s notes of Raṅgamāṭī in the 9th volume of the Researches: “Tradition says that the
"king of Laṅkā, which implies either the country of the Mahārājā of "Lapāgi or Ceylon, but more probably the first, invaded the country of "Bengal with a powerful fleet and sailed up the Ganges as far as Raṅga-"māṭi, then called Kusumapuri, and a considerable place where the King "or Mahārāja often resided. The invaders plundered the country and "destroyed the city. This happened long before the invasion of Bengal "by the Musalmans, and seems to coincide with the time of the invasion "of the peninsula by the Mahārāja of Lapāgi. This information was "procured at my request by the late Lieutenant Hoare, who was remark-
ably fond of inquiries of this sort, and to whom I am indebted for "several historical inquiries and other particulars relating to the geo-
"graphy of the Gangetic provinces."

Apparently Lieutenant Hoare is the officer referred to as Captain Hoare in the 7th vol. of the Researches, p. 175, as having taken part in procuring copies of the inscriptions on the Dihlī pillar. Wilford thought that Laṅkā might mean Lapāgi, i.e., Java, because two Arabian travellers of the 9th century mentioned by Ronoudot had referred to the king of Lapāgi's having devastated the coast of India. But there seems no reason for supposing that Laṅkā ever meant any other place than Ceylon. Layard, writing in 1853, says, he too was told of the Laṅkā expedition, but with a different version. Unfortunately he does not give the version, but, perhaps, it was only that the place was Ceylon and not Java. Layard objects to Lieutenant Hoare's account that Raṅgamanāṭi was formerly called Kusumapura, but it is just possible that it was both called Kusumapura and Kārṇa Suvarṇa. Or the Ceylonese may have been mistaken, like Lieutenant Hoare, and written Kusumi instead of Kārṇa Suvarṇa.
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