THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN

ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

EDITED BY

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, C.I.E.
LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XXVIII. — 1899.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BHAGAVATA PURANA.

BY REV. J. E. ABBOTT, B.A.

In Volume XIV. of this Journal, page 319, Dr. Burgess calls attention to the importance of scholars preparing geographical lists from the Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Kōśas, and other available sources of information, as a means to the better elucidation of the Ancient Geography of India. Following this suggestion Dr. J. F. Fleet prepared a list of geographical names found in the Brihat-Samhitā, and published it in this Journal, Vol. XXII, page 169.

I now give a list of geographical names found in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The references are to the Bombay Edition.

Ābhira, a country and people, I. 10, 35; II. 4, 18.
Ajanābha; = commentary says Bhāratavarṣa, XI. 2, 24.
Alakā, a city on Bhūtēshagiri, IV. 6, 23.
Alakanandā, a river flowing by Alakā, a name for the Gandā, IV. 6, 24; XI. 29, 42.
Ambashtha; a country, X. 83, 23.
Ānarta, or Anarta, a country = Dwārakāśa, com., I. 10, 35; I. 11, 1; IX. 3, 28; X. 52, 15; X. 53, 6; X. 67, 4; X. 71, 21; X. 82, 13; X. 86, 20.
Ānarttapūrī, a city, the capital of Ānarta, = Dwārakā, I. 14, 25.
Andhas; a river, V. 19, 18.
Andhaka; a people, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25; II. 4, 20; III. 3, 25; X. 1, 69; X. 45, 15; X. 80, 11; X. 80, 16; X. 88, 5; XI. 30, 18.
Andhra, a people, II. 4, 18; IX. 20, 30; IX. 23, 5.
Aṅga; a country, IX. 23, 5.
Animiśakṣetra, a kṣetra, called in com. Vaiśāvakṣetra, I. 4, 4.
Arbuda; a country, XI. 30, 18.
Arha, a country, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25.
Arūpa, a country, X. 86, 20.
Ārīya, a river, X. 79, 20.
Āryāvarta, a country between the Vindhyā and the Himālaya mountains, IX. 6, 5; IX. 16, 22.
Asiknī; a river, V. 19, 18.
Avanti, a city, X. 45, 31; X. 58, 30; XI. 23, 6; XI. 23, 31.
Āvartana; a subdivision of Jambudvīpa, V. 19, 30.
Āvasthā; a river, V. 19, 18.
Ayodhya; a city, IX. 8, 19.
Badarī, a sacred place, III. 4, 4; Badarikāśram, VII. 11, 6; containing Nārāyaṇāśrama, IX. 3, 36; XI. 29, 41; Badaryāśrama, III. 4, 21; III. 14, 32; X. 82, 4.
Bāłhika, a people, X. 82, 26.
Barbara, a people, IX. 8, 5.
Barhishmati, a city in Brahmāvarta, III. 22, 29; III. 23, 32.
Bhadrāśva, a continent, I. 16, 13.
Bhārata, a country, I. 16, 13; Bhāratavarsha, III. 1, 20; X. 87, 6.
Bhimarathī, a river, V. 19, 18; X. 79, 12.
Bhogavatī, a mythical city, I. 11, 81.
Bhoja, a country and people, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25; III. 1, 29; III. 2, 25; Bhojarāja, III. 2, 30; X. 86, 33; III. 3, 25; X. 1, 35; X. 1, 69; X. 80, 11; X. 82, 29; XI. 30, 18.
Bhojakaṭa, a city, X. 54, 52; X. 61, 19; X. 61, 28; X. 61, 40.
Bhriguśaṅgha, a city on the north bank of the Narmada, VIII. 18, 21.
Bhūtesāgiri, a mountain = Kailas, surrounded by the river Nandā = Gangā, IV. 6, 22.
Bīndusārasa, a wide expanse of water formed by the Sarasvatī, III. 21, 35; III. 21, 39; Bīndusara, III. 25, 5; VII. 14, 31; X. 78, 19.
Brahmanadā, a river = Sarasvatī, IX. 16, 23.
Brahmatīrtha, a tīrtha, X. 78, 19.
Brahmāvarti, a country, I. 10, 34; I. 17, 33; III. 21, 25; Brahmāvartta, III. 22, 28; said to be between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, IV. 19, 1; V. 4, 10; V. 4, 19; V. 5, 28.
Bhīsahavana, a forest near Gokula, X. 5, 26; X. 7, 33.
Chakra, a tīrtha between Brahmātīrtha and where Sarasvatī flows to the East, X. 78, 19.
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Chandravasā, a river, IV. 28, 35; Chandravasā, V. 19, 18.
Charmanvātī, a river, V. 19, 18.
Cedī, a country, I. 10, 19; VII. 1, 13; IX. 22, 6; IX. 24, 2; X. 52, 17; X. 53, 14; X. 74, 39; X. 83, 23; XII. 12, 39; Chaida, name of a king, X. 52, 17; X. 52, 25.
Chitrakūṭa, a mountain, V. 19, 16.

Dadhmāndoda, one of the seven seas, V. 1, 33.
Dakshinapatha, the region of the south, i.e., south of the Narmada, IX. 2, 41.
Dandaka, a country, X. 79, 20.
Dāsa, a fisherman tribe, IX. 22, 20.
Dāśārha, a country and people, I. 11, 11; I. 14, 25; Dāśārha, a people, III. 1, 29; X. 45, 15; X. 47, 44; X. 78, 39; XI. 30, 18.
Devakīra, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Dhanvan, a country (said to be little watered) near Maru, I. 10, 35; IX. 4, 22; X. 86, 20.
Dravidā, a country, IV. 28, 30; VIII. 4, 7; VIII. 24, 13; IX. 1, 2; X. 79, 13; XI. 5, 39.
Drishadvatī, a river, V. 19, 18; X. 71, 22.
Drope, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Dvāipāyaṇa, a river, X. 79, 20.

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Dvārakā, a city, I. 11, 24; I. 11, 25; I. 14, 1; I. 14, 6; X. 52, 5; X. 52, 27; X. 54, 60; X. 55, 39; X. 56, 4; X. 56, 35; X. 57, 27; X. 57, 29; X. 57, 30; X. 58, 28; X. 58, 55; X. 62, 22; X. 66, 34; X. 66, 23; X. 66, 34; X. 80, 15; X. 86, 23; X. 86, 3; X. 90, 1; XI. 6, 4; XI. 30, 47; XI. 31, 15.
Dyadhuni, a river, i.e., Gangā, III. 28, 39.
Dyanaṇḍa, a river, i.e., Gangā, III. 5, 1; X. 75, 8.

Gajnasāhavaya, a city, i.e., Hastināpurā, I. 3, 6; I. 8, 45; IV. 31, 30; X. 57, 8; Gajāvaha, I. 9, 48; I. 15, 38; I. 17, 44; III. 1, 17; IX. 22, 40; X. 49, 32; X. 68, 16; X. 68, 41; X. 75, 39.
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Gayā, a city, kṣetra, X. 79, 11.
Gayasīras, a kṣetra, VII. 14, 30.
Ghṛitoda, one of the seven mythical seas, V. 1, 33.
Godāvarti, a river, V. 19, 18.
Gokāmakha, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Gokarna, a kṣetra, X. 79, 19.
Gokula, a village on the Jamnā, X. 2, 7; X. 5, 32.
Gomati, a river, V. 19, 18; X. 79, 11.
Govardhana, a mountain, V. 19, 16; X. 11, 36; X. 13, 29.

Haihaya, a people, IX. 8, 5; IX. 15, 14; destroyed by Parshurām, IX. 15, 17; name of their king, IX. 15, 32; X. 72, 30.
Hāstinaṇpurā, I. 10, 7; I. 13, 1; founded by Hasti, IX. 21, 20; X. 49, 1; X. 68, 15.
Himālaya, a mountain, I. 13, 29.
Himavatī, a mountain, I. 13, 60.
Hūṇa, a people, II. 4, 18; II. 7, 46; IX. 20, 30.
Ikehamati, a river in Kuruksetra, V. 10, 1.
Ikehurasaoda, a mythical sea, V. 1, 33.
Indrakali, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Indraprasth, a city, X. 58, 1; X. 58, 12;
X. 73, 33; X. 77, 6; XI. 30, 48; XI. 31, 23.
Jambudvipa, I. 12, 5; V. 2, 1; V. 19, 29;
V. 20, 2; Jambu, V. 1, 32.
Kailaya, a people, X. 71, 29; X. 74, 41; II.
7, 35; X. 82, 13.
Kakubha, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Kalinjara, a mountain, V. 8, 30.
Kalipragrama, a city, IX. 12, 6; IX. 22, 17;
X. 87, 7.
Kândli, a river = Yamunâ, III. 4, 36; IV.
8, 43; VI. 16, 16; VIII. 4, 23; IX. 4, 30;
IX. 4, 37; X. 58, 22.
Kaliga, a country and its people, IX. 23, 5;
Kaligâ, X. 61, 29, 37.
Kâmgarî, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Kâmkukshî, a city, X. 79, 14.
Kâmpoba, a country, II. 7, 35; X. 75, 12;
X. 82, 13.
Kâńchî, a city, X. 79, 14.
Kâṅka, a people, II. 4, 18; IX. 20, 30;
X. 86, 20.
Kâṉyakubja, a country, VI. 1, 21.
Karpâkara, a country, V. 6, 7.
Karûsha, a country, X. 66, 1; IX. 2, 16;
Karûsha, X. 78, 4.
Kàśí, a city, IX. 22, 23; X. 57, 32; X. 66, 10;
X. 66, 26; X. 82, 25; X. 84, 55; XII. 13, 17.
Kuśâmibi, a city, IX. 22, 40.
Kuśâkavi, a river, I. 18, 36; V. 19, 18; IX. 15,
12; X. 79, 9.
Kávërî, a river, V. 19, 18; VII. 13, 12;
X. 79, 14; XI. 5, 40.
Kekaya, a tribe, X. 2, 3; X. 75, 12; X. 84, 55;
X. 86, 20.
Kèrala, a country, X. 79, 19; X. 82, 13.
Kétamâla, a depa, I. 16, 10.
Khândava, a forest, X. 58, 25; X. 71, 45;
Khândavaprastha, X. 73, 32.
Khasa, a people, a low tribe, II. 4, 18; Kaśa,
IX. 20, 30.
Kimpurusha, a depa, I. 13, 13.
Kirâta, a people, I. 4, 18; IX. 20, 30.
Kollaka, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Koîka, a country, V. 6, 7; V. 6, 9.
Kosala, a country, IX. 10, 29; IX. 11, 22;
X. 2, 3; X. 58, 32, 34, 35; X. 58, 52;
X. 75, 12; Uttara Kosala, V. 19, 8; IX.
10, 42; Kausalya, X. 82, 13; X. 84, 55;
Kosala, X. 86, 20; XII. 12, 24.
Kruñčha, a depa, V. 1, 32.
Krishnâ, a river, V. 19, 18.
Kítamalâ, a river, V. 19, 18; VIII. 24, 12;
X. 79, 16; XI. 5, 39.
Kshárodadhî, V. 20, 2.
Ksihiroda, one of the seven seas, V. 1, 33;
VIII. 4, 18.
Kujûdana, a city, X. 53, 7; X. 53, 15; X. 53, 21;
X. 54, 20; X. 54, 52.
Kuku, a country and people, I. 11, 11; X.
45, 15; XI. 30, 18.
Kulâchala, a mountain. Com. says Meru, III.
23, 39; in the country of the Pândyas.
Com. says Malaya, VIII. 4, 8.
Kûnti, a country, X. 82, 13; X. 86, 20; XI. 30, 18.
Kuru, a people and country, I. 11, 9; II.
7, 35; X. 2, 3; X. 57, 1; X. 71, 29; X.
72, 5; X. 75, 12; X. 82, 13; X. 83, 5; X.
84, 55; X. 86, 20.
Kurujûngala, a country, I. 10, 34; I. 16, 11;
III. 1, 24; X. 86, 20.
Kuruksetra, a district, I. 10, 34; III. 3, 12;
VII. 14, 30; IX. 14, 33.
Kuśa, a depa, V. 1, 32.
Kuśasthali, a city = Dvârakâ, I. 10, 27; VII.
14, 31; IX. 3, 28; X. 61, 40; X. 75, 29;
X. 83, 30; XII. 12, 36.
Kuśâvartha, a tirtha, III. 20, 4.
Kutâka, a country, V. 6, 7; V. 6, 9.
Kûta, a mountain, V. 6, 7; V. 19, 16.
Lânkâ = Ceylon, V. 19, 30; IX. 10, 16.
Lavanadadhî, a mythical sea, V. 20, 2.
Mâdhuvana, a forest on the bank of the
Yamuna, IV. 8, 42; IV. 8, 62; IX. 4, 30;
IX. 11, 14; Madharvana, IV. 9, 1.
Madhu, a city = Mathura, I. 10, 26; I. 11, 9;
I. 14, 25; I. 16, 36; VII. 14, 31; X. 1,
10; X. 45, 15; X. 47, 21; X. 86, 20;
XI. 30, 18.
Madhuvana, a forest on the bank of the
Yamuna, IV. 8, 42; IV. 8, 62; IX. 4, 30;
IX. 11, 14; Madharvana, IV. 9, 1.
Madrâ, a city, X. 82, 13; X. 82, 26.
Magadha, a country, IX. 22, 45; X. 2, 2;
X. 52, 14; X. 52, 19; X. 73, 33; X. 83, 23.
Mahânâdi, a river, V. 19, 18.
Mahândra, a mountain, V. 19, 16; VII. 14, 32;
IX. 16, 26; X. 79, 12.
Mâhishmati, a city, IX. 15, 22; a city of the
Haihaya, IX. 15, 26; IX. 16, 17; X. 79, 21.
Maināka, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Malaya, a mountain, I. 8, 32; V. 19, 16; X. 79, 16; VI. 3, 33; VII. 14, 32; X. 90, 19.
Mandakini, a river, V. 19, 18.
Mandanahariśa, a dvīpa, V. 19, 30.
Mandara, a mountain, IV. 23, 24; VII. 3, 2; VII. 7, 2.
Mangalaprastha, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Maquisrā, a city, IX. 32, 32.
Manutthra, a tirtha, X. 79, 21.
Maru, a country = Mārwād, I. 10, 35; X. 71, 21.
Marudhanvan, a country, VI. 8, 38.
Marudvīrīḍā, a river, V. 19, 18.
Mathurā, a city, I. 15, 39; IX. 11, 14; X. 1, 27; X. 1, 28; X. 5, 19; X. 6, 31; X. 47, 69; X. 72, 31; X. 84, 69; XI. 30, 18; XII. 12, 34, 55, 60; Dakṣiṇā Mathurā, X. 79, 15; Māthura, the people of Mathurā, X. 1, 27.
Matsya, a country, I. 10, 34; II. 7, 35; III. 1, 24; X. 71, 22; X. 74, 41; X. 82, 13; X. 86, 20.
Meru, a mountain, V. 2, 23; IX. 1, 25; IX. 4, 50.
Mithilā, a city, IX. 13, 13; X. 57, 20; X. 57, 24, 26; X. 82, 26; X. 86, 14; X. 86, 37; Maithila, X. 86, 16.
Mlechcha, a people, IX. 16, 33; IX. 20, 30; as living in the North, IX. 20, 30; IX. 23, 16.
Naimisā, a country, I. 1, 4; III. 20, 7; X. 79, 30; Naimisha, VII. 14, 31; X. 78, 20.
Nandā, a river surrounding Bhūtesāgiri, IV. 6, 24; VII. 14, 32; VIII. 4, 23.
Nandigrāma, IX. 10, 36.
Nārāyanāsrama, junction of the Sindhu and the ocean, VI. 5, 25.
Nārāyanāsrama, the same as Gangotri, VII. 14, 32; IX. 3, 36; X. 87, 4; Nāranārāyanāsrama, IX. 1, 31.
Narmacā, a river, V. 19, 18; VI. 10, 16; VIII. 18, 21.
Nila, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Nirvindhyā, a river, IV. 1, 18; V. 19, 18; X. 79, 20.
Nishadha, a country, X. 2, 3.

Pampā, a lake, VII. 14, 31; X. 79, 12.
Puncharājana, a dvīpa, V. 19, 30.
Pānchāla, a country, IV. 27, 8, 9, 18; IX. 21, 88, origin of the name; X. 2, 3; X. 71, 22;
Pānchāla, I. 10, 34; X. 86, 20; Pānchālakā, a people, IX. 22, 3.
Pānchāpurasas, a tirtha, X. 79, 18.
Pāṇḍya, a country, IV. 28, 29; a king, VIII. 4, 7.
Pāriyātra, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Paundrakā, belonging to the country Pundra, II. 7, 34; XII. 12, 39; Pandra, IX. 23, 5.
Pāyoshā, a river, V. 19, 18; X. 79, 20.
Pāyasvini, a river, V. 19, 18; XI. 5, 39.
Phalgunā, a kṣetra = Harapura or Kanyakūpura, VII. 14, 31; called Anantapura in Com., Phalgunā, X. 79, 18.
Pināḍraka, a kṣetra, XI. 1, 11.
Plaksha, a dvīpa, V. 1, 32; V. 20, 1, 2.
Prabhāsa, a sacred place, I. 15, 49; III. 1, 20; III. 3, 25; VII. 14, 31; X. 45, 36; on the sea-shore, X. 45, 38; X. 78, 18; X. 79, 9-21; X. 86, 2; XI. 6, 35; XI. 30, 6; XI. 30, 10.
Pragjyotish, a country, XII. 12, 38.
Pratīcāl, a river, XI. 5, 40.
Pratishtāna, a city, IX. 1, 42.
Pravarashā, a mountain, X. 52, 10.
Prayāga, a kṣetra, VII. 14, 30; X. 79, 10.
Pulahāśrama, a kṣetra, = Harikshetra, com.
VII. 14, 30; X. 79, 10.
Palinda, a people, II. 4, 18.
Pulkasa, a people, II. 4, 18.
Prurājana, a city, IV. 27, 16.
Pushkara, a dvīpa, V. 1, 32; a tirtha, XII. 12, 60.
Pushpabhadrā, a river, XII. 9, 10.
Pushpavāhā, a river, XII. 9, 30.
Raiyataka, a mountain, V. 19, 16; X. 67, 8.
Rāmahdra, a lake, X. 84, 53.
Ramanapaka, a dvīpa, V. 19, 30.
Revā, a river, V. 19, 18; IX. 15, 20; X. 79, 21.
Rīṣkahā, a mountain, IV. 1, 17; V. 19, 16.
Rīshabha, a mountain in Dravīḍa, V. 19, 16; X. 79, 15.
Rīshikulyā, a river, V. 19, 18.
Rīshyamūkha, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Rochhasvatī, a river, V. 19, 18.
Sabara, a low caste tribe, II. 7, 46.
Sābastī, a city, IX. 6, 21.
Sahya, a mountain, V. 19, 16; VII. 13, 12.
Saka, a people, IX. 8, 5; IX. 20, 30.
Sāka, a dvīpa, V. 1, 32.
Sakraprastha, a city = Indraprastha, X. 71, 22.
Sālmall, a dwipa, V. 1, 32.
Salva, a country (Sālwa, name of person, III. 3, 10); X. 2, 3; X. 52, 17, 19; XII. 12, 39; Sālwa, X. 76, 2, 3.
Sambhalagrama, a city, XII. 2, 18.
Samyānpasa, a hermitage on the west bank of the Sarasvati, I. 7, 2.
Sāmudraseta = Rameswara, X. 79, 15.
Sañkhodyāra, a kshestra, XI. 30, 6.
Saptagodāvarī, a river, X. 79, 12.
Saptasrotas, region at the head of the Gangā, I. 13, 51.
Saptavati, a river, V. 19, 18.
Sarasvati, a country, I. 10, 34.
Sarasvati, a river, I. 3, 15; I. 4, 27; I. 7, 2; I. 16, 37; II. 9, 44; III. 1, 21; III. 4, 3, 6; III. 21, 6, 33, 39; II. 22, 27; III. 23, 25; III. 24, 9; III. 33, 13; IV. 14, 36; IV. 16, 24; Prāchī Sarasvati, IV. 19, 1; V. 19, 18; VI. 8, 40; VIII. 4, 23; IX. 4, 22; in Kurukshetra, IX. 14, 33; IX. 16, 23; X. 71, 22; X. 78, 18, 19; X. 89, 1.
Sarayu, a river, V. 19, 18; IX. 8, 17; X. 79, 9, 10.
Sarkaravarthā, a river, V. 19, 18.
Satadrā, a river, V. 19, 18.
Śāvatara, a people, L. 14, 25; II. 4, 20; III. 1, 29; XI. 30, 18.
Saubha, a country, X. 76, 1.
Sauvira, a country, L. 10, 35; III. 1, 24; V. 10, 1; X. 71, 21.
Setu, a kshestra, VII. 14, 31.
Siddhapada, a kshestra on the Sarasvati, III. 33, 31.
Sindhu, a river, V. 10, 1; V. 19, 18; VI. 5, 3; Saimdhava, IX. 1, 23; X. 69, 33.
Sīhala, an island, V. 19, 30.
Soga, a river, V. 19, 18; X. 79, 11.
Sonita, a city, X. 62, 4; X. 62, 23; X. 63, 2.
Sriñjaya, a people, II. 7, 35; X. 71, 29; X. 72, 5; X. 74, 41; X. 75, 12; X. 82, 13; X. 84, 55.
Srīranga, a city, X. 79, 14.
Sriśaila, a mountain, V. 19, 16; X. 79, 13.
Sudarsana, a sacred trītha, X. 78, 19.
Sudhoda, one of the seven seas, V. 1, 33.
Suktimān, a mountain, V. 19, 16.
Sumha, a country, IX. 28, 9.
Sundandā, a river, VIII. 1, 8.
Sura, a country, III. 1, 26.
Suragiri, a mountain, V. 1, 30.
Surasā, a river, V. 19, 18.
ESSAYS ON KASMI RI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXVII. p. 317.)

IRREGULARITIES IN THE DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVES.

212. 1st Declension (Masculine, a base).

(1) Dissyllables ending in -ər and -əu, lose the vowel of the final syllable in declension. E.g., shahr, a town, shahras; pahar, a watch, a period of three hours, pahras.∞

(2) Words [of more than one syllable], whose last syllable contains a - u, change it to -ə. E.g., kokur, a cock, kokuras; kapur, cloth, kaparas; vedul, a sweeper, vedulas.

(3) Words in final

(a) 1 - a insert a euphonic ə h, w, or ə y, the 1 - a being sometimes shortened, and sometimes not; e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kusma</td>
<td>Musa, Moses</td>
<td>Musa-h-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darya</td>
<td>dary, a river</td>
<td>darya-h-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunya</td>
<td>dunyā, the world</td>
<td>dunya-h-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dañā</td>
<td>dañā, a sage</td>
<td>dañā-h-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśā</td>
<td>Aśā, a proper name</td>
<td>Aśā-h-as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

∞ I quote, in each case, the dative as an example. Hinton Knowles gives the nominative, shahr, and a dative pahras.
In the genitive of foreign people's names, the ठ remains unchanged; thus, योहन्ना Yōhan-nā, योहन्ना-संद Yōhanna-sond, while on the other hand, we have खुदै संद Khudāy-sond. At the same time I find ज़कार्तयायह-संद Zakartyāyah-sond, and उरियायह-संद Uriyāyah-sond.

(b) ठ h:—

(a) after ठ a, unorganic ठ h is elided, but organic ठ h remains: thus,

कला, head ...... कला-स, head

but

गुना गुनह (गुंध gundh), sin ...... गुनह-स, sin

(γ) after ठ ठ, the ठ h remains and the ठ ठ may be optionally shortened,

e. g., पाद्वह शाह, king ...... पाद्वह-स, king

(c) ट is; this becomes iy; e. g.,

नबी, a prophet ...... नब्य-स, a prophet

So in proper names

यहूदी, a Jew ...... यहूदी-स, a Jew

In the genitive, I sometimes find the ट unaltered, principally in foreign names, such as जबादी संद Zabadi-sond, पारी संद Parisi-sond, so also the silent ट y (अङ्गै-मास्का) in मुसा संद Mūsa(y)-sond.

(4) The case terminations are sometimes omitted. I have noted this only in the ablative of Persian words in ठ; e. g.,

क्षान एंदरा khsān andara, 1 out of the treasury (Matth. xii. 35 ; xiii. 52)

213. 2nd Declension (Masculine, i base).

[Note. — The nominative of all nouns of this declension really end in a very short ँ, thus kula. The ँ is, however, hardly heard in pronunciation, and is not usually written.]

(1) Final

(a) ठ u becomes ठ iv; e. g., नेचू नेचू, a child, नेचू-स, u nechivis (Voc.

(b) ट i, becomes ट y; e. g., बृद्ध, a brother; बृद्ध-स, plural बृद्ध, plural बृद्ध-स, plural बृद्ध-स.

The genitive oblique is बृद्ध-सा, बृद्ध-सा (Matth. vii. 3).

1 [This is quite according to rule. See § 197 as corrected.] 2 [Original altered slightly here.]
(2) Changes of the Medial Radical Vowel take place in the oblique cases of the singular, and throughout the plural: viz.: —

(a) Medial \( -u \) or \( o \) becomes \( -l \) or \( -a \) [in the instrumental singular, and nominative plural (i.e., only before the short \( t \)), and \( -l \) or \( -a \) in the other cases of the singular and plural]. Thus:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pohul}, & \text{ a shepherd; instr. sing. } \text{pohalí;} & \text{dat. sing. } \text{pohalis;} \\
\text{watharun}, & \text{ a carpet; instr. sing. } \text{watharuní;} & \text{dat. sing. } \text{watharunis;} \\
\text{watharani}, & \text{ [abl. sing. } \text{watharani nishq}. \\
\text{tsúwal}, & \text{ a goat; instr. sing. } \text{tsúval;} & \text{dat. sing. } \text{tsúvalis.} \\
\text{phál}, & \text{ grain; instr. sing. } \text{phálí;} & \text{acc. sing. } \text{phális;} \\
\text{yipot,} & \text{ a yoke; dat. } \text{yipotí;} & \text{yipotis;} \\
\text{lahí}, & \text{ a fox; } \text{lahí;} & \text{lahí;} \\
\text{potsh}, & \text{ a guest; } \text{potshí;} & \text{patshís.}
\end{align*}
\]

[Note that in the case of \( u \) (not \( o \)) the change does not take place in the case of monosyllables. Thus from \( kúl \) kul, a tree, we have \( kulí \), and \( kúlis \), not \( kulí \) or \( kúlis \); \( kalí \) kal, In the case of \( o \) the change is invariable. The word \( rút \) good, however, makes \( rúti \) in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus \( rúti \), \( rútís \). The nominative singular, itself, is often written \( rúti \), which gives the pronunciation better. In Núgarí, it is spelled without any medial vowel at all, thus, \( rút\).]

(b) \( ō \) and \( o \), becomes \( ë \); e.g., \( bódí \), a brother; \( bódís \), \( mól \), a father; \( mólís; \text{dinawól (noun of the agent, of } \text{dín, to give)}; \text{dinawólís;} \text{kóbí, luncheon, kóbís.}^{44}

These changes take place only in the accusative and instrumental singular, and in the nominative plural [i.e., only before the short \( t \), and before \( ā \). In the other cases of the singular and of the plural, the \( ë \) is further changed to \( ë \). We thus get the paradigm of \( mól \), a father.

---

43 [The original has here been added to by the translator.]

44 So also all nouns in \( mól \); e.g., \( dák, dákís \), to one who owns ten pieces of money; \( qùdrát, qùdrátís \), to the Mighty one. Np. (Matth. i. 19) has \( rún \), instr. of \( rún \), a husband, instead of \( rún \) a husband.

44 [I here alter the arrangement of the original slightly.]
[January, 1899.]
ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. الموال</td>
<td>الموالي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. المیا or میاش</td>
<td>میش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. الموال</td>
<td>الموالي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. الموال</td>
<td>الموالي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. الموالی</td>
<td>الموالی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. الموالی</td>
<td>الموالی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The explanation of the declension of these nouns in الد (or more correctly الدل) is that the basic form of the noun really ends in الد. Thus, the base of الموال, a father, is الد, which we find in شينا as مال, and in the کهلا as مال. In کمتر, الد is one of the most unstable vowels. Before a و, whether pronounced or not, it becomes a ب, and before an ا which is not final, or before a final ا which is not fully pronounced, it becomes ظ. Thus when ا is added to form the Nominative singular, الد becomes الموال. When ا is added to form the Dative, it becomes الموالی. When ا is added to form the Instrumental singular or the Nominative Plural, it becomes الموالی. But when a final fully pronounced ا follows, it is not changed, as in الموال ای, with the father, in which the final ا of the Instrumental is fully pronounced before a postposition, as is the usual case. Similarly no change occurs in the oblique cases of the plural, for the termination which follows commences neither with و nor with ا.

[(c) الد, becomes ظ, but not in the singular, or in the nominative plural. We thus get the following forms of الموالہ, a dog:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. الموالہ</td>
<td>الموالی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. الموالہ</td>
<td>الموالی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. الموالیس</td>
<td>الموالی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the case is very similar. The real base vowel is ظ not ا. But ظ is still more unstable than ا, and before every و, whether pronounced or not; and before every ا, whether fully pronounced or not, it becomes ا. Hence we have even الموالی ای, with a dog, while in the case of the nouns in الد (دل), the ا was unchanged before a fully pronounced ا.

(d) الد, becomes ای; e. g. مانو, a man, مانوی, بیور, a drop, بیور, کییلا, a flock, کییلا, خیل, mynd, leprosy, منوس, mind, etc. [Here the base is really مانو, etc.]

**Notes:**
- Np. always الد الد, brother.
- Similarly is declined, الد الد, brother, and all nouns in الد, including nouns of the agent in الد, e. g. دو, a nest, دو, a giver, nom. pl. دو, a giver.
(e) "yû, becomes מְיָן, a meadow, נָרִיס; krayûr, a well, בְּקַרְוּס kris (Luke, xiv. 5); [דְּגַו, a sheep, מְתִרֶס; tis, a pillar, מְטִינֶס tis].

The word מְטִינֶס, a pillar, given above, is irregular.

Its principal parts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>מְטִינֶס tsyn ...</td>
<td>מְטִיינֶס tini ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>מְטִיינֶס tini ...</td>
<td>מְטִיְנַיִב tsényau ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>מְטִיְנִי tini ...</td>
<td>מְטִיְנִי tini ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>מְטִיְנִב tini ...</td>
<td>מְטִיְנַיִב tsényau ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>מְטִיְנַיִב tsényau ...</td>
<td>מְטִיְנַיִב tsényan hond]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the base is really tisen, and the changes are parallel to those which we noticed in the case of 말-.

214. 3rd Declension (Feminine, 1 base).

(1) Disappearance of terminations.—[All the instances here given by the author belong to the fourth declension, and are there described by the translator. The one exception is the word מְלָה achhî, which belongs to the third declension, and is quite regular. Thus, instr. sing. מְלָה achhî; dat. sing. מְלָה achhî; nom. pl. מְלָה achhî; instr. pl. מְלָה achhî; dat. pl. מְלָה achhî. The author quotes some passages from Np., but some of them are manifest misprints, and the others are incorrect.]

(2) Changes of the radical vowel take place in the oblique cases of the singular, and throughout the plural: viz.: —

(a) מָלְו becomes מְלָה; e. g., מָלְו מָלְי, a mother, מָלְו מָלְי, a mother, מָלְו מָלְי, a mother, מָלְו מָלְי, a mother, מָלְו מָלְי, a mother. [See the remarks made above regarding 말-.

All nouns of this declension originally ended in i, which is not pronounced or written at the present day, except in a few isolated instances. It has, however, left its trace in the nominative Singular.]

These changes have been partly mentioned by the author on a subsequent page, where they will be omitted in translation. I have incorporated all the author's remarks. The author states that he is indebted to Dr. Bühler for most of his statements.

In Np. מָלְו is sometimes denoted by מָלְי and sometimes by מָלְי. Thus (Matth. xix. 29), מָלְי (nom.), or elsewhere מָלְי מָלְי. So also the sign מָלְי for מָלְו is used throughout with very little system.
The following is an example of the declension of this very common class of nouns:

Singular.

Nom.  
Voc.  
Acc.  
Instr.  
Dat.  
Abl.  
Gen.  
Loc.  

Plural.

máji  
májau  
máji  
májau  
májen  
májau  
májen-hond  
májen

(b) á becomes š, in the same cases; e. g., kúr, a daughter; kőri, ńö, ūörn, lúr, a stick, lówi; [Compare § 213, 2, c].
(c) á usually becomes š. Thus, sír, a brick; sórì.
(d) a becomes a in monosyllables; e. g., ńkşı, a sheep, gabi; but in words of more than one syllable, the a remains; e. g., ńbör, the sweet basil.

(b) babari; ńdör, a cucumber, ńdöö, ńdööri.

(3) Final Consonants are changed in the same cases; vis.:

(a) t becomes ch; e. g., ńtsı, bread; ńchnı, a rag, ńch, a zack.
(b) ńt becomes çh. Thus, ńkoch, a stalk, ńkochi.

(4) Final vowels take euphonic additions, before the terminations of the cases.

(a) Final á takes euphonic iy, e. g., gangá-yi.
(b) Final y becomes iy, e. g., basti, village, basti-yi.

Khandasamān-hond hisāb dı, give an account of thy stewardship (Luke, xvi. 2).

80 Np. (Matth. xix. 29; Luke, xviii. 29) also mág, mój; e. g., mád, máy; máy, father or mother.
81 Np. always máji.
81a [Exceptions are dör, a lane, and mór, a twig, in which the á is not changed].
82 [Exceptions are sír, a table, and a few others, in which the t is not changed.]
83 [There is a slight difference in pronunciation between these two a. The a in gabi is pronounced something like a short German å. That in babar like the a in America pronounced very shortly and quickly.]
84 [See 2 (d) above.]
85 From the list of words in Np.
86 Np. has sometimes i instead of á; e. g., Luke, xix. 24, áskraf, a gold coin.
87 In Np. sometimes also in the dative and locative singular; e. g., basti andar, in a village (Luke xix. 30); máj, máj, according to desire (Luke, xxvii. 24, 25).
215. 4th Declension (Feminine, i and a base).

(1) Arabic words in ُک at, like ُک at, jama’at, assembly, multitude, ُک at power, change, in the same cases the final ُک at into ُع ts. [The final ُک at is changed to ُع.] In the singular, all case terminations are dropped. Thus:—

Sing. ; instr., dat., abl., loc., ُک جم jama’eqts; genitive, ُک جم جم jama’eqts hond, so also ُک قدر jama’eqts-wol, a mighty one.

Plur; instr., ُک جم jama’eqtsau; dat., loc., abl., ُک جم jama’eqtsau; gen., ُک جم jama’eqtsau hond. [Note the Terminations ُع instead of ُع, and ُع instead of ُع.]

(2) Final ُع at becomes, in the same cases (the case terminations being similarly omitted in the singular) ُع ٰث at; e.g., ُع ار ارب at-rūt, midnight, ُع ئ ر ب at rūts, at midnight; ُع ار ارب at chi rūts, to-night; ُع ار ارب at yamīy rūts, on this night; ُع ار ارب at tṣatejen rūtej, for forty nights; ُع ار ارب at tran rūtej, for three nights; ُع ار ارب at rūts handi trōrt, FBI, at the fourth watch of the night. So also decline ُع و ور ُع wahrdāt, the rainy season.

[The above is as given by the author, but the rule is really much wider. With certain exceptions, all nouns of the fourth declension

ending in ُع at change it to ُع at

ُع th " " ُع ارب tsh

ُع d " " ُع س z

ُع n " " ُع ج n

ُع h " " ُع ش sh

and some in ُع l " " ُع ج j

Before this changed letter every ُع a becomes ُع a, and every ُع a becomes ā. Examples are ُع a rūt, night, ُع a rūts; ُع a kōsh, a bank, ُع a kōsh; ُع a gra, a counting, ُع a gra; ُع a gīrān, an anvil, ُع a gīrān; ُع a kāh, the eleventh lunar day, ُع a kāh; ُع a wāl, a hole, ُع a wāj.

The words in ُع l which follow this rule are ُع l wāl, a hole; ُع l sāl, a wife’s sister; ُع l sāl, a net; ُع l sāl, consideration; ُع l hāl, a house (generally, but sometimes masculine at the end of a compound, as in ُع l sāl hāl, a school-house); and, optionally, ُع l kundāl, a kind of cup, and ُع l kartāl, a sword.

Np. (Mark, xiii. 35) has in one instance ُع ṭā rūts. Everywhere else, as above.
The following are exceptions, and do not change their final consonants:

wat a road; lat, a kick; dat, a clood; thot, an impediment; tsof, the
anus; tsof, tsit, a sprain; teot, tumbling heel over heels; get, a
flood; pinit, a trifle; bit, a little (in compounds, as in
pranaat, a spark of life); tont, a beak; kath, a story; weth,
the river Jhelum; khon, the elbow; tan, the body; an, the
navel; son, a co-wife; han, a little; ban, a pile.

The words यदः, यदः, the belly; यदः, discount; नरः, the back; कोठ, Aucklandia
Costus; khoar, an ass’s load; मार, the name of a river; मार, a cross-beam; and
raas, stock-in-trade, drop all case terminations, but change a to a, and त to त, in
all cases except the nominative singular. Thus, from यदः, यदः; from khoar, khoar
khor. गादी-हङ्जी यदः undar (loc.), in the belly of the fish.

The word गायः, a cow, becomes गोः in all cases except the nominative singular.

Words like बेने, a sister, are thus declined:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>बेने</td>
<td>बेनी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>बेनी (Luke, x. 40)</td>
<td>बेनानु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>बेनी</td>
<td>बेनानु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

216. Compound Substantives.

The first substantive is usually put in the oblique form; e.g., गुल पृथ्वी, a water-jar;
क्षुद्र पुरी, blood-price, price of blood; khásir-a jít, skull-place, Calvary:
dachh-i bág, vine-yard; rat-ahpyur, blood-drop; línjir-a kul, fig-tree;
kandikul, thorn-bush, etc. So also samána tukra, a piece of land; samána tukra, a piece of fish;
tehaali bhaça, a he-goat kid, a kid of the goats; gádi tukra, a piece of fish;
pánshka dánda-kovari, five yoke of oxen. (Luke xiv, 19 Compare, hat pāj;
til, a hundred barrels of oil; hat man-kapak, a hundred measures of wheat.

Composition can, however, also be effected by means of the substantival adjective in uk; e.g., zaitun-uk koh, the Mount of Olives, lit., the olive-mount.

(To be continued.)

**This word is incorrectly given by the author as belonging to the third declension. The others are not mentioned by him.**
DETAILED REPORT OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOUR WITH THE BUNER FIELD FORCE.*

BY M. A. STEIN, PH.D.

I. — Personal Narrative.

At the end of November, 1897, Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., Political Agent, Swat, Dir, and Chitral, had been kind enough to call my attention to the opportunity which the punitive expedition, then under consideration against the tribes of Buner, would offer for the examination of the antiquarian remains of that territory. Buner, as that portion of the ancient Udyāna which had hitherto been wholly inaccessible, and as the place from which a number of Major Deane’s puzzling inscriptions in unknown characters had been obtained, could reasonably be expected to furnish an interesting new field for archaeological exploration. I was hence eager to avail myself of the occasion.

Thanks largely to Major Deane’s recommendation and the kind interest shown in the matter by the Hon’ble Mr. Dane, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, and my friend Mr. Matnard, the Junior Secretary, my application to be deported with the Malakand Field Force during its operations in Buner was readily approved of by the Hon’ble Sir Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The Local Government agreed to bear the expenses connected with my reputation. On the 29th December, when returning from a short archaeological Christmas tour in the Swat Valley, I received at Hoti-Mardan telegraphic intimation that the Government of India in the Foreign Department had sanctioned the proposal. In accordance with the instructions conveyed to me I saw on the same day at Kunda Camp Major-General Sir Bindon Blood, K.C.B., Commanding the Malakand Field Force, who very kindly assured me of his assistance in connection with the proposed archaeological survey. He also informed me of the early date fixed for the commencement of the operations against Buner. I had just time enough to hurry back to Lahore, where the Annual Convocation of the University required my presence, and to complete there the arrangements for my camp outfit and for a Surveyor from the Public Works Department who was to accompany me.

On the afternoon of the 4th January 1898 I left Lahore after assisting at the Convocation held under the presidency of the Hon’ble the Lieutenant-Governor and Chancellor of the University. Starting from Nowshera Station on the following morning I caught up on the same day General Blood’s Division while encamped at Katlang on its march towards the Buner border. Heavy rain on the preceding day had made the air remarkably clear. As I passed through the breadth of the great valley which forms the ancient Gandhāra, the barren mountain ranges enclosing it on the north and south stood out with a boldness reminding me of classical regions. From Mardan to Katlang the rugged Pajja Range, which in its secluded straths and nooks hides a number of ancient sites, kept all the way prominently in front. On a small spur descending from this range, which is passed to the east of the road close to the village of Jamālgāri, the ruins of the large Buddhist monastery came into view, which was excavated here by General Cunningham. I was unable to re-visit these interesting remains for want of time, but was informed that numerous injured torsos of statues which had been brought to light by those diggings, still cover the ground in several of the Vihāra Courts.

At Katlang I was joined by Fazl Ilahi, Draftsman, from the office of the Executive Engineer, Peshawar, who was to act as my Surveyor. There I found also Sierbāz, Jamādār of Swat Levies, and Kār Shāh, a Miān from Shāh-bāzgarhī, whom Major Deane had kindly sent to accompany me to Buner and to assist me by their local knowledge.

* This Report was submitted to the Government of the Punjab on the 26th July, 1898, and has since been printed by order of that Government. It is reprinted here with the kind permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, as conveyed in letter No. 891, dated 19th December, 1898, of the Revenue Secretary to the Local Government. — M. A. St,
Sanghau. — On the 8th January the force moved from Katlang to Sanghau, at the entrance of the defile leading to the Tunga Pass which had been selected as the route for the advance into Bunar. A reconnaissance conducted by General Blood up the defile showed that the pass was held by a gathering of tribesmen under numerous standards. Accompanying this reconnaissance, I came in the narrow ravine through which the path leads, and about a mile and a half above Sanghau village, upon unmistakable traces of an ancient road. I was able to examine these before the Sappers had commenced their work of improving the track. In several places where the present path runs along rocky cliffs high above the stream draining the gorge, I noticed supporting walls of rough but solid masonry. They resembled closely in their construction the walls over which the ancient so-called “Buddhist” roads on the Malakand and Shakhk Passes are carried in parts. Higher up in the defile the traces of this old road seem to be lost. At least I did not come across any on the following day either on the track chosen for the transport route or during my climb up the hillside to the north.

When returning to the camp it was too late to examine closely the ruins which were pointed out to me as those of ‘old Sanghau’ on a spur about 1½ miles to the east of the village. Seen from below they appeared to consist of solidly built old dwelling-places, such as are found in great numbers covering the hillsides at various points of the Lower Swat Valley. About half a mile further in a north-easterly direction old remains are said to exist near a large spring, the water of which is now brought by a stone-conduit down to Sanghau village. A great deal of ancient Buddhist sculpture has been extracted at various times from ruined sites near Sanghau, but it is only of the excavations conducted for General Cunningham that some account can be traced.

The night passed in camp at Sanghau, and thus yet within British territory, brought some “sniping” which was attributed by competent judges to ‘loyal’ subjects of that neighborhood. On the afternoon of the following day the Tunga Pass was taken after a prolonged artillery fire and some fighting. While the Pathans, Sikhs and Dogras of the XXth Regiment, Punjab Infantry, climbed in splendid style the high peak commanding the pass on the west, the Highland Light Infantry, West Kent and XXIst P. I. Regiments carried the naturally strong position of the enemy in front. I watched the interesting engagement from the spur occupied by the mountain batteries in action and climbed up to the narrow rocky ridge which forms the pass, as soon as it had been taken. From that commanding height, circ. 3,800 feet above the sea, there opened a wide view over the western portion of Bunar bounded in the direction of Upper Swat by Mounts Ilm and Dosirri.

Tunga Pass. — At a point where the crest forms a salient angle to the west, and about 300 yards from the saddle by which the mule-track crosses the pass, I noticed the remnant of what was probably once a small fortification, in the form of a semi-circular platform built of rough masonry. The outside wall supporting it was traceable for a length of 20 feet. The tribesmen holding the pass had raised one of their main sangars on this very platform. The gathering of standards I had noticed near this spot in the early part of the day showed that it had been considered important and held in force also by the most recent defenders of the pass. The heavy shell and shrapnell fire from the field and mountain batteries must have made the place uncomfortable in the earlier part of the day.

The absence of other traces of old fortification on the ridge is easily accounted for by its extreme narrowness and the steepness of the cliffs on its western face. These cliffs themselves would form a sufficiently strong line of defence against any enemy not armed with modern guns. On the Tunga Pass there was thus neither room nor need for such extensive fortifications as can still be traced in ruins of evidently ancient date on the Malakand and Shakhk Passes.

Accompanying the troops of the 1st Brigade which I still found on the crest of the pass, I reached by nightfall Kingargalai, a Bunar village belonging to the Salarzaai tribe, situated in
the valley some two miles from the eastern foot of the pass. This small village formed our quarters — tight enough they were, considering that the village had to accommodate three regiments of infantry with a brigade staff, etc. — for that night and the next two days. The forcing of the pass had apparently put all thought of open resistance to an end. This and the neighbouring villages were found completely deserted, but Jirgās of the Šalāraisi and other adjoining tribal sections were soon coming in to treat for terms. General Meiklejohn, Commanding the 1st Brigade, hence kindly allowed me to start already on the morning of the 8th January with a small escort for the inspection of the extensive ruins plainly visible to the west of Kingargalai on the spur sloping down into the valley.

**Ruins near Kingargalai.** — The most conspicuous groups of ruins were found situated on a series of rocky ridges which jut out, with a general direction from north to south, into the valley leading to the north-west of Kingargalai towards the Navedand Pass. They form the extreme offshoots of spurs descending from the high peak to the west of the pass, which has already been mentioned. The largest of these ridges, which also bears the most prominent of the ruins, lies at a distance of about 1½ miles from Kingargalai.

All along the crest of the ridge and also for a short distance down its slopes are found separate groups of ruined buildings. They are erected either where small level shoulders give sufficient space, or on walled-up terraces leaning against the hillside. Their general plan and construction clearly prove them to be the remains of ancient dwelling places. The walls consist of solid masonry resembling closely in its construction that seen in the walls of the Takht-i Bāhī Vihāras and other ancient Gandhāra ruins. Large rough slabs, of approximately equal height but irregular shape at the sides, are placed in regular courses. Sufficient space is left between them laterally to allow of the insertion of small flat stones which are placed in little columns, filling the interstices. Vertically each course of slabs is separated from the next by a narrow band of small flat stones which are put in a single or double row and are intended to adjust slight inequalities in the thickness of the slabs.

This peculiar system of masonry which has been described in the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Volume V, is found in the walls of all ruins of pre-Muhammadan date throughout the territory of the old Gandhāra and Udīyāna. It distinguishes them in a very marked fashion from all structures of modern origin which show invariably walls of small uncut stones set in mud plaster without any attempt at regular alignment. Such walls, unless of exceptional thickness, can easily be pulled down with a few strokes of the pick-axe, and when decayed leave after a few years nothing but shapeless heaps of loose stone and earth. The ancient walls on the other hand are of remarkable firmness and have stood the test of time extremely well, particularly where an outer coating of plaster has originally protected them against atmospheric influences. This is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that I have found among the ruined sites of Lower Swāt walls of this construction still standing to a height of 30 feet and more. In some instances, too, such walls could be utilized for the foundation of portions of the modern fortifications erected at Malakand and Chakdāra.

The buildings which cover the above-described ridges vary considerably in size and plan. Those which occupy sites allowing of greater extension consist of a series of large chambers grouped round a central pile. This is generally raised above the level of the rest by a high base of solid masonry. Plan I shows the disposition of a typical structure of this class which stands near the north-eastern extremity of the central ridge above referred to. The interiors of the rooms have been filled up to a great extent by masonry which has fallen from the walls and roofs. The portions of the walls still standing reach in many places only a little above the level of this débris. It is thus impossible to indicate with certainty the position of the doors by which the several apartments must have communicated with each other.
PLAN OF RUINED BUILDING
NEAR
KINGARGALAI

SCALE OF FEET

[Diagram showing a plan of a ruined building near Kingargalai]
PLAN OF RUINED BUILDINGS
NEAR
KINGARGALAI

PLAN

EAST SIDE ELEVATION

SCALE OF FOOT

II.
In the case of this building, the original level of the central rooms marked A, B, C, D seems to have been raised considerably above the ground, as their interior was found now to be nearly 12 feet higher than the rock on which the walls are based. As in the case of similar structures examined in Swat, it is probable that the lower storey of this central pile was built solid. The entrance into the upper storey containing dwelling rooms was through an opening higher up in the wall which could be reached from outside only by means of a ladder. This arrangement, which is clearly designed with a view to defence, is still actually observed in the construction of most village watch-towers across the Afghan border.

That special regard was paid to considerations of safety in the case of most, if not all, the structures here described is evident from the very positions chosen for them. The rocky spurs on which they are found have no other recommendation as building sites except the facilities they offer for defence by their steepness and comparative inaccessibility. The crests of the ridges, which these buildings chiefly occupy, are nowhere less than about 300 feet above the level bottom of the valley. The inconvenience arising from this position in respect of the water-supply, etc., is so great that only an important consideration like that of safety could compensate for it. At the same time it deserves to be noted that these buildings are everywhere standing at such a distance from each other that at a time, when firearms were unknown, none could be said to be commanded by its neighbour. It looks as if the condition of inter-tribal feud and rivalry which make each man of substance in the average trans-border village watch his neighbour as a likely foe, had already been realized in a far earlier period.

The position which these buildings occupy and the succession of terraces on which some of them rise, give them from a distance more the appearance of small castles than of ordinary dwelling places. They resemble in this respect closely the collections of fortified houses which cover the hill-sides at numerous old sites of the Swat Valley, like Landake, Batkhela, Katgala, etc. As a distinctive feature, however, it must be mentioned that I have not come across, either among the ruins near Kingargalai or elsewhere in Buner, the semi-circular buttresses which are found very commonly among the Swat ruins at the corners of such structures, in particular of isolated square towers.

To the west of the spur, which, amongst other ruins, bears that shown in Plan I, there runs another smaller ridge, which, with its western escarp, faces the side valley of Manora. Along the narrow neck of this ridge too there are numerous ruins of the above description. The ground-plan of one among them which represents the simplest type and still shows a well-preserved entrance at some height above the ground, has been reproduced on Plate II. On the opposite side of the Manora Nullah and further up on the hill-sides of the main valley towards the Nawedand Pass, I could see other groups of ruined buildings. But the instructions given to me as regards the limits of my explorations on this first day on Buner soil did not allow me to proceed further in that direction.

Ruins near Tangi Pass. — Moving then back to the east along the main hill-side, I passed two more spurs running down into the valley nearer to Kingargalai. These were also found to be covered with ruined buildings of the kind already described. Still further to the east at the point where the main valley of Kingargalai is joined by the one leading to the foot of the Tangi Pass, there is a small low spur which has been used as an old building site. At its very end and at a level of only about 50 feet above the flat bottom of the valley, I found the ruin of which a plan is given on Plate II below. Its peculiar feature is a platform of solid masonry on which rises a small conical mound of rough stones set in layers. The height of the mound is about 11 feet, including the base.

It appears probable that we have in this mound the remains of a small Stupa. Unlike other mounds of this character met subsequently during my tour in Buner, it has escaped being dug into by treasure-seekers. Adjoining the base to the east there are four rectangular rooms of which the walls can yet clearly be traced. Their construction is exactly the same as
that of the walls in the buildings already described. On the floor of the two front rooms there were signs showing that stones and earth had recently been displaced. The Pathān sepoys of my escort, led by an instinct evidently due to experience, at once suspected a hiding place. By removing the topmost stones and then digging down with their bayonets they soon opened two little wells sunk into the ground. They measured each about 5 feet square and were lined with old masonry down to the solid rock. They were found filled with grain and small household property which some neighbouring villagers had evidently deposited there in anticipation of our invasion. There can be little doubt as to these wells having originally been constructed for a similar purpose. Small underground store-rooms of this kind have been found under the ruins of the Takht-i Bāhi monastery and elsewhere.

On either side of the short valley running to the foot of the Tangō Pass I noticed several ruined buildings perched high up on isolated cliffs and ridges. They appeared to be similar to those already visited in the valleys towards Nawedand and Monōra. But the shortness of the remaining daylight made their examination impossible. Considering the number and position of all these ruined habitations, it seems evident that the site to the west of Kingargalai must have been a place of some importance in pre-Muhammadan times. This is easily accounted for by its position on the routes to the Tangō and Nawedand Passes, which both represent important lines of communication. The latter pass in particular, which from all accounts seems comparatively easy to transport animals, opens a very convenient route to the valley of Bāzdrāra in the west. From this again the Yusufzai plain to the south as well as the Shāhkōt, Chirāt and Mōra Passes leading into Lower Swāt can be reached without difficulty. In this connection I may mention that a coin of Ōoemo Kādphises (circa 1st Century B.C.), kindly shown to me by the Chaplain attached to the Highland Light Infantry Regiment, was picked up during the occupation of Kingargalai in a small cave on the hill-side rising behind the village.

I was unable to ascertain the local name, if any, given by the present inhabitants to the ruins described. The whole population of the valley had fled on the day of the fight on the Tangō Pass, and was still keeping with such cattle as they had managed to save, on the top of the high hill ranges above the valley. It was evident that the occasion, which had thrown Buner temporarily open, was not the best for collecting local traditions regarding ruined sites from the Pathān inhabitants. Comparatively new-comers to the country themselves and in part migratory as they are, they were often, when got hold of, found unable to give more information than that conveyed by the designation “Kāpir kandare” (“Kāfir ruins”). This is bestowed indiscriminately on all kinds of ancient remains.

Ruins near Nansēr. — On the following day, the 9th January, the troops of the 1st Brigade still remained at Kingargalai, while the mule track across the pass was being improved for the transport. I had first hoped to examine the valley further down as far as Bampōkha, which the column marching across the Pirsaī Pass was expected to reach that day. But a subsequent order fixed the nearer village of Nansēr as the limit of my reconnaissance. This lies about two miles to the east of Kingargalai in a small side valley opening to the southwest. Just opposite to the entrance of the latter the main road of the valley turns round the foot of a very steep and rocky spur which trends from the range to the north. Having noticed high up on this spur walls of ancient look, I climbed up to them and found, at a height of about 500 feet above the valley, two oblong terraces. One is built of solid old masonry along the back of the narrow ridge and extends for about 30 feet from north to south with a breadth of 15 feet.

A short distance above, and connected with it by much decayed parallel walls, is a larger walled-up terrace of remarkably massive masonry, placed, as it were, à cheval across the ridge. It measures 45 feet from east to west and 20 from north to south. Its top where nearest to the rocky base still rises to a height of 12 feet above it. There can be little doubt as
to this structure having once served the purposes of defence. The position is admirably adapted for this, being approachable only with difficulty over steep cliffs and commanding an extensive view up and down the valley. Small mounds found on the top of these terraces are probably the remains of former superstructures, which being built of less solid materials have decayed long ago. The soil between the rocks on the slopes below is covered with old pottery.

From this point I had noticed villagers, chiefly women and old men, descending from the opposite heights to the houses of Nansër, evidently bent on removing property they had left behind on their first flight. As I hoped to receive from them information as to old remains in the neighbourhood, I descended and approached the village. The sight of my small escort was, however, sufficient to cause a fresh stampede of the village folk. When at last after a great deal of parleying some old men were induced to join me, they could only point to a few ruined walls on a hill to the south of the village.

One Spinigro ('greybeard'), however, knew of a ruined 'gumbaz' (dome, circular building) to the west of Kingargalai. As this expression is invariably used by the Pushtu-speaking population of the border for the designation of Stūpas, I did not hesitate to start back under his guidance in the direction indicated. We had passed the ruins examined on the preceding day and proceeded up the Manore Nallah for nearly two miles further before I could ascertain from my guide that the gumbaz he had previously referred to as quite near was in reality beyond the range which forms the watershed towards Bāzdarra. To reach the spot and return to camp the same evening was manifestly impracticable at the late hour of day. I was thus reluctantly obliged to turn back to Kingargalai, richer only by an experience of the unreliability of putative distances in the Buner hills. I had already before heard of the existence of old ruins near Bāzdarra, and wish that I may before long have an opportunity to visit that site and other neighbouring localities to the south of the Shāhkōt and Mōra Passes.

Juvur. — On the 10th I accompanied the march of the greater portion of General Micklejohn's Brigade to Juvur, a large village to the north-east of Kingargalai and below Mount Im. The route led for the first four miles down the valley to Bampōkha, where the stream which comes from Kingargalai is met by the one flowing from the Pirson Pass. Before reaching Bampōkha the road winds round the foot of a detached small ridge which is covered with ruined buildings and terraces resembling those seen near Kingargalai. The short halt made by the troops at Bampōkha was not sufficient to allow of an inspection of these remains. A short distance beyond Bampōkha the route turns off to the north, and Mount Im comes prominently into view. This fine peak, 9,200 feet above sea level, with its fir-clad slopes and rocky summit, dominates the landscape in most parts of Western Bunr and forms the boundary of the latter towards Upper Swāt. Subsequent enquiry showed that Mount Im as the site of more than one Tirtha must have enjoyed a great sanctity in Hindu times. To the west of the mountain is the Karakar Pass, the favourite route of communication between Bunr and Swāt. In the valley which leads up to the pass lies the village of Juvur.

Here the population had not entirely fled, though all houses were appropriated for the accommodation of the troops. I was thus able to collect some information as to old remains in the vicinity. As the Brigade remained at Juvur I could utilize the following day (11th January) freely for their inspection. An inscribed stone had been reported to me near the village of Charrai, situated about two miles to the north-east. But on reaching the spot indicated, which is at the foot of a rocky spur descending from Im and about one mile to the north-east of the village, I found that the supposed inscription on a large isolated rock to the right of the path consisted only of a series of cup-shaped holes, probably artificial. The spot is known as Laka Tişa.

Returning thence to Charrai, I ascended the narrow gorge, through which the stream of Churrai flows, to an open well-wooded glen known only by the somewhat general designation of Tangai ('defile; small valley'). Tangai, which is separated from the Juvur Valley by a low
watershed, lies in a direct line about 2½ miles to the north-east of Juvur. Along the slopes of the little spurs, which enclose the glen like an amphitheatre, I found numerous traces of old habitations. Their walls and terraces were generally far more decayed than those of the ruins near Kingargalai. This is in all probability due to the thick jungle which covers this site. The series of fine springs which issue at the foot of the hill-slopes and feed the Charrai stream explains sufficiently the presence of so many ancient dwelling places in this secluded nook of the mountains.

**Rock sculptures near Juvur.** — Ascending the spur in the centre of the amphitheatre described, to a height of about 300 feet above the little plain at the bottom of the glen, I reached the rock-cut images of which one of my Juvur informants had told me. The remnants of old walls stretch up close to the foot of the large rock which bears these relieves. The south face of the rock offers a flat and nearly vertical surface about 25 feet long and 30 feet high; on it a tripartite niche has been cut out to a depth of 3½ inches. It measures 6 feet 9 inches in length and 5 feet in height; its foot is about 5 feet above the ground. In the centre of the niche is a well-carved relief figure of Siva, 4 feet 6 inches high, showing the god seated, with his left leg reaching below the seat and the left hand holding the club. On either side of this central image is a smaller figure about 2 feet 9 inches high representing a god seated with crossed legs. The one on the proper left holds in the left hand a lotus on a stalk, and evidently represents Vishnu. The figure on the proper right, which has become more effaced, seems to sit on an open lotus and is probably intended for Brahman. All three figures are surmounted by halos.

There can be no doubt as to these sculptures being anterior to the Muhammadan invasion; probably they are of a considerably earlier date. This may be concluded with good reason from the boldness and good proportions still observable in the design of the relieves, notwithstanding the decay which has overtaken the more exposed portions. To the damage caused by atmospheric influences has been added some chipping done by mischievous hands apparently not so very long ago. Treasure-seekers seem also to have recently been at work here as shown by some small excavations at the foot of the rock. In view of the interest attaching to these sculptures, I regret that no photograph could be obtained of them. They are approached only by a narrow ledge some 3 feet broad, and the rock below them falls off with great steepness. The carvings are thus visible only for one standing immediately before them or from some considerable distance.

The purely Hindu character of these rock sculptures and of those subsequently examined at Bhau near Padasah is a point deserving special notice. It is an additional proof of the fact that Buddhism, which from the exclusive reference made to it in our written records — the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims may be supposed to have been the predominant creed in the old Udyana, was there as elsewhere in India closely associated with all popular features of the Hindu religious system. This conclusion is fully supported by what other evidence is at present available. Thus the coins struck by the rulers of these regions, from the times of the later Kushans down to the last ‘Hindu Shahiyas,’ show an almost unbroken succession of Hindu, and more particularly Saiva, devices.

Ascending from Tangai to a saddle in the spur to the west, I obtained a good view of the Karakār Pass and the valley leading up to it from Juvur, but did not notice any more ruins in this direction. I then returned to the glen and proceeded to the small rocky hill known as Nil Dērai, which flanks the road from Tangai to Juvur on the east. I found it covered on the south face with a series of ancient walls supporting terraces and with masses of débris which evidently belonged to higher structures now completely decayed. These walls stretch up to the very top of the hill which forms a small plateau of irregular shape about 85 yards long from east to west and in the middle about 20 yards broad. All round the top foundations of old walls could be traced, by means of which the available space had been enlarged,
and perhaps also fortified. Similar remains are said to exist on the slopes of the higher hill known as Ghund, which faces Nil Dehra on the western side of the defile leading to Tangai.

On the following day, the 12th January, General Meiklejohn’s column marched from Juvur to Tursak by the shortest route which lies in the valley drained by the Charraie stream. As my information did not point to the existence of old remains in this direction, I obtained permission and the necessary escort to proceed to Tursak independently by a more circuitous route. This was to enable me to visit the ruins which had been reported to me near Girarai, and to see the portion of the main valley of Buner between Bampokha and Tursak.

Girarai. — Girarai I found to be situated about 5 miles to the south-west of Juvur in a broad open valley which leads to the Girarai and Banjir Passes in the west. About half way I noticed ruins similar in appearance to those of Kingargalai on a detached spur of the hill range to the north of the valley. I could not spare time for their inspection. The locality is known as Bakita. In Girarai itself, which is a village of some sixty houses, the only ancient remain I could trace, was a fine ornamented slab built into the north wall of the ‘Sura Masjid.’ Its lotus ornament shows in design and execution close affinity to the decorative motives of Gandhara sculptures. Though it was evident that this slab had been obtained from some ancient structure in the neighbourhood, my enquiries failed to elicit any indication of its place of origin. The villagers’ plea in explanation of their ignorance on this point was that they had come to the place only six years ago when the last redistribution of villages had taken place among the Salarzai clan. The custom here referred to of redistributing at fixed periods the village sites and lands amongst the various sections of a clan by drawing lots, prevails, in fact, all through Buner. It might in itself account to a great extent for the scantiness of local traditions.

There was, however, less difficulty in tracing the ruins about which I had heard at Juvur. They were found to be situated at a place known as Ali Khan Kota (‘Ali Khan’s huts’), about 1½ miles to the west of Girarai. Like the village itself, they lie at the foot of the hill range, which divides the valleys of Girarai and Kingargalai. Conspicuous ruins of buildings and terraces, all constructed of ancient masonry, cover the several small spurs which descend here into the valley. The best preserved are on a spur flanking from the west the approach to the gorge through which the direct route to Kingargalai leads.

At the eastern foot of this spur is a narrow tongue of high and fairly level ground, stretching between the bed of the Girarai stream and the entrance of the above-named gorge. On this strip of ground I came upon several circular mounds which are undoubtedly the ruins of Stupa. The one in the centre still rises to a height of about 20 feet above the ground-level. It has been dug into apparently some time ago by treasure-seekers. The excavation they effected shows the solid, though rough, masonry of which the mound is built. Around it are remains of walls indicating, perhaps, an enclosing quadrangular court. The wall facing west can be traced for a length of 42 feet, that to the north for 40 feet. About 20 yards to the south-west from this Stupa is another still larger mound thickly overgrown with jungle. It reaches to a height of about 25 feet and has evidently not been disturbed. The remaining portion of the level ground to the east is strewn with small mounds, some of which in all probability mark the site of votive Stupas of modest dimensions. Regarding a probable identification of this site, I must refer to the explanations given below in Section II of this Report.

After returning from Ali Khan Kota and Girarai, I marched along the well-cultivated ground at the northern foot of the hills which separate Girarai and Bampokha. About one mile to the east of Girarai I noticed traces of old walls, much decayed and overgrown by jungle, on a flat terrace-like plot of ground projecting from the hill-side. They seemed to belong to a large square enclosure with a stupa-like mound in the centre. After crossing the broad valley in which the stream coming from the western slopes of Mount Ilm flows down towards Bampokha, I struck the road which leads in the valley of the Boranu River from
Bampukha down to Tursak. The dry alluvial plateaus passed along the left bank of the river, the bold and fairly well-wooded ranges to the right towards the Pirsa and Malandri Passes, and the fine view of snowy mountains far off in the Indus direction,—they all reminded me forcibly of scenery I had seen in Kashmir.

**Tursak.**—Close to the north of the road and at a distance of about 2½ miles from Tursak, I found a large square mound rising to about 13 feet above the ground. The late hour of the day at which this site was reached permitted only a rapid examination. It showed that the whole mound was artificial, constructed of rough layers of stone, with masses of débris, apparently from fallen walls, over them. The corners of the mound lie in the direction of the cardinal points. The north-east face, which was more clearly traceable, measured on the top about 100 feet. At the south corner are the remains of a small circular mound which evidently was once a Stūpa. To the south of the latter again, and outside the square, rises another circular mound about 18 feet high, which seems to have been connected with the quadrangular terrace by means of a narrow platform. The position of these mounds is such that the structures marked by them must have been when intact conspicuous objects far up and down the valley. The obligation of arriving in camp before nightfall forced me to leave these interesting remains far too soon. I had hoped that it would become possible to revisit them subsequently from Tursak. In this, however, I was disappointed. It was dark before I reached the camp pitched outside Tursak.

On the following morning (18th January) a column composed of half the Brigade marched from Tursak to the valley of Fādshāh in the north. As this move appeared to offer an opportunity for approaching localities on Mount Iml from which Major Deane's agents had previously procured impressions of inscriptions, I decided to accompany it. Before starting I paid a visit to Tursak village with a view to tracing there the original of the small inscription which I had published from a cloth impression as No. 27 in my paper on Major Deane's inscriptions. The note which accompanied this impression described it as taken from "an inscription on a stone in the wall of the house of a Mulla, Tursak in Bunēr. It is said to have been taken originally from some old ruins with other stones for building purposes."

On entering the village I soon realized the peculiar difficulties with which the search for detached inscriptions in Bunēr has proved to be attended. Neither of the two guides, with whom Major Deane's kind forethought had provided me, knew anything as regards this inscription. I was thus forced to fall back upon enquiries among the few inhabitants who had not deserted their homesteads. None of them could, or would, give information as to the particular Mullā's house the walls of which must be supposed to contain this little epigraphical relic. **Tursak** is a very large village, in fact the biggest in Bunēr, and boasts among its population of not less than twelve Mullās. It was with difficulty that I got half a dozen of these Mullās' houses pointed out to me. But the search which I made in succession in these deserted dwellings proved fruitless, and from the beginning offered little promise.

The walls in the houses examined, like those in most villages or dwellings in Bunēr, are built of rubble and are covered in large portions with rough plaster. In several of the houses there was a number of rooms and sheds ranged behind the entrance court-yard, indicative of the comparative ease of the owners. This meant a considerable addition to the extent of the wall surface calling for examination. In order to secure a reasonable chance of discovering here a small stone, the exposed surface of which, as shown by the impression, does not measure more than 8 by 6 inches, it would have been necessary to scrape the walls of the plaster wherever it seemed recent, and to devote altogether to this search far more time than actual conditions permitted. The cursory inspection of half a dozen houses and the repeated attempts to elicit information from such inhabitants as the sepoy of my escort managed to get hold of, had already cost me more than an hour when I turned at last my back on the lonely alleys of Tursak to start on the march towards Fādshāh.

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1 See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1899, Part I., page 4.
Pādshāh. — The route leads first to the north through an open fertile valley, which is watered by the stream coming from Charrai. Skirting the foot of the high Jeffar hill, the road then turns to the north-east and ascends a low watershed near the village of Burjo Khāna. Here an extensive view opened embracing the greater part of the fine broad valley of Pādshāh and the whole of the high mountain range to the north, between the peaks of Ilm and Dosirri. The streams which drain this portion of the range on the south unite close to the village of Pādshāh, which thus by its very position is marked as a place of importance. It is the site of the holiest Muhammadan shrine in Bunr, the Zia'at of Pir Bāba Şāhīb; it had on this account been singled out for a visit by General Meiklejohn's column. I had caught up the latter near Burjo Khāna and rode ahead with its advance guard of Guides Cavalry to close Pādshāh village, which was reached after a march of about 9 miles from Tursak.

The large Jirgās of the Gadazai tribe, which soon made their appearance before the Political Officer, showed that, notwithstanding rumours to the contrary, resistance was not to be expected at this sacred spot either. The troops were accordingly ordered to halt at Bhai, about two miles before Pādshāh, and to return to the main valley below Tursak on the day following. These dispositions made it clear to me that my chance of approaching the localities on Mount Ilm, which had yielded the inscriptions already referred to, would be limited to the few remaining hours of the day. I was, therefore, glad to obtain permission to join the reconnaissance which Captain Todd, Assistant Field Intelligence Officer, with a mounted escort was pushing towards the Jowarai Pass to the north-west of Pādshāh.

At Lagarpūr, the first village reached, I was able to obtain accurate information as to the position of Miàngām, where two of Major Deane's inscriptions, published by me in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal (Part I., 1898, Nos. 29 and 30), had been obtained. It is described as a small village occupied by Miàns or Saiyids who have given it its name. It is situated on a shoulder of the great spur which runs down from Ilm Peak in a south-easterly direction. The designation Ilm-o-Miàns (‘Centre of Ilm’) which is used in the notes of Major Deane's agents indifferently with Miàngām for the place of origin of these inscriptions, does not seem to be known as a local term. It describes, however, accurately enough the situation of the place. As all my informants agreed in speaking of Miàngām as covered with snow at the time, it must evidently tie at a considerable altitude.

Bishunai. — A rough ride of about two miles over a very stony road along the stream which flows from the Jowarai Pass brought us close to the village of Bishunai. I had been particularly anxious to reach the latter, as four of the most characteristic inscriptions of the Bunr type, of which impressions have been secured by Major Deane, are described as having been found on stones in the vicinity of this village. They have been published as Nos. 2-5 in M. Senart's "Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne," Fascic. V.²

Having reached so near to the desired point, I felt all the more disappointed when I found that I should have to turn back again without being able to explore it. The escort of Guides Cavalry accompanying Captain Todd was under orders to rejoin their squadron at Bhai in time to allow the latter to return to Tursak the same evening. The time, which remained after the hurried ride up the valley, would barely allow of the ten minutes halt on the road which was required by Captain Todd to sketch the main topographical features of the Pass in front of us. A visit to Bishunai village, which lies a short distance off the road to the north, could under these circumstances not be thought of, still less a search for the inscriptions referred to. For the disappointment thus experienced, the fine view which opened from this point could scarcely afford me compensation. The valley which leads up to the watershed towards Upper Swāt, being flanked by snow-covered spurs from Ilm and Dosirri and well-wooded in its higher portion, bore quite an alpine character.

Returning to Pādshāh as fast as the tired horses could bear us, we passed close to the Ziārat of Fīr Bāba Šāhīb, hidden in a luxuriant grove of Chinars, pines and other trees. A general order previously issued prohibited us, like other unbelievers, from entering this the most famous Muhammadan shrine of Bunēr. But the accounts subsequently given to me by those who were allowed to pay their respects to the buried saint, showed that the shrine erected at his resting place can lay claim neither to architectural interest nor antiquity.

The Ziārat occupies a spot close to the confluence of the streams which come from the Jowarai Pass and the south-western slopes of Dosirri, respectively. The ample water-supply they secure accounts for the evident fertility of the Pādshāh Valley. Both above and below the village stretch broad terraces of well-irrigated rice fields. The well-to-do condition of the place is indicated by the respectable number of Hindu traders (Khattris) settled there. Two of these men had not fled and were induced to accompany me to the camp at Bhai. I was able to obtain from them curious information regarding the condition of the Bunēr Hindus and the sacred sites or Tirthas visited by them in the neighbourhood.

Tirthas on Ilm. — From evidence which I hope to discuss elsewhere, it appears that the Hindu Bānīs, resident in Swāt and Bunēr, represent the trading castes of the old Hindu population which had remained in these valleys after the Pathān invasion. Neither they themselves nor their Afghan masters know of any tradition indicating a later immigration from India proper. It is evident that the same reasons which enable these families of Hindu traders at the present day to maintain themselves and their religion amongst the fanatical tribesmen, are sufficient also to account for their original survival. In view of this circumstance it may safely be assumed that the sacred sites to which the pilgrimages of the Bunēr Hindus are now directed, mark Tirthas of considerable antiquity.

The most popular of these pilgrimage places seem to be the Amarakunda spring and the Rām Takht, both situated on Mount Ilm. The sacred spring appears to lie close to the main summit of the mountain and on its southern face. Remains of an ancient enclosure or building are said to be visible near it. The Rām Takht (‘Rāma’s throne’) is described as an ancient walled platform about two miles distant from the Amarakunda and on the northern slope of Mount Ilm towards the Swāt Valley. It is visited by the pilgrims in conjunction with the Amarakunda on Sundays falling in the month of Jyaishtha. Srāddha ceremonics are performed at both spots by the accompanying Purohitas, who are said to possess also some account (mākāmya) of the legends connected with the Tirthas. Of the few Purohitas families of Bunēr there are one or two settled at Pādshāh and at Gōkand, a village situated some distance farther to the north towards Dosirri. But these had fled. I was in consequence unable to ascertain the particular legends which are supposed to account for the sacredness of these spots.

The night from the 13th to the 14th January was passed in bivouac with General Meiklejohn’s force in the fields near Bhai village. The troops were to march next morning down to Elai in the Barandu Valley by the direct route leading along the Pādshāh stream. As the information collected by me did not point to remains of interest likely to be found in this direction, I obtained permission to return with a small escort to the Divisional Head-Quarters Camp at Tursak, the neighbourhood of which I had not been able to examine previously. Before, however, starting on the march back to Tursak, I was induced by information given to me regarding certain carved images to ascend the rocky hillside which rises immediately above Bhai to the north-west.

Remains near Bhai. — About half a mile from the village and at an elevation of circ. 200 feet above it, I came upon the remains of two Stūpas on a narrow terrace which juts out from the hillside. They are situated close to a spring known by the name of Jurrjwai and appear now as solid mounds of rough masonry laid in regular courses. The Stūpa immediately to the south of the spring shows a square base, the south-east face of which measures about 50 feet. The height of the whole mound is about 30 feet, but seems to have been once
considerably greater, as the top appears now artificially levelled. About one hundred yards further to the west rises another small Stûpa. Its conical top is comparatively well preserved and shows clearly on its west face the consecutive courses of masonry. The base can no longer be traced distinctly on the hillside. The total height of the mound I estimated at about 55 feet. Traces of old walls and terraces are still visible near these Stûpas.

After climbing some 300 feet higher by a rough path along the steep cliffs I was taken by my Gujar guides from Bhai to a large overhanging mass of rock. This forms on the west a kind of grotto, which seems to have been artificially enlarged. Inside this and on the inner face of the rock, I found a much-weathered group of reliefos, representing a seated Hindu deity in the middle, with a smaller seated figure on either side. The total breadth of the relief group is about 8 feet, and the height of the central figure a little over 3 feet. To the right of this group there are two smaller images carved from the rock, each about one foot in height. As all these reliefs have suffered considerably owing to the friable nature of the stone, I could not trace with any certainty the deities they are intended to represent. In general style and treatment these reliefs seemed to approach closely to the rock sculptures of Charraí described above.

Environs of Tursak. — After visiting these remains I marched back by the previous route to Tursak, which I reached in the afternoon. Having obtained a mounted escort in General Blood’s Camp I then started for a rapid examination of the neighbourhood. The position which Tursak occupies shows great natural advantages. The main valley of Bûnâr opens there first to greater width and is crossed at this point by a series of convenient routes which connect Upper Swat with much-frequented passes leading down to the Rustam Valley. It is evidently due to this favourable position that Tursak is now the largest place in Bûnâr. The same considerations seemed to indicate that the site was of importance already in earlier times. I was, therefore, not surprised to find that even a cursory inspection of the neighbourhood acquainted me with ample evidence of ancient occupation.

In the first place my attention was attracted by a series of strongly-built ancient dwelling places visible on the crests and slopes of the rocky spurs of Jaffar hill which overlook Tursak on the north-east. They appeared in form and construction to resemble closely the fortified buildings examined near Kingargalai, Juvur, etc. But as they are situated at a considerably greater height above the valley than at the last named localities, I was unable to spare the time necessary for their examination. Restricting my search to the valley stretching east and south of Tursak, I first visited the village of Anarpur, situated on the southern bank of the Barandu River about two miles below Tursak. From there the fertile and well wooded valley could be overlooked as far down as Daggar.

Stûpa of Gumbatai. — Guided by information obtained at this village, I recrossed then to the left bank of the river and came at the very foot of Jaffar hill, where two projecting spurs form a kind of rock amphitheatre, upon a large ruined site with a Stûpa and remains of a monastery. The former accounts for the name Gumbatai, by which the spot is known, Gumbat (or Gumbas) being the ordinary designation among Afghans of any ruined building of circular shape, whether a Stûpa, temple or vaulted tomb. The extent of the ruins and their situation only a few hundred yards off the main road, which leads from Tursak to Elai and down the valley, showed clearly the importance of these remains. I accordingly determined after a rapid survey to utilize the following day for their exploration. I returned by nightfall to Tursak, which proved to be only about 1½ miles distant to the north-west by the direct road.

General Sir Bindon Blood, to whom I made a report regarding these interesting remains, very kindly agreed to my request and allowed me to employ a small detachment of Sappers on trial excavations at this site. Accordingly on the following morning (January 15th), when the Tursak Camp was broken up and the troops moved off to Dagar and Réga, I proceeded with a small party from the 5th Company, Bengal Sappers and Miners, which the Officer Commanding Royal Engineers could spare from road-making work, to the site of Gumbatai.
The ruins as shown in the site plan on Plate No. III occupy a broad open glen at the south foot of the Jaffar hill, enclosed in a semi-circle by rocky ridges. The remains now visible above ground form two distinct groups. The larger one lies on a small terrace-like plain at the very entrance of the glen, raised about 50 feet above the level of the river banks. The second group, about 100 feet higher up, is built on the hillside to the north, where the steep slope is broken by a small projecting spur.

At the east end of the lower group rises a ruined Stūpa which in its present state of destruction forms a mound of roughly circular shape, about 55 feet in diameter at its present base and circ. 30 feet high. The level ground immediately adjoining the Stūpa mound in the west is flanked on the north and south sides by two thick walls, 60 feet long, which form a kind of court (marked A; see detailed plan, Plate IV). Attached to the west end of each wall is a small circular structure containing a round chamber of 14 feet diameter. Little is left above ground of the walls of these round structures. But from their position and size it can be assumed with great probability that they were intended like the corresponding round chambers in the ruined monasteries of Guniār (Lower Swāt), Takht-i Bāhi, etc., to serve as chapels for the reception of more important images.

The two walls referred to extend on the east only up to a line which would pass through the centre of the Stūpa. There are no traces of any walls or buildings to the east of the Stūpa, nor of any other structure which could have served to close the Court A on this side. The opposite or west side of Court A is formed by the enclosing wall of a great quadrangular court (shown as B in plan), which almost joins it, the distance between this wall and the circular chapels mentioned being only 15 feet. This court, which is approached by a gate 15 feet broad, evidently sighted on the Stūpa, is remarkable for its size and the massive construction of its walls. It forms nearly a square measuring inside 135 feet in width and 136 feet in length. The walls now traceable above the ground show strangely enough a striking difference in thickness. Whereas they are only 4 feet thick on the north and west side, they measure fully 16 feet in the south and 15 feet in the east. It is probable that this difference must be explained by the thicker walls having been built for the purpose of providing room for small cells, such as are found around the courtyards of several of the Gandhāra monasteries and of most of the great Kashmir temples. As the walls inside reach nowhere higher than 4 to 5 feet above the present level of the court, and as the latter has clearly been filled up to a considerable height by the accumulation of débris, the point could be definitely settled only by excavations.

As evidence probably pointing in this direction it may be mentioned that whereas the outside faces of the south and east walls can yet be traced quite clearly rising in many places to 6 or 7 feet above the outside ground level, this is possible only at a few spots in the case of the inside faces. The difference is likely to be due to the greater decay to which the construction of hollow spaces like the supposed cells would have exposed the portions of the walls facing inside. The construction of the walls throughout was found to resemble closely that described above in connection with the Kingargalai ruins. But the size of the stones used was on the whole larger.

In the north-east corner of Court B there are walls joining at right angles the north and east enclosing walls. They may have served to form a separate small chapel-court or dwelling-place. A similar but smaller structure can be traced near the south-west corner of the court.

The second group of ruins higher up the hillside shows in front a walled-up terrace, about 60 feet broad, with a circular structure on one side similar to the 'chapels' flanking the Stūpa Court A. Behind the terrace are the remains of walls forming chambers of no great size. About half-way between the two groups of ruins I traced an isolated block of masonry about 20 feet square forming a terrace, the original destination of which cannot be surmised with any certainty. A small mound of débris lying near its centre may possibly mark the position of a little votive Stūpa.
SITE PLAN OF STŪPA AND VIHĀRA
AT
GUMBATAI NEAR TURSAK
DETAIL PLAN OF STŪPA AND MONASTERY
AT
GUMBATAI NEAR TURSAK

SCALE OF FEET

50
30
10
Excavation at Gumbatai. — After making a general survey of the remains here briefly described, I turned my attention to the Stūpa mound. This, notwithstanding the state of utter dilapidation to which it has been reduced, still reaches to a height of about 30 feet above the present ground-level. The mass of rough masonry of which the Stūpa was constructed has evidently been used since a long time as a convenient quarry. On the north face regular courses of large blocks could still be clearly distinguished; the other sides of the mounds are hidden by large masses of débris. No clear idea could thus be formed of the original shape of the upper portion of the Stūpa.

The centre of the mound has been dug into from above to a depth of about 10 feet. Judging from the comparatively thin growth of jungle on the south face where most of the materials then extracted had been thrown down, the digging could not have been done many years ago. The treasure-seekers, who were then at work here, had evidently not carried their labours deep enough to touch the main deposit of relics which from the analogy of other Stūpas may be supposed to be placed on or below the level of the base.

In order to obtain some indications as to the position of the Stūpa base and the depth of the original ground level in the court, I had trial trenches opened by the small party of Sappers, both at the west entrance of Court A and at the foot of the Stūpa mound to the west. At the latter place the Sappers after working through about 3 feet of débris came upon a solid block of closely grained stucco which when cleared was seen to mark the corner of a square platform. The exact spot at which this corner was struck is marked by c on the plan. The block forms a square of 9 inches, with a height of 13 inches. It is ornamented on two sides which were found to face nearly due west and south. That this was the original position of the block was made evident by a stone base unearthed below it which showed exactly the same bearings.

The little stucco pilaster is ornamented at its foot by a series of mouldings. These project about 1 inch beyond the flat middle portion of the block which is about 4 inches high. The top part, about 5 inches high, also projects and shows a kind of egg and dart ornament in bold relief and in two rows divided by a narrow band. The stone base below the stucco-block could be cleared only to a depth of about 10 inches. Its top forms a square of 1½ feet, and is decorated on the sides facing west and south by a bold cornice projecting in several well-carved mouldings to a total breadth of about 5 inches. Continuing the excavation to the east of this corner and towards the Stūpa for a distance of about 5 feet a masonry wall was laid bare running flush with the south face of the stucco-pilaster and its base. Fragments of stucco were found sticking to the joints of the masonry courses. It may thus be concluded that this wall was decorated similarly to the above described corner.

From the position occupied by this wall, as shown on the plan, it will be clear that it could not have formed part of a square basement of the whole Stūpa. It is more likely to have belonged to some platform raised by the side of the Stūpa and possibly on the basement of the latter. Such a platform might by the analogy of the examples presented in the ruins of Takht-i Bāhi, Jamālgarhi and other Gandhāra monasteries (see Arch.-Survey Reports, V., pl. vii, xiv) be conjectured to have served either for the placing of images or a small votive Stūpa. In support of this conclusion reference may also be made to the comparatively high level at which this stuccoed wall was unearthed. Near the west entrance of the court the present ground level seemed lower than at the foot of the mound. Yet a trial trench carried down to a depth of fully five feet, failed to reach there the original floor of the court. The accumulation of débris must be supposed to have been even greater immediately round the Stūpa. There is thus reason to assume that the real base of the Stūpa is yet buried at some depth below the platform brought to light. This will also explain why the ornamented stucco-pilaster remained the only piece of sculptured work unearthed during this brief excavation.

Elai. — I regret all the more the very limited extent of the excavations made, as the explanations given below, (see Part II.) will show that these ruins may be identified with great pro-
bability with a sacred site of considerable fame described by the Chinese pilgrims. The Sapper detachment had orders to follow at no great distance the rear guard of the column which was moving down the valley to Dagar. The men were accordingly obliged to stop digging early in the afternoon. I myself left Gumbatai some hours later after completing the survey of the ruins, in order to rejoin General Meiklejohn's Camp at Rōga. I first marched in the fertile plain by the left bank of the Barandu River to a point about two miles lower down the valley. From there the village of Elai, picturesquely situated in the angle formed by the Barandu and Pādshāh rivers, could clearly be seen. From the hillsides above Elai some small inscribed stones, now in the Lahore Museum, have been picked up by Major Deane's agents. According to the information supplied to him there were no ruins near. The distinct view of the hill slopes with which I had to content myself, also failed to show me any ruined buildings above ground.

I then crossed to the right river bank and followed a track leading over an arid alluvial plateau to a point about two miles distant from Elai where the river passes through a remarkably narrow gorge of sandstone rocks known as the Surwai Khanda. A short distance below this gorge the road to Karapa and the south-eastern portion of the valley known as Panjāpū turns off to the right. It ascends a narrow and steep defile which cuts through the rocky range of high hills lining here the south or right bank of the Barandu River. Through the whole of the gorge, which is about three-fourths of a mile long, there leads a fairly broad path fit for laden animals. It is cut either into the rock or carried on walled-up foundations of ancient masonry along the cliffs.

Karapa Road. — This road, which in its construction, resembles closely the ancient roads over the Malakand and Shāhāl Passes already mentioned, goes back undoubtedly to pre-Muhammadan times. It may safely be taken as an indication of an important route having led already at that period through the Karapa defile. The latter is crossed by the direct lines of communication connecting the Malandri and Ambela Passes with the central portion of Buner and hence with Pādshāh and the other routes into Upper Swāh. The above-named passes must have at all times attracted traffic. They give access to the old trade emporium marked by the site of the present Rustam, and to the important ancient route leading to the east of the Indus via Udakhanda (Waihand, Und) and Taxila. The evident care bestowed on the construction of a road through the difficult defile which falls into the direct line continuing those routes to the north, is thus easily accounted for.

After crossing this defile the large village of Karapa was passed at the edge of the Panjāpū plain. Proceeding about two miles further to the south-east I reached after nightfall the village of Rōga, nestling at the entrance of a side-valley, and the camp established there. The village had been singled out for a visit of General Meiklejohn's Brigade as the home of the "Mad Faqir" whose fanatical preaching had been the immediate cause of last summer's rising in Lower Swāh, the siege of Malakand, and the events that followed. After assisting in the early morning of the 16th January at the destruction of the Faqir's house and mosque which were blown up and burned, I proceeded to the examination of the ancient remains reported to me in the vicinity of Sunigrām. Major Deane had already previously heard of them through one of his agents. As this agent (Shērbāz) now actually accompanied me, I had no difficulty in finding the ruins referred to.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NAUGAZA TOMBS.

With reference to the note on Naugaza Tombs, ante, Vol. XXV, p. 204, I well remember my mother relating to me about fifteen years ago the virtues of the tomb known as Naugaz Nāgop in the Intabaldi Fort in Nagpur, at which wishes of the worshippers were supposed to be granted.

M. N. Venkitaswami.
NOTES ON THE TAMIL ANTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT SONGS, ENTITLED
PURRA-NANNURU.

BY G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., BALLIOl COLLEGE AND INDIAN INSTITUTE, OXFORD.

I.—Kó-Perum-Córan, and the Poets, Pottiýar and Piqirán-thaiyár.

THE renowned king, Kó-Perum-Córan,1 whose capital was Ûrraz–ôr,2 after a reign diversified by the rebellion of his two sons, relinquished his kingdom, went 'to the north,' (the banks of the Ganges?), as an ascetic, and died there. His most intimate friends, Pottiýar and Piqirán-thaiyár, eventually shared his hermit cell, and all three after death were commemorated by statues placed side by side over their urns.

The poet, Kannóganár, (of whom nothing else is recorded), visiting this spot, sang as follows (218):

Red gold, and coral, pearls, and rare stones you shall find,
Gemstones the mighty mountains bare,—sung, \textit{sq.} 24:
Remotes, their homes, in sea or mines,
If once the precious things combine,
And men in costly shapes outwine,
Henceforth in blended beauty they shine.
So worthy men with worthy side by side
Remain; the worthless with the worthless side.

The history of these three,—who were so diverse in many ways, though inseparable in life and death,—as traced in P. N. N., is the favourite Tamil illustration of faithful friendship. (See Pope's \textit{Kurall}, Ch. 79.) In \\textit{Níladi} also Ch. 21-24, many exquisite thoughts on friendship, are to be found.

When this king was at strife with his sons, a poet called Erititiyanár addressed a lyric to him (213) in which he said

'O king, whose white umbrella shone resplendent, and whose mighty power subdued thy foes! In this world crowned with flowers, and begirt with the swelling sea, the two who owed their birth to thee, cannot be any of these ancient enemies; nor, though ye are now opposed, e'en they ever really regard thee as an enemy to them! When, full of glory, you at length leave this world, and rise to the world of the exalted ones, whose must be the heritage you leave behind? This thoughtlowest well, so give ear to me, thou who art of illustrious fame! If these your sons, misled, array themselves against you, and you conquer them, to whom will you bequeath the wealth you leave behind? If they should overcome you, you but incur disgrace, and your enemies will triumph! Cease then this strife. Let not your lofty mind be bewildered, but prepare for them the feast in which the Immortals shall rejoicing share.'—(\textit{Kurall}, 86.)

It seems that this sensible expostulation was successful, and peace was restored.

The old king himself has left some specimens of his poetical genius. The following is said to have been composed after he had resigned his kingdom, and gone 'to the north' (214):

They who have not assured their minds By the vision3 undoubting, pure, that eye endures; Say not, 'shall we do good deeds or shall we not.'
Who hunts an elephant may gain an elephant; Who hunts a quail, may come back with empty hand.
Therefore if men have lofty aspirations, They must carry them out in successful deeds, and so gain Enjoyment of the world beyond the reach of sense.

1 Kó, or king; Perum, or great; Cór, or Lord of the Cór, or Chola kingdom.
2 Or Warrior, near Trichinopoly.
3 See K. Ch. 86. Kātketi is T.'s great word, and really a Pāli.
Should this not be theirs, in some future birth they may win release.
And if there be no future birth,— yet to found
Their fame on earth like Himālaya's lofty peak,
And to pass away with body unstained by evil,
Is surely asceticism's highest gain.'

Piçirānthaiyar came from the village of Piçar, near Madura; and so was not a subject of the king to whom he was so much attached. The name seems to have been given to him jocosely by the king, as duñhai means 'owl;' so the sobriquet was equal to the owl of Piçar, which may have been a sly hit at his verses. Pottiyr, on the other hand, seems to have lived at his friend and patron's capital. The name (if it be not a mere bye-name) signifies 'he of the hollow tree,' and the merry-hearted king made a joke on this also, as we shall see. When Kō-Perum-Çōran 'went to the north, his two friends went with him, but the king sent Pottiyr home, bidding him remain there till he had a son born to him, after which a place should be found for him in the retreat. He did not return, it seems, till after the king's death. All this is necessary to be kept in mind in reading the lyrics.

Piçirānthaiyar, who was a true optimist, was once asked why, though old, he was not grey or decrepit; his reply is curious (191):

My years are many, yet my locks not grey;
You ask the reason why, 'tis simply this:
I have a worthy wife, and children too;
My servants move obedient to my will;
My king does me no evil, aye protects;
To crown the whole around me dwell
Good men and true, of chastened souls with knowledge filled.

At another time he was asked, Who is your so much beloved king? and replied:

(212) The Merry Monarch.

If you ask us 'who is your king?' Our king is He who
To the labourers gives strong palm wine strained and mellow,
And with the fat of turtle satiates their desire,
And fills their mouths with lamprey's rich roast flesh.
They leave short toil for feast; the feast prolong!
In that good fertile land the minstrels with their kin
Find our king the foe of want and hunger's pangs.
He is the lord of Kōri, the mighty Çōran king.
He loves converse with Potti, whose friendship knows no flaw.4
All the day long he laughs with heart right glad!

Had the bard of the Nāladi heard this song? Assuredly in 137 he echoes its sentiment.

It seems that when the king was in his final retreat Piçirānthaiyar did not join him at once and the ascetics around said:—'He will not come. Men do not remember their friends and benefactors when they are no longer able to help them.' To this the king replied in two short songs, in which he says (215, 216):

'Though he belongs to Piçar in the Pāṇḍiyau's land, he stood by me in the time of wealth, will he not stand by me in my time of grief?'

'O ye of excellence fulfilled, he was ever full of pleasant qualities and never despised me; he was joined to me by friendship's closest ties. He never delighted in falsehood that withers men's glory. When he spoke of me to others he was wont to call me, by virtue of his intimacy, the silly Çōran.5 In my time of grief he will not fail to come. Forthwith he will be here. Prepare his place by mine.'

4 A play on words; potti means 'hollow'; but there is no hollowness in this Potti.
5 This illustrates Kurral, Ch. 81 and Ch. 45.
This is another of his songs in praise of his king (67):—

O lordly male-swam! lordly male-swam!
Like the bright face of the king, who after gaining the victory, and slaying his foes,
Is gracious to his own land, rises the moon, two parts dark, and two parts light.
So shines he in the evening hour, while we are troubled in our wanton idleness.
Thou, having fed upon the grain that grows by the ford of Kumari's stream,
Goest northward to Himálaya's mount.
Happy in thy flight thou mayest linger in the Çöra Land,
And with thy dear one mayest alight on the upper balcony of stately home of Urraiyähr.
Stay not to ask the warder's leave, — unhindered enter the palace; and when the great
king Killii asks who thou art,
Say only, 'I come from neath the feet of Ánthai of the great town of Piçir';
And forthwith he will give thee rich jewels, that shall delight the heart of her the
noble love.

Against Arbitrary Taxation.

The following is one of the very few songs of Piçiránthaiyähr not connected with Kö-Perum-
Çöran. There was a young prince, called the learned Pândiyän Nambî, who was of the Madura
dynasty, and renowned for his learning; but, it might seem, rather disposed to be tyrannical in
government. It runs as follows (184):—

'If an elephant take mouthfuls of ripe grain cut for it,
The twentieth part of an acre will yield it food for many days;
But if it enter a hundred fertile fields, with no keeper,
Its foot will trample down much more than its mouth receives.
So if a wise king, who knows the path of right take just his due,
His land will prosper, yielding myriadfold,
But, if the king, not softened by his knowledge, take just what he desires,
Nor heed prescription's rule, feasting with song and dance
Amid his court and kindred, and show no love to his subjects;
Like the field that elephant entered,
His kingdom will perish, and he himself will lose his all.'

Pottiyr was sent back by his king, and bidden come again when his son had been born. On his
arrival at the spot, when some years had elapsed, he found the place where his memorial was to be
erected, and it seems as if it were the place where he like his beloved king and late companion was to
end his days by voluntary abstinence from food. This is supposed to be his song addressed to his late
master and friend (and sure they were not words of love!) (222):—

'You said,
"Go back, and come when she whose footsteps leave
Your shadow never, she adorned with radiant gems,
Your well-beloved, has borne you son of glorious worth."
Sure you forgot the friendship 'twixt us twain, —
But no, I was not so forgotten, much-loved one!
Where is the place designed for me?
A shade to many went thou, the world extolled thy fame,
Thou didst remember life to come
And so didst all renounce,
And here a stone is all that's left of thee;
Yet those like thee, when soul is severed from the frame,
Forget not ancient friendship, when their friends draw near.'
(221) The Dirge.

Perum Cōram,

He had the praise manifold of minstrels whose want he relieved;
He was most loving to the dancers who resorted to his court;
He gave the sceptre in accordance with the teaching of the sages;
He cultivated the friendship of the honoured wise;
He was gentle to women, brave and strong in the face of the brave;
He was the refuge of the spotless learned ones.

Such an one death did not consider, but carried off his sweet soul.
Therefore, my afflicted kinsfolk, let us
Embracing one another join in reviling death.
Gōme, all ye birds, whose words are true!
He hath become a pillar planted in the wild,
Crowned with immortal praise!
While the wide world in sorrow mourns,
Such is the lot of him who was our guardian true!

The Empty Stall. (220)

The song of Pottiyar when he returned from the north leaving his beloved king to die,

'The wise man who has lost the wise elephant which he daily supplied
With its ample meal, and tended for many a year,
Is sad as he surveys the vacant stall where it stood,
And weeps. Even so, did I not grieve when I beheld
The courtyard in the ancient town where Kilij lived and died,
Kilij, with wealth of chariots, o'er which the conqueror's wreath!'

There is another poet of whom we have three very exquisite lyrics. He, would seem to have been one of the company gathered around the genial king, Ko. Perum-Cōram, and so an intimate friend of the two merry bards before mentioned. His name was, 'Kaniyar of the flowery hill!'

The Wise Man Equable.

'To us all towns are one; and all men are our kings;
Evil and good come not to men from other folk;
So pain and pain's relief are from within;
Death is no novelty, nor do we joy in life;
As though it were some mere accident.
When we are grieved, we bear it, nor complain;
This precious life of ours is like a raft
Floating adown the waters of some mighty stream,
That roars and tumbles over boulders huge;
When from the skies with lightnings mixed the pelting storm
Comes down: the raft goes on as fate ordained.'

Thus have we seen in visions of the truly wise,
In prosperous hours we marvel not at greatness of the great;
Still less can we despise the lowlier lot.

Diversities of Human Destiny.

Look narrowly, and in one house they war the funeral charms,
And in adjoining home the marriage drum sounds out mild festive song.

There go embracing friends just met with festive wreaths,'
And there they weep because they part,
Thus hath the Maker shown his lack of love.
Ah, evil is the world! See that thou do
Good deeds, bringers of pleasure to the world.
Comp. Nāl. 23.

If the friendships of Orestes and Pylades are worthy of remembrance these friends of 1000 years ago should not be forgotten. They stand out of the shadows of the past like kindly-hearted Epicureans, loving and beloved; and their deaths even were not gloomy, but wise and philosophical, as they understood wisdom and philosophy.

DETAILED REPORT OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOUR WITH THE BUNER FIELD FORCE.

BY M. A. STEIN, C.I.E., Ph.D.

(Continued from p. 28)

Stūpa of Sunigrām. — About one mile to the north of Bāga where the valley leading down from the Malandri Pass in the south-west debouches into the Panjāpū plain, I had already on the previous evening when on my way from Karapū to Bāga, noticed a large mound suggestive of the remains of a Stūpa. This assumption soon proved correct on closer inspection. The mound rises to a height of about 25 feet above the flat level of the plain. Wherever the débris covering its sides had been removed by the action of rain or other causes, it showed the same courses of rough masonry which had been noticed in the Stūpas previously described. Judging from the dimensions of the present base of the mound which measures c. 240 feet from east to west and 200 feet from north to south, this Stūpa must have been by far the largest of all those examined in Būnēr. If a conclusion can be drawn from the state of utter dilapidation in which it is now, it may also be looked upon as one of the oldest. At about half its height a kind of terrace can be traced all around the mound: this probably indicates the elevation from which the Stūpa proper rose above the basement.

The top of the mound now forms a slightly sloped oval measuring c. 120 feet from east to west and 75 feet from north to south. I am inclined to explain this peculiar shape by the assumption that the basement which shows a similarly elongated form was broader to the east and west than on the other two sides. The decay of the originally hemispherical mound must thus have been more rapid on the north and south sides where there was no broad terrace to retain the loose masonry brought down by the rains, etc., than on the east and west where the masses of débris accumulated over the original basement. In support of this explanation I may mention that the slopes of the mound to the north and south appeared steeper. It is just on these sides that the courses of masonry composing the mound are traced most clearly on the surface.

For some distance from the foot of the mound to the south the ground is covered with low heaps of débris which seem to indicate the site of ruined buildings once attached to the Stūpa. These remains were, however, too indistinct and too much overgrown by jungle to permit of a plan being taken in the short time available.

Well near Sunigrām. — At a distance of about 60 yards to the south-east of the Stūpa there is an ancient stone-lined well which has remained on the whole in a remarkably good state of preservation. The well proper is 8 feet in diameter and is enclosed by a circular wall, 5 feet thick, of carefully set masonry. Adjoining to the west is a staircase which leads between equally well-built walls down to the level of the water. This is now 18 feet below the ground level, and is reached by 23 steps. The accompanying plan and section (V) shows the construction of the well. Some of the stairs have crumbled away, and also the side-walls have suffered in parts notwithstanding the repairs which are indicated in several places by coarse masonry of a later date.
Apart from these repairs the whole of the walls shows to perfection that peculiar form of masonry — large blocks in level courses and columns of small stones in the interstices — which has been described already above as characteristic of all the ancient structures in this and the neighbouring regions. There is no special feature to indicate the relative age of the well as compared with that of the ruined Stūpa. Its escape from the fate of the latter may be due to continued use and consequent repair. Some Khattris from Rēgā whom I met near by, were prepared to ascribe the well to Birmah, i.e., Bīr-bal, the renowned minister of Akbar. But this tradition, if it is one at all, cannot refer to anything more than a clearing of the ancient well which may have become disused and filled up with earth. These informants knew of no other name for the site but bahāi, which in Pashtu is the ordinary designation for any stone-lined tank or well with steps leading down to the water.

Sunigrām. — The village of Sunigrām, a small place, lies about half a mile to the north of this site. It occupies a saddle-like depression between the east foot of the rocky hill range through which the Karapa defile leads, and a series of small fir-covered hillocks which rise like islands from the plain and form a continuation of that range to the south-east. There is nothing ancient to be noticed about the village itself but its name Sunigrām, which is undoubtedly of Indian origin and hence old.

The second part grām, from Sanskrit grāma (‘village’), does not occur in any other Bunēr local name I know, and is but rarely met with in the neighbouring territories of Swāt and Yusafzai (see Jolagrām, Pujigrām, and Udegrām in the Swāt Valley; Nogigrām, on the Khudā Kūl border; Anigrām and Khulgrām, on the Indus). It is scarcely necessary to point out how common on the other hand this ending, in its varying vernacular forms of grām, grām, grām, grām, etc., is throughout the whole of Aryan India. The first part of the name Suni- is clearly connected with Sanskrit suvarṇa, ‘gold,’ and represents probably a Prakrit derivative of svavarnika, ‘goldsmith.’ Thus in Kashmiri, which may be considered a near relative of the old Indo-Aryan dialect once spoken beyond the Indus, we have suṅ (‘gold’) and suṅar (‘goldsmith’) derived by a regular process of phonetic conversion from Sanskrit suvarṇa and svavarnāka, respectively (compare also Hindi suṇīgār). Derivatives from Sanskrit suvarṇa are not amongst the words borrowed by Pashtu from Indo-Aryan dialects. It is thus certain that the local name Sunigrām must go back to a period preceding the Pathān occupation.

Pinjkōtaī. — Immediately above the village, and to the west of it, rises the rocky hill-range which has been mentioned in connection with the Karapa defile. Guided by Shērbāsh, I ascended its steep scarp in a northerly direction to a height of about 400 feet above the bottom of the valley until I reached the point from where a rocky spur running south-east to north-west juts out towards the Barandu River. It is about one-third of a mile long and is known by the name of Pinjēkōtaī (also pronounced Pinnēkōtaī). The crest of this spur is fairly level and bears the ruins of a large number of buildings which in construction and character resemble closely the ancient dwelling places examined near Kingargalai and Juvur.

On the west slope of the spur, and towards its north-west extremity overlooking the river, are the comparatively well-preserved ruins of what evidently was once a monastery of great size and importance. They consist, as shown on the attached site-plan VI, in the first place of a series of large terraces. These are built against the hillside by means of strong supporting walls and extend for nearly 300 feet from north to south with a total breadth of over 160 feet. At the south end of these terraces rises a block of vaulted rooms with attached courts constructed of solid and carefully set masonry. At the north end of the terraces, and close to their edge, are the much injured remains of some smaller structures. Among them is a square block of masonry (B), which judging from the remains of a small circular mound built over it can have been nothing but the base of a little Stūpa. The circular pit excavated in the centre of this mound shows that treasure-seekers have ere now recognized its true character and been at work here. The little square structure (C) to the east, which is even more injured, may also mark the position of a small Stūpa.
PLAN AND SECTION OF OLD WELL
AT SUNIGRAM

SECTION ON LINE A.B.

SCALE OF FEET
DETAIL PLAN OF MAIN BUILDING
AT
PINJKOTAI, SUNIGRAM

SCALE OF FEET

PLAN

SECTION ON LINE C D

ELEVATION OF PASSAGE

SCALE OF FEET
Vihāra of Pīnjkōṭai. — The interest of the main building A lies in the good preservation of its superstructures which acquaint us with some details of architectural construction not otherwise traceable in the extant remains of Bunēr. They are illustrated by the detail plan VII.

Three rooms of this building, forming its south and west side, show high pointed vaults of overlapping stones which spring from a projecting cornice of the longer side walls. The height from this cornice to the point of the arch is 10 feet 3 inches. The construction of the vault and cornice is shown by the section given for the line cd in the detail plan. The total height of the rooms could not be ascertained, as the interior is partly filled up by masses of débris from the fallen portions of the vaults. The width of the vaults is 12 feet in the two larger rooms E and F which are 31 and 33 feet long, respectively. In the small room G the width covered by the vault is 8 feet and 3 inches and the length 12 feet. These three rooms communicated with each other and the central court H by means of passages of varying width surmounted by pointed arches of overlapping stones. Owing to the accumulation of débris only these arches are now visible above the ground level. The elevation of two of these passages, X and Z, has been shown in the detail plan.

Besides the passages leading into the central court there were windows to admit light into the larger rooms. These windows are placed in the centre of the walls and end in pointed arches, as shown in the section of line cd. Their width is 2 feet, and their height to the point of the arch is 5 feet 6 inches. The sill or lower edge and the sides of the windows are bevelled inwards by means of regularly receding courses, evidently with a view to distributing the light more evenly over the room.

The central apartment H is the largest in this pile of building, being 35 feet by 16 feet. It does not appear to have been roofed, and must hence be assumed to have formed a kind of central courtyard. It has no direct entrance from outside, but was evidently approached by a passage which leads to the adjoining room I through a dividing wall now for the greater part broken. This latter apartment, which is also 35 feet long, but only 9 feet 3 inches broad, does not show either any trace of having been roofed. In its south-east corner are the remains of a staircase leading up to the open quadrangle J which occupies the raised terrace immediately to the east. As this staircase, as far as can be judged from the present condition of the building, was its only entrance from outside, we may conclude that the small court I formed a kind of open ante-room to the whole block.

The quadrangle J is in reality a terrace, 55 feet deep and 50 feet broad, built against the rising slope of the ridge and screened on the east and south by strong walls 7 feet thick. The unusual thickness of these walls suggests that they contained niches which might have been used as small cells. But the ruined condition of the walls and the great masses of débris and earth which cover their foot inside the quadrangle made it impossible to ascertain this point. Judging from the relative position and size of this enclosure, it might be conjectured that is served, like similar open courts in the ruined monasteries of Takht-i Bāhī and Jamālgarh, described by Sir A. Cunningham (Archæological Survey Reports, V, pp. 30, 50), as a meeting place for the fraternity of monks.

To the north of this court, but at a considerably lower level, extends another large platform (K), 110 feet long, which shows no trace of superstructures. From this a flight of 7 steps leads down to the artificially levelled ground on which the main block of building stands. Immediately to the north of the latter is a large terrace, 103 feet long by 88 feet broad, supported on the sides facing the downward slopes of the hill by basement walls over 30 feet high.

Construction of Pīnjkōṭai ruins. — The massive construction of these walls and the great extent of the terraces which they support suffice to indicate the importance of the site. The blocks of stone used in the walls, both of these terraces and of the main building, are on the whole larger than in any other structure examined in Bunēr; they are often over 4 feet long.
with a thickness of 1 foot. Though the blocks are but roughly hewn, as throughout the masonry of the ancient buildings in Gandhāra and Udyāna, yet special care has been taken to arrange them in even and regular courses. The interstices of each course are not merely filled as usual with closely packed columns of small flat pieces, but show besides the use of a kind of thin mortar which must have added considerably to the consistency and strength of these walls. It is evidently due to the exceptional solidity of the construction that the walls of the main block still show a height of 23 feet at the north-west corner where they rise on the massive foundation of the terrace basement.

An equally significant feature of the Pinjḗtāi ruins is the comparatively great span of the overlapping domes which form the roofs of the two large rooms in the main building. The span of 12 feet covered by these domes is not reached by any extant arched structure in Gandhāra or Udyāna. The domes in nearly all the buildings surveyed by General Cunningham are limited to about 8 feet (see Archaeological Survey Reports, V, p. 52). The wider span assumed by him in two examples is a matter of conjecture.

It will help us to form a correct estimate of the relative importance of the Pinjḗtāi ruins, if we compare them also in other respects with the remains of such well-known sites as Takht-i Bāhi and Jamālgarh. This comparison suggests itself all the more, as the general situation of the ruins near the ridge of a steep rocky spur bears a striking similarity to that of the last-named great monastery. Referring then to the plans of the latter, as recorded after excavation in plates vii. and xiv. of General Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Volume V, we note at once that though the number of separate buildings at present traceable at Pinjḗtāi is far smaller than that brought to light in the course of prolonged explorations at the above two sites, yet the size of the structures still above ground at Pinjḗtāi is decidedly more imposing.

The same holds good as regards the extent of the terraces and their substructures which here as there were indispensable to provide the requisite level building ground. That the ample space thus provided at Pinjḗtāi was once occupied by a greater number of buildings than now visible can be inferred from the low mounds of débris which stretch in various directions across the terraces to the north of the main pile of building. It is likely that these little mounds, of which, I regret, it was impossible to make any plan in the very limited time available, mark the position of small detached structures which here as at Jamālgarh may have contained the cells of the monks attached to the establishment. Other small buildings of this kind situated nearer to the rising slope of the ridge are, perhaps, buried under the masses of déritus carried down from the latter.

It remains yet to be noted that the Stūpa B referred to above would, as shown by the dimensions of its extant base, 25 feet square, well bear comparison with the corresponding structures of Takht-i Bāhi and Jamālgarh. The chief Stūpa of the first-named monastery rose on a basement, 20½ feet square (Archaeological Survey Reports, V, p. 26), and the ‘great Stūpa’ of the second did also not measure more than 22 feet in diameter (ib., p. 47). The oblong enclosure D, 30 feet long by 20 feet broad, which adjoins the Stūpa of Pinjḗtāi on the north may like the small ‘Chapel courts’ found at the two Gandhāra monasteries, have served for the placing of Buddha statues. But the walls of this enclosure are in so ruined a condition and its interior so much covered with débris that any conjecture regarding its original character, if not tested by excavation, must necessarily remain hazardous.

I cannot conclude this account of the ruins examined on the Pinjḗtāi spur without referring to the magnificent view enjoyed from their site. Standing at the north-west corner of the walled-up terraces, near the remains of the Stūpa, I had before me the whole expanse of the Barāndu Valley stretching, with a varying breadth of 4 to 6 miles, from Elai in the west towards Matwana both in the east. The river which winds along the southern side of the valley, often divided into several channels, passes close to the north foot of the spur. Looking to the north beyond the valley and the hill range immediately skirting it, the double-peaked
cone of Mount Dosirri with its cap of snow came prominently into view. To the north-west the fir-clad slopes of Mount Im could clearly be seen through the gap formed by the valley which runs down to Elai. In the west appeared the rugged heights of Jaffar hill near Turzak. In the east the extensive view across the plains and low alluvial plateaus of the central Barandu Valley was limited only by the high Dama range which divides Bunir from the Indus Valley. From the steep cliffs, which form the extremity of the ridge towards the river and overlook the ruins, the panoramic view was still wider. It comprised the long-stretched ranges which run up towards Mount Mahaban in the south-east, and the still higher peaks of the 'Black Mountains' beyond the Indus.

The prominent position occupied by the Pinjkotai ruins and their relatively great extent are indications that the convent to which they belonged must have been once important and well known. It is necessary to lay stress on the evidence furnished by these points. It will help to strengthen the arguments set forth below regarding the probable identity of these remains with the Mahavan monastery of Hinun Tsang (see below, Part II).

Takhtaband Stupa. — Already when standing on the height of the spur above the Pinjkotai ruins a massive mound of masonry further down the valley had attracted my attention. It was the Stupa which Sherbais's report had led me to expect in that direction. To this I proceeded accordingly when the survey of the Vihara remains was completed. From the foot of the spur the way lay across the level plain which stretches here on both sides of the river. After going for about 1½ miles in the direction of E. S. E. and crossing the river I reached the Stupa.

It rises a short distance from the left river bank, about 60 yards from the extreme western end of a small rocky ridge which without attaining any great height stretches across the valley to the east towards Shalbandai. This Stupa, which from the name of the village nearest to it on the right bank of the river I propose to call that of Takhtaband, has even in its present damaged condition better retained its original appearance than any other structure of this type in Bunir. It forms a dome of a shape somewhat resembling that of a bulb and rises to a height of about 26 feet above its base. It is constructed of horizontal courses of massive but rough masonry, none of the stones now exposed having received any dressing.

This dome is again raised on a large base about 25 feet high, which originally formed a square measuring about 84 feet at the foot, approximately orientated. The accompanying elevation (Plate VIII) shows the exact dimensions of the Stupa and its basement. Both have completely been stripped, evidently long ago, of their outer casing of masonry. No remains of it can be traced now on or about the mound. It was evidently carried away to be used as building material. In the same way the inner masonry has also been cut away to some depth round the foot of the Stupa, the upper portions of which in consequence are now overhanging.

The Stupa has been opened by a broad cutting which reaches to the centre and runs through its whole height on the east side. This excavation has been carried even further down into the base to a depth of about 8 feet. There can thus be no doubt that relic deposits have been reached and abstracted. It must be supposed that this spoliation took place a considerable time ago as the débris of the materials excavated can no longer be distinguished.

The cutting here indicated has laid bare a little chamber lined with large and carefully cut slabs in the centre of the Stupa. It is 7 feet high and forms a square of 7 feet, of which the eastern side is now removed. The floor of this chamber was originally about 12 feet above the level of the Stupa base. There is every reason to believe that this receptacle was intended for a relic deposit. Square hollows or wells of exactly similar position have been found in several of the Stupas excavated in the Punjab and the Kabul Valley, also in the great Stupa of Manikylā." As far as I could examine the walls of this chamber from below, they bear no
trace of any decoration or inscription. In order to reach them closely a ladder or scaffolding would have been necessary.

The elevation reproduced shows that there must have been a platform extending round the foot of the Stūpa which had served as a procession-path. But owing to the dilapidated condition of the base, the original width of this platform can no longer be ascertained. It is probable that it was approached from the east, as on this side there are traces of projecting masonry which may have served as the substructure of a staircase.

Neither in the narrow flat gap, which separates the Stūpa mound on the east from the foot of the rocky ridge above referred to, nor on the open ground on any of the other sides was I able to discover any remains above ground which might indicate the previous existence of walls or buildings. It must, however, be noted that the ground all around the Stūpa, which is of a rich alluvial soil, is under cultivation. This would easily account for the removal of such remains if they were not of a very massive character. The late hour at which I reached this site and the necessity of returning soon to camp did not allow me to examine the slopes of the ridge closely. It is possible that remains of dwelling places for the attendant priests could be traced there. From below none were discernible.

During the day a portion of the Brigade had marched at no great distance down the valley to Bājkatta. To this circumstance was probably due the utterly deserted condition of Takhtaband village. I was unable to obtain there any local information regarding the Stūpa.

Barkili. — The night was passed in General Meiklejohn's Camp near Barkili, which I reached after a march of about 3 miles from Takhtaband. There I ascertained that the greater portion of the force was to move on the following day into the Chamla Valley en route for the Ambāla Pass. This was probably the last day I could hope to spend on the soil of Bunēr proper. I accordingly resolved to utilize it for an attempt to reach the sites near the villages of Nawakili, Mullaisap and Zangi Khān Banda from which a number of inscriptions either in original or impressions had been obtained by Major Deane's agents. These villages, all belonging to the Nūrizai clan, are situated in the valley which leads from Karapa in a south-westerly direction to the Malandri Pass.

Starting in the morning of the 17th January I marched first round the foot of the several spurs which descend from the high range to the south and run out into the Panjāpā plain between Barkili and Karapa. On the way from the former place to Réga I passed the opening of the valley known as Bēshpūra, evidently an old name of Hindu origin to which Captain F. S. Robertson, of the Survey Department, had been kind enough to draw my attention. The valley is now practically uninhabited. At Karapa, which is a thriving village of some size, I picked up Aslām Khān, one of the inhabitants, who had assisted my guide Kator Shāh on previous occasions in tracing inscribed stones in this neighbourhood. He first offered to show me "Būta," on the hillside west of the village. But after reaching the small cave to which I was taken, and examining with some difficulty its narrow recesses, I convinced myself that the supposed relief images were only natural markings of the rocks.

Mound near Nawakili. — I then marched in the broad open valley to the south-west until at a distance of about 4 miles I reached Nawakili, a fair-sized village situated at the point where the valley forms an inlet to the south towards Mount Guru. About half a mile to the south of the village is a mound covered with old masonry known as Surkhau Kandar. It occupies the west foot of a small fir-covered spur, and on the sides seems partly to have been terraced. On the top old walls are clearly marked. The centre is occupied by a square of old masonry, 34 feet each face, rising only one or two feet above the ground. The western face is continued to the south by another wall for about 22 feet, and this is approached by a kind of terrace sloped as for stairs.
PLAN AND SECTION OF STUPA
NEAR
TAKHTABAND

SECTION ON LINE A B

SCALE OF FEET

10 20 30 40
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It was here according to Katör Shah's statement that he picked up, from below the north face of the mound, one of the inscribed stones delivered to Major Deane. Of another stone said to have been found further down the slopes, the agent who accompanied Katör Shah on that occasion is supposed to have taken an impression.

I was particularly anxious to ascertain the position of the large inscription in unknown characters, of which an impression, marked as having been obtained at Nawakili, had reached me from Major Deane in September 1896. It is now reproduced on No. 82 of Plate X prepared for my second paper on these inscriptions. But the villagers whom I examined would know nothing either of this or any other inscribed stone in the neighbourhood. Aslam Khan who, I have reason to believe, acted as guide to at least one of Major Deane's agents in this vicinity, grew equally ignorant in view of this attitude. After repeated attempts to elicit information by various means, I was reluctantly obliged to abandon the search.

The motives of the villagers in denying all knowledge of inscriptions are not far to seek. Their combined fanaticism and ignorance must make them anxious to keep from the 'unbeliever,' in particular when he appears as one of the invaders, information about records which might be supposed to lead to the discovery of hidden treasure or similar advantages. Obstacles of this kind could, among a population as fanatical as the Bunerwals, be overcome only by the fear of a more immediate danger. But in the present circumstances, when the evacuation of the territory by the troops was known to be a matter of a few days only, the threat of more stringent measures, even if I had been able to give effect to it, would have probably produced no result. It was but too clear that, with an escort of eight sepoyos and the certainty of the near retirement of the troops, little impression could be made.

Zangi Khan Banda. — The advanced hour and the necessity of reaching before nightfall the distant camp at Barkili obliged me to forego a visit to Zangi Khan Banda. This place from which a series of stones inscribed with very peculiar characters had been secured on several occasions by Major Deane's people, was according to local information at a considerably greater distance towards the Malandri Pass than the available sketch maps had led me to suppose. Nor could I have reasonably expected to fare there better than at Nawakili, seeing that even Katör Shah denied having had anything to do with the finds in that locality.

Mullaiap. — Marching then back from Nawakili I took occasion to visit Mullaiap (for Mullah Isuf?) which lies in a side valley opening to the south-east, about halfway between Nawakili and Karapa. Two impressions had reached me of inscriptions near this village. But my local enquiries as to the actual position of the stones were here also of no avail. I could, however, convince myself that neither here nor at Nawakili nor at Karapa were there any conspicuous ruins with which these inscriptions could be connected. On the other hand, none of the sites at which remains of Stupas or monasteries are still extant, have hitherto contributed to our collection of Bunär inscriptions. This observation seems to give some foundation to the belief that the originators of the latter must be looked for elsewhere than among the founders or attendants of the Buddhist shrines still extant in ruins.

I reached Barkili Camp, where only a small detachment of troops had been left, late in the evening, having marched my escort that day probably not less than 25 miles. On the next day, the 18th January, the remainder of the troops still in Bunär was under orders to retire over the so-called Bunär Pass and to join the 2nd Brigade which had in the meantime occupied the head of the Chamlí Valley through the defile of Ambèsia. In order to utilize the few hours still available to me on Bunär soil I moved in the morning in a north-easterly direction down to the river. There an insolated hill rising several hundred feet from the plain close to the villages of Kalpanai and Baijattäta offered a central and very comprehensive view over the.

[See Nos. 47-50 of the inscriptions reproduced in Part I of my "Notes on new inscriptions discovered by Major Deane." According to the information supplied with them these stones were "dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stupa completely buried in the ground at Baghdares, which is the ravine near Zangi Khan Banda." For other inscriptions from this locality see Nos. 70-81 of Part II.]
whole of Lower Bunër. From Matwanai in the east, where the Barandu River enters a narrow defile leading down to the Indus, to Elai in the west, the whole expanse of the valley on both sides of the winding river lay clearly before me. No ruins or artificial mounds offered themselves to view from this commanding position, except the Stūpas of Takhtaband already described. Nor could the Hindu traders, whom I got hold of in Kalpanai village, tell me of any other ancient sites within reach besides those already visited.

Chamla Valley. — I accordingly returned by midday to the deserted camp of Barkili and hence crossed with the rear guard the pass usually designated as that of Bunër, which leads to the head of the Chamla Valley. The latter is drained by the river, which receives the streams from the northern slopes of Mount Mahābān and joins the Barandu not far from its own junction with the Indus. Chamla geographically as well as ethnographically forms a territory distinct from Bunër proper. The fir-covered top of the pass was reached through very pretty forest scenery, and offered to me once more a striking view across Bunër, bounded in the north only by the snow-capped ranges of the Dūma Mountains, Dersiri and Ilim.

Reaching in the afternoon the camp which was pitched below the village of Ambāla, I took an opportunity to represent to General Jaffrey, Commanding the 2nd Brigade, my desire of approaching Mount Mahābān as closely as the military dispositions permitted. From the time that the Bunër Expedition had been taken into view I had fondly entertained the hope that it would give me the chance of reaching that mountain which has never yet been visited by a European or surveyed. This desire arose from the fact that of the various positions which have been proposed for the Aornos of the historians of Alexander there is none which in my opinion has a better claim for serious consideration than Mount Mahābān.

Mount Mahābān. — I need not review here the numerous opinions which have been advanced since General Court took up the question in 1836 regarding the site of that famous mountain stronghold. They have been fully set forth and discussed by General Cunningham in a separate chapter of his Ancient Geography of India.7 Nor is this the place to explain the reasons which seem to me to militate against any one of the suggested sites that are at present accessible for examination, such as 'Rāja Hōdi's Castle' opposite Attock, the Karamā hill, the ruined castle of Rānīgat,7

The claims of Mount Mahābān were first advanced by the late General Abbott, of Abbottabad, nearly half a century ago. They were rightly based by him on the close agreement which the main orographical features of that mountain, as then known, its proximity to the Indus, its great height and extent, present with the description of the Greek historians.8 No fact has since come to light which could shake the weight of the arguments derived from this observation.8

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6 See pp. 55 sqq.; compare also Sir E. Bunbury's History of Ancient Geography, I. pp. 494 sqq.
7 General Cunningham himself, evidently after a good deal of hesitation, settled upon Rānīgat as the most likely position. But that distinguished antiquarian, to whose intuitive perception in matters of ancient topography we owe many happy identifications, was himself constrained to own in this case that he did not feel satisfied with this location. To any unbiased student of the question who has visited the ruins on the Rānīgat hill, the objections must appear unsurmountable. Its great distance from the Indus, its comparatively small height, and still smaller summit are all features which cannot be reconciled with the salient points of the Greek accounts.
8 See General Abbott's paper "Gradus ad Aornum," J. A. S. B., 1854, pp. 509 sqq. Before him General Court already seems to have thought of Mahābān as a possible position for Aornos; see his incidental reference, J. A. S. B., 1852, p. 310.
9 The main objection which General Cunningham raises to Mount Mahābān as the representative of Aornos (Ancient Geography, p. 61 sqq.) is based on the assumption that it is the 'great mountain' by the side of which the Mahāvamsa monastery of Hīnen Tsiang was situated. "If any fort had then existed on the top of the mountain," General Cunningham argues, "it is almost certain that the pilgrim would have mentioned its name," etc. After what we have shown below as to the real position of the Mahāvamsa convent, it is clear that this negative argument, weak in itself, fails to the ground.

Nor can I attach any greater importance to his other two objections, derived as they are from such defective information as has hitherto been available regarding the shape and extent of the mountain and its several spurs: in the absence of any proper survey it is impossible to assert the easy accessibility of the mountain as contrasted with the description given of the steepness of Aornos, or to compare its circuit with the varying figures recorded for the latter by the historians of Alexander.
But the heights of Mahāban have continued to be as inaccessible to Europeans as they were then. It has hence been impossible to obtain that detailed topographical evidence, without which it seems hopeless to expect a definite settlement of this much vexed question.

My interest in Mount Mahāban as the probable site of Aornos was considerably increased by the important information which Major Deane had recently obtained through native sources regarding extensive remains of an ancient fort situated at a point of Mahāban known as Shāhhōit. Can these ruins be referred to so early a date as Alexander's invasion, or do they at least indicate the likely position of an old fortification? Only an archaeological survey of the mountain could give us the answer.

The ready submission of the Chamla clans induced the military authorities to abstain from any further advance to the east down the Chamla Valley. This made it clear to me that the hope I had cherished of visiting Mount Mahāban could not be realized on the present occasion. If the head of the Chamla Valley had been occupied for more than a few days, the despatch of a separate detachment to that distance might yet have possibly been arranged for in the interest of the topographical survey. For this Mount Mahāban owing to its height and position represents also a point of considerable importance. But the evacuation of Chamla and the return of the whole of the force to British territory were already fixed for the following day. The hopes of Captain Robertson, the Field Survey Officer, were like my own doomed to disappointment.

Considering the circumstances I could but feel grateful when General Jefferies very kindly agreed to let me utilize that last day for a rapid excursion down the Chamla Valley. In order to enable me to extend it as far as possible he was pleased to grant me a mounted escort from the Xth Regiment Bengal Lancers. I had thus at least the satisfaction of approaching the north foot of Mahāban closer than I could have hoped otherwise.

Sūra. — Starting on the morning of the 19th January from the camp below Ambēla I reached after a ride of about four miles the large village of Sūra situated on the southern side of the valley. Some Hindu Khatrīs of this place whom I examined knew of an old site about half a mile to the south of the village and at the foot of a low spur which descends here from the Sarpati Range. On proceeding to it I found a spring enclosed in a square basin of ancient masonry. This is visited as a Tīrtha by the Hindus of the neighbourhood. Close to the west of the spring is a terrace-like mound about 20 feet high, the upper part of which appeared artificial. The top, which forms a small plateau about 200 feet from west to east and 100 feet broad, is covered with remnants of old walls built of large but undressed stones. There are evident traces of a terrace about 15 feet broad which seems to have run round the mound at a lower level. The sides are covered with broken pottery. I was unable to ascertain from my Hindu guides any tradition regarding this site, or the special name of the locality. They too were well acquainted with the sacred Tīrthas on Mount Iṣm and had more than once performed the pilgrimage.

Account of Shāhhōit. — I rode on through the level ground of the valley, which is here more than a mile broad and well-cultivated, past Nawagai and Timūli Dhērei, until I reached the small village of Katakōit. There, I had been told, resided a Malik particularly well-acquainted with the Mahāban region. I found in him a very intelligent old man, ready to describe what he had seen on frequent visits to his Amazai friends, who are in the habit of grazing their cattle on the mountain. He knew well the ruins of Shāhhōit. He described them as situated on a rocky spur near the highest point of Mahāban and to the north-east of it. Both the village of Malikta (once the seat of the Hindūstāni fanatics and burned after the Ambēla Campaign, 1863) and the Indus could be seen from the plateau occupied by the ruins. I was particularly glad to note in the course of my examination that the Malik's description of the ruined fort agreed closely with the account given by Major Deane's informant. The substantial accuracy

of the latter account can hence not be doubted. The ruins appear now to be overgrown by dense jungle. The slopes of the mountain below Shāhkūt were described as steep and rocky on all sides, and particularly so towards the Indus, where the ascent is by a narrow path.

My informant did not stop at describing to me the mountain of my desire, but also promptly offered, when alone with me and my surveyor, to conduct me to it in person. Twelve hours' marching and climbing might have sufficed to reach it. Under other circumstances, the temptation would have proved too much for me. But the thought of my escort and the promise I had given of rejoining the troops before they had cleared the pass, left me no chance but reluctantly to refuse this offer.

Kuria. — I then continued my ride to the large village of Kuria not far off, which had been indicated to me as the extreme point reached by a previous reconnaissance of the force. The village lies on an alluvial plateau in the centre of the valley and opposite to a bold fir-clothed spur which descends from the high Sarpati Range, the continuation of Mahāban to the west. From the rising ground to the east of the village an extensive view opened down the valley towards Amazai territory and up to the snow-covered heights of Mahāban, comparatively so near and yet beyond reach. I had but little time to enjoy it. The advanced hour and the thought of the long ride yet before us necessitated an early return. The road I followed back to Ambēla lay to the north side of the valley, but did not bring into view any further object of antiquarian interest.

Ambēla Pass. — When Ambēla was reached in afternoon after a ride of about 9 miles from Kuria we found the large camp already deserted. I followed the route taken by the troops into the wooded gorge which leads to the Ambēla Pass, and overtook the rear guard of the force close to the saddle of that famous defile, ever memorable in the annals of frontier wars since the fights of 1863.

Rugged heights to the right and left crown the Kōtal, which Pāshān tradition calls so forcibly Qatalgarh, the house of slaughter. On them there were yet clearly visible rough stone walls among the rocks, marking the sites of the "Eagle's Nest," the "Crag Picket" and other positions which were held so heroically and at the cost of so much blood during those weeks of a desperate struggle. I had thus the satisfaction of casting my farewell look towards Bunēr as one of the last who left its soil, and from a spot full of historical associations, not less stirring because they were modern. I derived some consolation from the memories of that other Bunēr campaign. From the point of view of antiquarian research I had reason to regret the short duration of the present expedition. Yet it was evident that its almost too rapid success had its compensations in another direction.

There was little to remind me of those days of hard fighting as I passed through the long winding ravines full of luxuriant vegetation down to the southern foot of the pass. Apart from the long files of ammunition mules and their escorts passed on the way, there were only a few buffaloes, captured as a last lucky prize by a rear guard picket on the heights near the pass, to show that we were leaving an enemy's country. It was dark when I reached Surkhābī at the mouth of the pass and in British territory, and night before I arrived at the camp pitched near the little town of Rustam. Thus a long day of nearly forty miles' ride and march brought my tour with the Bunēr Field Force to a close.

Bakhsāhī. — On the following day I rode into Mardān, visiting on the way a few old sites close to Rustam and near Bakhsāhī. Those near the former place have already been referred to by General Cunningham in his Archeological Survey Reports. At the latter place I enquired particularly after the find-spot of the interesting ancient birch-bark manuscript which was discovered here seventeen years ago, and which has since been edited by Dr. Hoernle.¹²

¹¹ I cannot refrain here from drawing attention to the series of splendid ballads in which Afghan popular poetry commemorates the events that played at this site. My lamented friend the late M. Darmesteter had reproduced them, with a masterly translation, in his Chants populaires des Afghans.

I had the chance of discovering the village Chaukidar who had actually been the finder, and was taken by him to the exact spot where the manuscript was unearthed. As I think the site has not been accurately indicated before, its brief description may be useful.

The spot is at the north-west end of a series of ancient mounds known as Pandhārēi. They stretch in the direction from north-west to south-east and for a length of about half a mile to close the south-west corner of the present village. The mounds rise to about 20 feet above the present ground level, and are constantly dug into for the sake of building materials. Walls of uncarved stone are found in many places at a depth of from 3 to 8 feet from the present surface. Close to the spot where the find was made a well had been sunk at the time, and the field near its side dug down by 3 or 4 feet in order to bring it more easily under irrigation. In the bank thus formed in the mound to the east of the field, the manuscript had come to light. According to the account of the discoverer it was only two or three feet below the present surface, placed between two stones and embedded in earth. As there are no visible traces of walls near the spot it may be assumed that the manuscript was originally removed from some other place and buried here in the ground for protection or some other purpose. It may be added that there are numerous ancient wells near the Pandhārēi site. One of them which is close to the north of the central mound, has been recently cleared. It is circular and shows courses of solid ancient masonry, exactly of the same type as seen in the old well near the Sunigrām Stūpa. According to my informants more of these ancient wells in the neighbourhood would be cleared if experience did not show that they do not draw water or soon run dry. Does this observation indicate a change in the level of the subsoil water?

Arrived at Mardān, where General Blood's Division broke up, I was engaged during the next few days in revising my materials and arranging for the preparation of the drawings attached to this report. I subsequently proceeded on a brief visit to Malakand in order to communicate personally to Major Dene the main results of my Bunēr tour which he had done so much to facilitate. After another short stay at Mardān spent in preparing the preliminary portion of this report I returned to Lahore, where I resumed charge of my office on the 1st February, 1898.

II. — Notes on the Ancient Topography of Bunēr.

Having completed my account of the ancient remains surveyed in Bunēr I shall proceed to examine briefly the results that may be derived from the materials now collected for the elucidation of the ancient topography of that region. It has appeared to me more appropriate to discuss these results together and in a separate chapter. For it is only by comparing the whole of the ancient notices we possess of Bunēr with the archaeological data now available that we can arrive at approximately safe conclusions regarding the identification of several ancient sites.

The ancient notices of Bunēr I allude to can unfortunately at present not be found in the form of inscriptions or in Indian historical records. Nor can they be gathered from the accounts which have reached us of Alexander's exploits in these regions. In view of what has been said above as to the probable identity of Mount Mahāban with Alexander's Aornos, it appears possible that the great invader actually passed through a part of Bunēr on his way from the valleys of the Panjūra and Swāt. But the references by his historians to localities in this direction (Oros, Basira, Dyrtu) are so vague and partly contradictory that guesses as to their identification can in the present state of our knowledge scarcely answer any useful purpose.13

Chinese Notices. — We are indebted for those notices exclusively to the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims who either on their way to Gandhāra or in pious excursions from the latter had occasion to visit the sacred Buddhist sites in Udyāna.

That the present territory of Bunēr must have been comprised in the ancient Udyāna has been recognized long ago by Sir Alexander Cunningham and V. de St. Martin when they wrote

13: For a convenient summary of such guesses regarding places connected with Alexander's march to the Aornos, compare Dr. M'Crie's Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, pp. 72 sqq., 335 sqq.
voured to map out the corresponding portions of the pilgrims' travels. But as long as the Swāt Valley and the mountain territories bordering on it remained wholly inaccessible to Europeans and hence to a great extent a terra incognita also from a geographical point of view, the elucidation of details affecting the ancient topography of any one of these regions was manifestly impossible. Even now, when the veil has been partially lifted, the task could scarcely be attempted with any hope of success, were it not for the fortunate circumstance which supplies us in the site of the ancient capital of Udyāna with a fixed and safe starting point for our enquiry.

**Position of Mangali.** — I refer to the identification of the town of Mangali (Mung-kie-li) which Hiuen Tsiaṅg, the latest and most accurate of those pilgrims, mentions as the residence of the kings of Udyāna. This is undoubtedly the present Manglar in Upper Swāt, which is still remembered in local tradition as the ancient capital of the country. This identification was first proposed by V. de St. Martin. It has since been confirmed beyond all doubt by the examination of the extant remains both at Manglar and lower down in the Swāt Valley. It has a special importance owing to the fact that Hiuen Tsiaṅg and also the earlier pilgrim Sung Yün (A. D. 520) take the royal city as their starting point in giving the direction and distances for the various sacred sites described by them in Udyāna. Taking into account the ascertained position of Manglar at the point where the spurs descending to the north from Mount Dosirri meet the Swāt River and turn it to the west (circ. 72° 28', long. 34° 48' lat.), it is clear that we must look for the ancient sites of Bunër among those localities of Udyāna which the pilgrims describe as situated to the south of Mangali.

**Hiuen Tsiaṅg's account.** — The fullest account we receive of these localities is that preserved in the Si-yu-kii or "Records of the Western Countries" of Hiuen Tsiaṅg, who visited Udyāna from Udábhaṅga or Und on the Indus towards the close of 680 A. D.

We leave aside for the present the reference made in his narrative to Mount Hi-lo. It is described as situated 400 li, or approximately 66 miles to the south of Mung-kie-li, and in view of this great distance cannot have been situated in Bunër proper. We are then first taken to the Mahāvāna convent. It lay about 200 li south from the capital by the side of a great mountain. The legend connected with it represented Buddha to have practised here in old days the life of a Bodhisattva under the name of Sarvadāvāja. Seeking a refuge from his enemies he had abandoned his kingdom and come to this place. There he met a poor Brahman who asked for alms. Having nothing to give him owing to his own destitute condition, Buddha had asked to be bound as a prisoner and to be delivered to the king, his enemy, in order that the Brahman might benefit by the reward given for him.

"To the north-west of the Mahāvāna Sanghārāma one descends from the mountain and after proceeding for 30 or 40 li arrives at the Mo-su Sanghārāma." At this site the name of which is explained by the Chinese editor to mean 'lentils' and must hence probably be restored into Mo-su-lo (Skr. massara), there was a Stūpa about 100 feet in height, and by the side of the latter a great square stone which bore the impress of Buddha's foot. When Buddha in old time planted his foot at this spot, "he scattered a kōfi of rays of light which lit up the Mahāvāna

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14 See Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 81 sq.; V. de St. Martin, Mémoire Analytique sur la carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde, pp. 313 sqq.
15 See Si-yu-kii, transl. Beal, I, p. 121.
16 See Mémoire Analytique, p. 214, where the correct derivation of Manglar (Manglaur) from Skr. Mangalapura is indicated. Hiuen Tsiaṅg's Mung-kie-li (to be read Mangal, see St. Julien, Méthode pour dèchiffrer les noms inscrits, p. 156) represents a shorter form Mangala, abbreviated bhūrant, like U-to-Rkhan-cha (i. e., Udābhūnta), the ancient name of Waihund-Und on the Indus.
17 See Major H. A. Denne's paper "Note on Udyāna and Gandārā" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, London, 1896, p. 256. Major Denne during the reconnaissance made into Upper Swāt in August last after the siege of Mahakand, was able to pay a flying visit to the neighbourhood of Manglar, which abounds in ancient remains. He was able to recognize several of the Stūpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiaṅg.
18 I have followed in the above abstracts Beal's translation, modifying its expressions only in a few places where the French version of Stān. Julien appeared to supply a more precise wording.
Sanghārāma, and then for the sake of Devas and men he recited the stories of his former births. At the foot of this Stūpa is a stone of yellow-white colour which is always damp with an unctuous moisture. This is where Buddha, when he was in old time practising the life of a Bodhisattva, having heard the true law, broke one of his bones and wrote [with the marrow] sacred books."

Going west 60 or 70 li from the Mo-su convent Huien Tsiang notes a Stūpa built by King Aśoka. Here was localized the well-known legend which records how Tathāgata, when practising the life of a Bodhisattva as Rājā Sīkiṣa, had cut his body to pieces to redeem a dove from the power of a hawk.

Fa-hien's notice.—The short distances which Huien Tsiang indicates between these three sacred sites show clearly that they must all have been situated somewhere within Būñer territory. And in full agreement with this conclusion we find that the two earlier pilgrims, Fa-hien and Sung-Yun, who do not know the Mahāvana Sanghārāma, but mention the two other sites of Huien Tsiang’s account, also place the latter distinctly to the south of the royal city of Udyāna, i.e., in Būñer.

Fa-hien, who had arrived in ‘Wu-chang’ (Udyāna) about 403 A.D., and had spent the summer retreat there, descended thence south and arrived in the country of Su-ho-to, where Buddhism was flourishing. There was in it the place where in a former birth “the Bodhisattva cut off a piece of his own flesh and with it ransomed the dove . . . . On the spot the people of the country reared a tope adorned with layers of gold and silver plates.” “The travellers, going downwards from this towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gandhāra.” It cannot be doubted that the Stūpa seen by Fa-hien was that connected with the legend of Sibikarāja, which Huien Tsiang mentions a short way to the west of the Mo-su convent. It is equally evident that the district of Su-ho-to, in which it lay, must be identified with the present Būñer. Arguing from the position indicated for Su-ho-to by its mention to the south of Udyāna and on the way to Gandhāra, General Cunningham had already rightly recognized that the territory thus designated could not have been the large valley of the Swāt River itself, as others have assumed, but that the name must have been limited to the smaller tract of Būñer.

Sung-Yun’s account.—Evidence equally convincing as that just discussed may be drawn from Sung-Yun’s narrative. Sung-Yun, who visited the ‘U-chang country’ towards the close of A.D. 519 as an imperial envoy, notices to the south of its royal city the place where Buddha in a former age “peeled off his skin for the purpose of writing upon it, and broke off a bone of his body for the purpose of writing with it. Aśoka Rāja raised a pagoda on this spot for the purpose of enclosing these sacred relics. It is about ten chang (120 feet) high. On the spot where he broke off his bone the marrow ran out and covered the surface of a rock which yet retains the colour of it, and is unctuous, as though it had only recently been done.”

The place is spoken of by Sung-Yun as situated in the ‘Mo-hiu’ country. Though we are unable to account for this name, the description shows clearly that the Stūpa here referred to can be no other but the one mentioned by Huien Tsiang in connection with the Mo-su Sanghārāma.

In view of this identity of the site it is of interest to compare the different indications given by the two pilgrims as to its position. Whereas Huien Tsiang places the Mo-su Sanghārāma 30 or 40 li to the north-west of the Mahāvana monastery and the latter again about 200 li south of Mung-ki-li, Sung-Yun who also starts from the royal city of Udyāna puts the former site at a distance of (more than 100 li) to the south of it. Apart from the

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10 See Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, translated by J. Legge, 1886, pp. 29 sqq.
11 Compare Ancient Geography, p. 83.
12 See ‘Su-yu-kî, transl. Beal, Introduction, p. xcvii; compare also the translation given by A. Rémuas from an extract in the Pum-Tan, Peh-bone-kī, p. 50.
13 Mo-hiu is possibly only another attempt to reproduce in Chinese characters the local name which is given as Mo-su in Huien Tsiang’s narrative. It should be noted that the text of Sung-Yun’s report seems in a far less satisfactory condition, especially in regard to names, than that of Fa-hien or of the Siyu-ki; compare Beal’s Introduction to the latter, p. xcvii, note 68.
identity of the bearings the two statements agree also closely enough in respect of the distances. It must be remembered that the expressions of the texts distinctly indicate approximate measurements. Allowance must further be made for the different length of the several routes which the pilgrims might have chosen for their journey from Upper Swät into Bunér.

The records of the Chinese travellers have shown us that among the sites of antiquarian interest described by them in or near Udyāna there are three for the identification of which we have to look within the limits of modern Bunér. From a comparison of these accounts we have seen that the data they furnish regarding these sites are consistent among themselves, and hence evidently accurate. As information has now become available also as regards the actual topography of Bunér and the most prominent of its ancient remains, an attempt may well be made to trace the sites of those Stūpas and monasteries among the extant ruins of the territory.

(To be continued.)

INDO-CHINESE COINS IN THE BRITISH COLLECTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., Ph. D. (TÜBINGEN).

There are altogether seventy-two of these coins in the Collection: nine large and sixty-three small ones. They all come from Khotan and its neighbourhood; and they formed part of the consignments M. 2, M. 3, M. 6, G. 5, G. 7, G. 10, and T. 1.

Two coins of this description, one large and one small, were first published by Mr. Garder in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XIX (1879), pp. 275, 276. These likewise were procured from Khotan by Sir T. D. Forsyth. They have been republished by Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie in the British Museum Catalogue of Chinese Coins, p. 394. The large one is also republished in the British Museum Catalogue of Indian (Greek and Scythic) Coins, p. 172. Both coins, especially the small one, were in too imperfect condition to admit of being fully read. In the present collection there are some much better preserved specimens. The best of them are shown in the Plates illustrating my Official Report, which will shortly be published as an Extra-Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1899.

All these coins are of copper. They are not of iron, as was at first erroneously supposed.

Of the large coins, there are three varieties, distinguished by the arrangement of the obverse legend. Of these varieties there are one, three and one specimen respectively. Four specimens cannot be determined. Of the smaller coins there are five varieties, distinguished by differences in the reverse design, and in the arrangement of the legends. Of these five varieties there are 17, 13, 8, 3 and 3 specimens respectively. Twenty-three specimens are too worn or corroded to admit of being determined.

The following is a detailed list of all the coins, large and small, with their weights and measures. Their exact find-place has also been noted, when known: in the other cases it must be understood that the coin came either from Khotan itself or from one of the buried sites near it:

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<th>Ser. No.</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Weight in grains</th>
<th>Size in inches</th>
<th>Consign. No.</th>
<th>Find-place</th>
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Total weight: 1931·5  Average weight: 213·44 grs.
## (b) Small Coins.

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<td>G. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61·5</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48·5</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>T. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47·0</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>G. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td>0·625</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22·5</td>
<td>0·70</td>
<td>G. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13·0</td>
<td>0·5</td>
<td>M. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>V</td>
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<td>0·88</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>0·75</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>V</td>
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<td>59·0</td>
<td>0·80</td>
<td>G. 10</td>
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<td>Undeterm.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60·0</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59·0</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 9</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58·5</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>G. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57·0</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>G. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55·0</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54·5</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54·0</td>
<td>0·70</td>
<td>G. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50·5</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>G. 7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>49·5</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48·0</td>
<td>0·75</td>
<td>M. 2</td>
<td>Aq Safil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following is a description of the coins:

(a) Large Coins.

Obverse: Two concentric circles, of which the outer one consists of an ornamental band. In the small area within the inner circle is placed an old form (a) of the Chinese symbol (b) for 'money.' See Woodcut No. 1. Between the area and the ornamental band runs a Chinese legend, consisting of six symbols. This legend is arranged in three different ways, making three varieties, see below.

No. 1.

Reverse: Two concentric linear circles; in central area, bare horse with stiff, upstanding mane, trotting to right. Between the circles, an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

No. 1 of the list is nearly identical with that figured in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 394, but the Chinese legend, partially read by Dr. T. de Lacouperie, is far more legible.

(b) Small Coins.

Obverse: Chinese legend of three symbols, in old forms; the same on all five varieties.

Reverse: In first and second varieties, bare horse, standing or walking to right; round it a circular marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhī characters, showing in the first variety the letter ma (of maḥārāja), in the second variety, the letter ti (of utkha- birāja) over neck of horse.

The third variety has a Bactrian two-humped camel standing to right, and the same Kharoṣṭhī legend as on the large coins, with ma over head of camel.

The fourth variety has the bare horse, walking to right, within a circular linear area, outside which is the Kharoṣṭhī legend, with makh opposite the tail of the horse, but very incomplete.

The fifth variety has a camel walking to right, led by a man, surrounded by a marginal legend in Kharoṣṭhī, with ma over the head of the camel. Unfortunately both figure and legend in all three specimens are too badly preserved to admit of being fully deciphered.
(c) The Kharoṣṭhi Legend.

The Kharoṣṭhi legend occurs in two different versions: a longer and a shorter one. The former which consisted probably of 20 letters is found on the large coins and on the small coins of the third (or camel) variety. The shorter legend, comprising probably 13 letters, is found on the small coins of the first, second and fourth (or horse) varieties. The length of the two legends can easily be calculated from the space distributable to the preserved and lost portions respectively. What the legend on the small coins of the fifth variety may have been, it is, at present, impossible to say.

The shorter legend is arranged in three different ways: in the coins of the first variety it commences over the neck of the horse, and in those of the fourth, behind its tail, while in those of the second variety, it probably commenced below its feet. It is fullest preserved on the coins Nos. 1 and 4 of the first and No. 7 of the second variety.

The best readings on coins of the first variety are the following:—

No. 1, maharajutha(bi) × ja Gugrama(dasa).
No. 2, maharayu × × × × Gugratidasa.
No. 3, maharayu × × × × Gugrama(modasa).
No. 4, maharayutha × ra × Gugramodasa.
No. 7, mahara(ja) × × × × × (Gu)gramo(da)sa.
No. 10, maha × × × × × × Gugradamas.
No. 14, maha(ra) × × × × × Gugra(dama)sa.

The best readings on coins of the second variety are the following:—

No. 4, × × rajuthubix × × × × × × × × × ×
No. 5, × × rajo×bi× × × × (Gu)ra× × × × × × × × × × × × × ×
No. 6, × × rajuthabira × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×
The bracketed letters are more or less distinguishable; the others are perfectly clear. The whole of the visible letters (eleven) occupy slightly more than one-half of the circle; hence the total inscription must have comprised about 20 letters.

Accordingly the complete legends, probably, stood as follows:

(1) longer legend: Maharajasa Rajatibhaja Mahatasa Guagramayasa (or Gugramadasa or Gugradamasā).

(2) shorter legend: Maharaj-uthabīraja-Guagramodasa (or Gugradamasa or Gugramodasa or Gugratidasā), with variants yuthabi or juthabi.

The letters which I read juthabi or yuthabi (or juthubi) are puzzling. The forms in which the first letter bha appears on different coins are shown in the subjoined Woodcut, No. 2.

No. 2.

Thus (a) is seen on Var. II, No. 11, (b) on Var. II, No. 12, (c) on Var. II, No. 4, (d) on Var. I, No. 1, (e) on Var. I, No. 4, and (f) on Var. II, No. 8. Of these (a) signifies juthabi, (b, c, d) signify jutha, (e) signifies yutha, and (f) signifies jutha. The form of the syllable bi never varies. In (a) and (f) the vowel u is formed in an unusual way, but similar to its formation in (d) of Woodcut No. 3, below. I would venture to offer the following explanation, which must be understood to be altogether tentative only. I would suggest that the legend might be the equivalent of the not uncommon title Sanskrit Pṛthīvarāja or Pāli-Prākrit Puthavarijā or Puthavarijā, i.e., 'King of the earth.' The complete title on the coins, accordingly, would run Sanskrit mahārāja-pṛthīvarāja, or Pāli-Prākrit mahārāja-puthavarijā or mahārāja-puthavarijā. In Prākrit as is well-known, the initial consonant of a conjunct word may be elided, and the resultant hiatus-vowels may be contracted: in the present case aau may be changed to au, and contracted to au or even to u. We thus obtain the form of the title mahārāja-utahārāja or mahārāja-utahārāja, with the provincialism of hardening c. This explanation postulates a somewhat advanced stage of Prākrit phonetic change; but the existence of such a stage in Khotan at the period of these coins is rendered probable by the change of j to y in the form mahārāja.

The two first letters gugra of the name appear in the following forms:

No. 3.

Perhaps the group might also be read garga. The form (a) is the commonest; it occurs in Nos. 2, 3, 4 of the first variety, and can be seen very distinctly in No. 3; it is also seen in the large coin No. 1. The form (b) occurs in No. 1, (c) in No. 8, and (e) in No. 11, all of the first variety. The form (f) occurs in the third variety, and the absence of the conjunct marks at the foot of the two letters is accounted for by the crowded state of the legend.

The final letters dasa appear in a curiously conjunct form in the coins Nos. 2 and 4 of the first variety. They are shown as (g) in the above Woodcut No. 3. The conjunction is probably merely due to the negligence of the engraver.

1 I was disposed at one time to find some confirmation of my suggestion in the Chinese Pi-ti-pi-lien, which, according to Abel Remusat's Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, p. 30, was the royal title of Khotan, and which I thought might represent the Sanskrit Viṣṇu-rāja (for Viṣṇu-rāja) or 'King of the world,' a synonym of Pṛthīvarāja. The context in Remusat seemed to imply that Pi-ti-pi-lien was the title of the Khotanese kings from ancient times up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D., when the 'Wei-si family (ibidem, p. 35) succeeded the Wang family. But from what Prof. Sylvain Levi kindly writes me (15th February, 1899) it appears that Pi-ti-pi-lien was only the proper name of a particular king of the Wang family which reigned in the 6th and 7th centuries, A.D. Pi-ti-pi-lien, accordingly, is more likely to be the Chinese transliteration of some Turk name, similar to Mekolien.
There are altogether five varieties of royal names, all commencing with Gagra; viz., Gugramada, Gugradama, Gugramaya, Gugramoda, and Gugratida. Perhaps n should be read for d (Gugramana, etc.) in every case, or in some of them, seeing that the Khoaroṣṭh d and n are hardly distinguishable. Seeing also that sometimes y occurs for j in the title mahārāja (mahārāja) it may be that Gugramaya is only another form of Gugramada. It is also possible that Gugramada is really intended for Gugramada, as what looks like the vowel o may be a mere slip of the engraver. In any case there still remain three names which cannot be identified with one another: Gugramada, Gugradama and Gugratida. Accordingly these coins must be ascribed to three, if not five different kings. As all their names begin with Gagra (perhaps Garya), they would all seem to have belonged to the same family.

(d) The Chinese Legend.

The Chinese legend, also, occurs in two different versions; a longer and a shorter one. The longer, consisting of six symbols, is found on the large coins, while the shorter, consisting only of three symbols, is seen on the smaller coins.

The longer legend is arranged in four different ways, three of which occur in our collection. In the first variety, the legend commences opposite the apex of the central symbol and then runs round from right to left. In the second variety it also commences opposite the apex, but runs in the opposite direction, from the left to the right. In the third variety it commences on the left of the central symbol and runs round from the left to the right. The British Museum Catalogue, No. 1799a, presents a fourth variety, in which the legend runs from right to left, but commences on the right side of the central symbol.

In all four varieties the legend is identical, as shown in the subjoined woodcut:

No. 4.

A portion of this legend was read by Dr. T. de Lacouperie, in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 394. I read the whole as follows:

tchung (1) liang (2) sē (3) thu (4) t'ung (5) tsien (6), i.e., "Weight (one) Liang (and) four Tchu (of) copper money."

The symbol which Dr. T. de Lacouperie reads yh 'one' does not occur in any of the coins of our collection, nor can I find it on the coin figured by him in the Catalogue, No. 1799a. The 5th and 6th symbols were too indistinct on his coin to be read by him. They are clear enough on some of our coins, and are those shown in the above Woodcut. No. 6 is the well-known sign for tsien or 'money' (British Museum Catalogue, p. xvii). No. 5 is a sign which I have not been able to find in Morrison's dictionary, the only one available to me; nor is it known to any of the Chinese Literati whom I could consult. I take it to be an old form of the symbol 仇 t'ung 'copper' (see ibid., p. lxiv), made by omitting the long side-strokes of the upper quadrangle of its right-hand portion. A similar modification occurs in the old form 五 of the symbol 卯 kuan (see ibid., p. 191), and in the old form 五 of the symbol 丈 liang (see ibid., p. 309).

The shorter legend is also identical on all the small coins, though the symbols are drawn in rather varying forms. This is not at all an uncommon practice, as an inspection of the British Museum Catalogue will at once show. The legend, with the varying forms of its symbols

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is shown in the subjoined Woodcut No. 5, which also shows the relative position of the three symbols in the legend.

![No. 5](image)

No. I is the usual form. No. V shows a form of the 3rd symbol which I have noticed on coins of the 3rd and 4th varieties.

I read the symbols as follows:

\[ \text{luk (1) tchu (2) tsien (3), i.e., "six Tchu (of) money.}\]

The second and third symbols of this legend are the same as the fourth and sixth of the longer one. The first symbol, as shown in Figure III, is that given by Dr. T. de Lacouperie, on page xl of his Introduction to the British Museum Catalogue, for luk = six. The corresponding forms in fig. I, II and IV are merely ornamental modifications. A form of luk, much like that in fig. II and IV, occurs in coin No. 453, of the Br. Mus. Cat., p. 423. Compare also the forms of luk in coins No. 753, 816, 159-161.

The Chinese legends state the weight of the coins. According to them the large coins should normally weigh one liang and four tchu, while the small coins should weigh six tchu. As we shall see presently, these Indo-Chinese coins must be referred to the first and second centuries A. D. That is the time of the Han dynasty in China. That dynasty followed the monetary system of the preceding Ts’in dynasty which had doubled the ancient standard. According to this doubled standard the liang weighed about 195 grains, and the tchu, about 8-13 grains. Accordingly the normal weight of the large coins should be approximately 227.48 grains, and of the small coins, 48.72 grains. A reference to the preceding list will show that the actual weights of the coins vary widely from this normal, even allowing for much wear and tear. This, however, was the usual condition of the currency in China. Dr. T. de Lacouperie in his Introduction to the British Museum Catalogue (p. xxiii, xxiv) shows how numerous the variants in weight were, and how "far they were from being approximate to the current standard." The variations of the actual from the normal weight appear to have been particularly great under the Han dynasty, for the intermediate usurper Siu Wang Mang (6-25 A. D.) "began by annulling the decree enacted by the Han dynasty, as he wanted to return to the money of the Tchou dynasty, where the mother and the child (i.e., divisionary piece) weighed in proportion to each other, similarly to those issued by king Wang in 523 B. C." In order to see how far the Indo-Chinese coins conform to the normal weight, we must test them by their average weight. Judged by this test they, curiously enough, very nearly agree with what should be their normal weight. For the average weight of the nine large coins is 213.44 grains (normal 227.48), and of the 65 small coins, 47.857 (normal 48.72). The agreement in the case of the large coins would probably be still greater, if we had a larger number of them to make up the average.

The date of these Indo-Chinese coins can be approximately determined by the following considerations. The fact of their superscriptions being in Indian and Chinese characters and

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6 The weight of the Brit. Mus. specimen, figured on p. 394 of the Catalogue, would seem to be 220 grains; for on p. xiii of the Introduction it is said "the Indo-Chinese coin of 2 liang 4 tchu = 220 grs." There is here some confusion; the coin only weighs 1 liang 4 tchu of the Han standard, which is equal to 2 liang and 3 tchu of the old standard; and both alike are equal to 227.48 grains (normal).

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language shows that both those languages must have occupied a recognised position in Khotan at the time when the coins passed current. In the case of the bilingual Indo-Greek coins, Indian was the language of the population of the country, while Greek was the language of the administration or the ruling power. Khotan, so far as known to us, never had a Chinese population; but it fell under the power of China at a very early date. In the sixth year of the Emperor Ming-ti of the Later Han dynasty, in 73 A. D., Kuang-te, the king of Khotan submitted to the Chinese General Panchao. Thenceforward the kingdom of Khotan became a regular dependency of China, which formed that kingdom, together with Kashghar and other Central Asian principalities, into an administrative unit under the name of the “Western Countries” and under a Chinese Governor-General, and placed Chinese Governors in Khotan and the other chief towns. Shortly afterwards, King Kanishka of India (about 78-108 A. D.) is said to have held hostages from the Chinese “tributary Princes to the west of the Yellow River,” that is, from the princes included in the Chinese “Governor-Generalship” of the Western Countries. It is true that there had been some political intercourse between China and Khotan since the days of the Emperor Wutí (140-87 B. C.) of the Earlier Han dynasty, but Khotan only lost its independence in 73 A. D., when it was included in the Chinese “Governor-Generalship” of the Western Countries. The Chinese currency of Khotan cannot be placed earlier than that year. The native kings continued to reign, under the Chinese supremacy, and this fact explains, why the coins bear bilingual legends. It is distinctly a Chinese currency, because the standard of the coins is Chinese, inscribed in Chinese language and characters, and this fact clearly indicates Chinese supremacy. On the other hand, the reverse of the coins bears the symbols and names of the native kings, in native (Indian) characters, a fact which indicates both that native kings still continued to reign, and that the language and characters, used by the native administration, were Indian.

The first connection of India with Khotan dates back to the time of King Asoka (274-233 B. C.). Ancient Khotanese Chronicles, quoted by Chinese writers, relate that the eldest son of that king, when dwelling in Taksašilā in the Panjáb, having had his eyes put out, the tribal chief who had been guilty of the outrage was banished, together with his tribe, across the Himálayas. There the tribe settled and later on chose a king from among themselves. Soon afterwards they came into collision with another tribe settled to the east of them, whose king had been expelled from his own country. In the result, the western or Indian tribe was conquered, and the eastern king, now uniting both tribes under his rule, established his capital in the middle of the country, at Khotan. This must have been about 240 B. C. The eastern tribe would seem to have been the Uighurs, of the Turki race. They gradually occupied the whole of Eastern Turkestan before 200 B. C., being pushed forward from the north-east by the Hungun or Huns, another Turki tribe. The latter, in their westward movement, displaced two Turki tribes, the Yuechi (or Yuetti) and the Uighur; the former migrated to the north, the latter to the south of the Tian Shan mountains, displacing in their turn the Sakas tribe which had formerly dwelt there. The Yuechi were gradually driven across the II, and the Yaxartes. From 163 to 126 B. C., they occupied the country between the latter river and the Oxus, and by 26 B. C. they had extended their settlements beyond the Hindukush into Afghanistan. Here they formed a great kingdom under the two Kadaphises and under Kanerkes and Hverkes from about 25 B. C. to 180 A. D. Their rule gradually comprised the whole of North-Western India in addition to Eastern Afghanistan. On their coins they used both the Greek and Indian-Kharoṣṭhī characters; the former they retained from their Greek predecessors whose official script it had been; the latter was the script of secular commerce of their
Indian subjects. Co-existing with these scripts there were in use also the Indian-Brāhmī characters, favoured by the religious and learned, especially the Buddhists.

Concurrent with the great Yuechi kingdom there was in North-Western India a smaller one of another Turkic race under the kings Maues, Azes, and their successors, from about 50 B.C. to 80 A.D. It did not extend beyond the Panjāb, and the Turkic invaders, who founded it, must have entered India through Kashmir and over the Karakorum passes from the direction of Khotan. Here we have seen, the Uighur race, which still continues to form the main stock of the population of the whole of Eastern Turkestan, had gradually established itself in the second century B.C., in constant warfare with the Hsiung-nus and Sakas. It was no doubt the Uighurs who, similarly to the Yuechis further west, pressed forward and extended their rule into India in the first century B.C. Here they became the neighbours and rivals of the Yuechis, and here also they became acquainted with Greek and Indian culture; for, like the Yuechi Indian kings, the Uighur Indian kings Maues, Azes and their successors have both Greek and Indian-Kharosthi legends on their coins. The Uighur kingdom which in the South (in India) had to contend with the Yuechi, and in the North (in Eastern Turkestan) with the Hsiung-nu, at last declined in power. In order to secure the assistance of the Chinese empire, its northern portion submitted to China and consented to pass under its administration. This happened, as we have seen, in 73 A.D. About the same time its southern portion was annexed by the Yuechi king Kanishka, who extended his rule over Kashmir up to the Karakorum (Tsung-lin) range, and took hostages from the remainder of the Uighur kingdom. Under these altered conditions, the Uighur coinage in Khotan was conformed to the Chinese standard, and its obverse legend, which had hitherto been Greek, was replaced by a Chinese inscription. The reverse legend, on the other hand, continued, as hitherto, to be expressed in the official Indian language and Indian-Kharosthi characters. This explains the use of the latter amongst a Turki population, such as that of Khotan must have been. They were the language and script of the Uighur Government, having originally been adopted in India, and surviving in Khotan after the Indian portion of the kingdom had been lost. Similarly the use of the Indian-Uighur types of the bare horse and the Bactrian camel were continued. These types are found on the coins of Maues, Azes, and their successors; and indeed, they rather point to Turkestan as their home-land.

That a species of Indian script was current in Khotan is well known from Chinese writers. The case is not quite so clear with respect to the language of the country. Hiuen Tsaüng (about 645 A.D.) relates that “the written characters and the mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries.” Another account says that “they have chronicles, and their characters, as well as their laws and their literature, are imitated from those of the Hindūs, with some slight alterations. This imitation has diminished their barbarism, and modified their manners and their language (latter) differs from that of other people.” These statements clearly indicate that the Uighur population of Khotan, originally totally unlettered and uncultured, derived the whole of their ancient culture from India; and this fact well agrees with, and is well explained by, the ancient extension of Uighur rule over North-Western India. At the same time, it

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9 See N. Eliaś Turīkh-i-Rashidi, p. 92.  
10 See Abel Remusat’s Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, pp. 3 ff.  
12 See British Mus. Cat., pp. 73, 89, 96, 112. On their coins, as well as on the Indo-Chinese coins, the horse is standing or walking, and is turned to the right. The horse occurs also on the coins of other kings (Euthydemus, Heliodamus, Menander, etc.), but it is turned to the left, or is prancing. So also the camel is found on Menander’s coins, but it is turned to the left, while on the Indo-Chinese coins it stands to the right.  
14 See Abel Remusat’s Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, p. 97.
is not probable that the Chinese statements about the written characters refer to the Indian-Kharoṣṭhī script. They rather indicate a modified form of Indian-Brāhmī. The Kharoṣṭhī, as seen on the Indo-Chinese coins, does not merely “resemble the Indian model,” but is identical with that once current in North-Western India and Eastern Afghanistan. Huen Tsiang was a Buddhist monk, and on his travels he resided in Buddhist monasteries, and came in contact almost exclusively with Buddhist culture. The Indian-Brāhmī was the home-script and the peculiar script of Buddhism, and was carried by them wherever they went. It went with them, as we know from the Bower and Weber Manuscripts to Kucha, and it is equally probable that it went with them to Khotan. The introduction of Buddhism into both these places may be traced back to as early a time as the first or second centuries B. C. In both places, as the Chinese note, the Indian Brāhmī developed “slight alterations,”16 known to us in Kucha as the peculiar Central-Asian Brāhmī.16 Huen Tsiang, in the passage above quoted seems to distinguish between the spoken and the written language of Khotan. By the latter, which he calls “the mode of forming their sentences,” and which he says “resembles the Indian model,” I presume he means Sanskrit or Pâli, such as was used in Buddhist literature, and which can have been known only to a very limited class of people, the Religious and Learned. The “spoken language,” which I take to have been that of the general population, must have been the Uighur Turkic, and this, as Huen Tsiang says, differed “from that of other countries,” i.e., China and India. This view is confirmed by a remark of Sung-yun (518 A. D.) respecting Yarkand. Of this town he says, “their customs and spoken language are like those of the people of Khotan, but the written character in use is that of the Brāhmans,”17 i.e., the Indian Brāhmī. Moreover, Fahian (400 A. D.) reports expressly with regard to the whole of Eastern Turkestan, that though the people speak different Turkic (Hu) dialects, “the professed disciples of Buddha among them all use Indian books and the Indian (Sanskrit) language.”18 None of these Chinese Buddhist pilgrims appear to have noticed the existence of the Kharoṣṭhī script, whether in Khotan or in its Indian home-land. The only script of the Semitic class which Huen Tsiang noticed, he does in connection with the kingdom of Kesh,16 and this script cannot have been the Kharoṣṭhī, though it may have been allied to it. Possibly in their time, Kharoṣṭhī had practically ceased to exist. In Khotan, at the time of the Indo-Chinese coins, it was evidently the secular official script of the native Government, though not quite exclusively so, as is shown by the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript found near that town by M. Dutreil de Rhins and containing a portion of the Buddhist Dharmapada.19 It does not seem probable that, after the severance of the Indian connection of the Uighur kingdom of Khotan, the use of the official Kharoṣṭhī script survived for any great length of time. Its forms, as seen in the Dutreil de Rhins Manuscript and on the Indo-Chinese coins, are much alike, and both are identical with that form of it which prevailed under the Kushana (Yuechi) kings in India, that is in the first and second centuries A. D. Though its form remained practically unchanged for a century or two longer in its home-land, it is very improbable, to judge from the parallel case of the Indian-Brāhmī, that this would have been the case in a foreign country like Khotan. It is not probable, therefore, that the Indo-Chinese coins can be placed later than the end of the second century A. D. They show, as already remarked, four, if not five, different regal names. Four or five reigns, at an average of 20 or 25 years, occupy a period of about 100 years. This brings us to, at least, the year 175 A. D., as none of the coins can have been struck before 73 A. D. The initial date is certain; the terminal date must be near the end of the second century. The period 73–200 A. D., therefore, is a safe date to give to the Indo-Chinese coins of Khotan.

16 With regard to Kucha, see Huen Tsiang’s remark, in Beal’s Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 19.
Within that period, the Chinese records mention the names of four or five kings: (1) Kuang-te in 73 A.D., who first submitted his country to the over-lordship of the Chinese; (2) Tang-t’ien in 129-131 A.D.; (3) Kian; and (4) ‘An-kue, son of Kian, who succeeded his father in 152 A.D.; (5) Shan-se in 220-226 A.D. 21 None of these names agrees with any on the coins; but they rather look like true Chinese names, so that it would seem that the kings bore duplicate names, native Turki and Chinese. At that early period, as the Chinese relate, the kings of Khotan were devoted Buddhists, and as such, it may be surmised that they bore names which were the Uighur equivalents of Indian Buddhistic terms. Dharma being a common prefix of various Buddhistic names, Gugra might be its Uighur equivalent. A long list of ancient Khotan royal names, all beginning with Vijaya, is given by Rai Sarat Chandra Dac from Tibetan sources. 22 If this list can be trusted, Gugra might represent Vijaya.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PANJAB BIRTH CUSTOMS, SHAVING MUSLAMAN BOYS.

The hair on boys is shaved off after the 7th or 3rd day — sometimes, however, immediately after birth, according to the peculiar superstition of the parents. The richer people give alms of silver coins, equal in weight to the hair removed from the child. Nearly all families invite their near relatives on the 7th day to a feast, the actual ceremony varying with different parts of the Panjab. During this feast not only the guests, but the family hangers-on and the nurse are fed gratis, and the servants presented with money. 1

GULAB SINGH in P. N. and Q. 1883.

SPIRIT-SCARING IN THE PANJAB — BRAHMAN EATING FROM THE HAND OF A DEAD RAJA.

The following curious custom was brought to my notice while visiting a village near Raipur, Ambala District. A Brahmachar, by name Nath, a resident of the village, stated that he had eaten food out of the hand of the Raja of Bilaspur after his death, and that in consequence he had for the space of one year been placed on the gadi (throne) at Bilaspur. At the end of the year he had been given presents, including a village and then turned out of Bilaspur territory, and forbidden apparently to return. Now he is an outcaste among his co-religionists, as he has eaten food out of a dead man’s hand. Is there really any such custom as the above? and if so, where else does it occur?

1 See ibidem, pp. 3, 6, 8, 15, 17.
3 [These notes may be read with advantage with the customs described in Herklot’s Qanoon-e-Islam, p. 3 ff. — ED.]
4 [I believe the same or a similar custom obtains among the Hill States about Kâghâ, and has given rise to a caste of “out-caste” Brâhmanas. In the, Noveed, for March 7, 1884, an account of the funeral ceremonies of a Râjâ of Chambé, it is said that rice and gft were placed in the hands of the corpse, which a Brâhman consumed on payment of a fee. — ED.]
ON SOME MEDIAEVAL KINGS OF MITHILA.

BY G. A. GRIESON, PH.D., C.I.E.

In Vol. XIV. of the Indian Antiquary, pp. 182 and ff., there appeared an article from my pen on Vidyāpati and his Contemporaries. There were some doubtful points as to the date of the poet, which were further discussed by Dr. Eggeling, when dealing with MS. No. 2864, in Part IV. of his Catalogue of the MSS. in the India Office Library. In connexion with his remarks, I published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a facsimile of the grant by which King Śiva-sīhā of Mithilā gave the poet the village of Bisapi, which is dated L. S. 292, i.e., A. D. 1400-01.

I have lately been studying the Purusā-parikṣhā of Vidyāpati in an edition published at Darbhanga in Sāka 1810 by Paṇḍit Chandra (or Chanda) Jhā, whom I know to be one of the most learned men in that part of India. It was printed under the auspices of the late Mahārāja of Darbhanga at the Rāj Press. In an Appendix Chandra Jhā gives extracts from the Kṛitti-latā and from the Lekhānāvalī of Vidyāpati which contain a great deal of important historical information, written by a contemporary of the facts which he narrates. I believe that Mr. Bendall has lately discovered a complete copy of the former work in the Nepal Library, and that it will be eventually examined and described by Paṇḍit Hara-Prasād-Sāstrī. The following notes, taken from Chandra-Jhā's Appendix, will show the importance of both the works dealt with by him, and encourage others more fortunately situated than myself to investigate the history of mediaeval Mithilā.

To get dates A. D. add 1109 to the L. S. dates.

In L. S. 217 = 1326 A. D. Śāra-sīhā-dāva abandoned the kingdom of Tirbut and went into the Nēpāl jungles. The Emperor of Delhi then conferred the kingdom on Kāmēśvara Thakkura, who was the founder of the famous Śuganā family. He lived in a village called Olī. His brother Hariṣaṅga Thakkura lived at Śuganā. He had three sons. I give the genealogies of the principal descendants of two of them. The whole tree is in my article in the Indian Antiquary already mentioned.

Kāmēśvar Thakkura

| Bhogāvara, d. L. S. 251 = 1360 A. D. | Bhava-sīhā |
| Gaṇēvara, d. L. S. 252 | Dēva-sīhā, d. L. S. 293 |
| Kṛitti-sīhā | Sīva-sīhā, married several wives. A famous one was Lakhīmā Thakurāin. |

The kings of Bhava Śīhā's line all took the additional title of Rūpa-nārāyaṇa. This is important. Sīva-sīhā is often called-only Rūpa-nārāyaṇa. He was Vidyāpati's patron.

Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaq (1351-1387) deposed Kāmēśvara, and gave the throne to his younger son, Bhogāvara. The date of the latter's accession is not given. He was a friend of Fīrōz. The Kṛitti-latā says:

'Priyaksha bhapa phīrījaṭhā sulaṭāna samānala tasu nandana Bhogāvarā.'

Friend calling Fīrōz Shāh Sultān honoured his son Bhogāvara.

Gaṇēvara had two sons. Kṛitti was the younger, but went to Delhi, and was given the kingdom by the emperor.
Bhogálvara when he came to the throne divided the kingdom with his brother Bhava-simha. Kirtti-simha died childless, and so did his brother, and the half of the kingdom which they inherited from Bhogálvara was over to Bhava-simha's family, the representative of which then was Siva-simha, who was a youth of fifteen years of age, and was then reigning as yuga-rama during the lifetime of his father Dēva-simha, and who from that time governed the whole of Tirhut.

Dēva-simha left the family residence of Ōśā, and founded the town of Dēva-kūṭa. When his father died, Siva-simha successfully performed his last obsequies on the banks of the Ganges, and then, after fighting the Musalmanas, became king of Tirhut. This was Sāka 1324, L. S. 293. He founded the city of Siva-simha-pura, which was also known as Gaja-ratha-pura. When he had been three years and nine months on the throne after his father's death, he was conquered by the Musalmanas and carried to Delhi. His wife, Lakhimā, with Vidyāpati, took refuge in Banaunī, which is close to Janaka-pura in Nēpāl. When no news of Siva-simha had been received from Delhi for twelve years, Lakhimā became satī, and Padma-simha, Siva-simha's younger brother, came to the throne, but only reigned for a year. He was succeeded by his widow, Vīvāsa-kāli, who reigned for twelve years, and in whose honour Vidyāpati wrote the Sāiva-sara-svāra-sūtra.

She was succeeded by:

1. Dhīra-simha Hṛṣīkṣa-nārāyaṇa
2. Bhaṅgara-simha Hari-nārāyaṇa
3. Rāma-bhadra Rūpa-nārāyaṇa
4. Lākṣmi-nātha Kaṭākṇa-nārāyaṇa, with whom the dynasty ended.

These last four names are taken from the genealogical records kept by the Mithilā Pañjyars, and Vidyāpati is not responsible for them.

The Kirtti-lālī was written in honour of the Kirtti-simha mentioned above. The prose portion appears to have been written in Sanskrit, but the verses, partly in a very old form of the language which is now the modern Māithilī, and partly in Sanskrit.

DETAILED REPORT OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOUR WITH THE BUNER FIELD FORCE.

BY M. A. STEIN, Ph. D.

(Continued from p. 46.)

Mahāvana Vihāra. — The task thus set to us might be looked upon as partially solved or at least greatly facilitated, if the suggestion thrown out by General Cunningham of Mount Mahābān having taken its name from the Mahāvana monastery of Huen Tsian could be accepted as probable.23 This, however, is not the case. However tempting the similarity of the two names is upon which General Cunningham's conjecture was solely based, yet it is easy to show that this location meets with fatal objections both in the bearing and the distance indicated for the site in Huen Tsian's narrative. The latter speaks of the Mahāvāna Sanghārāma as situated 200 li to the south of Mung-kie-li. In reality Mount Mahābān lies to the south-east of Manglaun, can be easily ascertained from the relative position shown on the accessible maps for the trigonometrically fixed peaks of Dosirri and Mahābān.24 In the same way it can be shown that the measurement of 200 li does by no means agree with the actual distance by road between the two places.

Huen Tsian's road measurements. — In judging of this point it must be remembered that the distances between two places as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims have been

23 See Archaeological Survey Reports, II, p. 98; Ancient Geography, p. 93.
24 See Map "District of Peshawar," published by the Survey of India Office, 1884, 4 miles to 1 inch.
derived only from approximate estimates of the length of road traversed by them or their informants. They must hence in a mountainous country be invariably much in excess of the direct distances as measured on a modern survey map. The examination of numerous cases, in which distances between well-known localities have thus been recorded in road-measure, shows that these measurements exceed the direct distances calculated on the maps by at least one-fourth, and in difficult country more nearly by one-third. 28

Keeping this in view it will be easy to recognise that Hiuen Tsiang's Mahavana monastery cannot be looked for so far away as Mount Mahabhan. The direct distance between the trigonometrically fixed peak of Mount Mahabhan and the position which the field survey carried into Upper Swat during the operations of last August ascertained for Manglaur, is exactly 40 miles measured on the map "as the crow flies." If we make to this distance the above explained addition of one-fourth, which in view of the natural obstacles of the route — the high range between Swat and Bunur and the second hill range between the latter and the Chamla Valley — must appear very moderate, we obtain a total distance by road of not less than 50 miles. This minimum estimate of the real road distance, when converted into Hiuen Tsiang's li at the value of one-sixth of a mile for the li, as deducted by General Cunningham from a series of careful computations, 29 gives us three hundred li against the two hundred li actually recorded in the pilgrim's narrative.

The difficulties in which the suggested identification of Hiuen Tsiang's monastery with Mount Mahabhan would involve us become still more prominent if we compare this location with another of Hiuen Tsiang's topographical data bearing on Udyana and one more easy to verify. I mean the statement made at the close of Book ii. of the Si-yu-ki. There we are told that the pilgrim proceeding to the north from U-to-kia-han-cha, passed over some mountains, crossed a river, and after travelling 600 li or so arrived at the kingdom of U-chang-na or Udyana. 30 U-to-kia-han-cha is undoubtedly the present Und on the Indus, the ancient capital of Gandhara. 31

From the analogy of numerous passages in Hiuen Tsiang's narrative, where the distances to capitals of neighbouring territories are indicated in a similar fashion, it is clear that the distance here given to the kingdom of U-chang-na must be understood as referring to the capital of this territory, i.e., Mung-kie-li or Manglaur. Referring now to the relative position of Und and Manglaur as fixed by modern surveys, we find that the capital of ancient Udyana lies almost exactly due north of Und and at a direct distance of 57 miles as measured on the map.

We do not receive any distinct information as to the route which Hiuen Tsiang actually followed. But from the correct indication of the direction to the north, and on general grounds may safely be assumed that he proceeded by one of the direct routes leading through Bunur. The increased length of Hiuen Tsiang's road measurement, 600 li, against the direct distance on the map, is in the light of the explanations given above easily accounted for by the natural difficulties of the track. These could not have been appreciably smaller on the journey from Manglaur to Mahabhan, which leads practically through the same mountain region. How then, if the proposed identification of the Mahavana Sangharama with Mount Mahabhan is maintained, are we to understand the great disproportion in the recorded distances,—200 li of one journey against the 600 li of the other, where the direct distances from point to point are 40 and 57 miles respectively?

Mahavana : Pinjko-tai. — It is evident from these considerations that the location of the Mahavana monastery on Mount Mahabhan, based solely on a coincidence of names, cannot be

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28 See V. de St. Martin, Memoire Analytique, p. 259. Compare also Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 49.
29 Compare Ancient Geography, p. 571.
30 See Si-yu-ki, trans., Beal, i. p. 118. By the river here mentioned the Baranda must be meant. But it should be noted that in Stan. Jullien's translation the word corresponding to 'river' is rendered by 'los valles.'
maintained. There remain thus for our guidance only the facts of the actual topography of Bunér and that knowledge of its extant ruins which the tour described in this report has furnished. Reviewing then the most prominent of the ancient sites surveyed we can scarcely fail to note the remarkable agreement which the ruins of Pinjñkotái (Sunigrām), Gumbatai (Tursak) and Girārai present with the three sacred spots specified in the Chinese accounts, both as regards their character and their relative position.

We start from Manglaur as our fixed point. Referring to the latest survey we find that Sunigrām lies almost due south of it, exactly in the position indicated for the Mahāvana monastery. The nearest route between the two places lies over the Khalil Pass (west of Doairri) and then via Gòkand down to Pādshāh and Elai. It measures on the map about 26 miles, which distance converted according to the value previously indicated corresponds to about 156 里. If on the basis of the explanations already given, we add to this distance on the map one-fourth in order to obtain the approximate road measurement, we arrive at the result of 192 里. This agrees as closely as we can reasonably expect with the 200 里 of Hiuen Tsiang’s estimate.

The pilgrim’s description of the Mahāvana monastery as situated “by the side of a great mountain” is fully applicable to the Pinjñkotái ruins. Even the absence of any reference to a Stūpa in connection with this monastery acquires significance in view of the fact that among the ruins, as described above, we fail to trace the remains of a Stūpa of any size.

Mo-su: Gumbatai. — The next stage of Hiuen Tsiang’s itinerary to the Mo-su monastery takes us down the mountain to the north-west of the Mahāvana Sanghārāma for a distance of 36 or 40 里. Here the correspondence is again most striking. It is exactly to the north-west of the Pinjñkotái ruins, and after descending from the steeper hill side on which they are situated, that we reach the Gumbatai site near Tursak. Its actual distance by road is about 6 miles, which corresponds to 36 里, or the mean of the approximate figures given by the pilgrim. Here we have no difficulty in recognizing the high Stūpa mentioned both by Hiuen Tsiang and Sung-Yun in the still extant mound, which even in its ruined condition forms a striking feature of the site. It can scarcely surprise us that the rapid survey of the ruins failed to bring to light here the stone at the foot of the Stūpa which according to the pious tradition marked the spot where Buddha had broken a bone of his body to write sacred texts with his marrow. The description of the site given above shows to what depth the base of the Stūpa is now hidden under débris.

Girārai: Stūpa of ‘Dove-ransoming.’ — Going 60 or 70 里 to the west of the Mo-su Vihāra, Hiuen Tsiang had visited the Stūpa reared over the spot where Buddha, according to the pious legend noticed also by Fa-Hien, had sacrificed his body to ransom the dove. The bearing and distance here indicated agree so accurately with those of the ruined mounds near Girārai relative to Gumbatai that I do not hesitate to propose the identification of the former with the sacred site referred to by the two pilgrims. The ruined Stūpas of ‘Ali Khān Koté lie as above indicated, about 1½ miles to the west of Girārai village. The distance from the latter place to Tursak on the direct track I marched by, was estimated by me at the time at about 7 miles. The Gumbatai site again is, as already stated (p. 25) 1½ miles distant from Tursak. The total of these measurements is 10 miles, which represents exactly the 60 里 of Hiuen Tsiang’s estimate. There is the same accurate agreement as regards the direction, the map and my own notes showing Girārai to be situated almost exactly due west of Tursak.

Boute to Gandhāra. — There are two observations contained in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims which enable us to test at this point our chain of identifications. Fa-Hien’s narrative (see above, p. 46) tells us that the travellers going downwards from the spot where Buddha ransomed the dove, towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gandhāra. From the remarks which follow, it can be concluded with great probability that the road distance here given by Fa-Hien was measured to the spot “where Buddha in a former birth had
given his eyes in charity for the sake of a man,” and where a great Stūpa had been erected in honour of this legendary event. It is to be regretted that the sacred site here meant cannot yet be identified. Sung-Yun also mentions it; but from his somewhat confused account it can only be gathered that it lay somewhere in the central part of the Yuzufzai plain. A similar conclusion can be drawn also from Fa-Hien’s own statement, who speaks of having reached Chew-chá-shí-lo, or the place of ‘the head-offering,’ the well-known site of Taxila, after a seven days’ march to the east of Gandhāra, i.e., of the spot already specified.

On the first look it might appear strange that Fa-Hien in order to go from the Girārai site to the central part of Gandhāra or Yuzufzai should proceed in an easterly direction, and should take five days to accomplish the journey. A reference to the map and a consideration of the ordinary routes still followed to the present day will, however, easily explain this.

Leaving the sacred site of the ‘Dove-ransoming’ Fa-Hien may naturally be supposed to have taken the most convenient and frequented route. In view of the topographical features of the country this would have been in his days just as now the route which leads first to the east down the Barandu Valley and then crosses the range of hills by the Ambēla Pass down to Rustam, an important site already in ancient times. It is practically this route which was followed by the late expedition. On it five daily marches of the customary length would still be counted for the journey from Girārai to Marīdān, which latter place in view of its central position may here be taken as an approximate substitute for the site of ‘the eye-offering.’

**Route to Shan-ni-lo-shí.**—A second test for the correctness of our proposed identifications is supplied by a statement of Huen Tsang. He informs us that “going north-west from the place where Buddha redeemed the dove, 200 li or so, we enter the valley of Shan-ni-lo-shí and there reach the convent of Sa-pao-sha-ti.” Major Deane in his very instructive “Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra” has proposed to identify the Shan-ni-lo-shí of the Records with the large Adinzai Valley, which opens to the north of the Swāt River near the present Fort Chakdarra. The careful examination I was able to make during my two tours in the Swāt Valley of the several topographical and archaeological facts bearing on this question has convinced me that Major Deane has in this, as in other instances, been guided by the right antiquarian instinct. I hope to discuss this point in a separate report on the remains of the lower Swāt Valley. Here it may suffice to state that the Sa-pao-sha-ti convent with its high Stūpa must in all probability, as already recognized by Major Deane, be looked for among the several great ruined mounds which are found in the very centre of the valley close to the point where the present military road turns sharply to the west towards the Katgala Pass.

The general direction of the Adinzai Valley from Girārai is north-west, exactly as stated by Huen Tsang. The nearest and apparently easiest route between the two places leads over the Banjir Pass down to the Swāt River. Thence the road lies along the left bank of the latter to Chakdarra, which owing to its natural position must have at all times been the favourite point for crossing. Measured along this route the total distance on the map from Girārai to the central point of the Adinzai Valley above indicated amounts to 25 miles. This is almost exactly the distance which we have found above as the equivalent on the map of Huen Tsang’s 200 li between Manglaur-Mangali and Pinjkōtai-Mahāvana. It is thus evident that given the identical base of conversion, the 200 li of the pilgrim represent here with equal closeness the actual road distance between Girārai and Adinzai.

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29 See Si-yu-ki, transl. by Beal, p. ciii.
30 Si-yu-ki, p. xxxii. Taxila, marked by the ruins of the present Shāh-kī Dheri, is placed by all Chinese accounts three marches to the east of the Indus; see Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 104.
31 Ancient Geography, p. 65.
32 The probable stages would be Karaps or Sunigrām; Ambēla: Rustam; Bakhshāli — all places which either by their remains or position can lay claim to importance from early times.
33 See Si-yu-ki, transl. Beal, i., p. 125; Mémoires de H. Th., i., p. 137.
It is clear that we gain important evidence in favour of our chain of identifications in Bunr by being able to link also its western end with an ancient site of certain identity. The positions we have been led to assign to the Mahāvāna convent and the Stūpa of the ‘Dove-ransoming’ can thus each be independently tested by the bearings and distances recorded to known outside points. The positions hence mutually support each other.

We have made here the attempt to interpret the extant notices of ancient Bunr by means of the now available materials. It might be urged against it that these materials are still too scanty to permit of safe conclusions, and that in particular the rapidity with which the survey of antiquarian remains had to be effected on this occasion, was not likely to bring to notice all important sites deserving consideration. In order to allay such doubts it may be useful in conclusion to refer to an earlier record. It shows that however hurried to my regret the examination of the territory has been, yet no important remains above ground which were within reach, are likely to have wholly escaped observation.

General Court’s notes on Bunr.—I refer to the curious information collected regarding Bunr and the neighbouring regions by General A. Court, one of the French Officers in Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh’s service. It is contained in a paper which was published by him in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal of 1839.36 I did not see it until after my return from Bunr. It contains, apart from purely geographical notices regarding the mountain territories to the north of the Peshawar District, a series of conjectures as to the sites connected with Alexander’s campaign in these regions, and what is far more useful and interesting, a list of the ruins and in particular Stūpas found in them. From the fulness of the latter notes and a statement of General Court himself it is evident that they were the result of careful and prolonged enquiries carried on through native agents during the time that he was in the charge of the Sikh Forces in Peshawar. General Court had already before that time testified his interest in antiquarian research by the systematic excavation of the Manikyāla Stūpa and the valuable numismatic materials he collected for Mr. Prinsep and other scholars. We can, therefore, scarcely be surprised at the thoroughness with which he had endeavoured in this instance to collect all information obtainable from native sources regarding the extant monuments of those territories.

If we compare the entries in his lists of ‘ruined cities’ and ‘of cupolas’37 as far as they relate to Swāt, with the ancient sites and buildings which have attracted pre-eminently our attention since that valley has been rendered accessible, we find almost all important remains still above ground duly noticed. The temple of Talish with its elaborate relieves, the Stūpas of Adinzai, the ruins of Barikōt, the great Stūpa of Shankardār, the mounds around Manglaur,—these and other striking remains find all due mention, though their names appear more than once strangely disguised in the General’s spelling.

Having observed this laudable accuracy of the information recorded regarding Swāt, I naturally turned with a good deal of curiosity to General Court’s notices regarding Bunr. Might they not tell of ancient remains of evident importance which I had failed to notice? I was soon reassured on this score. I found that of the old sites named by General Court’s informants in Bunr proper, all, with one doubtful exception, had actually been visited by me.

Notices of Stūpas.—Among the cupolas,38 i.e., Stūpas, which are specially singled out for notice, we find “those of Hotrāpsto, one of which is near the village of Fooraseuk, and the other under Mount Jaffer.” It requires no great amount of philological acumen to recognize here in the General’s (or his English translator’s) ‘Fooraseuk’ our Turuk, and in his

36 See Collection of Facts which may be useful for the comprehension of Alexander the Great’s exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus, by M. A. Court, Ancient Élève de l’École Militaire de Saint-Cyr, J. A. S. E., 1889, pp. 306 sqq.
37 See pp. 307 sq. and 311, loc. cit.
38 The word ‘cupola’ is evidently intended as a rendering of the term ‘Gumbaz’ (dome) which is uniformly applied in these regions to all ruined Stupas and dome-shaped buildings; see p. 19.
the name of the village Anrapur, which we have noticed above as situated just opposite to the Gumbatai Stūpa. For the mistake in the first name the quasi-paleographical explanation (P misread for T) easily suggests itself. In the case of the second the peculiar Punjab sound ṣr is evidently responsible for the deficient spelling. It is clear that this notice refers in reality to one Stūpa, that of Gumbatai, which, as we have seen, lies near Tursak at the foot of Mount Jaffer and opposite Anrapur. Whether the kind of 'epigraphy' noticeable in General Court's description is due to his having recorded two separate accounts without noticing that they referred to the same structure, or to some other misunderstanding, cannot be decided now.

The cupola near Sonigharan, which is next mentioned, can be no other than the great ruined Stūpa south of Sunjirām. By another "in the village of Fakṭatkhāl" is clearly meant the Stūpa of Takhtāband. The same clerical error or misprint as in Faramzkhit-Tursak accounts for the change of the initial consonant in the local name. The reference to a Stūpa in 'Caboolgharan,' i.e., Kābulgrām on the Indus, agrees with information supplied to me. But this locality, which can scarcely be included in Bunēr, was, of course, beyond the limit of my explorations.

General Court's list mentions after the cupola near Sonigharan the two found among the ruins situated at the foot of Mount Sukker near the village of Rēja. The name 'Rīga' stands here evidently for Rēja, the home of the 'Mad Fakir' and our camp from the 15th to the 16th January. But as, notwithstanding repeated enquiries and comparatively close inspection, I failed to trace any conspicuous remains in the immediate vicinity of that village, I felt induced to suspect that General Court's informant in reality intended a reference to the ruins of Pinjkōtaī above Sunjirām. Rēja, a large village, is a far better known place than the small hamlet of Sunjirām, and as the direct distance between the two is scarcely more than 1 ½ miles, the above-named ruins could equally well be described as situated near Rēja. I cannot identify "Mount Sukker." The name may possibly be that of the hill, on a spur of which the Pinjkōtaī Vihāra is built. That the high vaulted halls of the latter should be included under the head of "cupolas" could not surprise us. In the same way we find the ruined monastery of Charkāli, situated in the gorge south of Batkhāla, Swāt, which I visited in December, 1897, without tracing near it any Stūpa remains, referred to under that designation in General Court's list (No. 6, 'Charkatliā').

If we add that besides the above notices General Court's paper contains also a correct account of the Hindu Tirthas on Mount Iim, it will be acknowledged that his agents had taken evident care to ascertain and to report all ancient sites in Bunēr which were likely to attract attention.

This observation can only help to assure us as to the results of our own survey. We have seen that the latter, however hurried, has not failed to take us to every one of the sites which were known to General Court's informants, and this though at the time I was wholly unaware of this earlier record. We may hence conclude that the ruins described in this report include most, if not all, of the more important sites of Bunēr. We are thus justified in looking among them for the remains of those sacred buildings which in the records of the Chinese pilgrims receive special mention.

Conclusion. — In concluding the account of my tour in Bunēr it is my pleasant duty to record my sense of gratitude for the manifold help enjoyed by me. In the first place my sincere thanks are due to the Punjab Government and its present head, the Hon'ble Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., who readily sanctioned the proposal of my deputation and

38 For the same reason the name appears in the maps metamorphosed into 'Angapur.'
agreed to meet its cost. By thus rendering my tour possible the Punjab Government have given once more a proof of their desire to further the objects of Indian antiquarian research. This, I trust, will be appreciated all the more as the field to be explored lay on this occasion beyond the limits of the Province.

The above pages have shown how much assistance I derived from the kind interest which Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., has taken in my tour. Students of the antiquities of the North-West Frontier region know the valuable discoveries due to Major Deane’s zeal for archeological exploration and his readiness to facilitate all researches bearing on those territories.

It is an equal pleasure to me to record publicly my sense of the great obligations I owe to the Military and Political authorities of the Buner Field Force. Major-General Sir Bindon Blood, K.C.B., Commanding the Division, not only agreed in the kindest manner to allow me to accompany the expedition, but also showed on many occasions his interest in my work and his desire to facilitate it by all means at his disposal. His staff as well as the Political Officers attached to the Force, Mr. Bunbury, c. s., and Lieutenant Down of the Punjab Commission, were ever willing to give me all needful assistance.

I feel particularly grateful to Brigadier-General Sir W. Melicklejohn, K.C.B., Commanding the 1st Brigade, and his staff for the free scope they allowed for my movements. Personally I doubt whether a civilian on a similar mission could ever have met with a kindlier reception than that which was accorded to me among the officers of the Buner Field Force.

M. Faal Ilahi, Draftsman, Public Works Department, who was deputed to accompany me, rendered valuable services by making accurate surveys and plans of all the more important sites and ruins. I must especially commend him for the readiness with which he volunteered for the duty, and the careful and intelligent way in which he carried out his work, often under somewhat trying conditions. Nor ought I to omit a grateful reference to the excellent marching of the Afridi escorts furnished to me by the XXth Regiment Punjab Infantry which enabled me to make full use of the limited time available for my excursions.

A POPULAR MOPLA SONG.

BY F. FAWCETT.

The Moplas (Mápillas) of Malabar, ardent and fanatical Muhammadans as they are, are much devoted to songs, mostly religious, about the Prophet’s battles and also their own for the most part. But their songs are not confined to descriptions of sanguinary conflicts, and the one which is given here is not in this style. The songs are written in the Arabic character, and their language is a curious polyglot patois of Malayálam, the local vernacular, Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Arabic, and of many another tongue, a word of which is here and there brought in for some special use. The song here given is exactly as it exists, so far as it can be translated into English.1 Its author was one Alungal Kandi Móyankutti Váidíárr. His grandfather was a Hindu, a Véal or medicine-man, converted to Islam (became a Mopla) and called Uni Mammad Váidíárr after his conversion. The profession of the family was medicine; hence Váidíárr, a term which is synonymous with Véal. The poet died six years ago, aged 45. His songs were very popular. Not at all a cultivated man, he was circumstanced just as the ordinary poor and ignorant people of his class around him; and, let it be said, in matters educational there is no more backward class in India than the Moplas.

He was distinctly imaginative, and he had studied the art of poesy, such as it was amongst the uncultivated Moplas;—but whence did he get his ideas? The poem seems to offer but an instance of how older stories are used, adapted and passed on, just as Boccaccio and Shake-

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1 In the difficult matter of translation from Mälálam into English I owe everything to Mr. T. Kannan, B. A., Head-Quarters Inspector of Police, Calicut.
A POPULAR MOPLA SONG.

MARÇH, 1899.

SPEARE, to go no further, handled older material and moulded it into what they have left us. It seems there was in one village, Kondotti, a man by name Puthan Malayakal Nilamudin Miah, reputed as a Persian scholar who translated several Persian works into the vernacular. Through him he was able to have some slight acquaintance with Persian literature. His story seems to be an adaptation from "The Naaz-i Be-Nazir (a story of Prince Be-Nazir), an eastern Fairy-Tale," known generally through its English translation (by "C. W. Bowdler Bell, Lieut., 5th Royal Irish Lancers, 1871").

As the transmission of tales is always a subject of interest, an outline of this one will be given, as there are doubtless many to whom it is not readily available.

It is the story of Be-Nazir and Badar-i-Munir. According to a prefatory note by the Urdu writer the story he relates is a prose version "of the poetry by the late Mir Hasan, with the poetical name Hasan," of Delhi, written about 1802, "in an easy style, in conformity with the language of the high and low, for newly taught gentlemen." In fact it is a "Text-book for the High Proficiency Examination in Urdu." It is not said at first where the scene is laid, but it transpires (page 101) that the city of the king is called "Ceylon." The hero is the king's son, — in the Mopla poem it is the heroine whose father is king; and the heroine's name is the same as that of the prince in the story as told by our Mopla poet.

Mâh Rukh, a Fairy (Peri) Queen, finds the prince asleep and carries him off. She gives him a mechanical horse to ride for a period daily. In one of his excursions he sees Badar-i-Munir, then aged 14 or 15. "Her face was so beautiful the moon would become spotted on seeing it." "Her glance was destruction and her look a calamity without remedy." "Her eye-lashes would overturn a row of lovers." "If an angel saw her jewelled bodice he would rub his hand with sorrow." Mâh Rukh is told by a devil of the prince's amour and puts him down a well. The heroine is disconsolate and wanders as a jógî. A propos of her playing the author says:—"Music has wonderful effect, as it makes the liver of hard stones water." Ferozshah, son of the king of the jinnas, meets her, and says:—"It is true that love is as grass and beauty as fire. There is always a connection between love and beauty. And music is like the wind; it applies this fire to that grass." As she played, "pieces of his liver fell from his eyes." He carries her off, and eventually she tells him the cause of her sorrow; he sends to Mâh Rukh and demons release the hero. Through the instrumentality of Ferozshah they are married, and then they go to the prince's father's kingdom.

Such is the story which our Mopla poet in all probability knew more or less correctly. We will now see how he has used it.

The story of Hasân'ul Jamâl and Badâru'l-Munir.

I sing the praise of God before I begin this poem; I also invoke the blessings of the Prophets whom God in His mercy has from time to time sent to the world of men, and I pray to the ministers and to the relations of the Prophet. Oh God! help me to complete this song without errors. Oh Lord! give force and fluency to my tongue, so that my song may be excellent! Oh God! May the Prophet's mercy be upon me! I pray to the Prophet's chief minister who saved the Prophet by allowing a serpent to swallow the toe of his foot; and who kept pebbles in his mouth so that his tongue might be free from useless talk. I pray to the second minister (of the Prophet) who adhered closely to the precepts of the Qurân, who put to death his own son in accordance with the ordinances of the Qurân, and whom God Himself called Fârûk — one who separates truth and falsehood. I pray to the third minister, who arranged the Qurân, whom the Prophet acknowledged from Heaven to be his friend, and whom the Prophet met in all the seven Paradises. I pray to the fourth minister, who killed in battle the most powerful monarchs, who married the most beloved of the Prophet's daughters.

—Whence Mir Hasan "with the poetical name Hasan" received ideas for his tale cannot be pursued here, but it is safe to say it is likely he had read the Arabian Nights. [According to Beale, Oriental Biog. Dic., J. H. Husain, Mir; Mir Hasan wrote the story of Badar-i-Munir and Be-Nazir in 1785 and died in 1790. It appeared in the Manasul-Mir-Hasan otherwise the Selîrî-Bayâtân.—Ed.]
and whom the Prophet pronounced to be 'the Gate of the Hall of knowledge.' I pray also to the other six ministers, and to the two grandsons of the Prophet who are Princes of the Watchmen in Heaven. May I obtain the blessing of the Prophet's daughter, of all the Prophets, of all the Sháhids, of all the illustrious Shááhs in Baghdád and Ajmér, and of all the true followers of the Prophet. May the everlasting and changeless God direct towards me the blessings of all these illustrious men. Oh God! Who existed before all created things, whose existence knows no end, I possess none of the educational qualifications proper to a poet: mayst Thou enlarge my narrow intellectual vision!

The author of this poem is the celebrated Nisámúddín, learned in 'Hanur.'

In the country of Ajmér, in the north-west of India, there lived a great king, Mahásíl, by name. He was very powerful, many kings were tributary to him, and he had countless subjects; his fortresses and strongholds were innumerable. But mention of all particulars of the kind would make my story too long, so they are omitted.

Now the king had a faithful minister of wide-world fame, called Más Amir, who was in great sorrow because that he was childless. One day an astrologer came before him, and he addressed him thus:—"Oh astrologer! tell me my fortune. I suffer terribly because of my childlessness. My wife and I have had no issue. Death may overtake us at any time, and if we have no child, who will inherit our property? Thought of this makes my heart burn. Tell me now whether we are destined to have a child or not."

The astrologer asked the name of the star (planet?) under which the minister was born and, having examined his horoscope, said:—"Oh most gracious minister! There is not any doubt that before long God will bless you with a beautiful son; put away your anxiety and rejoice, for the son shall be born to you will become a happy king over many countries. You must call him Badarú'l-Munár, which means "the full moon." He will be victim to many misfortunes and fall into great dangers, but he will get free from them all, and obtain as his wives the most beautiful women."

The minister was much pleased to hear what the astrologer said, and gave him large presents.

In course of time the minister's wife gave birth to a handsome and intelligent boy. King Mahásíl came to see the child, and was struck with wonder at its loveliness. As advised by the astrologer the child was called Badarú'l-Munár. Then the king and his retinues departed. The child grew up the delight of all. When he was three years old a daughter was born to the king. She grew up so beautiful and so lovely, that she was a wonder to all beholders, and she was called Hassanú'l-Jumál, which means "The most beautiful." The minister's son and the king's daughter grew up together; they played together, and they were taught by the same teachers. They advanced in years and in knowledge, and at length began to feel love for each other. By day and by night they were in each other's company. The beauty of the girl when she was ten years old cannot be described. Her hair was darker than the black clouds and more shining than the wings of the beetle, and when untied reached the sole of her foot; when tied up it was of wonderful beauty. Her forehead was arched and narrow; her eyebrows were like the rainbow or the half moon; she was black — as if blackened by eye-salve; her teeth were small, and white like the seeds of the pomegranate; her tongue was like the petals of the red water-lily; her lips were of the colour of the red coral; her face was like the lotus. She was the first fruit of the tree of gold. Her neck was more graceful than the deer's; her breasts, round at their base, were like blossoms of the jasmine. They were like two golden cups, as the knobs on the head of a caparisoned elephant; they were of full size, without flaw, of never-fading beauty; and yet, only, a handful. Her waist was very slender, about her thighs she was fleshy, and her ega were like the plantain tree. Her feet were like gold. She had every grace, every,

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* Mahásíl — Mahátma, a pure Hindu name. Observe also the subversion of the sexes throughout in the names Badarú'l-Munár and Hassanú'l-Jumál. — En.

* Perhaps "the waning moon," a favourite simile, is meant.

* A favourite simile.
accomplishment, and everyone called her Hasanu'l-Jamál. Her morals and disposition were exact counterparts of her physical beauty. This beloved daughter of king Mahāsīl had beautiful jewels in abundance. She wore golden ornaments set with the most precious stones. She slept in the fairest of beds. She dressed in the most beautiful silk. She walked like an elephant, with wavy side to side motion, her head slightly bent. She looked with quivering eye which resembled the bee that has seen honey. Any one, man or angel, who saw her smile with her coral-like lips, would be smitten instantly with love; nay, more, he would lose his wits and go mad. This fine coloured parrot of a princess loved Badar[u]'l-Munir with all her heart: her feelings towards him never changed. There did not live in that age one who was in any way comparable to Badar[u]'l-Munir. His face would have put the lotus flower to shame; his talk would have stopped the course of the river of honey: even the kūrīs of Paradise would have been enraptured with the music of his voice, with the sweetness of his words. Not a day passed without this beautiful princess and this fairest of youths meeting each other; day by day their love increased, till at last the people began to whisper tales of sin. Rumours reached even the ear of the king, who issued stringent orders forbidding the minister’s son to come to the palace. Badar[u]'l-Munir, fearing the king’s displeasure, did not go to the palace. Day and night, without food or sleep and with aching hearts they thought of each other. Their dreams were their only means of sympathetic communication; waking, they were undeceived, and wept bitterly.

The princess called a faithful slave, and told him to bring to her presence unknown, to any one, the full moon of her affections. True to his mission the servant conveyed secretly the joyful message to the minister’s son. He was elated, and arranged to meet her the same night. Delighted beyond measure by the way in which the slave had carried out her orders, the princess immediately gave him his liberty and a present of four hundred silver coins. With eagle eyes the princess looked out for her beloved Badar[u]'l-Munir who, like the beetle seeking the lotus flower, kept his trust faithfully.

The princess of resplendent beauty thus addressed him abruptly:—“My father lives between our meeting; the full moon of our happiness is gone: do you propose any remedy?”

Badar[u]'l-Munir replied:—“Oh my dear one! Oh most beautiful mānīkām! Oh rising moon! Your father’s cruel order is a death-blow to us. Oh fairest flower of humanity! Whatever you wish to be done I will do it at all risks.”

The princess said:—“Oh my beloved! So long as my father is king we cannot live together in this country; if we cannot meet at least once a day the ocean of our love will be tossed with violent waves, and we shall go mad; I see no way for our remaining here. I am ready to quit my father’s realm and go elsewhere. I have golden ornaments set with precious stones of great value: one of my bracelets would suffice to maintain us for a life-time.”

As these words came out of her coral-like lips he blushed with joy, and said:—“Oh sweetest flower! I am ready to do your wish and bidding at all hazard. I accept entirely what you say.” “The princess then said to him with bated breath:—“I will get ready the fleetest of horses that will gallop through the forest with the speed of the wind; I will have everything ready by midnight: you must be here then. By daybreak we will be beyond the dominions of my father.”

Having so resolved, they embraced and parted.

Now this conversation took place at the foot of the staircase of the palace in which the princess lived. A fisherman by name Abū Sayyid who used to bring fish to the palace was sleeping near the foot of the staircase. Hearing a voice above his head he awoke and listened

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* A Tamil simile of loneliness.
† A precious stone. *Līt*, the precious stone which is within the head of the serpent Mahāsīl, but applied generally to any precious stone.
‡ In the original—“human voice.”
attentively and understood what the lovers had said. He was astounded, and, hastily leaving the palace, went home; at daybreak he went to the minister and said as follows:— "Oh my lord, take good care of your beloved son this day; if you doubt me and let your son go out to-day the king will surely have your head, and not only yours but the heads of many innocent persons." Minister:— "What is your reason for saying this?" Fisherman:— "Your slave will explain fully when the day is done."

The minister was perplexed, and, calling his son, said to him:— "Oh my son, go to my room, open my box, and bring to me my ring." No sooner had the son entered the room but his father shut the door. Badaru'l-Munfr was surprised by what his father had done; he was stricken with grief.

Hassanul-Jamal made all arrangements for departure, taking with her all her jewels and beautiful clothes, also a laced coat and silken garments for Badaru'l-Munfr, and a beautiful horse finely caparisoned. Thus she awaited her beloved at midnight, — she, unfortunate lady, not having the slightest suspicion of the misfortune which had overtaken him. The wicked fisherman appeared in disguise at the spot at the appointed hour. The princess said:— "Let us go." In a low voice the fisherman said:— "Yes." They mounted the horse and were soon out of the town with the speed of the wind. Before daybreak they had crossed hills, forests, plains, and left many miles of country behind them, and during all this time they neither looked at each other nor exchanged a single word. At last they halted on an open plain, and turning back to see her lover seated behind her, she was astounded to see instead of him — the fisherman! "Oh! where is my most beloved Badaru'l-Munfr?" she cried and fell senseless from the horse. The fisherman trembled with fear, and, folding his hands, stood at a respectful distance. Soon she recovered her senses, and began to beat her breast with her hands and to roll in the dust as she wailed:— "Oh God! what misery has befallen me! How have I been deceived! I have left my home and all its pleasures pursuing a shadow. When shall I forget this separation from my beloved? What shall I do to get out of this pit of misfortune? Oh God! what further dangers are in store for me? So long as I live I will not return to my father's palace. What misfortune has overtaken my beloved Badaru'l-Munfr, and prevented him meeting me as we arranged? He would never have failed me but that some great danger has come over him." So saying she wept bitterly. Suddenly her features changed, her eyes became bloodshot; drawing her sword she leapt like a lioness towards the fisherman. "Miserable fisherman! answer me truly or I will cut off your head this instant. Have you killed my beloved friend?" "Oh princess!" said the fisherman, "do not be angry. Protect me! I will tell you the whole truth and nothing else. Last night I went out to fish, but caught none. As I was going home I saw a big horse and a woman stand by. As I came near, the woman said:— 'Let us go.' I said:— 'Yes.' Then you mounted the horse and told me also to get up. This is all. I knew nothing beforehand. The sword in your hand terrifies me. Do what you please; I will not prevent you. It is in your power to protect or destroy." Having said this the fisherman began to weep. The princess believed and was pacified. Again she mounted the horse and told the fisherman to mount also. So they travelled for a month, and passed out of the dominions of her father.

As soon as they had crossed the boundary, she pitched her tent under a tree, and, looking round saw a palace and a fort and a town in which were upstart buildings. She understood at once that it was the residence of a king; so giving two gold coins to the fisherman she told him to go and buy provisions. The fisherman obeyed. She told him, if people asked who she was, to say she was his wife. The fisherman asked respectfully what was the good — to him — of so saying? The princess changed colour and with the fury of a tigeress addressed him thus:— "Senseless fisherman! Do you love your life?" The fisherman trembled, and, falling at her feet, cried for mercy. Then she opened the box in which she had brought clothes for Badaru'l-Munfr, and took out of it a cloth, a coat and a pair of sandals. She examined carefully all the jewels she had brought. She took up the sandals, placed them on her head, and kissed them.
She was overpowered with grief, and called aloud the name of Badaru'l-Munir, and said:—
“Why shall I see your face again? I am unable to suppress my love and control my feelings;”
and beat her breast with her hands. After some time she threw the clothes and sandals to
the fisherman and told him to put them on. He did so, and, taking leave from the princess,
strutted along the street, seeing many curious things. He saw a large crowd, and went to
mingle in it. There were several foreign merchants, and the king’s minister, dressed in
beautiful silken garments, seated on a chair. When they saw the fisherman coming they
were struck with amazement at the costliness of his dress, and questioned each other as
to who he was. He answered that he came from Muskan-Teresa, his name was Abû
Sayyid, and he was a celebrated trader in precious stones; in the course of his travel he came
to this place. The king’s minister was much pleased, and with much respect offered him a
seat. The following conversation then took place between the minister and the fisherman.
The latter said:—“What is the reason for this large crowd?” The minister said:—“By
order of the king. The king of Sham has sent a pearl to our king, saying it is worth
64 lakhs of gold, and challenging any one to find a flaw in it. If found to be flawless
40 important seaports are to be given to him; but if any flaw is found in it then
he will give 40 of his chief seaports to whomsoever discovers the flaw. When he
received the letter our king ordered me to write letters to all interested. These merchants
and myself are examining the pearl, and we are in a dilemma, for in our opinion there is no
flaw in it. Just as we came to this opinion you appeared. Now, if you will give your
opinion about this pearl, our king will reward you with immense wealth and honours and
horses and titles. Have no doubt about this.” Abû Sayyid said:—“I came to the bazaar
to buy provisions; my wife waits for me; to-morrow I will come and give you my opinion.”
The minister agreed. Abû Sayyid returned to his wife, and related to her his adventure.
She told him to be of good cheer; he should tell the minister that his wife is a better judge of
pearls than himself, and as she cannot leave her house the pearl should be sent to her, and she
would give a correct opinion on it. So the next day Abû Sayyid brought the minister with
the pearl to his house. The woman examined the pearl, and said it was nothing but chunam,
asashes and water; if it were broken it would be seen at once that what she said was true.
The minister reported all this to the king, who asked whether Abû Sayyid would give security
for the loss of the pearl if it were broken and his opinion was found to be wrong. Abû
Sayyid offered to give any security that was demanded. Then the pearl was broken in the
presence of witnesses, and it was found to be just what the princess had said. The king’s joy
and admiration were boundless; he would give Abû Sayyid anything he chose to ask. But
Abû Sayyid would do nothing without his wife’s permission, so promised to return the next day.
The next day he came, and the king asked him what presents would satisfy him. He said:—
“My wife would accept no presents. All we want is a house in a suitable locality, and for this
we will pay the price.” The king was astonished, and, to test him, ordered the costliest mansion
to be selected, and double price to be charged. With a single pearl from one of her rings the
princess paid the price of the mansion, thus confounding the king and his minister with surprise.
The fisherman and the princess moved quietly into the mansion. When she saw the grandeur
of the mansion and the splendour of its furniture she was drowned in grief, for they recalled to
her mind the loss of her lover, and she wept bitterly.

Abû Sayyid tried to console her with sweet words. He said:—“Oh my benefactress! why
weep over the inevitable? Will the sun rise in the west by thinking over it?” Hearing this
she struck him in the face with her shoes, kicked him, and spat in his face. He besought her
pardon, and promised never more to speak to her in that fashion.

Now the king was so pleased with Abû Sayyid that he gave him his daughter in marriage,
and asked him to divorce his first wife—the princess. Abû Sayyid said he would not, for
his life as all his happiness was due to her. Then the king said he would hand over to him

9 The princess is meant: not his wife. 10 The princess.
his kingdom and all his wealth if he would divorce her. This temptation was too strong for the poor fisherman, and he agreed to the king's proposal. Accordingly the king appointed Abū Sayyid to be his successor, and made him king.

The king who had heard from his minister of the great beauty of the princess, sent an old woman to tempt her. When the old woman reached her house the princess was lying as in a trance, lost in dreams of her lost lover. "What is it?" she said to the old woman. "I am an old woman, named Kuseth, oh beautiful parrot! Prosperity and greatness are yours, for the king wishes to see you, and has sent me to take you to him. Daughter! if he sees you, all his wealth is at your feet." Hassanūl-Jamāl said:—"What you say is true, but how can I come without my husband's permission? He is in the palace; if he comes back and gives me permission, I will come." The old woman said:—"Daughter! He has divorced you; he has married the king's daughter, and is happy there. Listen to me, a danger will befall you." Then Hassanūl-Jamāl thought perhaps the king and the fisherman had conspired to ruin her. "Oh God! what shall I do?" Thus she mused in deep sorrow, and while she absorbed the old woman spoke again:—"Beloved daughter! Follow me quickly. Do not hesitate. You are helpless here. You are like an elephant in a pit. If you refuse to follow me your mansion and all you possess will be lost to you. You will be in endless sorrow. Obey me." Thus insulted Hassanūl-Jamāl rose angrily and kicked the old woman out of the house. She went to the king, trembling from head to foot, and said:—"Oh king, I have obeyed you and come to grief. The woman kicked me hard and told me to say to the king—'So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west nobody need think of me. Nobody shall touch me. Combat, I do not fear.' I escaped with my life." The king was angry and ordered four soldiers to seize Hassanūl-Jamāl and bring her before him. The soldiers entered the house. Hassanūl-Jamāl asked:—"Who are you to come to my house without permission? Go away." The soldiers were startled by her beauty, but approached to seize her. She drew her sword and killed two of them. The other two fled to the king and told him what had happened. He was angry and sent his soldiers to besiege her house, bind her hand and foot, and bring her before him. The soldiers surrounded the house, and called upon her to surrender. She prayed to God, resolving to die rather than fall into the hands of the king. She fought desperately until late in the night, killed several of the soldiers, and drove the rest back to the king's palace: to evade her pursuit they fled into the jungle. After all this she rested under a tree. The king of the Jinnas saw her, and carried off to a deep forest, raised a beautiful mansion on the top of a hill and placed her therein.

We must now return to the story of Badaru'l-Munir. For three days he shat himself up without food or rest. News of the affair spread all over the country, and huge crowds gathered Unable to bear his pain and shame, Badaru'l-Munir left the town stealthily, and fled to unknown lands. For six months he roamed the forests. In the course of his wanderings he met the Fairy Queen Kamarba. She took him off to the land of the peris and shut him up in her beautiful crystal palace; and there he lived for two years and ten months. One day the Peri Queen and Badaru'l-Munir went for an aerial drive. They passed over seas and mountains and visited many countries, until at last, resting under a tree, they fell asleep. Just then Sufry-rath, daughter of Shihāb, king of the Jinnas, with her forty maids, was roving the skies in her beautiful chariot. When she came near the tree she asked her maids what they saw under it, — was it the moon or a star dropped from the skies? "Whatever it be, let us alight here and see what it is." They came near and found a lovely youth and a beautiful girl sleeping in a warm embrace, a shawl over them. Quietly she removed the shawl. The sight dazzled her eyes and stupefied her senses. Quickly she took the youth, placed him in her chariot, and with the speed of lighting left the place. Thus she took him to the top of a hill on an island in the fourteenth...
see, and there she ordered a palace of gold and precious stones to be constructed for him; her genii attendants obeyed her in the twinkling of an eye.

When Badaru'l-Munir awoke he found himself in a strange place and was very uneasy. His wonder was greater when he saw the woman. But the woman consoled him; said she was the daughter of the king of Jinns; the celebrated Mustak, her brother, was a terrible giant, whom she feared, so Badaru'l-Munir should remain quiet in the house by day, and she would visit him at night. Thus passed seven years, until one day when he said he could no longer endure his imprisonment; so she gave him a chariot that would in one night carry him as far as one could travel in forty years; and she told him he might go where he liked during the day but he must return at night.

In one of his flights he travelled far and came to the garden of a king whose daughter, Jumalith, met him, and, falling in love with him, detained him seven days. But the Fairy Queen came to the king's palace in disguise and carried him off. The king's daughter was filled with anxiety, and, unknown to any one, fled from the palace and wandered here and there, until she came to the palace of Mustak, who had carried off Hassanul-Jamal. The Jinn, Mustak, led her to an apartment of his palace in which he had confined Hassanul-Jamal, and asked her why she had wandered so far away from all human habitations, and had trespassed into the land of the Jinns. Then she related her adventures, and said she had come in search of her lover. The genii at once summoned all his maids, and ordered them to find out which of them had concealed a man.

One of the maids told him his own sister, Sufayrat, had a man in her custody, and she visited him every night. So he sent for his sister, and commanded her to produce the man. She did so. The king's daughter at once recognized Badaru'l-Munir, and was glad indeed to see him. Mustak asked Badaru'l-Munir how he had fallen into the hands of the genii, and Badaru'l-Munir related all his misfortunes and the story of his wanderings. The Jinns then betook him of the story of Hassanul-Jamal, and suspecting that she might be the sad cause for all these, ordered that she be dressed in the finest robes and adorned with the most precious jewels. Badaru'l-Munir was dressed and decorated in like manner, as if for his wedding. At night, when both were fast asleep, the Jinns and the king's daughter placed the cot of Badaru'l-Munir beside that of Hassanul-Jamal, and they concealed themselves behind the door. When Badaru'l-Munir and Hassanul-Jamal awoke, each wondered who was their bed-companion. At last they recognized each other, embraced, wept, and related their adventures from the very beginning. The Jinns and the king's daughter clapped their hands and entered the room.

Then all four entered a car and ascended to the skies. First they dropped the king's daughter in her father's palace; then the others went on and reached the palace of the father of Hassanul-Jamal. The Jinns caused a golden palace to be created in front of the king's palace in the dead of night. The king was surprised, when he awoke, to find a shining palace in front of his own. All the people flocked to see this wonderful sight, but what was their wonder when they saw Hassanul-Jamal and Badaru'l-Munir the mistress and master of it! The king and his minister were much pleased to see their children after ten years' absence, and all the people rejoiced. Their wedding was duly celebrated, and all the Jinns attended the ceremony. After this the king vacated his throne in favour of Badaru'l-Munir, and went on a long pilgrimage; and Badaru'l-Munir and Hassanul-Jamal lived happily as king and queen.

WITCHCRAFT IN ANCIENT INDIA.1

BY M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

There is more than one reason why the uncanny and often repulsive practices of witchcraft deserve to be studied. First of all, these practices form an important phase in the

1 From the New World for September, 1898.
history of religion, and have their roots in the primitive history of mankind; and whenever we feel inclined to smile at or to be disgusted with some of these customs and beliefs, we ought to remember what M. Lazarus (one of the pioneers of the scientific study of ethnology) said, that, in all our investigations as to the origin of customs, we are standing "on holy ground—we are standing at the gate of the Primitive History of Mankind—at the psychological source of all that is highest and noblest in man."

A study of these customs, too, allows us an insight into the working of the human mind in its early stages of evolution, and is therefore an important contribution to the study of psychology. For these customs are merely the outward expression of what we are pleased to call superstitions, but what are really beliefs as justifiable on psychological grounds as those of any creed or science—for even in science there is much that is belief to-day, and may be superstition to-morrow. It is the aim of ethno-psychological research (Völkerpsychologie) to find out the reasons of these so-called superstitions, and hence the psychological basis of the practices and ceremonies which go by the name of witchcraft.

Moreover, in many of these rites we may discover the rudiments of science, the first gropings of man for an understanding of Nature, and especially (as witchcraft is greatly concerned with the human body) the rudiments of medical science. In studying the very ignorance of primitive people with regard to Nature, we are able to discern glimpses of real knowledge—we are, though not yet in the precincts, at any rate at the threshold of Science.

In India, witchcraft practices have always formed an essential element in the religious life of the people. Witchcraft formed an important factor in the popular religion of ancient Vedic times, it survives (as it does in Europe) during centuries of advanced civilization, and it crops up again as a kind of atavism in the magic rituals and formulas of Tantric sects and Mahāyāna Buddhists, as in the hocus-pocus of modern spiritualists in Europe and America. In ancient India witchcraft practices enter largely into the sacred ritual, and many of the ceremonies performed by the priests at the great sacrifices are in no way distinguished from the practices of magicians. The sacrificial ceremonies are mixed up with numerous rites which are intended to secure a special boon for the worshipper or to injure his enemy—rites which have nothing to do with the worship of the gods, but are witchcraft practices pure and simple. Especially in all the rites connected with childbirth, marriage and the funeral service it is almost impossible to distinguish between witchcraft and religion. To secure the welfare of a child or of a bride, solemn sacrifices and prayers to the gods are prescribed side by side with amulets and talismans and imprecations against the evil demons.

In a highly interesting essay on "Witchcraft and Non-Christian Religions" Sir Alfred Lyall has most ingeniously tried to define witchcraft and to prove that it is not a low phase of religion, but that from the very outset there was a radical separation between the two. "Witchcraft," he says, "appears to have been, from the beginning, the aboriginal and inveterate antagonist of religion or theology, and hardly less so in the most primeval age of barbarous superstition than it was in the days of our King James I." The witch is, according to Sir Alfred Lyall, in one sense the savant of his time, in another sense "a crazy charlatan" who professes to work miracles, either through some trifling knowledge which he actually possesses, or by certain faculties and devices which he pretends to possess. He relies upon his own powers, while the priest tries to influence Nature by worship and expects all help from supernatural beings.

But fascinating as this theory is, since it would help us to bring light and order into what seems inextricably involved, I do not believe that the facts, as we find them among primitive people, justify us in drawing such a distinct line of demarcation between witchcraft and religion. First of all, witchcraft is essentially connected with the belief in demons or evil spirits. And this belief is certainly as much a religious belief, as beliefs in the great gods to

2 *Asiatic Studies*, 2d ed. 1884, pp. 75-98.
whom the higher forms of worship are directed. We shall see below that even the great gods of the Hindu pantheon, e.g., Varuna and Rudra, are connected with diseases and hence with medical witchcraft. Besides, witchcraft practices are invariably accompanied by charms and imprecautions addressed to supernatural beings, and in no way distinguished from the prayers addressed to the higher gods. The witch, too, relies on worship. As we shall see, in the ancient Hindu charms the demons who cause diseases or other evils are constantly invoked, worshipped and propitiated.

It is true, there are traces, even in ancient India, of an antagonism between priest and witch. At an early period, the Atharva-Veda, whose essential teaching is sorcery, was looked upon as of doubtful orthodoxy. For there are naturally two aspects of sorcery. It is useful to one's self, and harmful to others. The sufferer would always look upon magic as contemptible and abominable. But the same law-book of Manu, which mentions sorcery and "magic by means of roots" among the minor offences causing loss of caste, and which prescribes fines and penances for hostile sorcery, tells us that speech (i.e., charms and incantations), is the weapon of the Brāhmaṇa, the priest — with that he may slay his enemies.

I gladly admit that witchcraft is more independent of the belief in the supernatural, that it is more materialistic, and that it "pretends to be in some sort an exact science" — but at the same time, I believe that witchcraft is one of the numerous phases of primitive religions thought, and inseparable from other low forms of religion.

In studying the witchcraft folk-lore of ancient India, we shall have to abandon the idea of a strict separation between witchcraft and religion. All we can say is that witchcraft is more concerned with the extraordinary phenomena of nature and unusual events in human life, and with the abnormal conditions of the human body, while the higher worship of the gods is inspired more by the regular course of events in nature and human life. Moreover, the great gods are supposed to have a claim to certain sacrifices, the regular performance of which, with the recital of prayers, forms one of the principal duties of every respectable Hindu; while the ceremonies which we comprise under the general name of witchcraft are performed at odd times with some worldly object in view, either to secure health, prosperity, for one's self (holy and auspicious rites), or to cause injury to others (hostile sorcery).

Among the auspicious rites, the medical charms and the witchcraft practices intended to cure diseases or to counteract the evil influence of the demons of disease are most prominent, and there is much truth in what Sir Alfred Lyall says, that "the most primitive witchcraft looks very like medicine in the embryonic state."

In India, as elsewhere, the general doctrine of disease prevails that all abnormal and morbid states of body and mind are caused by demons, who are conceived either as attacking the body from without or as temporarily entering the body of man. The consequence is that primitive medicine consists chiefly in chasing away or exorcising these hostile spirits. This is done, in the first instance, by charms. The spirit of disease is addressed with coaxing words and implored to leave the body of the patient, or fierce imprecations are pronounced against him, to frighten him away. But these charms, powerful as they are (in fact, there is nothing more powerful to the primitive mind than the human word, the solemn blessing or curse), are yet not the only resource of the ancient physicians or magicians.

From the earliest times men had become aware of the curative power of certain substances in nature, especially of herbs. This knowledge was first gained by experience, and after it had once been obtained, men began to ascribe similar curative power to plants, as well as to animal and mineral substances, for various other reasons. Analogy or association of ideas not only serves to explain many of the practices of primitive medicine or magic (which is the same), but also accounts in many cases for the belief in the curative power of certain substances. The principle that similia similibus curantur prevails throughout the whole range of folk-medicine. Thus dropey is cured by water. A spear-amulet is used to cure colic, which
is supposed to be caused by the spear of the god Rudra. The colour of a substance is of no small importance in determining its use as a medicine. Thus turmeric is used to cure jaundice. Red, the colour of life-blood and health, is the natural colour of many amulets used to secure long life and health. A black plant is recommended for the cure of white leprosy. But even the name of a substance was frequently a reason for ascribing to it healing power. One of the most powerful medicinal or magic plants is called in Sanskrit opúmárga (achyranthes aspera), and it owes its supposed power essentially to its etymological connection with the verb “ápámarj,” meaning “to wipe away,” and in Hindu charms the plant is constantly implored to wipe away disease, to wipe out the demons and wizards, to wipe off sins and evils of all kinds.

To wipe a disease away is a very common and a very natural means of getting rid of it.

This seems to be the meaning also of that ancient method of curing disease by the laying on of hands, which is already mentioned in the Rig-Vêda, though it is also possible that it was intended to press the disease down by means of the hands. For we read in one charm of the Rig-Vêda:

“Down bloweth the wind, down burneth the sun, the cloud (or cow) is milked downwards — down shall go thy ailment.”

“Beneficent is this one hand, more beneficent is this other hand — this one contains all medicines; the other one is wholesome by its touch.”

From another charm, however, it would seem as if the laying on of hands had only been intended as a means of establishing a connection between the patient and the magician, whose imprecations could have effect only on the person with whom he was actually in touch. In the same way the priest had to touch the person for whom he was offering prayers and sacrifices to the gods. The following charm of the Rig-Vêda seems to suggest such an interpretation:

“With these two hands, which have ten branches (the fingers), and which cure from disease, — the tongue being at the same time the leader of speech, — do I touch thee.”

There is a striking similarity between this ancient Hindu custom and the modern practices of faith-healing in which, after all, prayer has merely been substituted for the ancient charms.

The two chief resources of medical witchcraft, then, are charms (spells, imprecations) and magic rites, the chief object of which is to bring the body into contact with some supposed curative substance. These substances are frequently applied in the shape of amulets or talismans. There is, in India, no trace of a belief in spirits dwelling in the amulets. Their power is merely based on the power to destroy evil influences and demons, possessed by the herb or tree or mineral from which the amulet is derived.

The most ancient collection of charms in India is that found in the Atharva-Vêda, and we possess very ancient ritual books which contain detailed accounts of magic rites used in connection with the charms of the Atharva-Vêda. These charms have very much in common with those of other nations. More especially, numerous coincidences have been pointed out between Teutonic charms and those of the Atharva-Vêda. In the medical charms of the Hindus, the diseases are always personified. It is only our way of speaking when we say that diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. As a matter of fact, the diseases themselves are addressed as personal and demoniacal beings. Thus Fever — “the king of diseases,” as it is called in the Suáruta, the great work on Hindu medicine — is addressed with such words as: “Thou that maketh all men sallow, inflaming them like a searing fire, even now, O Fever, thou shalt become void of strength: do thou now go away down, ayé, into the depths! The Fever that is spotted, covered with spots, like reddish sediment, him thou, O plant of unremitting potency, drive away down below!” Here the plant Kushîha (costus speciosus) is addressed, which was

See Hymns of the Atharva-Vêda, together with Extracts from the Ritual Books and the Commentaries, translated by M. Bloomfield. (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 42, 1897.) I am indebted to Professor Bloomfield’s translation for most of the extracts given below.
always considered by the Hindus as one of the most powerful remedies against fever, leprosy and other diseases. That a demon of disease is at the same time worshipped and threatened with destruction, is a very common feature of these charms. This is not at all surprising. A Red Indian will in the same way worship a rattlesnake and offer it some tobacco before he proceeds to kill it. Thus our charm continues: "Having made obeisance to the Fever, I cast him down below."

The symptoms of malarial fever — the change between heat and chill, and the intermittency — are most vividly expressed in these charms. Thus we read: "When thou, being cold, and then again deliriously hot, accompanied by cough, didst cause the sufferer to shake, then, O Fever, thy missiles were terrible: from these surely exempt us! . . . O Fever, along with thy brother Swelling, along with thy sister Cough, along with thy cousin Eruption, go to yonder foreign folk!" Diseases are frequently thus told to depart and go to foreigners or enemies. Headache, cough, eruptions and abdominal swellings are frequently associated with malarial fever. Summer, autumn, and especially the rainy season, are most favourable to the spread of this dangerous disease. Hence the Kushśtha plant is addressed with the words: "Destroy the Fever that returns on each third day, the one that intermits each third day, the one that continues without intermission, and the autumnal one; destroy the cold Fever, the hot, him that comes in summer, and him that arrives in the rainy season!"

The frequency of fever during the rainy season probably accounts for the belief that lightning is the cause of fever as well as of headache and cough. A very symbolic cure of fever consists in making the patient drink gruel made of roasted grain, the dregs of gruel being afterwards poured from a copper vessel over the head of the patient into fire which must be taken from a forest-fire. A forest-fire is supposed to have originated from lightning, and that the cure of a disease is effected by that which causes it, is one of the most general ideas among primitive people. Both the roasted grain and the copper vessel are symbolic of the heat of fever. Here we have the rudiments of homeopathy. A similar homeopathic remedy against hot fever consists in heating an axe, quenching the axe in water, and pouring the water thus heated upon the patient.

Another magic rite is intended as a remedy against cold fever. By means of a blue and a red thread — blue and red are magic colours both in German and in Hindu sorcery — a frog is tied to the couch on which the patient reclines, and a charm is recited in which the Fever is invoked to enter into the frog. The frog represents the cold element, and the cold fever is expected to pass into the cold frog. It is highly interesting that we meet with a very similar frog-charm in Bohemia, where people, in order to cure chills of fever, catch a green frog, sew it into a bag, and hang it around the neck of the patient, who is not allowed to know of the contents of the bag. Then the patient must pronounce the Lord's prayer nine times on nine successive days before sunrise, and on the ninth day he must go to the river, throw the bag into the water, and return home without looking backward. This, too, is a kind of homeopathy.

The cure of disease by making it enter into some animal, is one of the most general devices of medical witchcraft both in India and elsewhere. According to Jewish law a living bird is "let loose into the open field" with the contagion of leprosy (Lev. xiv. 7, 53). To cure headache, people in Germany wind a thread round the patient's head, and then hang the thread as a noose on a tree; any bird flying through the noose takes the headache away with it. Jaundice is cured, in parts of Germany, by making it pass into a lizard. In ancient India jaundice was cured by seating the patient on a couch beneath which yellow birds were tied. The yellow disease was supposed to settle on the yellow birds.

The same principle of curing a disease by something similar to its cause or symptoms is also apparent in the cure of excessive discharges by means of water, although there must have been many other reasons which pointed to water as a great healing power. To the present
day the Hindus look upon rivers as divine beings or as the abode of spirits. And we may credit even the ancient Hindus with a certain knowledge of medicinal springs. Nor is it surprising that in a tropical climate the rain waters were hailed as “divine physicians.” Hence we read in a charm of the Atharva-Veda: “The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure all disease: may they prepare a remedy for thee!” But spring-water is considered as a particularly effective remedy against diarrhoea or other excessive discharges. It is a curious belief that the ants—which are also mentioned as instrumental in the cure of poison—bring healing-water from the sea. Thus it is said: “The ants bring the remedy from the sea; that is the cure for discharges, and that hath quieted disease.”

Dropsy or “water-disease” (Wassersucht in German)—the disease sent by Varuna, the god of the sea and water—is naturally cured best by the use of water. A very simple cure of dropsy consists in sprinkling water over the patient’s head by means of twenty-one (three times seven) tufts of Darbha or sacred grass (Poa cynocephala), together with reeds taken from the thatch of a house. The water sprinkled on the body is supposed to cure the water in the body. It is against dropsy, with which disease of the heart is frequently associated, that the following charm is pronounced: “From the Himalaya mountains they flow forth, in the Indus, forsooth, is their assembling-place: may the waters, indeed, grant me that care for heart-ache! The pain that hurts me in the eyes, and that which hurts in the heels and the fore-feet, the waters, the most skilled of physicians, shall put all that to rights! Ye rivers all, whose mistress is the Indus, whose queen is the Indus, grant us the remedy for that: through this remedy may we derive benefit from you!”

Varuna is not only the god of water, but also the god of justice and truth. Hence dropsy is more particularly considered as a punishment of falsehood and sin. Varuna ensnares with his fetters, i.e., his disease, every liar and traitor. Thus we read in a charm against treacherous designs: “With a hundred snares, O Varuna, surround him, let the liar not go free from thee, O thou that observest men! The rogue shall sit, his belly hanging loose, like a cask without hoops, bursting all about!”

Another great god of the ancient Hindu pantheon who is frequently connected with disease and witchcraft is Rudra, the father of the storm-gods. He is at the same time worshipped as a divine physician and feared as a cause of disease. He is the lord of cattle, but his missiles cause danger to cattle as well as to men. Especially all sharp internal pain, such as colic, is caused by the arrow of the god Rudra. It may be that lightning was conceived as a weapon of Rudra, and we have seen above that diseases were supposed to be caused by lightning.

As a rule, however, diseases are supposed to be caused by godlings rather than by gods. More especially, all such diseases as mania, fits, epilepsy and convulsions are ascribed to possession by Rakshas (devils) and Pisâchas (goblins). There is a special class of charms, the so-called “driving-out charms,” which are considered as most effective remedies against possession. But the most powerful enemy and destroyer of all devils is Agni, the Fire. “Slayer of fiends” is one of the most common epithets of this god. In a delightful story by “Frank Pope Humphrey” (Pseudonym Library), a young lady who is frightened by a ghost is made to say: “I sprang out of bed and piled the branches of pine upon the coals until they roared in a vast flame up the chimney and lighted every corner of the room like noontide. For I have ever found that light scatters quickly the phantoms that people the darkness.” This is exactly the same sentiment which made the South American Indians carry brands or torches for fear of evil demons when they ventured into the dark. And for the very same reason the ancient Norse colonists in Iceland used to carry fire round the lands they intended to occupy to expel the evil spirits. (Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol. II. p. 194.) At the great animal sacrifices in ancient India, the priest had to carry a firebrand round the victim. “Why he carries the fire round,” says an ancient treatise on sacrifices, “is that he encircles the victim by means of the fire with an unbroken fence, lest the evil spirits should seize upon it; for Agni is the repeller of the Rakshas (devils).” No wonder, therefore, that Agni or Fire is invoked in a charm.
against mania to free from madness him who has "been robbed of sense by the Rakshas:" "Release for me, O Agni, this person here, who, bound and well-secured, loudly jabbers! Then shall he have due regard for thy share of the offering, when he shall be freed from madness! Agni shall quiet down thy mind, if it has been disturbed! Cunningly do I prepare a remedy, that thou shalt be freed from madness."

Sacrifices to the god of fire, burning of fragrant substances and fumigation are among the principal rites against possession by demons. The following is a very complicated ceremony against mania: "Pulverized fragrant substances, mixed with ghee, are sacrificed, and the patient is anointed with what remains. The patient is next placed upon a cross-roads, a wicker-work of darbha grass, containing a coal-pan, upon his head; and upon the coal the previously mentioned fragrant substances are again offered. The patient going into a river against the current throws the same substances into a sieve, while another person from behind washes him off. Pouring more of the fragrant substances into an unburned vessel, moistening the substances with ghee, placing the vessel in a three-footed wicker basket made of munja-grass (Sacharum munja), he ties it to a tree in which there are birds' nests" (Bloomfield, p. 519). Here we have the idea of driving out demons with the help of fire, combined with the well-known devices of making a disease run away with flowing water, and of transmitting it to trees and animals. The ceremony is performed on a cross-roads, this being the favourite haunt of all demons, and therefore the most fitting place for all kinds of witchcraft practices.

As fire was considered to be the best of demon-scarers, it was naturally supposed to be most powerful in driving away the demons of disease also; that is, in curing all kinds of diseases. Hence the custom of passing a sick child through fire, which was witnessed in Scotland only a few years ago. The ancient Teutonic custom of kindling a need-fire for the cure of cattle diseases was still practiced in Scotland in 1788. A fire was "kindled from this need-fire . . . and the cattle brought to feel the smoke of this new and sacred fire, which preserved them from the murrain." In ancient Rome a sacrifice was offered on the twenty-first of April, and the flocks were driven through the burning fire. In ancient India, also, there was an annual festival when a bull was sacrificed to Rudra (the god of cattle) and the flocks were placed around the fire so that the smoke should reach them. At other times also, when cows and horses were attacked by a disease, the ancient Hindus sacrificed ghee with ghee to Rudra, and the animals were expected to be cured by smelling the smoke. Professor Max Müller suggests that these customs had "a purely utilitarian foundation," that purification by fire is in fact "the forerunner of our modern quarantine, which many medical authorities now look upon as equally superstitious." But I doubt whether it can be proved that the ancient Hindus or other ancient nations had any actual knowledge of, or belief in, fumigation as a means for removing infection. What we know is that they believed that diseases both of men and cattle were caused by demons or gods, — such as Rudra, — and that they also believed that fire was a repellent of all demons. These two ideas seem to account sufficiently for the origin of such customs as those mentioned above. Customs and beliefs must be founded on reason, but what is perfectly reasonable from the point of view of ancient people, need not be "utilitarian" according to modern ideas.

Besides the Rakshas and Piśāchas, the devils and goblins, whose special province it is to cause all kinds of mischief, we find in ancient India also the world-wide belief in succubi and succubi who pay nocturnal visits to mortal men and women. These are the Apsaras and Gandharvas of Hindu mythology, who correspond in every respect to the elves and nightmares of Teutonic belief. They are really godlings of Nature. Rivers and trees are their natural abodes, which they only leave in order to allure mortals and injure them by unnatural intercourse. To drive these spirits away the fragrant plant ajasāringi, "goat's horn" (odina pinnata), is used, and the following charm pronounced: "With thee do we scatter the Apsaras.

* See F. Max Müller, Physical Religion, pp. 284 f., 288 f., 369 f.
and Gandharvas. O goat’s horn (ajastaği), goad (aja) the Rakshas, drive them all away with thy smell! The Apsaras (nymphs) . . . shall go to the river, to the ford of the waters, as if blown away! Thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, since ye have recognized! Where grow the śāvattha (ficus religiosa) and the banyan-trees, the great trees with crowns, thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, since ye have been recognized! Where your gold and silver swing are, where cymbals and lutes chime together, thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, since ye have been recognized. The Apsaras, you know, are your wives; ye, the Gandharvas, are their husbands. Speed away, ye immortals, do not go after mortals!"

According to Teutonic belief, also, fragrant herbs (e.g., origanum, antirrhinum, hypericum perforatum, and especially thyme) are excellent means for frightening away devils and witches as well as nymphs and elves. In Teutonic charms, also, the “maer,” i.e., the nightmare, is told to leave the houses of mortals, and to repair to the waters and trees, which proves the character of these spirits to be the same as that of the ancient Hindu Apsaras and Gandharvas. Like the latter, the nymphs and elves of Teutonic mythology are particularly fond of music and dancing, by means of which they allure mortal men and women.

That the godlings of Nature, especially the spirits of trees and waters, are occasionally identified with the spirits of disease, may to some extent account for the healing power ascribed to water and trees. In fact, the far-spread custom of transferring diseases to trees seems to have originated from a desire of infecting the spirit of a tree with a disease which may have been caused by the same or an allied spirit. Amulets as a protection against diseases, hostile sorcery, evil eye and other calamities are frequently taken from trees. Thus, an amulet consisting of splinters from ten kinds of holy trees is considered as a potent remedy against hereditary disease, and also against possession by demons. Nine kinds of wood are used for a similar purpose in German witchcraft. A very powerful amulet is derived from the Varaṇa tree, i.e., crataeva zizyphoides. But its great power seems to rest solely on the supposed etymology of Varaṇa from a root var, meaning to ward off. The following powerful charm is recited on the occasion of tying this Varaṇa-amulet: “Here is my Varaṇa-amulet, a bull that destroys the rivals: with it do thou close in upon thy enemies, crush them that desire to injure thee! Break them, crush them, close in upon them: the amulet shall be thy van guard in front! With the Varaṇa did the gods ward off the onslaught of the demons day after day. This thousand-eyed, yellow, golden Varaṇa-amulet is a universal cure; it shall lay low thy enemies: be thou the first to injure those that hate thee! This Varaṇa will ward off the spell that has been spread against thee; this will protect thee from human danger, this will protect thee from all evil. This divine tree, the Varaṇa shall ward off! The gods, too, did ward off the disease that has entered into this man. If, when asleep, thou shalt behold an evil dream; as often as a wild beast shall run an inauspicious course; ominous sneezing, and the evil shriek of a bird — all this shall the Varaṇa-amulet ward off! The Varaṇa will ward off the demons Grudge and Misfortune, sorcery, and danger, death, and over-strong weapons. This divine tree shall ward off the sin that my mother, that my father, that my brothers and my sister have committed; the sin that we ourselves have committed. . . . This Varaṇa upon my breast, the kingly, divine tree, shall smite asunder my enemies, as Indra the demons! Long-lived, a hundred autumns old, do I wear this Varaṇa: kingdom and rule, cattle and strength, this amulet shall bestow upon me!”

I have quoted this lengthy charm because it shows unmistakably how the ancient Hindus looked upon disease, danger from mortal enemies and from the gods, evil omens and hostile sorcery, as well as upon hereditary and other sins as caused by the same agency, and therefore to be removed by the same remedy. One and the same amulet is to be used as a protection against all evils, and even as a means for securing long life and happiness. The underlying idea can only be that all evils which beset mankind are caused by malevolent superhuman beings who have to be propitiated or warded off, to secure health and happiness.

As these demons are the sworn enemies of mankind, it is only natural that they should be most anxious to injure the new-born infant, and even the embryo. Numerous, therefore, are
the charms and rites concerned with the protection of mother and child against the attacks of evil spirits. Fire, as already mentioned, is the most powerful weapon against the demons. Hence it is that tribes of the Malay Peninsula light fires near a mother at childbirth, to scare away the evil spirits; and the people of the Hebrides, to protect the mother and child from evil spirits, carry fire round them. The law of the Parsis ("Sad Dar," ch. 16) requires that, when a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm. . . . During forty days it is not proper that they should leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant should put her foot over a threshold in the dwelling, or cast her eyes upon a hill." The threshold is, like the cross-roads, a favourite haunt of the evil spirits. Hence a bride, also, is forbidden— in India as well as in ancient Rome—to tread upon a threshold. The demons are naturally as opposed to marriage as they are to childbirth, and at all marriage ceremonies great care has to be taken to protect the bridal pair, especially the bride, from attacks of the demons. Hence the burning of lamps at Chinese weddings, and perhaps the carrying of fire behind the bridal procession in ancient India. The law of the Parsis has its exact counterpart in Scandinavia, where, until a child is baptized, the fire must never be let out, lest the trolls should be able to steal the infant, and a live coal must be cast after the mother as she goes to be churched (Tylor, Vol. II. p. 195). The custom of keeping a light burning in the lying-in room is still practiced in Germany, as it was in ancient Rome. In ancient India the rule was to keep a fire burning near the door of the lying-in room in which mustard seeds and rice-chaff were sacrificed every morning and evening for ten days. Visitors, too, were requested to throw mustard seeds and rice-chaff into the fire, before entering the room.

Among the rites performed for the welfare of the new-born infant is the first feeding. The child is made to taste honey and milk from a golden spoon. Gold was frequently used at auspicious rites by the ancient Hindus, and was also worn as an amulet for long life. "The gold which is born from fire, the immortal, they bestowed upon the mortals. He who knows this deserves it; of old age dies he who wears it." It seems to me highly probable that the auspiciousness of gold is due to its supposed origin from fire. "The seed of Agni" (Fire) is a frequent designation of gold. As fire could not be worn as an amulet, gold was used instead.

The first name given to a child is to be kept secret. Only the parents may know it. For according to Hindu notions, demons and wizards have no power over a person unless they know his name. This custom of concealing the baptismal name is also found among other peoples, e. g., the Abyssinians.

The chapter of children's diseases is as large in medical witchcraft as in modern medical science, and in the Hindu charms we find numerous names of demons to whom the various diseases of children are ascribed. One of these demons is called the "Dog-demon," and is said to represent epilepsy (though the barking dog would remind us rather of whooping cough). When a boy was attacked by the dog-demon, he was first covered with a net, and a gong was beaten or a bell rung. Then the boy was brought into a gambling-hall, — not, however, by the door, but by an opening made in the roof, — the hall was sprinkled with water, the dice cast, the boy laid on his back on the dice, and a mixture of cards and salt poured over him, while again a gong was beaten. The curds and salt were poured on the boy, while a charm was recited which is only partly intelligible: "Kûrkura, Sukûrkura, Kûrkura who binds the boys. . . . O fine-haired doggy, let him loose, let him loose, chat! . . . go away, dog . . . let the dog eat a dog, not a human being, chat! . . . " To drive evil demons away by means of loud noises, such as the beating of a gong, was a device frequently resorted to in ancient Hindu rites; and as Mr. Crooke ("Folklore of Northern India," i. 168) tells us, bells and drums are still used in India as scarers of demons. "So, the Patârî priest in Mirzapur and many classes
of ascetics throughout the country carry bells and rattles made of iron, which they move as they walk to scare demons. . . . This also accounts for the music played at weddings, when the young pair are in special danger from the attacks of evil spirits. At many rites it is the rule to clap the hands at a special part of the ritual with the same purpose. Why the ceremony should take place in the gambling-hall is not quite clear, unless it be that the dice were considered as demons. In the epic literature we meet with two of the dice, who are represented as evil demons. But the casting of dice occurs also as a kind of oracle in the ancient sacrificial ritual of the Hindus, and this may account for the demoniacal or religious character of the dice. Interesting is the practice of bringing the child into the hall through an opening in the roof, that is, not by the door. To enter a house by any other opening but the door seems to be a means of escaping the demons who are haunting the threshold. Thus, according to a German superstition, it is conducive to the health of a child to lift it out of the window when it is taken to church to be baptized.

Demons are not only expelled by fire, strong smells and loud noises, but also by the use of more material weapons. Thus, at an ancient Hindu wedding pointed chips of wood or arrowheads were shot into the air with the following imprecation against the demons: "I pierce the eyes of the Rakshas (devils) who roam about the bride as she approaches the wedding fire; may the Lord of the Demons bestow welfare on the bride!" A staff also is frequently used for driving away the evil spirits. It has been shown by Professor H. Oldenberg (Religion des Veda, pp. 492 ff.) that the staff which ascetics and other holy persons are required to carry was originally intended as a weapon against the demons. In order to insure good luck everywhere, an ancient Hindu manual of sorcery advises a man always to carry an oaken staff which has been consecrated by sacrifices and sacred hymns. If he wishes that a certain town or village or house or stable should not be entered by hostile persons, he should draw a circle with his staff, thinking of the place he wishes to protect, and no such person will be able to enter the place.

Of course, the ancient Hindus knew that some maladies and derangements of the human body were not caused by any mysterious power; they knew that wounds were inflicted by weapons, they knew something about the effects of poison, and had an idea that certain diseases were caused by animals, such as worms. But in ancient India, as well as in German popular superstition, the term "worms" includes all kinds of reptiles, and snakes and worms are not kept very distinct. Moreover, all kinds of diseases were ascribed to worms. And both worms and snakes are actually considered as a kind of demoniacal beings. The imprecations against worms are therefore not very different from the charms against the demons. Thus we read in a charm against worms: "The worm which is in the entrails, and he that is in the head, likewise the one that is in the ribs: . . . the worms do we crush with this charm. The worms that are within the mountains, forests, plants, cattle, and the waters, those that have settled in our bodies, all that brood of the worms do I smite."

In a charm against worms in children it is said: "Slay the worms in this boy, O Indra, lord of treasures! Slain are all the evil powers by my fierce imprecation! Him that moves about in the eyes, that moves about in the nose, that gets to the middle of the teeth, that worm do we crush. Slain is the king of the worms, and their viceroy also is slain. Slain is the worm, with him his mother is slain, his brother slain, his sister slain. . . . Of all the male worms, and of all the female worms do I split the heads with the stone, I burn their faces with fire."

This fierce imprecation is accompanied by a rite symbolical of the destruction of worms in the patient. An oblation of black lentils, mixed with roasted worms and with ghee, is offered in the fire. Then the sick child is placed upon the lap of its mother, and, with the bottom of a pestle heated in the fire and greased with butter, the palate of the child is warmed by thrice pressing upon it. Then a mixture of the leaves of a horse-raddish tree and butter is applied, and three times seven dried roots of andropogon muricatus are given to the child, upon whom
water is poured. The words of the charm leave no doubt that not only intestinal diseases but also pains of the head and the eyes, etc., are ascribed to worms. Thus, German popular medicine knows of a "finger-worm" as the cause of whitlow (Panaricum), and even spasm in the stomach is ascribed to a worm, the so-called "heart-worm" (Herzwurm). As the Hindu charm mentions a worm "that gets to the middle of the teeth," so worms are believed to be the cause of toothache in almost every part of the world. "If a worm eat the teeth," says one of the prescriptions in an English Leech Book, "take holly rind over a year old and root of carline thistle, boil in hot water, hold in the mouth as hot as thou hottest may." In Madagascar the sufferer from toothache is said to be "poorly through the worm" (W. G. Black, Folk-Medicine, pp. 32 f.). In a French charm against toothache it is said: "Si c'est une goutte de sang, elle tombera; si ce n'est un ver, il mourra." In Germany a sufferer from toothache will go to a pear-tree, walk three times round it, and say: "Pear tree, I complain to thee, three worms sting me; the one is gray, the other is blue, the third is red — I wish they were all three dead."

The circumambulation of the tree here alluded to has its parallel in the circumambulation of the fire and other sacred objects, which forms an essential part in the magic rites and religious ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.

An important chapter in ancient Hindu witchcraft is that of the so-called "women's rites," or the charms and rites connected with sexual love. This chapter may well be treated as an appendix to medical witchcraft. "Liebeswahnium — Phrenasmus, Liebe ist ja selbst ein Wahnsinn," says Heine, and to the primitive mind sexual love is indeed only a kind of mania, or mental derangement. Hence the love charms are only one class of medical charms. As herbs are used to allay disease, so are various kinds of plants used to arouse love in men or women. Thus a man who wishes to secure the love of a woman is told to tie to his little finger an amulet of licorice-wood and recite the charm: "This plant is born of honey, with honey do we dig for thee. Of honey thou art begotten, do thou make us full of honey! At the tip of my tongue may I have honey, at my tongue's root the sweetness of honey! In my power alone shalt thou then be, thou shalt come up to my wish! . . . I am sweeter than honey, fuller of sweetness than licorice. Mayest thou, without fail, long for me alone, as a bee for a branch full of honey! I have surrounded thee with a clinging sugar-cane, to remove aversion, so that thou shalt not be averse to me!"

Most of the love charms, however, are not so "sweet," but have more in common with the fierce imprecations used for hostile sorcery. The following words are addressed to a plant (Andropogon aciculatus, according to one authority), to arouse the passionate love of a woman: "Clinging to the ground thou didst grow, O plant, that produceth bliss for me; a hundred branches extend from thee, and thirty grow down from thee: with this plant of a thousand leaves thy heart do I parch. Thy heart shall parch with love for me, and thy mouth shall parch with love for me! Languish, moreover, with love for me, with parched mouth pass thy days! Thou that causest affection, kindlest love, brown, lovely plant, draw us together; draw together yonder woman and myself, our hearts make the same!"

To secure the love of her husband, and to become victorious over a rival or co-wife, a woman had to perform the following rite. In the morning of an auspicious day, she goes to a spot where a Glycaea hermaulidjutta grows, scatters three times seven barley corns around it, and says, "If thou belongest to Varaṇa, I redeem thee from Varaṇa; if thou belongest to Soma, I redeem thee from Soma." Next morning she digs the plant up, saying the following charm: "I dig up this plant, the most potent of herbs, by which a rival woman may be overcome, by which a husband may be entirely won. O thou plant with erect leaves, who art auspicious, victorious, and powerful! Blow away my rival, make my husband mine alone! Superior am I, O superior plant, superior to the highest. Now shall my rival be inferior to the lowest! I do not even mention her name, nor does she care for me. To the very farthest distance let us banish the rival!" Then she cuts the root of the plant in two, and ties the two pieces to
her hands, saying: "I am overpowering, and thou, O plant, art overpowering. Having both grown full of power, let us overpower my rival!" With the parts of the root tied to her hands, she embraces her husband, pronouncing the charm: "About thee I have placed the overpowering plant, upon thee placed the very overpowering one. May thy mind run after me as a calf after the cow, as water along its course!"

Not only to secure love, but generally to obtain mastery over a man or a woman, the ancient Hindus also availed themselves of a device to which we find interesting parallels among many other nations. He who wanted to get a person into his power had only to make an image of the person (either of clay or of metal), place his foot on the breast of the image, and mutter certain charms. Or he might make such an image of dough (using flour of black rice), rub it with mustard oil, cut off the limbs, and sacrifice the image in fire. But the heart he must eat himself, else the person would die. A woman who wishes to arouse the love of a man performs the following rite: She throws beans upon the head of the person whose love is desired. Then the points of arrows are kindled and cast in every direction about the effigy of the desired person, its face fronting towards the performer. At the same time she recites the charm: "This yearning love comes from the Apsaras, the victorious, imbued with victory. Ye gods, send forth the yearning love; may yonder man burn after me!" etc. A man also, who wishes to secure the affections of a woman, uses for this purpose an effigy of the desired person. And by means of a bow which has a bowstring of hemp, with an arrow whose barb is a thorn, whose plume is derived from an owl, whose shaft is made of black wood, he pierces the heart of the effigy, reciting a fierce imprecation.

Similar magic rites are performed by a king in order to get rid of an enemy, when not only the image of the enemy, but even images of elephants, horses, carriages and soldiers are made of dough and sacrificed in the fire. In Bengal "a person sometimes takes a bamboo which has been used to keep down a corpse during cremation, and, making a bow and arrow with it, repeats incantations over them. He then makes an image of his enemy in clay, and lets fly an arrow into this image. The person whose image is thus pierced is said to be immediately seized with a pain in his breast" (W. Crooke, Popular Religion of Northern India, ii. 279). In the Pitt-Rivers collection in the University Museum at Oxford, there is an interesting specimen of a wax image which I as been used for witchcraft purposes in Singapore, and a clay image which was used with no friendly purpose only a few years ago — in England. To injure persons by making images of wax, melting them over a slow fire, or piercing them with needles, was a common practice both in ancient Rome and in Germany. In England, too, as Sir George Mackenzie wrote in 1678, "Witches do likewise torment mankind, by making images of clay or wax, and when the witches prick or puncte these images, the persons whom these images represent do find extreme torment, which doth not proceed from any influence these images have upon the body tormented, but the devil doth by natural means raise these torments in the person tormented, at the same very time that the witches do prick or puncte, or hold to the fire these images of clay or wax" (Black, Folk-Medicine, pp. 19 f.).

Another kind of hostile sorcery which the ancient Hindus share with other peoples is that by means of nail-parings, hair, or even the dust taken from the footprint of the person one wishes to injure. Nail-parings are described in the sacred books of the Parsis as the weapons of sorcerers. Among the Southern Slavs (according to Dr. Krauss) nail-parings are sometimes used to drive a person mad, while girls use nail-parings to gain the love of a youth. To prevent mischief done by demons and sorcerers, Hindus are very careful about the disposal of haircuttings and nail-parings. That a person may be injured by meddling with his footprints, is a belief found in Germany, in Australia, and is met with in Northern India at the present day (Crooke, ii. 280). In ancient India, a man who wished to secure the love of a woman was recommended to take some dust from her footprints and sacrifice it in the fire, chanting a certain charm.
In all these customs, where persons are believed to be influenced by some act performed either with the image of the person, or with some part of his body, we see the working of the association of ideas. However unreasonable it may seem to us that a person should feel the effect of an injury done to his effigy or to his nail-pairings, it is perfectly in accordance with the reasoning of primitive people. If a savage were told to swallow a pill to be cured of a headache, he would probably consider it as exactly parallel to wearing an amulet on one part of the body against an ailment in another part. Even the belief in demons as the cause of disease has nothing surprising even in our days — only we have to think not of those diseases the causes of which have been cleared up by medical science, but of nervous diseases which are almost as mysterious to the modern physician as they were to the ancient medicine-man. As the sphere of knowledge extends, that of superstition becomes more and more limited. But “superstition” is only a relative term. What we call superstition to-day was actual belief — based on reasoning as much as our own beliefs — in the days of our forefathers.

The psychological process by which people arrived at these so-called superstitions is much the same everywhere. Our investigation has proved that all the features of witchcraft folklore which we find in other parts of the world recur again in ancient India. This is one more proof of what all ethnological and ethno-psychological studies tend to teach, — that mankind is the same all over the globe and that one law rules the human mind, just as, despite all differences of colour and skulls, the human body shows the same characteristics, and is subject to the same trials and dangers in all parts of the world. I began by saying that we may find the beginnings of religion and rudiments of science in the crude notions of primitive people about man and Nature; I conclude by saying that the religious beliefs and superstitious customs of primitive people are, after all, the foundation on which our own morality, our laws and social institutions are based. In fact, there is no safer foundation, no grander hope for the future development of morality and the higher civilization which is to come, than the knowledge and the consciousness of the unity of mankind — the precious lesson taught by anthropology and ethnology.

MISCELLANEA.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MĀṆAVA OR MAITRAYĀṆIYA SŪTRAS.

AN APPEAL.

DR. FRIEDRICH KNAUER, Professor in the University of Kiew, Russia, who has lately published an excellent edition of the Māṇavagrīhya-sūtra, has in preparation a critical edition of the Brāutāsūtra of the same school. He has copied and collated all MSS. of the text and commentaries which were accessible to him, but unfortunately the materials for his task are still insufficient. More good manuscripts of the Māṇava (Maitreyāṇiya) Brāutasātra and its commentaries are wanted. Such manuscripts are likely to be found in the neighbourhood of Gujarāt, and to the north as far as Benares, especially in Benares itself, probably also in Khāndēs. They are likely to be found especially among the Moḍha-Brāhmaṇas. It is well known that the ritual works of the Māṇava school are among the oldest and most important works for the study of the ancient Hindu ritual, as well as for that of the history of the Vedic schools.

Pupils and English scholars and officials in India will, therefore, earn the gratitude of all Sanskrit scholars, if they will take the trouble to search for manuscripts of the Māṇava or Maitreyāṇiya Sūtras (both Brāutasātra and Gṛhya-sūtra, commentaries thereon, and Prayīgas or Pādāhātis) and communicate with Professor Knauer about anything found. Professor Knauer is prepared to buy any original manuscripts of the above description or to pay for trustworthy copies. All communications should be addressed to Professor F. Knauer, Universitätskij Speusk 13, in Kiew, Russia.

THE EDITOR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TELUGU SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT SPITTE.

I. If, when rinsing the teeth with charcoal in the mornings, anyone spits on a road, the Telugus say, he is sure to be laid up with a sharp attack of fever for two or three days if the spittle is trodden upon. So every one is advised, if he wants to
WORSHIP OF NARSINGH IN KANGRA.

While the patient to be cured, or the child, keeps shivering and shaking with the force of the spirit in him, the bairā sings the following incantations, accompanying himself on the dōpatrā:—

Refrain.

Mērē Naṁsīṅghā, Narāṇjanīya bīrā!
Bīrēn mōṁ bōliyān; bīrēṇ mōṁ bōliyān:
Bīrēṇ mōṁ bōliyān jag sārā;
Mērē Naṁsīṅghā hō! Narāṇjanīya āji!

I.

Bḥāt Gāth Mathrā bīch jannē, Gōkāl tāt atārā.

II.

Bḥāt Basudēvā dī, bālaketā, Jōsōdhān dī jāyā!

III.

Jīthā kawārīdā, kannyā, tinā bāsē tērā!

IV.

Ambēn ambōtēn, khōē, peknandē dē bā sē tērā!

V.

Pāplēn, palōtēn, mālīyā bāsē tērā!

VI.

Sāōt sāōt pagit kunjān dī kagīt gīt bītī
narmēdē dā jāmā!

Refrain.

O my Naṁsīṅghā, O great Narāṇjan!
O thou that hast captivated me: O thou that has captivated me: O thou that hast captivated the whole world: O my Naṁsīṅghā! O my Lord Narāṇjan!

I.

O friend, born in the fort of Mathurā, thou didst become incarnate in Gōkāla.

II.

O friend, and son of Vasudēva, the child of Yassōdhā.

III.

Where the maids and virgins are, there is thy home.

IV.

Thy home is in the mangoes, young mangoes, in wells, and in tanks.

V.

Thy home is in the pāpāls, young pāpāls and jasmines.

VI.

Red and red is thy turban flowered and crested, fine the robes on thy body.

SĀDARU BALHARI in P. N. and Q. 1883.

[The above is evidently a song to Kṛṣṇa, and as much is in some of its verses commonly sung all over the Pānīpāt at the Rās Līḍh, which commemorates the dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gōpāls. This mixing up of the Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa aṇḍāras of Vaiṣṇava is very curious.— Ed.]
ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 13.)

B. — ADJECTIVES.

1. Gender.

217. In the formation of the feminine we find the same changes which we have already noticed in the case of substantives (vide §§ 184 and ff.). The following are examples:—

(a) Vowel Changes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Masculine.</th>
<th>Feminine.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>लोकत्</td>
<td>लोकत्</td>
<td>lokat, little</td>
<td>लोकत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न्यू,</td>
<td>न्यू</td>
<td>new...</td>
<td>न्यू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लुर्,</td>
<td>लुर्</td>
<td>healthy...</td>
<td>लुर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वुहर्, of so many years (१०)</td>
<td>वुहर्</td>
<td>the Persian साल sāla; e.g., दो वुहर्, of two</td>
<td>वुहर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काँत्र, brown...</td>
<td>काँत्र</td>
<td></td>
<td>काँत्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अपुर, childless...</td>
<td>अपुर</td>
<td></td>
<td>अपुर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूनोर्, left (not right)...</td>
<td>कूनोर्</td>
<td></td>
<td>कूनोर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कूदर्, coarse, gross</td>
<td>कूदर्</td>
<td></td>
<td>कूदर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मदर्, proud...</td>
<td>मदर्</td>
<td></td>
<td>मदर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मदर्, sweet...</td>
<td>मदर्</td>
<td></td>
<td>मदर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सृर्, flat...</td>
<td>सृर्</td>
<td></td>
<td>सृर्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अल्त्...</td>
<td>अल्त्</td>
<td></td>
<td>अल्त्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्रोत, deprived</td>
<td>स्त्रोत</td>
<td></td>
<td>स्त्रोत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोत, endowed with, e.g.:</td>
<td>सोत</td>
<td></td>
<td>सोत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जुवरोत, lifeless</td>
<td>जुवरोत</td>
<td></td>
<td>जुवरोत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रुगसोट, afflicted with sickness</td>
<td>रुगसोट</td>
<td></td>
<td>रुगसोट</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 In the last syllable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् apos, untrue, false</td>
<td>झङ् apos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् bad, great</td>
<td>झङ् (obl. कङ् baji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् dor, hard</td>
<td>झङ् d̐ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् khond, broken (of crockery)</td>
<td>झङ् khond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् od, half</td>
<td>झङ् od</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् pop, ripe</td>
<td>झङ् pop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् tsor, much</td>
<td>झङ् ts̐ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् zor, deaf</td>
<td>झङ् z̐ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् ador, wet</td>
<td>झङ् ad̐ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् vyosh, fat</td>
<td>झङ् vy̌ṣ̔th or vy̌ṣ̔th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् patyum, last</td>
<td>झङ् patim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् peshyum, upper</td>
<td>झङ् p̐eṣ̔thim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् talyum, lower</td>
<td>झङ् talim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ्</td>
<td>झङ् nebryum, outer</td>
<td>झङ् nebr̐im</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So also all ordinal numerals as

<p>| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् doyum, second | झङ् doyim         |
| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् fyuth, bitter | झङ् f̐y̌ṣ̔th       |
| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् s̐oo, wealthy | झङ् s̐o          |
| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् ōm, raw       | झङ् ōm           |
| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् d̐olom, round | झङ् d̐ol̐om       |
| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् f̐oth, beloved | झङ् f̐oth          |
| झङ्  | झङ् | झङ् my̌ṣ̔th, sweet | झङ् m̐iṣ̔th       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Masculine.</th>
<th>Feminine.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>یہ, یہ</td>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>یہ، یں</td>
<td>یہ، یں</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>دیور</td>
<td>دیور، rich</td>
<td>دیور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>یہ، یں</td>
<td>یہ, یں</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>یہ، یں</td>
<td>یہ, یں</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We find a double change in the following:

| یہ | یہ | یہ، یں | یہ، یں |

Perfect participles in یہ mutate form their feminine as follows:

| یہ | یہ | یہ، یں | یہ, یں |

(b) Consonantal Changes.

| یہ | یہ | یہ, یں | یہ, یں |

Changes of both Consonants and Vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Change.</th>
<th>Consonantal Change.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>یہ</td>
<td>یہ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1See §§ 213, 2, (a).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Consonantal Change</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>َـَـ ْـَـ</td>
<td>َـَ َـَك</td>
<td>َـَـ ِـَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| َـَـ ْـَـ | َـَ َـَك | َـَـ ِـَ | َـَـ ِـَ َـَـ ـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~
| َـَـ | َـَ | َـَـ | َـَـ َـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~
| َـَـ | َـَ | َـَـ | َـَـ َـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~
| َـَـ | َـَ | َـَـ | َـَـ َـَـَـَ~
| َـَـ | َـَ | َـَـ | َـَـ َـَـَ~
| َـَـ | َـَ | َـَـ | َـَـ َـَ~
| َـَـ | َـَ | َـَـ | َـَ~

So future participles active in َـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~

11 This, I am now satisfied, is the correct spelling of the feminine. See note 39, § 83. The plural is (masculine).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Consonantal Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ज</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नू क</td>
<td>नू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तू थ</td>
<td>तू थ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तू युक, like this... तू युक</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तू युक, like this... तू युक</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तू युक, like this... तू युक</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And so other pronominal adjectives of quantity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>झ</th>
<th>झ</th>
<th>ठ</th>
<th>ठ</th>
<th>ठ</th>
<th>ठ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ठ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 Wade, Imd.
### Vowel Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Change</th>
<th>Consonantal Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ron, footless</td>
<td>reż</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ton, thin</td>
<td>reż</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hekanwól, able</td>
<td>hekanwójen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahekanwól, unable</td>
<td>nahekanwójen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mündón, pretty</td>
<td>mündón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myón, my</td>
<td>mión</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prón, old</td>
<td>prón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyúl, blue</td>
<td>nyúl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

218. Many adjectives remain unchanged in the feminine: amongst these may be noticed:

1. Loan-words, e.g., Persian adjectives in *dár, kár,* and *gar.*
2. Words ending in *lad,* endowed with; e.g., *dóld-lad,* from *dóld* pain.
3. Words ending in *s*; e.g., *budá, old; múda, negligent; bálá, young.*
4. Others, such as: *bochh,* hungry; *gob,* heavy; *got,* turbid; *ján,* good; *yachh,* bad; *kangál,* poor; *kanjús,* stingy; *katál,* vile; *kob,* hump-backed; *byun,* separate; *bewár,* careless; *bhoí,* beautiful.

### Declension

219. Adjectives are declined, in the masculine, according to the 2nd declension, and in the feminine according to the 3rd; the sound-changes already described, taking effect as usual; e.g., *ur,* healthy, pl. m. *er; on,* blind, on *em.* Compounds ending in *lad,* endowed

---

19 Kimasia, roman.

20 [The author says the 4th declension, but this is not correct. Wade rightly gives an example, *wuzul,* word, red, in which the feminine is declined according to the 3rd declension.]
with (see § 218), and loan-words, are the only ones which are declined according to the first declension. Loan-words are more often not declined; e.g., wairda jādu andar, in a desert place (on the other hand, with the same word used as a substantive, we have akh vaironis andar, in a desert); yimi muskin mond (mond, a widow) trëw sadray kandi khota tsor, by this poor widow more has been cast in than by all.

220. As the Locative has merely the Dative forms to which a postposition is attached, and the postposition is given only once (after the noun) and is not repeated, it may be said that an adjective agreeing as an attribute with a noun in the Locative is put in the Dative; e.g., râpis (dat. masc. of rât, good) zamûnis andar, in the good land. But if we ask 'in what land does this plant grow?' and reply 'in the good,' we must, of course, say, râpis andar.

Examples.

rât (rât), good; Dat. râpis, abl. râti, voc. râti, râti; fem. rât, pl. râtiga.

râtâg, clever; fem. nom. pl. gâtijî.

gâtul, blue; Dat. sg. (§ 213, 2 (e), nîlès nîlis; fem. nîj, nîj; pl. nîji.

khor (khor, karun, to make), (he was) made; pl. karî, karî; fem. sg. kor, kor, pl. kare (3rd declension) (cf. § 90).

kor-mut, made; pl. kor-âstär, kor-mâstär, kor-mats; pl. kor-mats.

khor-mut, made; pl. korâstär, kor-mâstär, kor-mats; pl. kor-mats.

khor, (he) was; pl. khor, khor, khor (cf. § 90).

khor-mut, been; pl. khor-mâstär, khor-mats; pl. khor-mats.

Atlantic dilakr rati khazarâng andârâng out of the good treasure of the heart.

[The vowel in this adjective is a very obscure one, and it is also written rût throughout (see § 213, 2 (a)].]
3. Comparison.

221. There are no special forms in Kāśmirī for the Comparative and Superlative.

222. The Comparative is expressed by means of the Positive, or by means of the Persian Comparative words bīhtar, better; busurgtar, greater, etc. The adjective receives a comparative force by means of the particle khotā, compared with. E. g., मिर: khotā sālā, stronger than I.

This particle is properly a substantive in the ablative, and therefore governs the noun with which comparison is made, in [oblique form of] the genitive in ीत. For the same reason the possessive pronouns must be used instead of the personal ones. [Sometimes the sign of the genitive is omitted, leaving only the oblique form.]

Examples.

(a) Substantives: आ: stādi sandi khotā, than the master; ट्र: khotā, than sparrows. हालां khotā, lit., as compared with the condition (of), is also used; e. g., हालां khotā, than you. With infinitive khotā, than the eating, than food.

(b) Adjectives: जो: godanī khotā, than the first (so. फरेब, deception).

(c) Pronouns: मिर: khotā, than me; हालां khotā, than them; khotā, than self; तम: khotā, than her.

(d) Phrases: तम khotā, ta ्तम khotā, than that, this.

223. In interrogative sentences, the interrogative particle kina (= the Latin an) is used; e. g., कुस च्छु बोड़, son kina haikal, which is great, the gold or the temple?

224. The Superlative is expressed by strengthening the positive with some word signifying 'very'; or by khotā with sāri (more than all); or by means of the word bhikul; or is to be gathered from the meaning of the passage; e. g., गोर दे हाँ हुक्कम जन जिया
ON THE GUREZI DIALECT OF SHINA.

BY J. WILSON, I. C. S.

Preface by G. A. Grierson.

I trust that the following account of a very little-known language, which has come into my possession during the progress of the Linguistic Survey of India, will be of interest to the readers of the Indian Antiquary.

Owing to the great variety of shades of vowel sounds which we meet with in dialects in and near the Hindu Kush, it has been found necessary to depart somewhat from the system of transcription used in this publication for representing the Devanagari alphabet in the Roman character. This has been found unavoidable, but it is hoped that Mr. Wilson's remarks on pronunciation will prevent any difficulty being experienced.

The valley known in English as Guraï and in Persian as Gurūs, is called by its inhabitants Gorāī. It is about five miles long by half a mile broad, and contains some six villages with a total population of perhaps 1,500 or 2,000 souls. The people call themselves Dardā, the principal inhabitants being Lun by tribe. Their language is a dialect of Shinā, and is said to be most closely connected with those spoken in Chilās, Kanē, and Dras. Although Gorāī is within thirty miles of the Kashmir Valley, with which it communicates by the Rādziangan Pass, 11,600 feet above the sea, the dialect is quite different from Kāšmīrī, — so different that an inhabitant of Gorāī and a Kāšmīrī, each speaking only his own mother tongue, would be quite unintelligible to each other. It is very much simpler than Kāšmīrī, having far fewer inflections, and is even simpler than Panjābī or Urdu, which it resembles in structure and syntax, though the vocabulary and inflections are almost entirely different.

The dialect frequently employs the sound of the sibilant in the word 'pleasure,' i.e., the French j, which is transcribed zh in the system of transliteration adopted for this article. We also meet the half-pronounced u and i at the end of a word which are so common in Kāšmīrī, and which are also

1 So spelt by Drew. Mr. Wilson spells the word Dard.
2 This tribe is not mentioned by Drew. I am indebted to Mr. Wilson for the information.
3 The relationship between Shinā and Kāšmīrī is a question which has not yet been definitely settled. Suffice it to say that there is a stock of vocabularies which are common to the two languages, and which are not met in any Indian languages, or in any of the other so-called Dard languages. On the other hand, the grammatical structures of the two languages are widely different.
found in some of the languages of Eastern Hindustan. These are represented by small letters above the line; thus ān̞, came; dōn̞, a bullock; āshipi, horses.

The only work which gives any account at all of the dialect of Gurêzi is Dr. Leitner’s Language and Races of Dardistan, Lahore, 1877, which contains a few dialogues in Gurêzi (p. 41). These have been reprinted in the same author’s Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, Calcutta, 1889.

The information hitherto available regarding this interesting dialect being so scanty, I have the greater pleasure in being able to give here the following notes on the Grammar of the language, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Wilson, I. C. S. I am also indebted to the same gentleman for much of the information contained in the preceding remarks, and for the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal son, which is annexed. He wishes it to be understood that the notes are rough ones, and do not pretend to be either complete or very accurate.

Pronunciation.

A final u is sometimes distinctly pronounced, is sometimes hardly audible, and is sometimes not heard at all. So also a final ī. Thus, butu, butu, or but, all (masc. sing.), āshipi or āshipi, horses (masc. pl.).

Pronounce:

a as the u in nut.
ā as the a in hat.
ā as the a in all.
ā as the e in father.
ē as the e in met, hen.
ē as the same sound lengthened; the e in there, as pronounced by a Scotchman.
ē is the ordinary long ē, pronounced like the a in mate.
ē is the short sound of the foregoing, pronounced something like the ê in the French word était.
i as the i in pin.
i as the i in pique.
ō is the second o in promote.
o is the short sound of the preceding. It is the first o in promote, and is the o in the French word vôtre, as distinguished from vôtre.
ō is the o in hot.
ū as in German.
u as the u in full.
u as the u in rude.

The ligatured letters ḫ and qh represent ĺ and ĺ respectively. When not ligatured, they represent the well-known Dèvanâgarî letters. The mark over a vowel nasalizes it. Other letters are pronounced as in India. The compound ṭs represents a single letter, such as we meet in Mârâbhi, Pushtô and Kâsmîrî.

Article.

The definite article “the” is not expressed, but the indefinite article “a” is generally expressed by adding ek, ik, or ak to the noun, e. g.,
barî chē-ak, a tall woman.
gēv-ik, a cow.
### Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mushē</td>
<td>chēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāl</td>
<td>mulāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōlu</td>
<td>āzhē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāb</td>
<td>mūt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūch</td>
<td>dēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shā</td>
<td>sass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōnu</td>
<td>gāv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bātū</td>
<td>bātsōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karāslu</td>
<td>ēsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āshīp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chhālitlu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chhāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūshu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōkō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētru āskīp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pūshī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kōkōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sōch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sōch āskīp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other Nouns (Gender Not Ascertained, unless specially stated)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo</td>
<td>batuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khiwon</td>
<td>gōsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōm</td>
<td>sinn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāti</td>
<td>hule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēr</td>
<td>yāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūri</td>
<td>shēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūn</td>
<td>kēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tār</td>
<td>shut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azhu</td>
<td>ich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīn</td>
<td>kākas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōs</td>
<td>hangōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēs</td>
<td>rōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāti</td>
<td>kēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīcth</td>
<td>chhimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phērāh</td>
<td>kunūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dādū</td>
<td>kuruhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dādēh</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring</td>
<td>angei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōn</td>
<td>bichth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōti</td>
<td>lavtt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūr</td>
<td>déra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāu</td>
<td>tiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Days of the Week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Shina Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Aitwār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Sandarwār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Bōwār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Bādhwār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Bariswār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Zhuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Batwār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Names of the Months.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Magar</th>
<th>Poh</th>
<th>Magh.</th>
<th>Phag.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḥā mōs</td>
<td>Ḥāy.</td>
<td>Ḥāy.</td>
<td>Mushhōra</td>
<td>Pōh.</td>
<td>Māgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśta</td>
<td>Āsī.</td>
<td>Chītra</td>
<td>Chītra</td>
<td>Chītra</td>
<td>Chītra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mushā — man, masc.

Nouns —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>mushā</td>
<td>mushā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>mush-e</td>
<td>mush-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mush-ō</td>
<td>mush-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mush-ōt</td>
<td>mush-ōnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pūch — son, masc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>pūch</td>
<td>pē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>pūch-e</td>
<td>pē-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>pūch-ō</td>
<td>pē-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>pūch-ōt</td>
<td>pē-ōnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chēt — woman, fem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>chēt</td>
<td>chēt-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>chēt-ō</td>
<td>chēt-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>chēt-ō</td>
<td>chēt-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>chēt-ōt</td>
<td>chēt-ōnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sass — sister, fem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sass</td>
<td>sazar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>saz-ō</td>
<td>sazar-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>saz-ō</td>
<td>sazar-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>saz-ōt</td>
<td>sazar-ōnt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Norm.—There is a curious dearth of words distinguishing between the male and female of animals. This is done by prefixing the word bir (male), or sóch (female), e.g. —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bir</th>
<th>Sóch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bir āship</td>
<td>male horse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir shū</td>
<td>male dog,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives.

Adjectives agree with their nouns in gender and number, but do not alter with the case of the noun. This rule applies also to genitives in ṭ, which change it to ē in the fem. sing. and masc. plural and ē in the fem. plural. [The rule as to the formation of the feminine is not complete, as will appear from the following examples.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar mushā</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>great man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bari chēt</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>great woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miō āship</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>my horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē āship</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>my horses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēl āship</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>my mare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēl āship</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>my horses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā mushō āship</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>that man's horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āyā chēō āship</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>these women's horses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu mushō stō hō</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>this man is good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu chēē stē hē</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>this woman is good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu mushō stē hē</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>these men are good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu chēē stē hē</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>these women are good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Sing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stō</td>
<td>good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>great.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atak</td>
<td>bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhigw</td>
<td>long.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khutu</td>
<td>short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chun</td>
<td>small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shāru</td>
<td>old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miō</td>
<td>my.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thō</td>
<td>thy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asō</td>
<td>our.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsē</td>
<td>your.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśō</td>
<td>of that man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shō</td>
<td>white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnu</td>
<td>black.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōtu</td>
<td>red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k̄un̄m̄</td>
<td>yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butu</td>
<td>all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mishtu</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butu</td>
<td>much, many.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutt</td>
<td>other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōng</td>
<td>both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tom</td>
<td>own.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Pl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stō</td>
<td>stō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>barī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atak</td>
<td>atsaki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhigw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khutu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shāru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miō</td>
<td>meiś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thō</td>
<td>theś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśō</td>
<td>aśē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōtu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k̄un̄m̄</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mishtu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>ek.</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>bāi.</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>chīk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dū.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>chō.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>dō bē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>chē.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>chōdei.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>dō bē bga deii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>chār.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>panzilei.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>chō bē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>punsh.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>shōin.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>chō bē bga deii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sha.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>satōi.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>chō bē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sat.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>ashtī.</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>char bē bga deii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>asht.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>kunyē.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>shal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>naū.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>bē.</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>dē shal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>deii.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>bē bga ek.</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>chē shal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>okāi.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>bē bga du, etc.</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>sūs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** — After thirty, the enumeration is by scores, e. g., 70 is “three twenties and ten.”

### Pronouns.

#### 1st person —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. and F.</td>
<td>M. and F.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nom. and Acc.** | mo | be. |
**Agent.** | meś | ašeś. |
**Genitive.** | miō | aśō. |
**Dative.** | mo te | ašonitē. |
### 2nd person —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tu M.</td>
<td>tsō M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>tsā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>thō</td>
<td>tseizh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive.</td>
<td>thō</td>
<td>tsē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative.</td>
<td>tute</td>
<td>tsōnte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3rd person —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>sho M.</td>
<td>shō M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shō F.</td>
<td>shō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent.</td>
<td>shōsī</td>
<td>shenikh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive.</td>
<td>shōsō</td>
<td>shenō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative.</td>
<td>shōsit</td>
<td>shunut.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fem. Sing. —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anu</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>nā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>āyā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parā</td>
<td>parāt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sho</td>
<td>kōi</td>
<td>kōi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōi</td>
<td>kōi</td>
<td>kōi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōi</td>
<td>kajāk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōi</td>
<td>kajāk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verbs.

#### Auxiliary Verb.

**PRESENT — I AM.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hōs</td>
<td>hōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hēs</td>
<td>hē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PAST — I WAS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>asulus</td>
<td>asiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asilis</td>
<td>asilis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>asulo</td>
<td>asile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asil</td>
<td>asil.</td>
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</table>

**FUTURE — I SHALL BE.**

<table>
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<th>Plur.</th>
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<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>as-ulm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as-ulm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>as-e</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as-s</td>
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<td></td>
<td>as-s.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as-am</td>
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<td>as-in.</td>
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### Negative Verb.

**I AM NOT.**

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<th>Plur.</th>
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<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>nish-is</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nish-is.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>nish-ī.</td>
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<td>nish.</td>
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</table>
**Finito Verb.**

**IMPERATIVE.**

The 2nd singular imperative is the root of the verb; e.g., bōh, go; tiki kha, eat bread; vō pih, drink water. The 2nd person plural is formed by adding ā to the root; e.g., vō piā, drink water; khaṭā, get out.

**FUTURE — I SHALL SPEAK.**

| 1. mose rāz-im | Plur. bese rāz-ān. |
| 2. tuse rāz-e | Plur. tōsə rāz-ət. |
| 3. zhuse rāz-e | Plur. zhese rāz-ān. |

**PAST — I DID.**

| 1. mei thās | Plur. bōsi thi-əs. |
| 2. thō thā | Plur. tōsi thi-ət. |
| 3. shāsē thāu | Plur. shemēji thi-ə. |

**NOTE.**—The past tense of a transitive verb may be used either with the nominative or agent case of the subject, and in either case agrees with it in person. The forms given for the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons plural, are apparently variants from those given above.

**PAST — I CAME.**

| 1. mo āl-us | Plur. be āl-ūs. |
| 2. tu āl-ō | Plur. tō āl ū. |
| 3. zhō āl | Plur. zhē āl-ō. |

**PAST — I WENT.**

| 1. mo gās | Plur. bō gē-ūs. |
| 2. tu gā | Plur. tō gē-ū. |
| 3. zhō gau | Plur. zhē gē. |

**PRESENT TENSE.**

The present tense is formed by adding the present tense of the auxiliary verb to the future e.g. —

**PRESENT — I AM DOING.**

| 1. mose thim hōs | Plur. bese thōn hōs. |
| 2. tuse thē hō | Plur. tōsə thē thānt. |
| 3. zhuse thē hō | Plur. zhese thēn hā. |

**List of Verbs.**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thā</td>
<td>do, make</td>
<td>thōm</td>
<td>thee thā</td>
<td>thō</td>
<td>thōt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhō</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>eikhā</td>
<td>āl</td>
<td>ā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōh</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>bōhō</td>
<td>bōjīhā</td>
<td>gō</td>
<td>bōh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>kōh</td>
<td>kōh</td>
<td>kāhā</td>
<td>kāh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōh</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>seikhā</td>
<td>sutt</td>
<td>sē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōh</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>bōn</td>
<td>bēthā</td>
<td>bēth</td>
<td>bēs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A question is signified by adding dā to the verb, e.g.,

- tu ān hōndā?
- tāō ānōhī hānt dā?

Art thou here?
Are you just here?

The 1st person plural is not used for the 1st person singular, as in Urdu, nor is the 2nd person plural used for the 2nd person singular as in English.

The present tense of the auxiliary verb has different forms for the masculine and feminine, e.g.,

hō, he is; hē, she is.

**Examples.**

- thō gōsh kōgy hō?
- thō nōm zhōgy hō?
- mī nōm Gafār hō
- mēi gōo pashās lūs
- mēi dōne pashās lūs
- mēi vōi pid lūs
- thō vōi pte hō
- āset krum thōu
- āset dōnū pashau
- āset gōo pashau
- āset dōne pashau
- āset gawē pashau

Where is thy house?
What is thy name?
My name is Gafār.
I have seen the cow.
I have seen the bullocks.
I have drunk water.
Thou hast drunk water.
He did the work.
He saw the bullock.
He saw the cow.
He saw the bullocks.
He saw the cows.

**Adverbs.**

- chā: now.
- karega: at some time, any time.
- rō: not.
- kōre: when?
- kyā: why?
- kadāt: how?
- anāt: thus.
- adāt: so.
- ōn: here.
- saad: there.
- kōgy: where?
- kōnšit: whither?
- kōgy: whence?
- parāda: yonder.
- ashā: above.
- kharē: below.
- dūrē: outside.
- azhō: inside.
- lōko: quickly.
- chhūt chhūt: slowly.
- inne: hither.
- āwari: thither.
- āmō: hence.
- ādō: thence.
- āsh: to-day.
- lōhēt: to-morrow.
- biāsh: yesterday.
- lās: in the evening.
- chēd: the day after to-morrow.
Postpositions.

3 of, sign of genitive.
-t, te, it, at to, sign of dative.
īk to, at, on, in.
ō, lo from.
ēl near.
dē along with.

ei, si by, sign of agent case.
khaira under.
mashā between.
mulhō before.
pālīn behind.

Conjunctions.

Ge, ga, ha and.
Bara then, again.

Amma but.
Si ki because, that.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Gureśi Dialect.

Ek mushāt dā bāl asīl. Si duō zōh chunei mālīt rashau, 'Bāb, A man-to-two sons were. These two from-by-the-young to-father said, 'Father, zhabō mo-te hissa ēk, deh.' Bara sēsi shab bātūh baqā daul.

From-the-goods-me-to the-share will-come, give.' Then to-them goods all having-divided he-gave. Barah zēk dēzē paṭh, ekhun pūch-se butu jama-tēh, dēr mulk-at safat thanh;

Then some days after, the-young-son-by all having-collected, a-distant country-to journey was-made; sūd tomu arāṃt butu shab khārīch thāu. Zhe sēsi zhu shab butu khārīch then his-own pleasure-to all goods spent were-done. When by-him that wealth all spent thāu, zhu-mulk-ash bar ḍrag hun-bilu. Zhu manuzh hō unīd, Zho gau zho

was-made, that country-in great famine happened, That man became hungry. He went that mulkō ekēl nōkar bōktu. Zhezī chhenyau tōme chēchhōn jorōt rāchh. 'Zhusa country-of to-a-man servant sat. By-him he was-sent his-own field-into to-pigs herding. 'What sōre khākī dīk akōnt khum thēi-asul. Bara thēs khōn nē dén asul. Bara thēsīt pīgs eat husks my-own eating I-shall-make.' Then they eating not giving were. Then to-him fīkrush āl, zēśa rashau, 'Moī bāb-kach tushār nōkar-ōnt ākīt tushār hā. Mo nirōnu

in-thought came, by-him said, 'My father-with many servants-to food much is. I hungry nānīm-hōs. Mo chokubōthī tōm bāb-il bōktim, zēśāt mōse rāzīm, 'Vo bāb, mē Khudāt am-dying. I standing-up own father-to will-go, to-him I will-say, 'O father, by-me God ge tu mulkō gunōt thāu. Mo zēśāt laiākh nūsh-is, zēśā rāzīn-ūlī thō pūch hū. Mo and thee before sin has-been-done. I to-this fit am-not, they will-say thy son it-is. Me tōmī nōkarā-hānau hātī.' Bara ekhun-bōthī tōmī mūl-ēl ālu. Zhezī dār pāshī

own servant-like consider,' Then standing-up own father-to he-came. By-him far having-seen mālūs darbhāk thē bōsi-dē mācī thanh. Hō pūjī-śe mālīt his-father running having-made having-given embrace kissing was-made. And by-son to-father rashau, 'Vo bāb, mē Khudāt ge tu mūlo-hū gunōt thāu. Mo zēśāt laiākh nūsh-is, zēśā

was-said, 'O father, by-me God and thee before sin done. I to-this fit am-not, they rāzīn-ūlī thō pūch hū.' Amma mālē tōm nōkarī-tōrī rashau, 'Bulōshō stē chūkāhōt will-say thy son it-is. But by-father own servants-towards was-said, 'Oī all good clothes chalāt, zēśīt bunyā; zēśī hātīsh vāshi viyā, zēśī pēont pāčăr bunyāyū; bara bēs khōn, get-out, to-him put-on; his hand-on ring put-on, his feet-to shoes put-on; then we let-eat, khushī thōh; si-ki zho mī pūch mū asul, bara shiniū; lip bilu asul, bara hāt pleasure let-make; for this my son dead was, again he-lives; lost been was, again to-hand āl.' Zhe khush bīl.

Has-come.' They happy became.

Chhā zēśā bār pūch chēchhās asul. Zho gōsh-āl ek nātōn bāhōn krū pūrūd. Ho

Now his great son in-field was. He house-near coming dancing singing noise heard. And sēsi ch nōkar-ūtī hōtēhē khōshīn thanh, 'Nū shōg hū?' Zhezī zēśāt rashau, 'Thō shā

by-him a servant-to calling question made, 'This what is?' By-him to-him said, 'Thy brother
NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRENCY IN THE FAR EAST.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

Circumstances have obliged me to interrupt for a time the elaborate and detailed remarks I have been making for the last year or so on the Currency and Coinage of the Burmese, but the subject is so difficult to follow in detail that I am rather glad of the opportunity given me by an enforced cessation of my labours to take a short review of at least the most important part of it, and to try and see where my enquiries are taking us. Hence this article, which I hope will serve to render clear to those, who do me the honour to follow my more elaborate pages, the mass of somewhat confusing tables and facts I have been obliged to gather together in one view.

In my "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese" I have endeavoured to collect together all the available information on the subject from the very commencement, and have consequently found myself involved in a dissertation on the entire question of all the primitive and early forms of currency that exist, or have existed, in the world; because, when one begins to study any given form of civilization in the East, one is sure to find all the details of the whole scale thereof co-existent there at any given period. It was thus that I found myself obliged to consider the rise of currency and coinage step by step from barter pure and simple by examples culled from the Far East; to trace the rise of the conception of standards of weight as applied to metals used for money, i.e., Troy weight, from rude measures of capacity, by examples similarly called; to show how and why, not only the conceptions, but the very terminology of Troy weight, currency and coinage are inextricably mixed up in the Oriental mind; to state in detail the great array of articles that have been used in the Far East as currency, which are not bullion, and to explain their use; to point out how the currency of the cubic contents of non-bullion money, measured by size, preceded and steadily led to the currency of the cubic contents of bullion money, measured by weight.

I found it necessary to show directly from data still procurable in the East, that the idea of currency arose before those of Troy weight and coined money, and to explain how it arose; also to show how the terminology devised for conventional cubic measures of articles commonly required was transferred to the weights of the metals for which they could be bartered, and thus to the currency: and further to show why, to the vast majority of the Oriental world,

1 The substance of this Article was given in a lecture before East India Association on February 24, 1869, and was subsequently published in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for April, 1869, and in the Journal of the Association Vol. XXX., No. 18.
currency means the conventional weights of the exchange metals, and coins have no commercial meaning at all, except in their relation to the weights of the pieces of metal of which they are composed.

For the present purpose I have to insist on this last point. It is quite impossible to separate the terms for currency and Troy weight in the Far East, and the history of the development of the one is the same thing as the history of the development of the other. The most practical and the clearest way to treat the question is as one of the history of Troy weight.

I must resist the temptation of examining now the interesting and exceedingly picturesque details of the points I have thus very briefly referred to, and must pass on quickly to that part of the subject which it is my immediate object now to discuss—the development of the forms of currency in the Far East existing at the present day, and bearing an established relation to coined money or to bullion. It is the most difficult, and in an academical sense the least interesting, but I hope that it will be conceded that it is by far the most important part of my general subject.

To make myself quite clear in the remarks that follow, I wish to explain that by Troy weight I mean the conventional standard weights of the exchange metals, i.e., of bullion. By currency I mean what our forefathers used to call Imaginary or Ideal Money, i.e., money of account or exchange—the means by which the commercial world is able to balance its books. By money, as differing from currency, I mean what was of old called Real Money, i.e., coins or tokens of credit convertible into property. With these remarks I will now attack our present problems, remarking merely further that the argument has to be so close, and the subject is so difficult, that they will demand the reader’s close attention.

I must begin by stating that all the existing Troy weights and currencies in India and the Far East are based on one, and sometimes on both, of two seeds, which are known to Europeans as the seeds of the Abrus precatorius and the Adenanthera pavonina. I must ask that these two names be borne in mind, and I will call them in my arguments the abrus and the adenanthera. The abrus is a lovely little creeper yielding a small bright red seed with a black spot on it. The adenanthera is a great deciduous pod-bearing tree, having a bright red seed. Conventionally the adenanthera seed is double of the abrus seed. Now, as will be presently seen, our subject literally bristles with every kind of difficulty, and here, at the very beginning, is the first. The weights represented by the two seeds have everywhere and at all times been mixed up. The terms for the abrus and its conventional representatives have been applied to the adenanthera, and vice versa, both by native writers and European translators and reporters. As a result of the same kind of confusion of mind, whole systems of currency have been borrowed from outside by half-civilized and ill-informed rulers and Governments, and brought arbitrarily into existence, starting on the wrong foot, as it were. The unlimited muddle thus arising may be easily imagined, and so, too, may the amount of investigation necessary to unravel the resultant tangle. With this preliminary information as to the fundamental basis thereof, let us proceed to inquire into the Indian Troy weight system, because I hope to show that the whole currency of the Far East is based on it, or is at least directly connected with it.

Based on the conventional abrus seed, there were in ancient, or at any rate in old, i.e., in undiluted Hindo, India, two concurrent Troy scales, which, for the present purpose, I will call the literary and the popular scales. For the present purpose also, and for the sake of clearness, I will call the abrus seed convention in the literary scale by one of its many ancient names, raktikā, and in the popular scale by one of its many modern names, rati.

In the Indian Troy scales, then, the lower denominations represented in each case the abrus seed, but the upper denominations differed greatly; i.e., in the literary scale there were 220 raktikās to the pala, and in the popular scale were 96 ratis to the tôla. These facts
are presented in the old books, and in innumerable reports of local and general scales spread over many centuries, in a most bewildering maze of forms and details, but it may be taken from one who has studied them for years that they are essentially as above stated.

I have differentiated the concurrent scales by the titles of literary and popular, because the former is that which alone is to be found in the classical books, and the latter is the scale which the Muhammadan conquerors found to be everywhere in use on their irruptions in the eleventh and subsequent centuries of the Christian Era. That the two scales were actually concurrent for many centuries is shown by the antiquity of some of the works in which the literary scale is quoted, by the fact that the details of the popular scale are traceable to the old Greek scales, at any rate clearly in part, and by the quotations of both concurrently for purely mathematical purposes by the author of the Lilásatí in the twelfth century.

I must ask my readers for special attention to what I have just stated, viz., the existence in India of two concurrent Troy scales — a literary one of 320 raktikás to the pala, and a popular one of 96 ratis to the tólá. I do so because it is on this cardinal fact that the coming arguments are based.

Now, as might be expected, it is the popular scale that the practical Muhammadan conquerors caught up, shifting and changing the details in substance and in name to suit their own preconceived ponde ratory notions, but adhering strictly to its main features and essential points, and spreading it everywhere, so far as their influence or authority extended. They never varied materially from the great fact of the scale, that 96 ratis made a tólá.

So when the Europeans came — the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French — that was the scale, which, with an endless variety of intermediate detail it is true, they found spread far and wide along the Indian coasts and ports: that was the scale they reported, more or less incorrectly and ignorantly in their various languages, in all its bewildering nomenclature: that was the scale they eventually and in due course ill-treated with new names and small changes to an almost infinite extent. To attempt, as I have done ante, Vol. XXVII, p. 63 ff. and p. 85 ff., to dive into the jangle of Indo-European Troy weight is to plunge into a very thick tangle indeed. However, the result of any such attempt will, to my mind, show that, despite ill-treatment and misreporting, the scale has never altered materially, and is now, and substantially has always been, what it was originally — 96 ratis to the tólá.

It is, indeed, this combined Greco-Indo-Muhammadan scale, which has at last spread itself, under British guidance, all over modern India, becoming crystallized in one form of it, the North Indian, in the authorized general scale of the Imperial Government — in other forms of it in the authorized scales of the great Governments of Madras and Bombay.

So far, then, we have arrived at one distinct notion, viz., that it is the popular scale of 96 ratis to the tólá which has settled itself down on India. What, then, has become of the old literary scale of 320 raktikás to the pala? Is it dead? Not by any means, as will be presently seen. In the first place, though South India is now given over to the popular scale, so pronounced a stronghold of Hinduism is not likely to have lost all trace of the literary scale, and indeed it is there that the most interesting struggle between rough and ready Muhammadan innovation and dreamy Hindu conservatism is observable in the various existing native nomenclatures of the weight and coinage systems.

But there is a far stronger proof than this of the vitality of the literary scale. It does not require much imagination to suppose that the literary scale was not a literary invention, and that it, or something very like it, must once have had a concrete existence. The proof of the correctness of such a supposition lies in the fact, that it is the literary, and not the popular scale, which is found to have spread itself everywhere in the Far East.

I fear that the mere indication of the proof of this fact will require as close attention from the reader as the arguments I have already imposed. The subject is, indeed, as full of difficulties
as a brush is of bristles. In the first place, in order to make clear the inductive argument I am bound now to follow, I have to take him over the Far East the wrong way round, historically speaking, viz., into Burma, Siam, and Shan-land, then into China, Cambodia, Annam, Tongking, and Cochin-China generally, and thence, through Malay-land to the Far-Eastern International Commercial Community of the present day.

The modern popular Burmese Troy weight system, in its existing forms, does not suggest anything Indian, and it is only by examination that its unquestionable identity with the Indian literary scale comes out. To begin with, all the terms are purely Burmese, and the scale runs thus:

**Diagram I.**

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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ywè</td>
<td>ywè</td>
<td>pè</td>
<td>mû</td>
<td>mû</td>
<td>köt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 640 ywè | 320 ywè |

Now, the ywè is the **abrus** seed, and the ywè, or great ywè, is the *adenanthera* seed, the latter, you observe, being double of the former. But this does not help us, because, it will have been seen, 128 ywè make a *köt*, and the *köt* represents neither the *böl* nor the *pala*. However, there happens to be the further denomination, now practically obsolete, but constantly occurring in the older books, called the *böl*. Five *köt* made a *böl*, and therefore 640 ywè ran to a *böl*. Here the sweet confusion of the two standard seeds, already explained, comes into play, for the Burmese, in taking over the Indian literary scale bodily, as it can be otherwise shown that they did, confused the actual and the conventional *raktida*, and therefore all their Troy statements must be cut down by half, and thus 320 ywè make a *böl*. In other words the *böl* is the same thing as the *pala*, as an upper Troy weight. There is no doubt whatever that this is so, and, moreover, it can be clearly shown that *böl* is etymologically the form that the Indian word *pala* would properly assume on being adopted into the Burmese language.

So here we have the link we are seeking to show that the Indian literary scale of 320 *raktida* to the *pala* spread over the Indian borders among the peoples further East possessed of the Indo-Chinese civilization. I ask this point, too, to be borne in mind, for it is another fundamental point in the argument.

I now ask the reader to step over for a moment into Siam and Shan-land. Here we have as much confusion in terminology and presentation of fact as before, but, as the outcome of a very long inquiry, I am able to present a comparative table, on which I may fairly ask him to rely, of the Burmese and Siamese Troy weight systems, thus:

**Diagram II.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Siamese-Cambodian</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 4 ywè | 5 hîng | 5 hîng |
| 2 pè  | 2 pè   | 2 pè   |
| 2 mû  | 2 fûng | 2 fûng |
| 4 mût | 4 sâlung sâlung | 4 sâlung |
| 5 köt | 4 bôt  | 4 bôt  |

Now, I wish to draw attention here to the following special points. Firstly, though the terminology and the subdivisions differ entirely, the fundamental fact remains, that the upper
and lower denominations of both scales are identical. Secondly, the Siamese scale is practically identical with the Burmese, because the lāng is undoubtedly the *adenanthera* seed, as the *yedii* has been seen to be, and both are equally connected with the Indian literary scale. Thirdly, I have called the Siamese scale the Siamese–Cambodian scale. I have done this, because, however little it may be the case now, the old Cambodian scale was identical with the Siamese, a fact which takes the wanderings of the Indian literary scale pretty far East. Indeed, the reason why I said that I was taking the wrong way round historically is, that, in my belief, the Indian literary scale of 320 *raktikās* to the *pala* came into Indo-China via Malay-land, by way of Cambodia into Siam, and thence into Burma.

I presume it is generally known, that the Siamese form part of the great Tai Race, or, as the Burmese and through the Burmese we ourselves, call them, the Shans. The Shans, fundamentally affiliated to the Chinese proper, and once a comparatively homogeneous people of some political importance, now consist of a great number of disunited, and in some instances isolated, tribes, spread over a wide region in the Further East. For the present purpose they are useful, as showing in their notions of currency the influences upon them, exercised by the more compact nationalities which have dominated them. Their ideas of currency have been severally coloured, according to situation, by the Burmese, Siamese, and Cambodians, in a way that it has been of great interest to me to observe; and perhaps the most interesting point of all is, that whatever the influence has been, and however much the terms themselves may vary, the denominations used in each sphere of influence can all be stated in terms of each other, point for point, in comparison with what I may now call the Burmo-Siamese-Cambodian scale. And thus they serve to show the continuous spread of the old Indian literary scale to the Mékong at any rate.

Next, I must ask your readers to look round the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, despite the great and numerous difficulties that must lie in the path of every inquirer in those regions. Imagine a number of semi-civilized and savage tribes, chiefly occupying a very large Archipelago, and they will perceive that two things must be looked for — a great variety in the actual weights of the standard denominations themselves, and puzzling differences in the nomenclature thereof. And they will find both beyond all doubt before they have proceeded far. Indeed, so endless are the variations in the actual weights of the denominations, that in order to arrive at any definite idea of the rise of the modern Malayan Troy weight system, one must trust rather to the denominations, than to the actual weights they now represent in various places for various articles of commerce. And that, too, in spite of the difficulties created by the fact, that the weights are stated by travellers, traders and natives, sometimes in the vernacular terms, sometimes in the international commercial terms, and sometimes in a mixture of both.

Patience and study have served, however, to unravel even the mad muddle of the Malayan scales, and to bring out clearly in time the following general average table.

**Diagram III.**

| 5 kundari | ... | ... | make 1 kupong |
| 4 kupong  | ... | ... | make 1 māyam  |
| 4 māyam   | ... | ... | make 1 tāhil  |
| 4 tāhil   | ... | ... | make 1 bāngkal |

320

Now, the *kundari* is the candareen, or, in other words, the *adenanthera* seed, i.e., the conventional *raktikā* of the Indian literary scale. And thus is brought into line with the general Literary and Further Eastern scales the Malayan scale also.

I have now to consider one more point in this connection. With the advent of the Europeans, having dealings in the ports of the whole of the Far East, there arose at once a necessity, for account purposes, for arriving at some common denominators, to which to be
able to reduce the conflicting and endlessly varying standards and systems that the traders and adventurers had to confront. The necessity was met, commercial fashion, effectively and practically at a very early period in the history of the dealings, for we find the existing international commercial weight system for the Far East partially in existence, in the notes of traders of the fifteenth century, and in full swing, substantially in the form in which we now have it, as early as the days of the first voyage to the East of the Dutch East India Company in 1595-97. Perhaps it is rather late in the day to do so, but still I think it necessary to point out even now, that this international system is neither in form nor in nomenclature Chinese, but entirely Malayan in origin, being, I believe, based on the Malayan nomenclature of a commercial system of weights used in the Malayo-Chinese trade of the Middle Ages, found to be in existence by the Europeans on their arrival, and eventually modified by them to suit their own requirements.

The international commercial terms are nowadays also used to suit the exigencies of a popular general scale so different in principle from that hitherto described, as I will presently explain, that I feel obliged to exhibit a longish table, which will very clearly bring out its Malayan origin.

**Diagram VI.**

**Rise of International Commercial Terms.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Malay Forms</th>
<th>International Commercial Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kondar, kundar</td>
<td>Candareen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupong, kupang</td>
<td>Cobang, copang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâym, mäs</td>
<td>Mace, mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhil, tâil</td>
<td>Teol, tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bângkal</td>
<td>Buncal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katt</td>
<td>Catty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fîkâl</td>
<td>Pocul, pocul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far as it deals with matters Malayan, and distinctly in its origin, the international commercial scale, therefore, constitutes the latest development of the ancient Indus scale of 320 raktikas to the pala.

Now, while I was endeavouring to trace the history of the Troy weight system of modern India, I had very little to say about the literary scale, and had it not been for the excursions Eastwards we have just been making together, it might have been thought that it had died. So also, in considering the Far Eastern systems, it might be thought that the Indian popular scale of 96 râts to the ñâl had failed to commend itself beyond the Indian borders. But all such institutions die hard, and research will show that the literary scale of India has failed to kill its rival, the popular scale, in more than one most interesting instance.

It is the Indian popular scale that has found its way among the wild tribes on the Indian and Tibeto-H Burman border — the Chins, the Lushais, the Nagas, the Singphos, the Kachins — and that, too, despite the eclecticism, with which these untrained populations have borrowed their fiscal terms from their neighbours on both sides the borders. Perhaps one of the most interesting instances existing of the evolution of ideas is to be found in the cumbrous and complicated attempts of the most civilized of these border peoples, the Manipurs, to engraft the ideas embodied in the Indian popular scale on to the terminology of their own previously acquired monetary scale — also by the way originally Indian. That scale had no reference to weight at all, but related to the counting of cowries when used as currency.

This point has more than an academic interest, for it is on the basis of dividing the upper Troy denomination into 400 parts, as a survival of the method of counting cowries for currency, that the Indian popular scale has been carried into Nepal, and from Nepal, through its trade with Tibet, far into all sorts of regions, East and North, in Central Asia. And not only
that, it is this very relic of savagery, this memorial of early attempts to meet the necessities of primitive fiscal conditions, that lived on into the highly civilized gold coinage and currency of the great Emperor Akbar, which was itself based on the Indian popular scale of 96 ṛatī to the ṭōḷā.

But I have kept to the last the best instance of the ground covered by the Indian popular scale in about the least likely place, at first sight, for its occurrence — Ancient China. The case is here based on the badly presented and somewhat, I think, undeservedly discredited researches of my late friend, Terrien de Lacouperie. However, as he has never touched upon the points I am now urging, it is I, and not he, that is to be held responsible for what follows.

Terrien de Lacouperie shows, in his cloudy pages, that up to the seventh century A.D. at any rate, and partially up to several centuries later, the old Chinese had a popular scale, which, though it can be compared with the Indian, is, like the Indian, not recognised in the classics. But because this scale contains terms still in use in a very different sense, I wish to mention that I am now speaking of Ancient China only. Thus:

**Diagram IV.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Indian Popular Scale</th>
<th>Ancient Chinese Popular Scale.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Muhammadan Form).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ṛatī ... ... make 1 māhā</td>
<td>6 chu ... ... make 1 hwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 māhā ... ... make 1 tāṅk</td>
<td>2 hwā ... ... make 1 chē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tāṅk ... ... make 1 tōḷā</td>
<td>2 chē ... ... make 1 liāṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>2 liāṅ ... ... make 1 kīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, the chu is the conventional _adenanthera_ seed, or, roughly, double the ṛatī, and therefore the old kīn must have represented the tōḷā. I have already, and perhaps erroneously, worked out the old kīn to be the Indo-Chinese tickal, which belongs properly to the Indian literary scale. As a matter of practical fact, the kīn was actually between the tōḷā and the tickal; thus, taking common standards, the tōḷā is 180 grains, the kīn is 135 grains, and the tickal is 225 grains. However this may be, the great fact remains that the Ancient Chinese, even up to medieval times, had a popular Troy scale closely allied to the Indian and directly comparable with it. It is easy to perceive that, since the Indian popular scale is partly due to Greek influence, this consideration opens up a long vista for speculation and inquiry.

Of course, all the world knows that what I have thus described is not the case now, and that the Chinese have for centuries had a decimal scale. This scale seems to have arisen as a convenient way of enumerating the paper currency established in China between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, A.D. It was, under the Mongols in the thirteenth century, of paramount importance and in universal use, and after centuries of confusing struggle, it suppressed, the old and popular scale. I put it forward, as a supposition based on their terminology, that the decimal divisions of the notes were transferred to a new use from the old decimal divisions of the Mongol Army.

I thus speak of this fresh scale, because it is going to give trouble. Chinese trade influence has made itself felt clearly all over the Far East, all over Indo-China and Malayan. It has become paramount in Tongking, Annam and Cochîn-China. It has fought hard in the Philippines and in the Sula Archipelago with many another influence to good purpose. It has made itself felt in the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, and has strongly affected

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Burma and Siam. And the result has been that the comprehension of the existing Far Eastern scales is not quite so easy as it might appear from my former remarks. For I regret to say, that wherever one goes, one has to face the more or less plain existence of two concurrent scales: the local variety of the Indian literary, and the local conception of the Chinese decimal. The less plain the fact, the more puzzling the phenomena always are, and in any case it causes confusion where, indeed, very little is to be desired. Its troublesome presence exists, however, everywhere. In Siam it pleasantly makes the same term half of itself, according to the scale used: in Malay-land it has had the effect of making traders, skippers and travellers, having no doubt clear conceptions of their meaning in their own minds, but not much vernacular knowledge, cheerfully adopt the terms of one scale while using the other: in Burma it has played a kind of practical joke and confused everyone, natives and foreigners. Thus, having carefully learnt that the equivalent of 16 annas makes a kyāt or rupee, and that 2 annas make a mü, one naturally expects that half a rupee, i.e., 8 annas, would equal 4 mü. But it does not: it equals 5. So also 10 annas equal 6 and not 5 mü. The little difficulty thus created with 12 annas, which should properly equal 6 mü, is got over by calling them 3 mü or quarters, which is correct. Now, all this is not playing the fool on the part of a whole nation. It merely means first, that the Burmese populace has adapted its Troy scale to the British-Indian coinage now current, and next, not being brilliantly endowed with mathematical skill, that it has mixed up the scale borrowed from India with that borrowed from China. In the former 8 mü, and in the latter 10 mü, made a kyāt. Thus, in order to face new conditions, the Burmans went straight from the Indian literary to the Indian popular scale, while adhering to the terminology adopted for the former. In like fashion also, in his gold coinage, the late King, Mindon Min, of Burma, adopted the British-Indian standards, while adhering to the partial decimal system adapted from China. These were both practical measures easily taken, but they caused myself at any rate, a vast deal of inquiry.

The last matter connected with our subject to be seriously affected by Chinese influence was the Far Eastern international commercial scale. This, as I have already said, was in origin Malay, and in the earliest instances in which it comes to light, it is purely Malay in form, too. It is, however, almost as early found current in Chinese form; then the two forms are found for centuries concurrent, till at last the Chinese form has conquered. Where the two forms differ and agree can be seen thus:

**Diagram V.**

**International Commercial Scale.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Malay Form.</th>
<th>Chinese Decimal Form.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 candareens... make 1 mace</td>
<td>10 candareens... make 1 mace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 mace... ... make 1 tael</td>
<td>10 mace... ... make 1 tael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 tael... ... make 1 catty (1600)</td>
<td>16 tael... ... make 1 catty (1600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 catties... ... make 1 picul</td>
<td>100 catties... ... make 1 picul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus it was that the old merchants met the varying conditions they found around them in their own rough-and-ready, but most effective, fashion. But the scale shows a further interesting fact. They found that the tael was not only the upper Troy weight, but also roughly the ounce avoirdupois, as they used to call it; so they boldly made 16 tael go to the catty, or pound avoirdupois, and 100 catties go to the picul, i.e., the hundredweight or quintal. And thus did they arrive at what they wanted to get at — a standard weight system of reference for the Far East practically on all fours with their own familiar standards of the West.

I have now performed the main task before me in this article, and to meet criticism that while my title promises a talk about currency I have written about Troy weight, I must repeat that emphatically the Far Eastern peoples have never separated either the ideas or the denominations of Troy weight and money of account, i.e., of currency. They have gone, indeed, much further, for every such coinage as they have produced has merely been
an effort to give practical effect to the conventional denominations of their Troy weight and
currency, and thus have all the three subjects of Troy weight, currency and coinage,
been always quite inextricably mixed up. It is much the same in India, and the further
one takes the inquiry back, the more do the terms for Troy weight and currency and coinage
become synonymous, and at no time, even up to the present day, have they become completely
separated. So much is this the case, that in tracing out elsewhere, ante, Vol. XXVII. pp. 63 ff.
and 85 ff., the history of the Indian terms for bullion weights, I had to include those for
money. The only difference between the two sets of scales lies in this, that where money is
mentioned, the question of alloy influences the rates at which one denomination is compared
with another. To give a concrete example. In South India the number of fanams to a pagoda
is a conventional proportion in a statement of Troy weights, but the number of fanams to a
pagoda will vary according to the alloy in any particular sort of fanam or pagoda in a statement
of current money.

There is only one more point that I will briefly touch upon. At first, among semi-civilized
or early civilized nations, we find that exchange was manipulated merely that profit might be
made by the Courts and the officials out of the peoples they always misgoverned. It begins
with a system of out-going and in-coming measures. The profit was the difference between
the size of the measures employed for weighing in and weighing out the same goods. It is a
most interesting and instructive study to watch the effects of this. Where there was
political power the difference was as great as oppression dare go. Where there was no political
power the difference was fair enough, and was what we should now call “cover,” just
sufficient to compensate for risk, maintenance, incidental expenses and charges.

Exchange is next seen in the buying of the medium of one place with the medium of
another, the profit or loss in the transaction arising solely out of the difference in the quality of
the metal itself, nearly always silver, and the quantity temporarily present in the two places
with reference to the quantity of purchasable merchandise. This class of exchange involved
the risk and expense of transporting bullion from place to place. Communications, both in
frequency and safety, had to be vastly improved before exchange by means of documents repre-
senting the medium, such as Bills of Exchange as we now have them, to say nothing of tele-
graphic transfers, could be brought into play.

Well, at first the general scales we have been carefully examining were kept alive so long,
so persistently, and so widely by the Courts and the officials for their purposes, and the
enormous mass of local variations thereon were created by the merchants and producers for
their purposes: by the former for profits out of general, and by the latter for profits out of local,
exchange, as they understood it. Then when the Europeans came in and created the internal
commercial scale, the trading capital, indeed, was, as now, found in Europe, but the merchant
adventurers, as they were then called, had no control over exchange whatever; and their object
accordingly was to ascertain firstly, the most stable medium of exchange, and secondly, a com-
mon measure for it. The medium was, as all the world knows, silver, and the common measure
the international commercial scale already explained.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PROPER NAMES IN THE THANÀ DISTRICT,
TO THE EDITOR OF THE “INDIAN ANTIQUARY.”

Sir,—In turning over the pages of Vol. XII.
of this Journal, a volume I had not seen before,
I read on p. 259 with no little interest the follow-
ing, under the above heading:—“The Aghs, Koša, Mālsia and other castes at Waski (Bassein)
and adjoining places, who, it is said, are natives converted to Christianity, and some of whom
have even the same surnames as Košikasthā
Brāhmins, are named and married by the Fādre.
There is nothing peculiar about this. But many
of them have names given them from the days on
which they are born. The name Somá, for
instance, is given to one born on a Monday,”
etc., etc.
If I understand the above rightly, the inference to be drawn is that the Ágris, etc., are natives converted to Christianity, and that they are named by the Pádre, who gives them names from the days on which they are born. That the Ágris, etc., are natives converted to Christianity is true, as also it is true that they are named by the Pádre, but that he (the Pádre) gives them names from the days on which they are born is not true. The Pádre invariably names them after the Saints such as Andrew, Bernard, etc., etc. The names after the days, Somá, Mangalyá, Budháyá, etc., are, what we might call, household names, that is, those given them either by their parents or friends and relations, just as we find Bob, Dick, Jack, etc., among the English names. These converts to Christianity are most of them, if not all, illiterate persons, and when asked their names they naturally mention those by which they are popularly addressed. It must also be stated here that all Ágris, Kólis, Mális, etc., are not converts to Christianity; many (perhaps the majority) are Hindás.

Yours truly,

Geo. F D’Penha.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS
IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. When it is "raining cats and dogs," an uncle should not go out with his nephew for a walk, or on any business, as it is believed that lightning will fall upon them, or they will fall victims to some other similar calamity.

2. When a lamp is put out by a puff of wind, or accidentally by breath, people (when they have no tinder-sticks, fire and the like) very often go to their neighbours for a fresh light, who, unfortunately, disappoint them very often (even though they be of the closest relationship), saying, "I dare not do so, my friend, for it will either decrease my capital or bring ruin upon my family."

3. The Hindus never allow anybody to pluck the leaves of a plant or tree after dusk, and, if asked the reason, they reply:—

"Oh! dear Sirs, we disturb the trees from sunrise to sunset and give them no rest the whole day. But now is the time for them to take repose, for we always ask for a satisfactory reason when we are compelled to serve our masters day and night; but they are dumb and consequently can neither speak nor complain."

4. Occasionally it happens to a person while kneading flour with great force, that the dough lifts up the vessel with it. This creates a great joy in him, for it is the sign of a new visitor to his house.

5. Whenever a person runs short of salt, he goes to get a little from one of his caste-people. But if he takes it in the palm of the hand, a bitter enmity will exist between him and his friend, as long as they live in this land of tears and sorrows.

6. A female, when pregnant, should not go near a bier to mourn for a relative, as she does always otherwise; because the slightest touch of the deceased would melt and bring the womb out. Likewise, a man, who lends a helping hand in lifting the corpse, will lose his wife’s progeny.

7. The whole family invoke God to prevent a child’s birth during Sundays and Tuesdays at new and full moons. If a child be born on such occasions, it will grow up with a character of the worst type.

8. To avoid a dead loss, at the time of harvest, the husbandmen, for the abatement of a strong gale, paint their right buttock with black pigment and the left any other colour; and stand in the direction of the wind. Similarly, the injuries which crops suffer from excess of rainfall or hail-storm, are prevented by an individual who is one of twins going through the same operation.

9. Frequently, robbers of the blackest dye, who have planned to attack a rich man’s house in the dead of night, if they catch sight of a serpent on the way, interpret the sight as an omen to retrace their steps.

10. Low caste people, in times of drought, implore the deity for an abundant fall of rain by catching a frog and tying it to a rod covered with green leaves and branches of the nil tree, and take it from door to door singing:—

"Send soon, O frog! the jewel of water! And ripen the wheat and jwart in the field.”

M. N. Venketswami.

*The Hindu term for Asakrachita Indica, and all the species of Asakrachtha and Melia.

*A kind of millet used as an article of food, chiefly by Mhás, Gônde, Châmás, etc.
NOTES ON MARĀTHĀ MARRIAGES.

After the kuikulid or betrothal both parties cause some turmeric and about five zers' weight of wheat to be ground and boiled together in a ball or cakes for distribution to the women at the ḡāḷḍ ceremony. This takes place after both parties have given, by separate processions of drums, etc., an invitation to the marriage to their own tutelary gods and to Ganapati. It consists merely in applying a day or two before the marriage a little massed turmeric to the body of the bride when bathing, and then taking the ḡāḷḍ or turmeric powder used on her to the bridegroom, and doing the same to him.

The auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by the ḟāhli or astrologer. The hour is very often that of the evening twilight. On the appointed day, at a sufficient time before the particular moment for the marriage, the bridegroom is made to sit on a wooden dais covered by a piece of red cloth ornamented with figures, and a border work of unhusked wheat and rice. A laundress, especially the one working for the family, is here told to dip an arrow [? an old Khatriya custom], or a pointed stick into common (or scented) oil of sesamum, and to let fall a few drops from it upon the ornament known as the bashing, made for the occasion and placed on the bridegroom's head.¹

The late B. V. Shastri in P. N. and Q. 1883.

APPRECIATION OF GOOD RUSTIC ART.

In some districts there is a quaint custom. When a carpenter has made a particularly good chaũkā (door or window frame) he takes it to the house into which it is to be built, and spreading a sheet on the ground, he lays his work down and seats himself alongside to receive the congratulations of his townsfolk. These take a practical form and kaũrīs (shell-money), paĩs (coppers), and chiśṭ chāṁās (silver), rain on the sheet. There is a tradition that on one occasion as much as a hundred rupees testified to the skill of the carver. This custom is unknown in the large cities.²

J. L. Kipling in P. N. and Q. 1888.

SOME HINDU BUILDING CUSTOMS.

Orthodox Hindūs sacrifice a goat at the beginning of a house, and Ganēś, the elephant-headed god who presides at all beginnings, and whose quaint figure finds a place over most Hindū doorways, is worshipped. His sign head every baniyāṇ's (tradesman's) account-book, and is the ubiquitous svastika, or cross yflot of our heraldry. Some earth from the parental homestead is often interred with the new foundations, or placed in the pot of the sacred tulsi plant (osmund basilicum).³

J. L. Kipling in P. N. and Q. 1883.

BUDDHIST RUINS AT SAIROH.

Sairoh is situated in Tahsil Lalitpur, about 15 miles to the N.-W. of the subdivision and some 10 miles to the west of the road going from Lalitpur to Jhānaī. To the east of the village there is a rock on which now stands a Jain mandir, apparently about 300 or 400 years old. It was built on the ruins of a Buddhist Mound. I infer this from the numerous images of Buddha in different positions. I should say that there are more than a thousand images there, all lying round the mandir. Some of the larger ones are kept in the mandir compound. In the compound there is also a stone pillar measuring about 5' × 4' × 8', on which are inscribed some 60 lines in Sanskrit or some other language; the dates on it are 740, 1160, and 1370 or so in the Vīrama Sānīvat. I think the pillar therefore to be about 600 years old, but as I gave my notes about it to a friend at Lucknow I cannot now give further details. Near the place there is a door of a house said to be that of a washer man very nicely carved in stone. The Railway goes as far as Lalitpur, and thence one can go to the Sairoh on horseback or by bullock cart.

KHUDANLAL.

THE CHIHLA OR 40 DAYS' FAST.

Rhuq Shāh, fagār, is reported to be performing chihlā (40 days' fast) on the borders of the village Shotāb and Mandrañawāla, police station Daskāh in the Siālkot District. The ceremony consists in the man burying himself in a hole or arched grave for 40 days, with only 40 grains of roasted barley and a small jar of water. I remember unearthing one of these men at Pāṭhānkōt. The trick is performed with the help of an accomplice, who supplies food and drink, under cover of night, through a secret opening.⁴

J. T. Christie in P. N. and Q. 1883.

1 [See Moookerjee's Magazine, November, 1872; and Orient, July, 1886. — Ed.]
2 [See Journal, Society of Arts, 1888, p. 379. — Ed.]
3 [See Journal, Society of Arts, 1888, p. 788. — Ed.]
4 [I saw a fagār performing the same fast in a ditch under the mud wall of an old Mussulman cemetery, near the Royal Horse Artillery Barracks, in the Ambilā Cantonments, in 1889. Filling the ditch with water, or rather the threat of it, induced him to depart at once. — Ed.]
SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

Ancestor-Worship.

ALL SOULS DAY, the 2nd of November, is a day specially set apart by the Catholic Church for intercession for the souls in Purgatory, when prayers and Masses are offered for their release from the sufferings. Not many years ago, and I believe even now in certain obscure parts, the ignorant classes spread a mat on which were laid down tooth-brushes, snuff, liquor, food and áṭṭolšala for those of the family who have died. The notion is that, on All Souls Day, the dead are granted respite from their sufferings and are allowed to roam whither they will, and, as it is natural that they should visit their own houses, or those of their nearest connections, they are provided with a dinner, after partaking of which they feel gratified and go in peace.

There is a good story told in this connection. There lived an old woman by herself. Near her house was a brab-tree which was tapped for sūr or tári (toddy) by a Christian bhandārī. On one All Souls Day, the old woman asked the bhandārī for some sūr. On being questioned why she wanted it, the old woman said that, as it was jēliṁa méliāchā dis (the day of the dead and gone), she must prepare something for them. The bhandārī very kindly gave the old woman some toddy without charging her anything. The old woman took the toddy and made some pūš, curry, áṭṭolšala, etc., and, laying it on a mat, went to Church to attend the Officium Defunctorum, which is held in every Church on the evening of that day, leaving the door partially open, for the jēliṁ méliā to enter. A little while after, the bhandārī who was waiting for an opportunity, quietly entered the old woman's house, ate well and emptied the liquor pot, and went away, unseen by any one. When the old woman returned from Church and saw that the dinner was partaken of, she, in her simplicity, was quite convinced that the jēliṁ méliā had come and had their fill. The following day, when the bhandārī came, as usual, to draw toddy, he called out to the old woman and said: — "Ā, kā gē, jēliṁ méliā álliṁ kau nañā, Grandmother, well, had the dead and gone come or not?" To which the old woman proudly replied: — "Hā rē pūšā, álliṁ rē álliṁ, kālañ pūša ami jēliā, Yes, my son, they had come, they had come, they ate and drank and went away." The bhandārī laughed in his sleeve at the simplicity of the old woman, but kept the true story to himself, relating it to his friends only after the demise of the old woman.

Some people set down liquor, or anything of which a person was fond in his lifetime, on the nights of the funeral-day, the second day and third day after death, in some place in the house most frequented by the deceased. I have been an eye-witness to a case of this kind, under the following circumstances. An old man died, whose funeral I had to attend. The funeral was over late in the evening, and, being related, I was asked to spend the night at the house, which I did. My bed was prepared on a cot which turned out to be one in which the deceased had usually slept. Late in the night, having occasion to strike a light, I saw beside me some country liquor in a chāun (a small cup used for drinking country liquor out of). In another case, an old woman had placed a spirit-glass with a little brandy, for her grandson, aged about fourteen years, in a place the boy frequented most, although I know he had a great aversion to all sorts of liquor.

On the night previous to the wedding-day, chē, pūš, etc., a little of everything prepared for the wedding, including some liquor, are taken to some distance out of the village, and there left, evidently for the spirits of ancestors, or of the deceased members of the family, in general.

The dead are believed to intercede with God for the living, and people pray to the departed in time of need. I have sometimes heard people say: — "Bārē sāntāśiān ṣti álmaṁśiān uñgūtās hōliā, I have always been asking of (praying to) all the saints and souls." And that the

1 This is a sort of gruel, prepared with new rice with the addition of jaggri and some ingredients such as cardamoms to sweeten and lend flavour to it. Almost every Bombay East Indian family makes áṭṭolšala on All Souls Day.

2 A palm. See Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.
souls of the dead have helped the living may be gathered from the following: — “Māñjē ṛakhāḍā ālmān ṛhīṅ vēśā, in the time of my need the souls stood (helped, or interceded for, me).” A person, in asking a favour, say to educate a poor orphan, says: — “Sīhvē, ṛhīṅ vēśā ālmān ālmān ṛāṅ ālmān ṛāṅ, Educate, educate the boy, his father’s soul will stand for you (will obtain for you grace or favours).”

There is a general belief that the kāmabhāra or potters do not eat the fish called kāpā, because they say the kāpā is their āṃī or gōṛā, that is, belonging to their sect. How they came to identify the kāpā as belonging to their gōṛā I cannot ascertain.  

**Cure of Spirit-caused Diseases.**

Diseases are sometimes believed to be caused by spirits. The people ascribe some sicknesses to the agency of ḍhūṭ or evil spirits, and exorcists, Hindu or Musalman, are resorted to to rid themselves of the ills. The diseases attributed to evil spirits or ḍhūṭ are fainting, mania, small-pox, etc. Perhaps, sneezing and yawning, too, are attributed to spirits, for when a child sneezes, the mother of the child or any one at hand says: — “Jītush.” I cannot ascertain the meaning of this word. Can it be a corruption of Jesus? So, some persons, when they yawn, make the sign of the cross with their right thumb before their mouths, twice or thrice, or as many times as possible, while the yawning lasts.

I remember once, when cholera was raging in the Māharwāḍā (where Māharās live — almost every village in Salsette has one) attached to the village of Mallā, in Bāṅdārā, seeing a Christian cultivator (aged about 55, an illiterate person), after drinking some liquor, take a big stick in hand and beat well the sides and roof of a hut, belonging to a Māhārā, in which a case of cholera had occurred, making plenty of noise. He evidently believed that the epidemic was caused by an evil spirit, and that what he was doing would frighten away the spirit, and thus free the place from the dreaded sickness.

**Water.** — Water drives off the spirit of thirst, it refreshes the fainting, and it restores life to those in a swoon. When a child gets into a rage, and keeps crying for a long time, in spite of all coaxing and soothing words and threats of punishment, it is called gāndlāṣ̣chie ray (rage caused by worms). To cure this, water is dashed on the eyes and face of the child. When a person, in whose house is a pregnant woman, goes to a funeral, on his return he must bathe before entering the house; he must also not touch the pregnant woman before he has washed himself. New-born infants are washed. The dead are also washed before being clothed for burial. If a person treads or steps over a ground on which an animal, a dog, or a cat, or a horse, or a snake, etc., has been wallowing, he is affected with an illness called rēā, the symptoms of which are vomiting and looseness with great griping about the pit of the stomach. It is supposed that no medicine can cure this malady; indeed, the sufferer suffers more by taking any medicine. To cure this, among other things, water is waved over the prostrate body of the patient, about seven times, and the patient recovers.

**Metals.** — Metals have great power over spirits, iron in particular. In Salsette there is a spirit known as ġīṛā, who plays much mischief with a solitary traveller — specially one under the influence of liquor, or one who is a coward, — in the night, leading him astray; in many cases carrying the victim many miles away from the place of attack and lowering him in an empty well, or digging a pit in the sea and burying the man up to his neck, leaving him to extricate himself the best way he can from that position or to die. A ġīṛā, however, dare not touch a person who has on him anything made of iron or steel, particularly a knife or nail, of which the ġīṛā is in great fear. A ġīṛā will never meddle with a woman, especially a married woman, for he is afraid of her bangles. It is believed that, if any one can manage to drive a nail in the ġīṛā’s head, he (the ġīṛā) again becomes a man. It is also believed that a ġīṛā, metamorphosed into a man, will do any work, like an obedient servant, so long as he remains as such. Horse-shoe nails are driven into the threshold to prevent spirits from entering the house. In cases of poisoning, copper coins are boiled in water, and the water is given the patient to drink, to make him vomit the poison. At the time of making āṛē, if bubbles appear on the oil while being boiled,

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* [This should interest the enquirers into totemism.—Ep.]
a copper coin is thrown into it, which has the effect of reducing them. When a woman dies in child-birth, especially if the child be living, a piece of iron or a nail is thrust among the folds of her dress, evidently with the avowed object of preventing her spirit from coming back, for there is a belief that dead mothers haunt the house to carry away their children. An instance is given in which a mother, whose child was living, although she had died several months after confinement, used to enter her sleeping apartment and try to snatch away the infant from the arms of the nurse, often succeeding in dragging the child several paces from the bed. Knives are sometimes kept under the pillow to prevent spirits or harassing dreams. In cases of dog-bite, a copper coin with edible chunam is bound up on the wound as a cure. In cases of jaundice, the left arm is branded with a red-hot piece of iron, and castor oil applied over it, which helps to purge the wound thus caused of pus for a few days. At the time of confinement, if a woman labours very much, all locks of doors or drawers are opened with a key. This is said to facilitate delivery. A kottâ, a kind of hatchet, is also waved, in cases of réâs, over the body of the patient. So also a copper tâmbidâ (lôd or pot), containing live coals, is waved in cases of réâs and placed with mouth downwards in a copper thôlât (pan, generally used for making hand bread). Thiefs are believed to be detected by means of scissors and a sieve. A pair of scissors are held with points upwards, on which a sieve is made to balance flat. Then a person repeats one by one the names of those suspected of the offense; when the name of the thief is pronounced, the sieve gives one or two turns, and that establishes the real culprit. When a woman has had two or three miscarriages, gold beads are ground, with other medicines, and given her to drink at a subsequent pregnancy, which helps the growth of the fetus and a safe delivery.

Urine. — It is supposed that if a person, who is severely beaten, drinks his own urine, he gets over the effects immediately. A certain root, called dhûtô, to obtain medicinal value, is buried for six months or so in a stable, in the ground over which a black cow passes urine. If little children are made to drink their own urine, they grow fierce. To cure sore-eyes, one must wash them with the first urine passed after waking in the morning. Making water on a cut is sure to stop bleeding.

Blood. — A person's blood becomes corrupted through cares and anxiety and sadness, and the cure for it is bleeding. To get rid of asthma, one should drink the blood of a gôr (४ gôrpar or big lizard) and run about violently until quite fatigued. Consumption, in its first stage, is also believed to be cured by the same treatment. Women are bled in the fifth or seventh month of their pregnancy. A slight crack in an earthen pot is joined by placing ashes over it and pouring in the blood of a fowl.

Brooms. — A broom is also used, among other articles, to cure a person affected with réâs: it is drawn over the prostrate body from the head leg-wards and struck upon the ground about seven times. If a broom is made to stand brush upwards, when two persons are quarrelling, it is supposed to aggravate matters. Some people think that on a wedding-day a house and the māndaj (pandal) must not be touched with a broom, that is, they must not be swept till the bridal party has returned from Church after the celebration of the marriage. This custom is observed with greater rigour in the house where there is a bride, for, say they, we sweep away the girl as we do dirt.

Canes. — The cane is a good cure for rat-bites. A little paste is formed by rubbing a piece of cane in a small quantity of water, and the paste applied to the bite.

Circles. — After birth, a portion of the navel cord is left, and the end is tied to a black thread and put round the child's neck. Fevers are supposed to be cured by tying a thread round the arm. As the bandage grows tighter the fever abates, and as soon as the fever leaves off the circle slackens itself, and the patient is declared cured.

Coins. — On the evening previous to the wedding day, the barber is called in to shave. All male guests, old or young, have a shave, or at least some touch of the barber's razor. The payment for this service is — the guests wave a coin or coins, copper or silver, round the head of the bride or bride-groom, and throw them into a plate set there for the purpose; the head of the house gives two sêr of rice, a cocoanut, and one sêr (one bottle) of country liquor. In cases of dog-bite, a little chunam is applied to the wound, and a pie or pice placed upon it and tied there.
Colours. — On the morning of the wedding-day, brides and bridegrooms are bathed. Before bathing cocoanut milk is applied to the head and the body, and into this milk saffron powder is thrown.

Lamp-black is used to anoint the eyes of infants and their mothers to prevent nādār (the Evil Eye). The forehead and cheeks of little children are also sometimes marked with lamp-black, or the black from a cooking utensil, to keep off the Evil Eye. The cow, under whose urine the root ābāt must be buried to obtain medicinal properties, must be a black one.

Comb. — Among the presents given by the bridegroom to the bride on the wedding-day, the comb (a white one) forms a particular item.

Coral. — Coral necklaces are invariably worn by children. It is believed that the changes effected in the colour of the coral by wear, indicate the enjoyment of good health or otherwise by the wearer.

The Cross. — If a person observes the mark or trace of a snake or any creeper on the road, he generally makes a cross on the mark, with a stick or an umbrella or even with the foot, before he passes it or steps over it. The sign of the cross is made rapidly, as often as possible, while a person yawns. In the case of a child, unable to do it for itself, an elder who is at hand does it for the child.

Dancing. — At weddings, dancing is invariably performed. People often dance on occasions of feasts and christenings. Dancing is also sometimes performed before a small-pox patient, that is, if the patient desire it. People suffering from small-pox express peculiar desires, and it is said they must be satisfied.

Earth. — Every attendant at a funeral throws three handfuls of earth on the corpse or coffin after it is lowered in the grave. Earth taken from the grave of an infant is applied as a cure for the swelling and pain in the breasts of a mother, due to an accumulation of milk. Women in pregnancy sometimes conceive a desire to eat earth, when khāyāchī māṭī (edible earth), generally obtainable from chānd kārmārīdīlās (dealers in gram and parched rice), is given them. Earth is sometimes used to clean cooking-vessels. When the transplantation operations of a cultivator are complete, the labourers pelt the owner and one another with clods of earth from the field. Earth taken from beehives is a good remedy for headache.

Eggs. — A person spitting blood or with a weak chest is made to swallow raw eggs. Among the articles used for curing rēás, the egg also finds a place. On the night before the wedding-day, the white of an egg is rubbed on the face of the bride and bridegroom; it is believed to impart a certain amount of kāyā (beauty). The dhobie, besides the ordinary charges of washing, takes a certain number of eggs, when a bride’s vōṭī (white sheet of cloth used when going to Church or from one place to another) is given him to wash. One or two eggs are given to the priest who comes to bless the houses after Lent.

Flowers. — After the celebration of the marriage in the Church, the bridal party goes to the bride’s house. The bride and bridegroom are made to stand at the entrance of the māndap (pandal), if there is one, or at the entrance to the house. Then all the friends and relations come one by one to congratulate the happy couple, and this is done by sprinkling flowers on their heads and the shaking of hands. The same is done in the evening of the same day on their arrival at the bridegroom’s house, and the ceremony is sometimes repeated, for the third time, on their return from the bridegroom’s to the bride’s house on the evening of the second day. At the funerals of little children or unmarried young persons, flowers are distributed to those accompanying the funeral, who throw them on the corpse or coffin before throwing the three handfuls of earth. Those who have not obtained flowers throw in green leaves of trees instead. Women deck their hair with flowers. Persons who have decked their hair with flowers must not move about much in the heat of the noon-day sun, nor in the darkness of the night, or they run the risk of being possessed by evil spirits; if they must, they should be accompanied by some one, and not stir out alone. During illness promises are made to crosses to adorn them with garlands of flowers,
Fruit. — Along with the presents of a sāri, a chōlī, etc., given by the bridegroom to the bride on their wedding-day, are also carried some fruits — dry dates, almonds, walnuts, etc., — five or seven of each, some of which are taken by the people at the bride’s house, and some returned with the box in which the presents were brought.

Garlic. — To prevent indigestion, when a person complains of feeling puffiness of the stomach, garlic, black pepper and salt are given to eat, over which a small quantity of country liquor is drunk hot. When cholera is raging, garlic, black pepper and leaves of the tree of the custard apple are tied to the ends of handkerchiefs, and carried by persons going about, to prevent being attacked by cholera.

Glass. — Women wearing glass bangles must not approach near to a person who has been bitten by a snake, because the poison will work with all the greater force. A gīrd cannot come close to a person wearing glass bangles, as he fears their tinkling. On the death of a man the glass bangles on the hands of his wife are broken. The gold necklace — pōt — presented to the wife by her husband on the wedding-day, is interspersed with black glass beads. It is not good to show little children their faces in the looking-glass.

Grain. — When a woman dies in child-birth, particularly so if the child be living, some grain (? rāld) are strewn on the road to the burying-ground. The object is to prevent the spirit of the woman from coming back home to take away the child. The prevention is effected thus: — the spirit, as she comes, sees the grain which she waits to count, so that by the time she has counted all, it is near dawn of day, and the spirit must go back. On the evening previous to the wedding-day, the barber, who comes to shave, gets a present of two sērs of rice, a cocoanut and a bottle of country liquor, from the head of the house, while the guests wave coins (copper or silver) round the head of the bride or bridegroom, and give them also to the barber. The payment for the services of a native midwife at the time of the confinement and for twelve days later, is also a certain quantity of rice and a rupee or two.

Honey. — Honey possesses healing properties. Given internally with hot water or tea with or without the addition of a little brandy, honey cures cough.

Horns. — A sāmbar shing, the horn of a deer, is rubbed in water and applied as a cure for headache. Horns are used as bleeding cups.

Incense. — After bleeding, the arm or leg which has been bled is fumed with incense, and then bandaged. Incense is thrown on a fire over which the godmother, returning with the baptised child, has to step.

Kiss. — Kissing the hand of a Bishop is practised by all; some extend this practice to the kissing of the hand of the priests, while a few even kiss that of laymen. One should not kiss a sleeping child — it is not good to do so, say the old folk. After the ordination ceremony, all present kiss the right hand of the newly-ordained priest. When a child is hurt, the mother, or any close connection, who is by, kisses that part of the body which is hurt, and says: — “Now it will be well.”

Knots. — The tying of the thread round the arm to cure fever is done by a certain number of knots. A person, who is somewhat forgetful, is told to tie a knot in his handkerchief to remind him of any work that he may have been asked to do.

Leather. — When fruit-trees do not bear fruit, people tie up an old cāra, sandal, of the left foot, to prevent the Evil Eye. If a blister be caused by wearing tight boots or shoes, to cure it, burn a piece of old leather and apply the ashes to the spot with a little oil.

Lifting. — When the bridegroom is bathed, his maternal uncle lifts him and carries from the mandap into the house. So also the bride is bathed on Tuesday, that is, the second day of the wedding, in the mandap, and lifted by the bridegroom, over the threshold.

Liquor. — Liquor is a bringer of joy, and it also benefits health. Among the presents given to the barber on the evening previous to the wedding is a bottle of country liquor. Liquor is drunk at all festivals, christenings, weddings, and even on occasions of death. Persons under the influence of
liquor are most liable to the attacks of a *gvar*. **Health-drinking** is indispensable at all feasts. The host drinks to the health of the guests, while the guests drink to that of the host. At a wedding-dinner, the toasts are drunk generally in the following order — the bride and the bridgroom, the parents of the bride and bridgroom, blood relations of the bride and bridgroom such as brothers and sisters and maternal uncles and aunts, then other relations and friends. At christenings, the first toast is that of the new-born, next the sponsors, then the parents of the child, followed by other relations and friends. The custom of health-drinking is also practised at meal's after a funeral: — the first toast is that of the chief mourner, with the addition of a few consolatory words; then the toast of all others present, generally proposed by the chief mourner, when he or she takes the opportunity of thanking one and all for the trouble taken by them in attending the funeral. Among the Christian *bhanga-ris*, on the wedding-day, the bridgroom has to give a pot of liquor to the bride's father. Some persons, at the time of arranging a betrothal, exchange liquor, that is, the girl's party offers liquor to the party of the boy, and then the boy's party offers some to that of the girl. Wounds are sometimes washed with liquor. In cases of indigestion, liquor is given to drink hot with pepper, garlic and salt. Liquor is sometimes offered to the spirits of the dead. The evils of drinking liquor is graphically described in the following phrase — "*dvar atri ghār dvar bārī*, liquor and (the) sweeper of house and door" — that is, because of the vice of drunkenness, a house is swept of all its possessions; in other words, poverty is brought on through drink.

**Light.** — "*Uyār hái té Lakshmi hái*, light is Lakshmi" that is, the bringer of good fortune. A light is kept burning all night, for several months, in the lying-in room. When a person is suffering from small-pox, an *ārī* is performed, in which a lamp is lit with seven wicks. On the day of a christening, the godmother, when she returns from the Church with the baptised child, steps over a fire in which some incense is thrown. A light is kept burning at the head of the dead.

**Noise and Music.** — Noise and music are believed to restore to consciousness or life one who is in a swoon or trance. During a recent outbreak of small-pox in Bāndrā I observed a great noise being made in a house in which a boy was attacked by the small-pox by playing on the *rabān* (a tambourine) and the *ghamādī* (a kind of musical drum) and the persons singing at the top of their voice. On enquiry I was told that the boy (or rather his soul) had gone (?) was carried off by the Bāyā) to the Konkan, the supposed permanent residence of the Bāyā or Māuliā (small-pox mothers), and that the noise was made to bring him back. On another occasion noise and music were resorted to to drown the sound of the chanting of the *Responsories* sung in a funeral procession. It is dangerous for a small-pox patient to hear the *Responsories* or even funeral music. So also when cholera broke out many persons fired guns. Guns were also fired in the nights during the time the plague was raging. At a wedding-dinner, when toasts are drunk, guns or crackers are fired, and music is sometimes played, or some person sings a song in the absence of music. Marriage songs are sung on the day of the declaration of the first bann, about twenty-one days before the wedding, and these are repeated every evening till three or four days after the wedding. Songs are sung when the dough for *drā* or *sāmānāsh* is prepared; songs are sung when the shaving of the bridgroom and other guests is going on on the evening previous to the wedding-day; songs are sung when women and even men go to fetch water for the bride or bridgroom to bathe with, also on the evening of the day previous to the wedding; songs are sung when coconuts milk (sometimes mixed with saffron powder) is rubbed on the bridge or bridgroom before bathing on the morning of the wedding-day; songs are sung when the bride or bridgroom is dressing to go to Church; songs are sung on return of the bride and bridgroom from Church. Singing is also done on Christening and festival days. In drinking healths, people sometimes shout out "*vita*"!

**Mirror.** — Children are not allowed to look into a mirror, as it is not good for them to see their own reflections. No reason is assigned for this.

**Oil.** — Oil is used both as food and medicine. It is also a giver of light. Rubbing with oil prevents cramps and rheumatism (*vārdī* or wind). In cases of jaundice, after branding with a red-hot wire of iron, castor oil is applied to the part burned. Oil is used at time of child-birth. After child-
birth the mother is rubbed with oil, for several days; the child is also rubbed with oil, by some for
two or three months, by others for as many as six months. On the seventh day, after a funeral,
a neighbouring woman or two bring cocoanut milk and rub the hair of the women-mourners.

Women, once in a week or fortnight, and sometimes men also, oil their hair, by means of cocoanut
milk, before washing with water. The bride and bridegroom are anointed with cocoanut milk on the
wedding-day. Corpses are also anointed with cocoanut milk before washing, preparatory to the
funeral. When a person is over-fatigued with hard work, such as that of a cultivator, he receives
great comfort from having his back, loins, neck and joints rubbed with oil, followed by a hot-
water bath.

Precious Stones. — The diamond is believed to be poisonous. It is believed that great
merchants always wear a diamond ring, and, should they meet with loss to any large extent, they commit
suicide by sucking the venom from the diamond. Children, particularly girls, are made to wear necklaces
of coral. Wristlets (mangullias) are also made of coral and tied round the wrists. These necklaces
and wristlets are sometimes interspersed with ḍil-munāb (Evil-Eye beads) to keep off the Evil Eye.
When any one casts the Evil Eye, a ḍil-munāb breaks off. When children are sick, the colour of
the coral worn by them fades and the beads become pale. With the return of health the bright colour,
of the coral also returns. Amber-beads are also strung between coral beads and worn round the neck
and wrists and waist. These amber-beads are also believed to break when the Evil Eye falls on the
wearser.

Salutations. — The form of salutation among the Salsette Christians, when they meet, is, among
the illiterate generally and the literate too, a slight shake of the head with the expression zudān*
and the question “kā khābār?” How are you?” Others, with some pretensions to learning or rather
to civilization, who sometimes speak Portuguese (not quite the correct language), say: — “Como esta?
How are you?” or “Como vai? How do you go?” or “Como passa? How do you pass?” or “Como
deixa? How do you keep”? Many, also, salute in English, shaking hands, as they say:— “How
are you?” or “How do ye do?” etc.

(History of the Bahmani Dynasty.
(Founded on the Burhān-ī Maḥsir.)
BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

Preface.

All histories of the Bahmani and succeeding Muḥammadan dynasties of the Dakhin
hitherto published, have been based upon Firishtah; but the history of the Bahmani Kings
which I now introduce, is based upon the Burhān-ī Maḥsir, by Allān ʿĀziz-Ullāh ʿAbdātabā
— a work written several years before Firishtah’s appeared. Though the two authors were
contemporaries, and probably met one another in Ahmādābād, neither makes any mention of
the other.1 We may presume that they both had access to the same works of reference in
compiling the Bahmani history; yet several remarkable discrepancies are observable, especially
in the names and genealogy of some of the kings. Where the difference occurs, the Bahmani

* What the word may mean I do not know, but it apparently means compliments, for the expression is also
used in that sense; for instance, at time of parting, people generally say — zudān zahād — give compliments.

Lit., what news?

1 Firishtah left Ahmādābād, and proceeded to Bijpūr in A. H. 998 (A. D. 1559). Shortly after his arrival in
the latter place he commenced writing his history, under the auspices of ʿAbd-Shāh II., but did not complete
it till about A. H. 1036 (A. D. 1626-7). He mentions in the preface no less than thirty-five works which he
consulted in the composition of his history, and — according to Briggs — makes quotations from twenty others in
the body of his work; yet never mentions the Burhān-ī Maḥsir, unless he alludes to it under some other title.
Professional jealousy probably accounts for this.
coins of the period — which are the most reliable evidence — corroborate the statement of our author, and negative that of Firishtah. Further evidence against Firishtah is to be found in the Taṣkamat-ul-Mulūk — from which I have given several extracts — and in extracts from Tārīkh-i Jahn-Ārā and Sirāj-ul-Kulāb. The latter written in A. H. 821. (British Lib.-Or. 1964, fol. 5 b, et seq. and fol. 34 — vide Dr. Rice's Catalogue, p. 1089.) There may also be others which I have not yet seen.

The Burhān-i Maṣfir is essentially a history of the Niğām-Shāhī dynasty of Abmadnagar, and derives its title from Burhān Niğām-Shāh II. (A. H. 999-1063), the reigning sovereign, under whose auspices the work was written. The title is also a chronogram recording the year when the work was commenced, viz., A. H. 1000 (A. D. 1591), and the history is brought down to the latter part of A. H. 1004 (A. D. 1595-96).

As I have before remarked (ante, Sept., 1898, p. 233), only three copies of this work are known to exist; and its extreme rarity doubtless accounts for its not having previously been brought to notice. The style of the Burhān-i Maṣfir is more ornate than Firishtah's history; and in general completeness is inferior to the latter; but, at the same time, our author in many instances gives details not given by Firishtah, and relates the same occurrences in a different way; so the one work serves as a useful complement to the other. I have not thought it necessary to point out all the points of difference, as it would make the present work too elaborate. The reader can easily do that for himself; and with this and Briggs' Translation of Firishtah before him, he will have all the available raw material for a history of the Bahmani Dynasty, as far as it can be gathered from Persian historical MSS.

**Sultāns of the Bahmani Dynasty.**

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<th>Names</th>
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Died 24th Zī-ul-Hijjah, 924 (26th December 1518), when the Dynasty became practically extinct.
Genealogy of the Bahmani Dynasty.
According to the Burhân-i Maṣā'ir.

1. 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Gangā Bahmani.

2. Muhammad I.  
   Mahmūd Khān.  
   Ahmad Khān.

3. Mujāhid.  
   Fath Khān.  
   4. Dā'ud.  
   5. Muhammad II.

   7. Shams-ud-Dīn.  
   Ḥasan Khān.  
   Mubārak Khān.  
   10. 'Alā-ud-Dīn II.  
   Muhammad Khān.  
   Muḥammad Khān.

Makhdūmah Jahān (wife of Sultan Ḥumāyūn, and mother of Sultan Niẓām).

11. Ḥumāyūn.  
   Ḥasan Khān.  
   Yahyā Khān.

   13. Muhammad III.  
   Jamehād.

   Daughter (Fāṭimah).  
   Daughter.
   M. Shāh 'Atīyat-Ullāh.  
   M. Mirdād Adham.
   B. Shāh Muḥammad-Ullāh.  
   B. Shāh Muḥammad-Ullāh.

Genealogy of the Bahmani Dynasty.
According to Fīrishtah.

1. 'Alā-ud-Dīn I.  

Muhammad I.  
4. Dā'ud.  
5. Mahmūd I.

8. Mujāhid.  
   8. Firdūs.  
   9. Ahmad I.  
   7. Shams-ud-Dīn.

10. 'Alā-ud-Dīn II.  
11. Ḥumāyūn.

13. Muhammad II.

14. Mahmūd II.

15. Ahmad II.  
16. 'Alā-ud-Dīn III.  
17. Wali-Ullāh.

Contents.

CHAPTER I.

Reign of Sultan 'Alá-ud-Din Hasan Ganga.

(Burhán-i Ma'āshir.)

Various accounts of his descent.
Enters the service of Muhammad Tughlak Shāh in Dihlī.
His future greatness foretold by Shēkh Niṣām-ud-Dīn.
Rebellions in Muhammad Tughlak’s dominions.
‘Alá-ud-Dīn Ḥasan proceeds to Daulatābād.

Rebellion of the Amrān-i Ṣadah, who seize treasure, and defeat the Amīrs of Gujarāt.
Muhammad Tughlak summons the Amrān-i Ṣadah to his camp: on the way there from Daulatābād they attack and defeat the escort.

Return to Daulatābād and proclaim Ismā’īl Mugh Afghān as king.
He is defeated by Muhammad Tughlak.

‘Alá-ud-Dīn Ḥasan marches towards Kalburgā.
Malik Imaḍ-ud-Dīn is sent in pursuit of him.
Muhammad Tughlak proceeds to Gujarāt to put down a rebellion.
‘Alá-ud-Dīn Ḥasan turns on his pursuers and defeats them.

Returns to Daulatābād, and is proclaimed king vice Ismā’īl Mugh, who resigns.

Date of his ascension, 3rd December, A. D. 1347.

Or — according to another authority — 3rd August 1347.

He sends a force in pursuit of the amīrs of Muhammad Tughlak, who are defeated.

Various appointments and titles.

Local governors despatched to their respective districts.

Expedition against Hindus.

Hussain Garshāsh loses possession of Kandhār.

Hussain Garshāsh obtains possession of Kotaghīlā.

Saiyid Baṣṭ-ud-Dīn Kuṭb-ull-Mulk, on his way to Mundargī, takes possession of Bhūm and Akalkot.

Changes the name of Mundargī to Saiyidābād.

Kambār Khān, on his way to Kotūr, takes possession of Kalliānī.

Sīkandar Khān, from Bidar, takes Malkedār.

Kanābāyand (?), wāli of Telingānā, tenders his submission to the Bahmani Sultan through Sīkandar Khān, and presents elephants, etc.

Ismā’īl Mugh, induced by promises of assistance from one Nārāyan, aspires to the sovereignty, but Nārāyan breaks faith with him and poisons him.

Khvājah Jahān, from Miraj, and Kuṭb-ull-Mulk, from Mundargī, march against Kalburgā, which they take.

Khvājah Jahān assumes the governorship of Kalburgā.
Mutiny among the troops at Sagar, who kill Safdar Khan and take possession of the town.

Khwajah Jahān writes to Muḥammad bin ‘Ālam, the leader of the mutineers.

The latter sends an answer by the hands of Nathū ‘Alimbak, who is made prisoner by Khwajah Jahān.

Khwajah Jahān reports the matter to the Sultān, who orders him to cross the Bhimā, and there await his arrival from Daulatabad.

The Sultān has a dream of good omen.

He marches from Daulatabad to Kalburgā, where he is well received by the inhabitants.

Khwajah Jahān joins the Sultān at Kalburgā.

News of the death of Muḥammad Tughlak near Tathah on the 20th March, A. D. 1351.

The Sultān marches against the mutineers at Sagar: receives the submission of Muḥammad bin ‘Ālam, whom he imprisons.

The Sultān encamps at Sagar, treats the inhabitants kindly, and confers various distinctions.

He sends a force to the district of Harīb (sic): they take by siege the fort of Karabjūr (sic).

The Sultān marches from Sagar towards Kanbādī (Kalādī?) and Mudhol: the former town surrenders, and Kapras, the chief of the district, agrees to pay tribute.

The army marches towards the country of one, Nārāyaṇa, and on the way, Tālkaryah (sic) is surrendered.

One, Mu‘īn-ud-Din Mūktār, who with Nārāyaṇa, was formerly an ally of Muḥammad Tughlak’s, tenders his submission.

The Sultān continues his march towards Mudhol.

Crosses the river Kistnā.

Letter from Nārāyaṇa to the Sultān.

The latter sends a reply.

Nārāyaṇa takes refuge in the fort of Jamkhandī, and sends three of his chiefs to hold Mudhol, Tercal and Bāgalkot.

The Sultān proceeds to attack the fort of Mudhol.

Nārāyaṇa’s troops make a night attack on the Sultān, and are defeated.

The Shāhizdāh joins the Sultān.

The Sultān, thinking the fort of Mudhol too strong to be carried by assault, lays siege to it, and takes it after four months.

The army encamps near Mīraj.

The Sultān proceeds to invade the Koṅkan.

Takes Kārepatan without opposition.

Two months afterwards returns to Sagar and assigns the neighbouring districts to some of his adherents on feudal tenure.

Crosses the Bhimā, and after exacting tribute from Sējam and Malkaḏ, goes towards Kalburgā.

Rebellion of Kīr Khān and Kalā Mahammad.

Kīr Khān loses his baggage and most of his followers in a flood.

The Sultān proceeds to Kāliāna, then occupied by Kalā Mahammad. Lays siege to it.

Sikandar Khān “Farzand” arrives in camp.
He is promoted in rank, and sent against Kír Khán to Kutúr.

Battle, in which Kír Khán is defeated and he himself captured by Fá kró Sha'bán, who is sent to the Sultán with news of the victory.

The Sultán proceeds to Kutúr. Sikandar Khán drags Kír Khán in chains before the Sultán, who orders Kír Khán to be put to death, but spares his life at the intercession of Sikandar Khán.

Káláb Muhammad leaves Kálíána and fortifies himself in Kutúr (?). Makes several sallies: is at last defeated, made prisoner and beheaded.

In this campaign the Sultán obtains two important fortresses — Kálíána and Kutúr.

He proceeds to Kalbugá, where he erects several buildings: calls the town Ahsanábád, and makes it his capital.

The first victory in the Sultán’s reign said to have been at Bhokar (Bhokardhan ?). He next took Mándú. Then exacted tribute from Mándú.

The Sultán proceeds to the Kúňkan. Lays siege to Goa, and takes it in five or six months.

Takes Dábbol.

Takes Kálhar (?) and Kolhápur, and then returns to Kalbugá.

Invades Telingáná, spending about a year there. Takes Bhonágír, and after completing the conquest of Telingáná, returns to Kalbugá.

Extent of the Bahmaní dominions at this period.

The Sultán’s nephew, Bahrám Khán Mazindarání, governor of Daulatábád, contemplates rebellion.

The Sultán ill for three or four months. He dies.

Shortly before death summons his four sons to his bedside. Nominates his eldest son Muḥammad Sháh (Záfár Khán) as his successor.

(Ta’zkarat-ul-Mulák.)


Hasan promises to assume the surname “Bahmaní.”

Haşan in the employ of a Shekh at Gangí, near Miraj.

The Shekh founded a masjid there.

Haşan’s mother mentioned as being with him.

He finds a treasure.

Raises an army: is assisted by Gangú Páṇḍit.

Haşan marches to Miraj with his army. Encounters Ráni Durkávatí, the ruler of Miraj, and makes her prisoner.

Reports his victory to the Shekh, who desires him to call Miraj, “Mubárakábád.”

Date of this victory, A. D. 1347.

Obtains possession of Miraj and the neighbouring districts, and then proceeds toward, Kalbugá.

Advice of the Shekh. By means of a stratagem, Haşan Gangú and his men enter the town and expel the garrison. Attacked by Parwan Ráo, the chief of Kalbugá. The latter is defeated and killed.

Kalbugá is named “Ahsanábád.”
Hasan makes Kalburga his capital: assumes the title of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah.
Exalts the Brahman, Gangad Paishit.

Death of the Sultan.

**Chapter II.**

*Reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah I.*

He invades Vijayanagar territory. Gains a victory (place not mentioned).
Takes Filampattan (?), and returns to Kalburga.
Marches to Daulatabad to quell a rebellion raised by Bahrám Khan, the governor of that province.
The latter yields, and dies in banishment.
According to the 'Aiyun-ut-Tawarikh, Muhammad I. possessed himself of the whole of the Dakhan.
He had two sons, Mujahid Khan and Fath Khan.
Conquers Telengana.
His death.

**Chapter III.**

*Reign of Sultan Mujahid Shah.*

Invades Vijayanagar territory.
The Raya submits and agrees to pay na'l-bahá, also to deliver over a fortress (name not mentioned) [probably Raichur or Adoni].
While encamped on the bank of the river Kistná, he is assassinated by his cousin, Dāfud Khan.

(*Taṣkarat-ul-Muluk.*)

Is a disciple of Shekh Muhammad Siraj-ud Din.
Besieges Adoni. Garrison about to surrender, owing to want of water. The Shekh withdraws his assurance of victory. Mujahid much incensed against him.
Rain having fallen, the garrison of Adoni refuse to surrender; cut off the Bahman Shah's messenger's head and fire it from a gun.
Mujahid returns to Kalburga. Utters threats against the followers of the Shekh and the Habshis.
Is found beheaded on his throne. Deed attributed to Jinn. The Shekh's followers refuse to allow the body to be buried in the royal sepulchre.

**Chapter IV.**

*Reign of Dafud Shah.*

Unwillingly accepted as king. The widow of the late Sultan bribes a slave to assassinate him.
He is stabbed to death in the masjid.
Muhammad Khan, younger brother of Dafud, kills the assassin, and is proclaimed king.

**Chapter V.**

*Reign of Muhammad Shah II.*

His character.
Had no wars during his reign.
Story told about the adulterous woman and the puzzled Kasi.
Death of the Sultan.
CHAPTER VI.

Reign of Ghīyūs-ud-Dīn.

Twelve years of age at his accession.
Too partial towards his father's slaves, one of whom turns against him: invites the Sultān to his house, deprives him of sight and deposes him.

CHAPTER VII.

Reign of Shams-ud-Dīn Dājdū Shāh.

In the seventh year of his age.
The slave [?] retains the real power in his hands.
Fīrūz Khān and Aḥmad Khān, grandsons of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Shāh, obliged to fly to Sagar.
The Kotwāl of Sagar promises to assist them, but proves faithless.
The nobles arrange terms of peace, and the two princes submit.
The mother of Sultān Shāms-ud-Dīn, persuaded by the slaves that Fīrūz and Aḥmad had caused the assassination of the late Sultān, and fearing the same fate for her son, plots against Fīrūz and Aḥmad.
Makhdūmah Jahān, the wife of Fīrūz, informs her husband of the plot.
The principal amirs join the two princes in a plot to dethrone the Sultān and put Fīrūz in his place.
This plot is successfully carried out.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reign of Fīrūz Shāh.

He imprisons the slave [?] and other conspirators.
Confers on his brother, Aḥmad Khān, the title of Khān-Khānān.
Confirms Khwājah Jahān in his previous office.
Fīrūz contemplates the conquest of Vijayānagar.
Devaḍār (Devarīja ?), the ruler of Vijayānagar, submits and agrees to pay a tribute of thirty-three laks of tanka a year.
The Sultān agrees, and returns to Kalburgā.
Marches against Sagar. The chiefs of that district submit to the Sultān and agree to pay tribute.
He calls Sagar, "Nūrratābād," and returns towards Kalburgā.
On the way there he encamps on the banks of the River Bhīmā and founds a town called Fīrūzābād, A. D. 1399.
Saiyid Muḥammad Ghusū Darāz arrives in Kalburgā from Dīhil.
He is well received by the Sultān, but they afterwards quarrel.
The Sultān again goes to war with Vijayānagar. Takes Bahrānīr and Mūsahakāl and returns to Kalburgā.
A year afterwards, he marches against Māhār.
Fails to take it; but exacts tribute from the Bāya of that place, and returns to Kalburgā.
Rise of the slaves Hūshyār and Bīdār.
Death of Khwājah Jahān, who is succeeded in office by Hūshyār and Bīdār.
The Sultān invades Telīgānā. Conquers Rājamahāndrī (Rajamahāndrī) and other districts; appoints governors, and returns to Kalburgā.
During a reign of a little over 25 years he made 23 or 24 expeditions against the Hindus.

Towards the end of his reign is again compelled to go to war with Vijayānagar. Marches towards Pāngal. Is opposed on the way by the Vijayānagar troops. After a severe struggle the latter are defeated.

Besieges Pāngal. Is repulsed, and retreats to Utakur. This defeat attributed to the Sultān’s rupture with S. Muḥammad Gisū Dārūz.

Returns to Kalburgā.

Resigns the government to Bidār and Hūshyār.

They are inimical to Khān Khānān (Ahmad Khān) and scheme to exclude him from the succession, substituting the Sultān’s eldest son, Ḥaṣān.

They gain over the Sultān to their side, and he consents to have Khān Khānān blinded.

Shīr Khān, the Sultān’s nephew, informs Khān Khānān of the plot, and the latter prepares for flight.

He and his eldest son, Zafar Khān, receive the blessing of Saiyid Muḥammad Gisū Dārūz.

Khālīf Ḥaṣān — afterwards entitled Malik-ul-Tijār — offers his services to Khān Khānān.

Khān Khānān accepts his proffered services.

They leave Kalburgā and proceed towards Telīgānā.

Hūshyār and Bidār propose pursuing them.

The Sultān unwilling, but is ignored by Hūshyār and Bidār, who start in pursuit with a large force.

The fugitives overtaken at Niʿmatābād.

Khān Khānān inclined to surrender, but is persuaded by Khālīf Ḥaṣān to give battle.

Stratagem to increase the apparent numbers of their force by means of bullocks.

Hūshyār and Bidār defeated and put to death.

Sultān Ahmad (Khān Khānān) marches back to Kalburgā.

Sultān Firūz is deserted by his troops.

Ahmad is handed the keys of the city.

Meeting between the brothers.

Sultān Firūz abdicates in favour of Ahmad.

Death of Sultān Firūz. Said to have been strangled.

Character of Firūz.

Firūzābād assigned to prince Ḥaṣān Khān, who shortly afterwards dies.

(Taṣkarat-ul-Mulāk.)

Character of Sultān Firūz.

Founds the town of Firūzābād, which is partly destroyed by a flood.

Becomes a disciple of Bābā Kamāl. Builds a tomb for himself, and another for the saint.

Entrusts the principal affairs of state to his brother, Ahmad, who plots against the Sultān.

The Habšt slaves and most of the troops side with Ahmad.

Sultān Firūz is assassinated by his own slave.

Ahmad puts to death the eldest son of Firūz.

Duration of the reign of Sultān Firūz.
Tabakah II.

Bahmani Kings whose capital was Bidar.

Chapter IX.

Reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah.

His titles.
His accession generably approved.
Had seven sons. Gives titles to three of them.
Gives Khalif Hasan the title of Malik-ut-Tijar.
Death of Saiyid Muhammad Ghsu Daraz.
The Sultan invites a saint named Shah Nimat-Ullah, from Kirmán, to visit the Dakhan.
Goes to Antur to meet him.
Sultan Ahmad in the second year of his reign (A. D. June 1423) made Bidar his capital.
Marries his eldest son, Prince Zafar Khan, to the daughter of Miran Mubarak Faruki, the ruler of Khandesh.

Invades the "mountainous country" (name not mentioned).
Takes Marmat (?), and returns to Bedar.
Invades Telingana, and takes Mandal (?) and Warangal.
The Rayas of Devkunda (Devarkunda) and Rajkonda tender their submission, and agree to pay tribute. The Sultan returns to Bidar.
Marches against Mahur, which he besieges, but, failing to take it, returns to Bidar to rest.
A year afterwards he again goes against Mahur, and takes it by assault.
Takes Kallam by assault, and returns to Bidar.
Sends Khalif Hasan Malik-ut-Tijar on an expedition to the Konkan.

Khalif Hasan takes a number of places in the Konkan. His successes and his favour with the Sultan excite the jealousy of the Dakhan nobles.

The Sultan again goes to war with Vijayanagar. Takes several forts, and returns to Bidar.
Narsing Raya of Kherla, Gondwana, applies to the Sultan for assistance.
Narsing Raya breaks faith with him, and enters into an alliance with Alp Khan (Sultan Hushang Ghurj) of Malwa.

The Sultan retreats in order to see whether Alp Khan will attack him.
The nobles expostulate with him for his apparent timidity.
The Sultan asks the opinion of the doctors of law.
He returns towards Kherlah, and gives battle to Alp Khan.
Defeats Alp Khan, and captures his baggage and haram.
Sends back the haram under escort to the Malwa frontier.
Takes possession of Narsing's territory as far as Mahur (sic) and assigns it to his second son, Prince Mahmud Khan.

Returns to Bidar.
Applies to Shah Nur-ud-Din Nimat-Ullah Wall for a spiritual guide.
Shah Khalll-Ullah Wall — son of this saint — goes to the Dakhan in 1439.
Khalf Hašan invades Mahá,ím (Bombay), which was Gujarát territory.
Sultán Ahmad Bahmani sends his son, Prince Žafar Khán to help Khalf Hašan.
The combined Bahmani forces drawn upon one side of the Mahim Creek, and the Gujarát army on the other.
The Dakhan nobles stir up dissension between Prince Žafar Khán and Khalf Hašan.
The latter, left in the lurch, is defeated by the Gujarát army, and his brother made prisoner.
In revenge for this defeat, the Sultán leads an army against Gujarát.
Encamps near Bahúl (?) on the frontier between the Dakhan and Gujarát.
The Hindú governor of Bahúl (?) applies to Sultán Ahmad of Gujarát for assistance.
The Bahmani and Gujarátí armies drawn up on opposite banks of a river.
Terms of peace arranged. Bahúl (?) to remain with Gujarát. Offensive and defensive alliance.
The Sultán returns to Bídár. Confers various titles.
Death of Sháh Ni'mat-Ulláh. A fair instituted in his honour. Each descendant of this saint connected by marriage with the Bahmani royal family.
Dispute with the ruler of Mándú (Málwá) about the fortress of Kherlá.
Terms of peace arranged. Kherlá to be a frontier fortress belonging to Málwá.
During the recent wars with Gujarát and Málwá, many parts of Telingáná having been wrested from the Bahmanis by their former possessors, the Sultán now proceeds to reconquer them.
He takes Rámghir and other forte.
Warangal submits, and agrees to pay tribute.
The Sultán makes Ibráhím Sanjar Khán commander of the army in Telingáná, and gives him the jágir of Bhonúbír.
Returns to Bídár, and makes Miyáž Mahmúd Ništám-ul-Mulk his prime minister.
Consigns to Khalf Hašan Dákhol and the other seaports.
Builds a palace in Bídár.
Rewards the poet Shekh Ázarf for composing verses in eulogy of the new palace.
Also rewards Mauláns Sharif-ud-Dín Mázandarání for writing verses on the door.
Abdicates in favour of his eldest son, Žafar Khán.
Gives the district of Mähúr to his son, Mahmúd Khán, and Ráčhúr and Chúl (?) to his son Dàúd Khán.
Death of the Sultán.
His character.
How he punished Shír Malik for insulting Saiyid Násir-ud-Dín.
The Sultán’s age, and duration of his reign.

(Tazkarat-ul-Muláh.)
The behaviour of a hunted hare suggests to Sultán Ahmad the idea of making Bídár his capital; besides, he suffered from dysentery at Kalburgá.
The celebrated Khwájah Jahán, in this reign, arrives in the Dakhan from Khurásán.
Sultán Ahmad founded the city of Muḥammadábád (Bídár) in the first year of his reign.
Duration of his reign, and year of his death.
Khwājah Jahān’s arrival in Dābol.

He wishes to go to Bidar, but foreigners were not allowed to go inland. He bribes the governor of Dābol.

Writes to Bidar for permission to visit it. The Sultān unwilling. Ministers willing.

The Sultān consents. Khwājah Jahān arrives in Bidar and makes presents to the Sultān, including a copy of the Qurān, which he receives with reverence.

The Khwājah grows in favour with the Sultān.

CHAPTER X.

Reign of ‘Alā-ud-Dīn II.

Ceremony of his ascension described.

His character.

Mīrāg Maḥmūd Niẓām-ul-Mulk, prime minister of the late Sultān, is degraded and put to death. Various appointments made.

Niẓam-ulkabīd founded as a country residence for the Sultān, who is addicted to pleasure.

Sanjar Khān wages successful war against Telingānā.

Sends his prisoners to court, where they are forcibly converted to Muḥammadanism.

Dilāwar Khān sent on an expedition to Sharkah (?).

On his return to court, he is degraded, and a eunuch appointed in his place.

This eunuch (Deṣṭūr-ul-Mulk) causes much distress by his tyranny. As the Sultān does nothing to check him, Prince Humayūn Khān has the eunuch assassinated.

Nāṣir Khān, Sultān of Khandesh, invades Bahmani territory. Khalf Ḥaṣan Malik-ul-Tijār is sent to repel the invasion.

Nāṣir Khān retreats to Aṣīrgadh, and Khalf Ḥaṣan lays siege to the fortress.

Death of Nāṣir Khān, A. D. 1435.

Khalf Ḥaṣan retreats to court with booty.

The Sultān’s younger brother, Muḥammad (Maḥmūd ?), rebels.

The Sultān proceeds to suppress the rebellion, and a battle is fought. Muḥammad Khān routed.

Muḥammad Khān yields; is pardoned, and given the ḥāqīr of Rayachal (Raichūr ?).

The Ṣaya of Vijayānagar invades Bahmani territory, and takes Mudgal.

The Sultān besieges Mudgal, which he takes.

The Vijayānagar Ṣaya agrees to pay tribute and compensation, and promises not to invade Bahmani territory again.

The Sultān returns to Bedar.

He is, by some historians, said to have also taken Chandan and Wandhan, Sātārā and other walled towns.

Death of the saint, Shāh Khalf-Ullāh. His relationship to the Sultān.

Khalf Ḥaṣan proceeds to attack the fortress of Sangameshwar in the Koṅkan.

Takes prisoner a Hindū chief named Sirkah, whom he compels to become a Muḥammadan.

Sirkah offers himself as a guide to Sangameshwar.
He treacherously leads them into an ambush. Khalf Ḥaṣan is killed and his force nearly annihilated.

The remnant make their way to Chākan, which was Khalf Ḥaṣan’s head quarters.

The Dakḥanī amirs represent this disaster in a false light to the Sultan, who orders the massacre of the saiyyids and foreigners in Chākan.

Rājā Rustam Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and Sālār Hamzah MushIR-ul-Mulk, with a mixed force of Musalmāns and Hindus, proceed to Chākan.

They invite the saiyyids and foreigners to an entertainment.

They massacre 1,200 saiyyids and 1,000 other foreigners.

Divine punishment awarded to the two sardārs for this act of treachery.

Jalāl Khān and his son Sikandar Khān in Bālkund, fearing to meet the same fate as their compatriots, refrain from going to court, and their enemies at court incite the Sultan against them.

Sikandar Khān goes to Māhūr and applies to Sultan Mḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā for assistance.

Mḥmūd Khiljī invades the Dakḥan, but is obliged to retreat.

Sikandar Khān forced to accompany him, but escapes and returns to Bālkundah.

The Sultan pardons Sikandar Khān and his father.

Death of the Sultan, and duration of his reign.

His character.

Publicly reproved by Saiyyid Ajall.

Date of the Sultan’s death.

(Taḥkarat-ul-Mulūk.)

Brief summary of the reign of Sultan ‘Alā-ud-Dīn II.

Had Khwājah Jahan as his prime minister.

The Sultan appoints his son Humayūn Shāh as his successor.

Discrepancy in the date of his death

CHAPTER XI.

Reign of Humayūn Shāh.

The people object to him as Sultan. His brother, Ḥaṣan Khān, is seated on the throne.

Humayūn unseats and imprisons him.

Rājā Rustam, an adherent of Prince Ḥaṣan’s, flies to Chākan and Junnar, and Malū Khān to Raichūr.

Date of the Sultan’s accession.

His character.

Makes Mḥmūd Gāwān — afterwards entitled Khwājah Jahan — his prime minister.

Sikandar Khān again rebels, and marches on Golkoṣda.

The Sultan marches against him. Sikandar Khān is defeated and killed.

Jalāl Khān (Sikandar Khān’s father) submits and is pardoned.

The Sultan declares a jihād against the Hindūs of Teliṅgānā.

Sends Khwājah Jahan on ahead to Devarkoṣda.
The people of Devarkonda apply to the Raya of Orissa for assistance.
The latter sends an army to assist them.
Khwaja Jahán commits a tactical error of judgment.
He is hemmed in between two forces, and completely defeated.
The Sultan much enraged, and is about to avenge the disaster, when he hears of a revolution in Bidar.

Object of the revolution, to release Hasan Khan and Mirza Habib-Ullah Nîmat-Ullah from prison, and proclaim the former as king.
Malik Yusuf Turk — one of the late Sultan’s slaves — manages to enter the fortress of Bidar, and release the prisoners.
The Sultan’s brother, Yahya Khan; also Jalal Khan Bukhârî, are killed — probably by mistake in the darkness.

Prince Hasan Khan and Mirza Habib-Ullah proceed to BhiJ, and are joined by some of the troops.

Rage of the Sultan on hearing the news.
Siraj Khan, governor of Bijapur, receives the fugitives. His treachery.

Psilamabatimy of Hasan Khan, and courage of Mirza Habib-Ullah. The latter is killed.
Chronogram giving the date of his death.

Hasan Khan is sent to the Sultan, who has him thrown to tigers.
Tyranny of the Sultan.

Hasan Baharî, a “converted” Brahmin youth, given the title of Sarang Khan.
The inmates of Shitab Khan’s Haram publicly outraged by order of the Sultan.

Death of the Sultan.
Chronogram giving the date of his death.

Chapter XI.

Reign of Nizâm Shâh.

Ministers left to decide which of the late Sultan’s sons should be his successor. They select Nizâm Shâh.

Ceremony of enthronement.

Makhdoomah Jahán appointed Queen Regent, and Khwájah Maḥmûd Gawân prime minister.

The country invaded by the Raya of Orissa.

Battle fought within 34 miles of Bidad. The Raya is defeated.

Invasion by Sultan Maḥmûd Khilji of Mâlwa. Battle fought near Bidad. The Bahman army take to flight, and Maḥmûd gains an easy victory.

Maḥmûd plunders Bidad and lays siege to the citadel.

Makhdoomah Jahán applies to Gujarât for assistance.

Sultan Maḥmûd of Gujarât is willing to go, but his ministers try to dissuade him.
He brings them round to his views; but they advise an invasion of Mâlwa as a counter-move.

He ignores their advice, and marches to Sultanpur and Nandurbâr.

Progress of the siege of Bidad.
Luxurious living of Maḥmūd Khiljī.

Consults a Shēkh about vegetables.

He raises the siege, and retreats towards Chândor, but changes his route on hearing of the advance of the Gujarāt army.

Khwâjah Jahân sent in pursuit.

Maḥmūd Khiljī asks the chief of Gondwânâ to guide his army. He offers to lead them by a difficult route.

Maḥmūd Khiljī turns from the Daulatâbād route, and proceeds north-east towards Ankot (?) and Elichpūr.

Distress of his army on the march through Gondwânâ.

He kills the chief of Gondwânâ.

Sulṭân Niġâm Shâh writes to Sulṭân Maḥmūd of Gujarāt, thanking him for his assistance.

Maḥmūd Khiljī again contemplates the invasion of the Dakhân, and the Sulṭân of Gujarāt again comes to the assistance of the Bahmani Sulṭân, and compels Maḥmūd Khiljī to retreat.

Sudden death of Sulṭân Niģâm Shâh.

CHAPTER XIII

Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh II.

In the tenth year of his age succeeds to the throne.

His character.

Regency during his minority.

Assassination of Niġâm-ul-Mulk at Khêrlâh.

His death is avenged.

He leaves two adopted sons, who receive the titles respectively of 'Adîl Khân and Daryâ Khân

Marriage of the Sulṭân.

Embassy from the ruler of Mâlûwâ.

Bahmani ambassador sent to Mândû.

Letter to the ruler of Mâlûwâ regarding certain territory in dispute — Mâhûr, Khêrlâh, etc.

Speech made by the Sulṭân.

Maḥmûd Gâwân made prime minister, and gets the title of Khwâjah Jahân.

Expedition against Hubîl and Bâgalkot.

Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân, at his own request, is sent on an expedition to the Koṅkan.

Halt at Kolhâpur to collect reinforcements.

Has several engagements in the Koṅkan, and returns to Kolhâpur for the rains.

Takes Rabankanah (Râyâbâgh ?) and Machâl; then proceeds to Sangameshvar.

Khâlnâh (Vishâlgaḍh) is surrendered to the Khwâjah.

Khwâjah Jahân remains nearly two years in the Koṅkan, and then returns to court with his booty.

Receives additional titles.

Death of the Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân.
The Sultán assumes the reins of government.

Death of the Ráya of Orissa.

Malik Nişám-ul-Mulk Bahrf is sent to invade Orissa.

Takes Rájamundr and Koşdávr, etc., and returns.

Khwájah Maḥmúd Gázán founds a college in Bídär.

The Sultán announces his intention of taking Vairágaḍh.

One of the adopted sons of the late Nişám-ul-Mulk volunteers to undertake the duty.

He takes Vairágaḍh by siege, and returns.

Khwájah Maḥmúd Gázán reports that Goa has been taken by Parkatpa (?), Ráya of Vijáyánagar, and volunteers to go and re-take it.

The Sultán resolves to go himself.

He lays siege to the fort of Belgáwp.

Parkatapa tries to make terms through the amír.

The Sultán angrily refuses.

Parkátapa surrenders the fort of Belgáwp, which the Sultán then gives to Khwájah Jahán.

The Sultán stops at Bijápur on his way back.

Great famine of Bijápur in the same year.

The Ráya of Orissa again invades Bahmaní territory.

The royal army assembles at Malikpur near Ashtár.

Proceeds towards Rájamundr.

The Sultán with a picked force goes in advance, leaving Khwájah Jahán and Prince Maḥmúd behind.

Narśīha Ráya's arrangements for the defence.

The latter takes to flight.

Malik Fath-Ulláh Daryá Khán sent in pursuit.

Surrender of Rájamundr.

The Sultán hands it over again to Nişám-ul-Mulk Bahrf, and returns to Bídär.

Ádil Sháh, Wáli of Asfárgádh and Burhánpur visits the Sultán and is fêted.

Rebellion at Koşdávr: the Sultán goes there to suppress it: lays siege to the fortress.

The garrison surrender, and hint that the minister, Khwájah Jahán, was the cause of their rebellion.

Koşdávr is given to Nişám-ul-Mulk Bahrf.

The Sultán invades Víjáyánagar territory and reaches Málür. Narśīha Ráya takes to flight.

The latter tenders his submission, and sends presents.

The Sultán proceeds by forced marches to Kánchipúr.

Takes and sacks the town, getting immense booty.

Plot against Khwájah Maḥmúd Gázán.

The Sultán summons him.

Account of the interview.
Unjust execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān and As'ad Khān.

His accusers afterwards put to death.

The Sulṭān regrets his hasty action: is disturbed by a dream.

Proceeds on a jāhd to the Koṅkan: is taken ill on the way.

His death.

His character.

Disension between the Dakhānī and Turkī amirs.

Age of the Sulṭān: duration of his reign: date of his death.

Chronogram giving the date of his death.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II.

The Dakhānī amirs plot against the Turks.

The Dakhānīs treacherously massacre the Turks.

Malik Ḥāṣan Niḥām-ul-Mulk Bahri is made Malik Nā,lb.

First mention of his reputed son, Aḥmad Niḥām-ul-Mulk, who afterwards founded the Niḥām-Shāhī Dynasty.

Aḥmad is given the districts of Junnar and Chākan as a jāhd. Goes to the assistance of the Sulṭān.

Expedition into Telingānā: the Sulṭān marches to Warangal.

The Ḥabshīs plot against the Malik Nā,lb: the Sulṭān believes their stories, and resolves on his death.

The Malik Nā,lb flies to Bīdar.

Treachorous conduct of Pasand Khān.

The latter kills the Malik Nā,lb, and throws his head outside the fort.

Presumption and arrogance of the Ḥabshīs.

Rise of Turkī influence as that of the Ḥabshīs declines.

Ḥāṣan Khān Khurāsānī gets the title of Khwājah Jahān.

The Sulṭān’s sister, Fātimah, married to Ḥabīb-Ullāh, and the fort of Medak given as a wedding present.

His other sister married to another son of Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh.

Rebellion against the Sulṭān in Bīdar.

The Sulṭān defended by ten Turks: desperate fighting.

The rebels are routed.

New palace built near the Shāh Burj.

Rebellion of the notorious Kāsim Turk Khawās Khān (afterwards entitled Barīd-i Manālik) at Kandhār.

Dilāwar Khān Ḥabshī sent to suppress the rebellion.

In the battle which ensues, Dilāwar Khān is killed by one of his own elephants.

Kāsim Barīd triumphant, and more than ever rebellious.

Rebellions in all directions.
The Sultān, unable to subdue Kāsim Barld, is obliged to conciliate him by giving him a share in the government.

This is much resented by the other nobles, who rebel.

Abmad Niẓām-ul-Mulk comes to the assistance of the Sultān.

The amirs promise their support to the Sultān if he will only oust Kāsim Barld from the government.

Practical overthrow of the Bahman Dynasty, and establishment of the Barld-Shâh in its place.

The Sultān wounded in battle.

The amirs disperse, and Kāsim Barld returns with the Sultān to Bidar, and again assumes the government.

Letter from Yusuf ʿ Aydın Khān, reporting the rebellion of Malik Dinār Dastār-i Mamālik and Malik Khūsh-Kadam Turk; and offers to aid in suppressing it.

The Sultān and Kāsim Barld proceed against the rebels.

ʿ Aydın Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk join the camp.

Disposition of the forces. Battle.

Malik Dinār taken prisoner and his army dispersed.

ʿ Aydın Khān intercedes for Malik Dinār, and procures his pardon.

The Royal troops lay siege to and take the fort of Sagar.

Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī complains of an act of piracy committed by Bahādur Gīlānī.

Letter on this subject from the king of Gujarāt.

Letter from the Sultān to Bahādur Gīlānī, ordering him to restore the ships and looted property.

Reply of the Sultān to the king of Gujarāt.

The Sultān's messenger to Bahādur Gīlānī is stopped on the way.

The Sultān marches with his army to Mangalveḍhā.

The fort is taken, and assigned to Fakhr-ul-Mulk.

The army marches to Jamkhandī, which Bahādur Gīlānī was then besieging.

Muκkaddam Nā dances chief of Jamkhandī?) takes service under the Sultān.

Malik Sultān Kull Hamadān Khuwāss Khān (afterwards the founder of the Kutub-Shâh dynasty) is given the title of Kutub-ul-Mulk.

Several feudal tenures granted. Names of various nobles then serving with the Sultān.

The army besieges Miraj. The governor, Bimah (? ) Nā, surrenders after his son has been killed.

The troops of Bahādur Gīlānī then in the fort of Miraj are offered generous terms.

Bahādur Gīlānī hides himself in the jungle, and sends an ambassador to the Sultān, who promises him pardon on certain conditions.

Bahādur Gīlānī still obdurate: a force is sent against him, with orders to spare his life.

He is slain in single combat by Ratan Khān, son of Fakhr-ul-Mulk on the 5th November, 1494.

The Sultān visits the fort of Panhaṭā: description of the fort.

He then visits Dābhāol.

Bahādur Gīlānī's jāṅīra given to various nobles.
The Sultan returns to Bedar, halting on the way at Miraq, to distribute the booty.
Increase in the power of Kutub-ul-Mulk.
Plot against the Turks.
The Turks anticipate matters by massacring the conspirators.
The Turks send Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh to the Sultan to explain matters.
Redistribution of jāgirs: Yusef ‘Adil Khân gets Bijâpur and Mangalvedhâ.
Plot against Barid-i Mamâlik.
The Sultan besieges him in the fort of Anas, but is deserted by several amirs: Barid again triumphant.

Another revolt against Barid-i Mamâlik.
Terms of peace arranged.
Preparations for a jihâd against Vijayânagar: enumeration of the forces.
‘Ain-ul-Mulk sent round by Kolhâpur.
Râyachur and Mudgal surrendered.
These parganahs are given to ‘Adil Khân.
In the absence of the amirs who sided with the Sultan, Malik Barid-i Mamâlik proceeds to Bidar; is admitted to the fortress by treachery, and again usurps the government on the 5th June, 1502.

Adil Khân, Kutub-ul-Mulk, Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others form a coalition to displace him.
The Sultan is compelled to side against them: a battle ensues, in which Haïdar Khân — Barid’s general — is killed. Barid then takes to flight. The allies do homage to the Sultan, and return to their provinces.

A marriage arranged between ‘Adil Khân’s daughter and the Sultan’s son.
The marriage festivities in Kalburgâ are interrupted by the return of Malik Barid to court, when hostilities are resumed. ‘Adil Khân and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk against Malik Barid, Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jâhân and Dastûr-i Mamâlik.
The Sultan sides with ‘Adil Khân.
Malik Ilyâs ‘Ain-ul-Mulk is killed in battle: hostilities then cease.
The Sultan proceeds to Miraq and Panhâlâ, to secure possession of the late ‘Ain-ul-Mulk’s jâgîr.

During his absence Barid-i Mamâlik and his adherents take possession of Bidar.
They receive the Sultan with all honour on his return.
Barid’s titles are further increased.

Hostility between ‘Adil Khân and Dastûr Dinâr: the latter obtains assistance from Aḥmad Bahârî, and invades Bijâpur territory: ‘Adil Khân flies to the Sultan’s court.
The Sultan compels them to make peace.
The Sultan, in 1506, quarrels with ‘Adil Khân.
The Sultan summons to his assistance Kutub-ul-Mulk and ‘ImâMud-ul-Ik. As the latter neglects to obey the summons, the Sultan goes after him to Berar and meets him near Kâlamb. The quarrel is then arranged.

The Sultan settle the succession to Yusuf's title and territory on Ismail II, eldest son of the latter.

Confusion in Berar owing to the late Fath-Ullah's eldest son, 'Ala-ud-Din, being a prisoner in Ramgir. He makes his escape, and succeeds to his father's title and territory.

Death of Khudawind Khwaja Jahan: his title conferred on his eldest surviving son, Nur Khan.

The latter is given Pareigda in exchange for Sandipur [Sholapur?] which is given to Kamal Khan, Ismail II 'Adil Khan's general.

The Sultan takes the fortress of Kalburga by force.

Dastur Dinar takes refuge with Bard. These two, with Kutb-ul-Mulk march on Bidar. Dastur Dinar's reputed son, Hamid Khan Habib, is killed in battle.

Peace arranged by 'Agamut-ul-Mulk, Ismail II 'Adil Khan's ambassador at the Bahmanl Court.

Quarrel between Dastur Dinar and Bard.

Embassy from Shah Ismail II Husaini Safawi.

Ungracious reception of a Shi'ah ambassador at a Sunni court.

Rebellion of Bashir Khudawind Khan, the feudatory of Muhur. The Sultan, in August, 1517, marches with the army against him.

Bashir applies to 'Ala-ud-Din Ismail-ul-Mulk for assistance, which is given.

A battle takes place: Bashir Khudawind Khan's son, Ghulab Khan, is killed. Khudawind Khan fights valiantly, but is wounded, taken prisoner, and put to death.

Muhur given to Mahmud Khan, youngest son of Khudawind Khan. The Sultan returns to Bidar.

Several of the principal amirs — too late to take part in this last expedition — now come to court.

The Sultan — taking advantage of the large force thus assembled — determines on a jihâd.

Arrived at Diwan [?] a battle is fought, in which the Sultan is severely wounded; and this puts a stop to the fighting.

The allies disperse to their respective provinces.

Bard accompanies the Sultan back to Bidar, and again assumes the government.

An amir named Shujja'at Khan having carried off two of the Sultan's elephants, the other amirs of Bidar, anxious to get rid of Bard, suggest that the latter should be sent after Shujja'at Khan.

Bard overtakes Shujja'at Khan, kills him, and returns in triumph with the elephants, etc.

Bard's power then becomes greater than ever.

Death of the Sultan. Date of his death, age, and duration of his reign.

The amirs — in spite of their quarrels among themselves — always loyal to their sovereign.

Other historians give a different account of the latter part of the reign of Sultan Mahmud II.

Anarchy in the Dakhân on the death of the Sultan.

End of the Bahmanl Dynasty.

(To be continued.)
ROPEs OF SAND; ASSES; AND THE DANAIDES.

The following inquiry was published in the number of the *Journal* of the Folk-lore Society for December, 1898. I venture to hope that its publication in these pages may bring to light some Indian evidence.

The occurrence of a single incident in ancient Egyptian custom, on Greek and Roman monuments, in an Arabian story, and in English folklore, provokes suspicion that some one idea, worth finding out, may lie behind the scattered facts. Such an incident is the weaving of a futile rope; twisted and untwisted in festival custom in Egypt, in Greek and Roman art, eaten by an ass, made of sand in Arabic story and in English legend.

Further, in more than one ancient monument the futile rope is associated with those futile water-carriers the Danaides, whose condemnation it was to carry water in sieves; and in Cornwall the spirit who was set to weave ropes of sand had also to empty a lake by the aid of a shell with a hole in it.

What do these coincidences mean?

In the hope of gaining further facts I quote, but make no attempt to value, the following rope-makers, ass, and water-carriers.

"In the city of Acanthus, towards Libya beyond the Nile, about 120 furlongs from Memphis, there is a perforated *pithos,* into which they say 960 of the priests carry water every day from the Nile. And the fable of Ocnus is represented near at hand, on the occasion of a certain public festival. One man is twisting a long rope, and many behind him keep untwisting what he has plaited."

In the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, Pausanias describes among other dwellers in Hades, "a man seated; an inscription sets forth that the man is Indolence (*Oknos*). He is represented plaiting a rope, and beside him stands a she-ass furtively eating the rope as fast as he plait it. They say that this Indolence was an industrious man who had a spendthrift wife, and as fast as he earned money she spent it. Hence people hold that

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1 *Pithos* = a vessel of large size, used for stores, sometimes sunk in the ground as a cellar.
2 Diodorus Siculus, I. 97.
3 Pausanias, X. 29. 2. See J. G. Fraser, *Pausanias*.

In this picture Polygnotus alluded to the wife of Indolence. I know, too, that when the Ionians see a man toiling at a fruitless task they say he is splicing the cord of Indolence."

In the medieval Arabic story, one of the tasks imposed by Pharaoh on Haykar the Sage is to make two ropes of sand; Haykar says:—

"Do thou prescribe that they bring me a cord from thy stores, that I twist one like it." So when they had done as he bade, Haykar fared forth aear of the palace and dug two round borings equal to the thickness of the cord; then he collected sand from the river bed and placed it therein, so that when the sun arose and entered into the cylinder the sand appeared in the sunlight like unto ropes."

Of Michael Scott a note to the *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* says:—

"Michael Scott was, once upon a time, much embarrassed by a spirit, for whom he was under the necessity of finding constant employment." Two tasks were accomplished in two nights by the spirit. "At length the enchanter conquered this indefatigable demon, by employing him in the hopeless and endless task of making ropes out of sea-sand."

A passage in the *Denham Tracts* speaks of Michael Scott as famed

"for having beat the devil and his myrmidons by the well-known device of employing them to spin ropes of sand, denying them even the aid of chaff to supply some degree of tenacity . . . . . . . . . . . ."

The wild Cornish spirit Treggeagle brings life into these somewhat tame accounts of futile industry. The wandering soul of a tyrannical magistrate, Treggeagle, was bound to fruitless labour on coast or moor; his toil prevented and his work destroyed by storm and tide. His cries sounded above the rear of winter tempests; his moanings were heard in the soughing of the wind; when the sea lay calm his low wailing crept along the coast. More than one task was laid upon this tormented soul.

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V. 376; Edinburgh Review, April, 1897, p. 458; *Journal Hellenic Studies*, XIV. p. 81.
5 *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Ed. 1899. Note 15.
6 *Denham Tracts*, II. 116.
"On the proposal of a churchman and a lawyer it was agreed that he should be set to empty a dark tarn on desolate moors known as Doamery (or Dozmare) Pool, using a limpet-shell with a hole in it. Driven thence by a terrific storm, Tregeagle, hotly pursued by demons, sought sanctuary in the chapel of Rosch Rock. From Rosch he was removed by powerful spell to the sandy shores of the Padstow district, there to make trusses of sand and ropes of sand with which to bind them.

Again we find him tasked

"to make and carry away a truss of sand bound with a rope of sand from Gwenvor (the cove at Whitesand Bay) near the Land's End."

The Cornish pool which Tregeagle had to empty with a perforated shell is said to be the scene of a tradition of making bundles and bands of sand:

"A tradition . . . . says that on the shores of this lonely mere (Doamery pool) the ghosts of bad men are ever employed in binding the sand in bundles with 'beams' (bands) of the same. These ghosts, or some of them, were driven out (they say horsewhipped out) by the parson from Launceston."

I place these roughly gathered facts together in the hope of gaining further instances; especially instances of,

(1) Ritual use of ropes, or of perforated water-vessels.
(2) Futile rope-making in custom or story.
(3) Futile water-carrying in custom or story.
(4) Asses in connexion with any of the above acts; and in connexion with (a) water in any form, (b) death and the underworld.

G. M. GODDEN, F.A.I.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The throbbing of different parts of the eye portends different things:

Eye-brows. — When the right eye-brow of a person beats very forcibly, it indicates that the wife will present her husband with a child; and if the left eye-brow beats, it signifies that the person is to acquire wealth. When both throb, it signifies that overwhelming sorrow is to overtake a person.

Pupils. — If the pupil of the right eye dilates, it means great loss to a person; and if the left, it warns one to keep aloof from fears and difficulties. If both the eye pupils are dilated, it indicates loss of health.

Corners of the Eye. — If the corner of the right eye throbs, it means that a man's foes and friends love him. If the corner of the left eye beats, it means the recovery of lost property.

Eye-lashes. — The throbbing of the right and left eye-lashes means that the person is likely to get into a broil with others.

Eye-lids. — The beating of the right eye-lid indicates that the person is to witness a marriage ceremony soon. And if the left, that fear will overtake him and make him ill.

Whole Eye. — When the whole right eye beats, it means that the patient will recover from long illness. And if the whole left eye, it brings a good name.

A person whose death takes place on a Saturday, should never go alone. To avert evil consequences, a live fowl is taken with such a corpse to the cemetery and it is there interred with it. Brahmans, averse to bloody sacrifices, substitute for a fowl the steel bolt of a door.

If a person dies under the influence of an evil star, the seeds of leguminous plants are scattered along the route of the funeral procession. It is believed that such a body, when buried, turns into a devil, and comes home to hold sway as a nocturnal monarch over the house. If the above custom is observed, however, it will try and pick up the seeds on its way from the grave to the house, dropping them on its return at day-break. In this way every night it starts, but never reaches its destination, since the seeds prevent its arrival in time.

All Hindus believe that by keeping quills or spines of porcupine at home they will meet with vain quarrels with neighbours and kinsmen.

M. B. PEDLOW.

* Taken from Hunt, Popular Romances of the West of England, 3rd Ed. pp. 131 ff.
* Courtenay, Cornish Feasts and Folklore, p. 73.
* Courtenay, Cornish Feasts and Folklore, p. 73; quoting Notes and Queries, Dec. 1850.
CHAPTER I.

Account of the Kings of Kalburgā, who, according to the most authentic accounts, were eight individuals, the first of whom was ‘Alā-ud-Din wa ad-Dunya Abū-l-Mu`affar Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh al Wali al Bahmāni.

Sulṭān ‘Alā-ud-Din Ḥasan Shāh Gangūl Bahmāni was the first king, who in the Dakhin, the land of perpetual freshness (may God preserve it so!) raised the standard of Islam, propagated the rights of the true faith, and overthrew infidelity.

Historians have related various accounts of the origin of this king, and to relate them all would cause prolixity, so we pass them by.

According to the statement of the author of the ‘Aiyān-ut-Tuwārīkh and other historians of the kings of India, the ancestors of this illustrious sovereign traced their descent from Bahman and Iftandīr; and what is stated on the subject in some books of genealogies which the author of these pages has seen is that Sulṭān Ḥasan was descended from Bahram Gūr, in the following way:

Sulṭān ‘Alā-ud-Din wa ad-Dunya Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, son of Kaikās Muḥammad, son of ‘All, son of Ḥasan, son of Bahtām, son of Simūn, son of Salām, son of Nūb, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣr, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūh, son of Nūh, son of Sānī, son of Bahram son of Shāh-ri, son of Sād, son of Nūsān, son of Dāwād, son of Bahram Gūr. But God, the Most High alone knows the truth of matters! In consequence of his descent the king was known as “Bahman” — Sulṭān ‘Alā-ud-Din Ḥasan Shāh Bahmāni.

During the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlāk Shāh, who was king of the greater part of India, Ḥasan happened to go to the capital, Dīlī, and without disclosing to anyone the fact of his illustrious descent from Kaṭūmarg he became enrolled among the servants of Muḥammad Tughlāk Shāh.

At that time it happened one day that the saint Shekh Niẓām-ud-Din gave a sumptuous entertainment, at which Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlāk Shāh was present. Shortly after the Sulṭān had left the entertainment Ḥasan arrived at the door of the Monastery of His Holiness. The latter by his inward consciousness being aware of this, said to his servant: — “To-day one king has gone out and another king is at the door: let him come in.” The servant went to the door and brought in Ḥasan. The Shekh received him with the utmost respect, and announced to him the good news that he was destined to have the sovereignty of one of the districts of India: this he mentioned as a divine revelation.

It is said that on this occasion the Shekh placed a cake of bread (khuraq) on the tip of his fore-finger and gave it to Ḥasan, saying: — “This is the canopy of sovereignty which shall be exalted till the extinction of this illustrious dynasty at a long distant date.” From this token of good news given by the eminent Shekh Ḥasan was made hopeful, and began to cherish the idea of sovereignty and conquest.

16 I am doubtful as to whether the name of this town should be spelt Kalburgā or Kulburgā. Professor Eastwick (Murray’s Handbook of Maddras) adopts the former spelling; and in a History of the Bijapur Kings, written in Marāṭhī, I find it spelt sometimes कालकृंग्र, and sometimes कुलबर्गा.

2 By this I meant “chaupatti,” a word familiar to all who have ever been in India.
In this year\(^3\) a state of the utmost disorder began to show itself in the dominions of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh, and each of the amírs in charge of the several districts raised rebellious. Sultan ‘Alá-ud-Dín Hasan Sháh also with a number of brave and select warriors — Afgháns and others — in accordance with the advice of the Shekh, set out for the Dákhán and halted at Daulatábád.

In the midst of these affairs Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq was informed that the amír-i sadah,\(^4\) who had been appointed to keep in subjection the coast of Gujárat, had withdrawn from their allegiance and were in a state of rebellion, besides plundering the property of Musalmáns. Some treasure which had been sent in charge of one of the amírs of Gujárat to the seat of government at Láhaur and Díhíl had been plundered; a great number of those accompanying it were killed, and the whole of their goods looted. The amír of Gujárat, who went to put down this rebellion and disturbance, were routed, and most of them killed.

Sultan Tughlaq, on hearing the news of this outbreak in Gujárat showed much disquietude and agitation, and he proceeded in person to put down the rebellion.

Kútlagh Kháán was governor of Daulatábád; and by the justice, bravery and good management of this pure-minded minister\(^5\) the people had hitherto been kept secure and free from disturbance; but before the outbreak of rebellion in Gujárat he had by the Sultan’s orders gone to the Tughlaq Sháhi court, leaving his brother, ‘Álam-úl-Mulk, as vice-regent of the district.

While on the way it occurred to Sultan Tughlaq Sháh that the district of Daulatábád being now free from the personal influence of Kútlagh Kháán it was quite possible that the amír-i sadah, having the power to do so, might there also stir up Gujárat and raise a rebellion. To prevent this he sent some of his amírs to Daulatábád bearing instructions for the amír-i sadah to join the Sultan’s camp. In accordance with this order the amír went to Daulatábád; and the amír-i sadah, obeying the order of the Sultan, started with the amírs for the camp of the Sultan; but on the way, overcome with fear (of the consequences of their past offences), they one night attacked the royal army,\(^6\) and the troops being taken unawares, most of them were killed, and the remainder took to flight, and narrowly escaping with their lives, made their way to the Sultan’s camp.

After the rout of the Sultan’s army the amír-i sadah returned to Daulatábád, and giving the title of Našír-úd-Dín to Ismá’íl Múkh,\(^7\) Afghán, seated him on the throne; and, according to the custom of kings, sprinkled money over his head. ‘Álam-úl-Mulk, through fear of them, had shut himself up in the fort of Dégír (Daulatábád); but as he had treated these people in an approved manner they gave him safe conduct and dismissed him.

\(^3\) What the year was is not stated, but it was probably A. H. 744 (A. D. 1343) — vide Bayley, Gujárat, p. 48.

\(^4\) There is no English equivalent for this expression. According to Sir E. C. Bayley it is said to be a Moghal technical term for a "captain of a hundred" (\(\) ), but in this place it rather designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "free-lances" of the Middle Ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries and foreigners; at least for the most part: some were probably remnants of the "New Musalmáns," or converted Moghal settlers, though some were most certainly Afghán adventurers. Loyalty sits lightly on troops of this class, and they have ever been known for violence and rapine. (Bayley, Gujárat, p. 48, n.)

\(^5\) Here begins the India Office MS., with the words

وزیر صاحب میر موسیم کا کلاک از فلسطین و فلسطین و صهیون بودند

\(^6\) That is, the escort taking them to the Sultan’s camp.

\(^7\) In the India Office MS. this name is always written مکح (Makh, or Mukh). In the British Museum MS. it appears in some places to be مکح and in others مکح (Mugh, or Maghan), and this is probably the correct spelling. According to Firísháh Ismá’íl Kháán Afghán was an officer of a thousand horse, whose brother, Malik Mugh, commanded the royal army in the province of Málwa, and the selection arose principally out of the hope that the Dákhánis would be supported by the new king’s relative in Málwa. (Briggs, Vol. II. pp. 287-288.)
Alâ-ud-Dîn Haşan Sháh Bahmaní, with a force of his own faithful adherents, was then in Daulatâbâd; and though outwardly, for prudential reasons, on friendly terms with these people, he was only watching for an opportunity of obtaining power.

In some histories of India, it is stated that Sultan Haşan, before obtaining dominion over the Dakhan, was enrolled among the troops of Sultan Tughlaq Sháh, who were employed in the defence of the Dakhan; and when Ismâ'îl Mukh, who had at first been raised to the throne, was found unfit for it, the whole army united in exalting Sultan Haşan Sháh to the sovereignty of the Dakhan. But God only knows the truth of matters!

When Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh arrived in Gujârât, a number of those who had rebelled prepared to oppose him; of these, some became food for the swords of the Sultan's troops, and others proceeded to Daulatâbâd and joined themselves to Ismâ'îl Mukh and his followers.

When Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, having finished repelling the violence of the amîrs of Gujârât, heard of the rebellion of the amîrân-i sadah of Daulatâbâd, he proceeded with his army in that direction. Ismâ'îl Mukh was ready for him, and formed line of battle in front of the Sultan's army; but the latter being twice again as weak as the followers of Ismâ'îl Afghân, however much it attacked and retreated gained no lasting advantage over them. At last, however, the army of the Sultan gained the victory, the Daulatâbâdís took to flight, and Ismâ'îl Mukh retired to the fortress of Dâghîr. Alâ'î-ud-Dîn Haşan Sháh with his own particular followers proceeded towards Kalbûrga. Sultan Muhammad laid siege to the fortress of Daulatâbâd, and sent Malik 'Imâd-ud-Dîn with a select force in pursuit of Sultan Alâ'î-ud-Dîn.

In the midst of these affairs news again arrived from Gujârât that Malik Taght had raised a rebellion there; so the Sultan was compelled to leave some of his nobles and a portion of his force at Daulatâbâd while he himself started for Gujârât.

When Alâ'î-ud-Dîn Haşan became aware that he was being followed by the enemy, he laid in ambush with a portion of his force, and suddenly attacking them killed 'Imâd-ul-Mulâk, dispersed his army and pursuing the fugitives turned back towards Daulatâbâd.

When the news of the death of 'Imâd-ul-Mulâk as well as the rout of his force and the approach of 'Alâ'î-ud-Dîn Haşan and his followers reached the ears of the amîrs who were engaged in besieging Ismâ'îl Mukh, they wavered, and being powerless to resist they unavoidably raised the siege of the fortress and took to flight. Haşan then entered the city of Daulatâbâd in triumph; and Ismâ'îl Mukh coming down from the fortress of Dâghîr voluntarily and gladly resigned the sovereignty in favour of Haşan; and abandoning the title of Sultan Nâshîr-ud-Dîn which had previously been given him, called himself Shams-ud-Dîn.

The whole army and the populace having unanimously consented to the sovereignty of 'Alâ'î-ud-Dîn Haşan, at the ninth hour of Friday the 28th Shâbân, A. H. 748 (3rd December, A. D. 1347), or — according to one writer — on the 24th Rabî' II. of the year above mentioned (3rd August, A. D. 1347), he attained the object of his desires. At the entreaty of Ismâ'îl Mukh and all the amîrs and the army the ruby-coloured royal umbrella was raised over his head, and he was seated on the throne of sovereignty under the title of Sultan 'Alâ'î-ud-Dîn Haşan Sháh al Wall al Bahmani. The amîrs, ministers and generals vied with one another in doing him honour and praising him and swearing fealty to him.

The Sultan now applied himself to the affairs of government and the occupations of his subjects with such ability and attention that the signs of his illustrious actions embellishing the history of the kings are beyond computation, and the mention of his good qualities adorns the preface of the history of the kings powerful as Heaven. In his day no tyrant hand struck the knocker of disquietude on the door of any subject, nor did the foot of any trader in oppression tread the inner court of the house of anyone with the step of molestation or hindrance.
The Sultan sent some troops in pursuit of the amirs of Muhammad Tughlaq who had taken to flight. Nisam-ul-Mulk, who was leader of the defeated army was killed, and the remnant with much difficulty succeeded in saving their lives.

When the Sultan had thus finished repelling his enemies, he turned his attention to those brave amirs who had rendered him good service in the recent war, and conferred on each of them rank and dignity corresponding to his merit.

Of this number, ‘Ain-ud-Din, who was one of the amirs of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, with his son Muhammad entered the service of Abul-Muzaffar Sultan ‘Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shah and were honoured by the titles of Khwaja Jahangir and Shir Khan respectively.

Malik Hindur Turk received the title of ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, and was appointed Sahib-i ‘Arz. Husam-ud-Din Aghchi became Nabi Waiz.

Zhakarjat Saiyid Rasul-ud-Din, who was one of the descendants of the martyr Zaid, received the title of Kuchb-ul-Mulk.

Malik Shadi, who had been Nabi Bakhsh, became Shams-i Rashid Sahib-i Khwaja.

Husain, who had attacked ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, obtained the title of Garshahab, and was appointed Kure Beg-i Maisarah (Commander of the Left Wing).

Mr Sakhu Shams-ud-Din was appointed Kure Beg-i Maimanah (Commander of the Right Wing).

Sharaf Farsal became Umdah-ul-Mulk and Dabir (Secretary).

Kashbars, who in Awadh (Oud) deserted from the service of Sultan Muhammad after killing one named Mukbil, governor of Awadh, and then entered the service of the Sultan, received the title of Kadar Khan, and his son Muhammad became Ashdar Khan.

Several of the amirs received the titles of “Khan” and Malik.” A few retained their previous titles. Several of the servants of the royal court obtained employment as diwanis; thus Husain bin Turgan became Treasurer, and the son of Mubarak Khan became Superintendent of Elephants (shahnah-i fil) and Keeper of the Seals (dawat dar).

Malik Chahjum became Saiyid-ul-Hujjaj (Lord Chamberlain).

Kashbars-ud-Din became Hajib-i Kasabah (Constable of the City).

Daulat Shahu became Shahrah-i Barga, and Shahahu, Salar-i Khwaja, which in the Dakhani dialect is called “Khishnitgari.”

‘Ali Shahu became the Sar Pardah-dar, with a number of others under him.

Each of the amirs, waizars and generals, according to his desert, was promoted to makhad and jagirs, obtaining towns and districts on feudal tenure, and kept up a proportionate army and retinue.

The Sultan having despatched the amirs to take possession of the country and organise the army, each of them proceeded to his own district. Khwaja Jahangir was sent to Kalburgah, Sikandar Khan to Bidar, Koor Khan to Kotwar and Safdar Khan Sust-Abd to Sagar, which afterwards became known as Sagar, and Husain Garshahab to Kotagir. Other generals, by the Sultan’s orders, proceeded to plunder and devastate the country of the infidels.

‘Imad-ul-Mulk and Mubarak Khan, by the Sultan’s orders, went on a marauding expedition as far as the river Tavi (Tapi), devastating the country of the Hindus, and beheaded any idol-worshippers they found. Among other districts they plundered that of

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8 Sahib-i ‘Arz means one whose business is to review an army. 9 Founder of the Zaidi sect.
10 A taster, a servant whose duty it is to watch over the kitchen of princes, and to taste every dish brought to table as a security against poison.
(Dangri) and beheaded the cursed Rámná. From that place they went to Janjul (?), plundered the fort, and cutting off the head of threw his body on the ground.

Of the other amirs, who, by the Sultán’s orders, had hastened off to take possession of their respective districts, Garshásp, who had been sent to Kotágir on the way received intelligence from Khandár of the Dakhan, now known as Kandhar, that a number of Turks of the army of Muhammad Tughlaq, who were in Kandhar when they saw that ‘Alá-ud-Din had been confirmed in the sovereignty of the Dakhan, one night with a loud cry took possession of the fort of Kandhar and submitted themselves to the Sultán, and Ikráj being put to flight, went towards Bodan and his people and family were made prisoners by the Turks. The latter wrote a letter to this effect to Garshásp, and informed him of their submission to his authority.

Garshásp was much pleased at hearing this news, and wrote them a letter, praising them for what they had done; and held out to them hopes of the king’s favour. He himself also hastened to Kandhar and the Turks went out to give him a ceremonious reception, and proferred their services.

From that place Garshásp went to Kotágir and laid siege to the fort.11 After some time the garrison called for a truce, and obtained quarter. They delivered over the fortress, and of their own accord agreed to pay tribute. When messengers brought this news to the Sultán he was much gratified; and by his orders the drums of rejoicing were beaten in the city, and all the people were glad.

Saiyid-Rasúl-ud-Din Khuth-ul-Mulk, who had gone towards Mundargi, proceeded by way of Bhum and took possession of it. After that he turned towards Akalkot which he also succeeded in taking, and then returning to Mundargi gave it the name of Saiyiddabád. Each of the sanadár of that district who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands, and restrained his troops from plundering his property; but any who disputed his authority, their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force he succeeded in gaining possession of three or four celebrated fortresses.

Kambar Khán,12 who had obtained the Kotár jágir, proceeded in that direction; but on the way turned aside to the fort of Kalyán, and for nearly fifty days laid siege to it, after which it capitulated; and the inhabitants on giving security for good behaviour were included among the subjects of the Sultán. After taking Kalyán he wrote to the Sultán giving him the welcome intelligence of his victory. The Sultán was much pleased, and ordering the drums of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of Daullatábad, called it Pathábád. The rejoicings were continued for a week.

Sikandar Khán, who by the Sultán’s orders had started with an army in the direction of Bidár, turned from there towards Malkai,13 and the Hindus of that place having heard of and seen the recent success of the Turks, deemed it advisable to refrain from offering resistance; they therefore tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute, and so obtained immunity from molestation by Sikandar Khán’s troops.

Sikandar Khán after his return sent a letter to Kanábáyand,14 who was wali of Telingáná asking him to send a present of some elephants for the use of his army.15

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11 The word in the text is كر (kar, or gar): it is probably meant for the Hindú word ک (gadh), a hill fort.
12 This name is here written بار (Kabar Khán) in the text, but it is evidently a mistake of the copyist’s for further on, when he rebels against the Sultán and is made prisoner by Sikandar Khan, his name is written خان (Khan). The latter is also the spelling in the Br. Mu. MS.
13 Written لمحرو (Lamkhor) in the Br. Mu. MS.
14 In the Br. Mu. MS. this name is written, in one place بانان (Kabánand), and in another place (Kabánadab).
15 The letter is given in full in the text, but there is nothing of importance in it.
Khán’s letter reached Kanábáyand and he understood its contents, he wrote a reply, tendering his submission, and sending a written treaty to that effect: he also expressed a great wish to meet him. Accordingly Síkandar Khán with a large force proceeded towards Telíngánán, and a meeting between the two took place. Kanábáyand16 presented many valuable offerings, and was made hopeful of much favour from the king. He sent two elephants and other suitable presents to the king through Síkandar Khán. The latter on arrival at sent the elephants to the Sultán and informed him of the good will of Kanábáyand. The Sultán wrote a commendatory letter to Síkandar Khán and exalted him to the umbrella:17 he also conferred royal favours on Kanábáyand.

Ismá‘íl Múkh, who had resigned the sovereignty, had been granted as an in'ám Thánah Ākār (?), which is near Terdaland Jamákhánd; but after spending some time pleasantly in that country the demon of desire led him astray. The explanation of this is that the cursed infidel Náráyána had deceived him by promises of assistance to regain the sovereignty; and he, duped by these promises and vows, had raised the standard of rebellion. The end of it was that the perfidious Náráyána broke faith with him, and imprisoned the foolish Afghán, and after some time poisoned him.

Since the cursed Náráyána used to show himself submissive to Sultán Muḥammad Tughlaq, Khwájah Jahán, by the Sultán’s orders, started from Múbirakábád Miráj on a punitive expedition against that man of unworthy actions; and Kúthí-ul-Múlk also from Mundárgí, going to the assistance of Khwájah Jahán, these two prudent ministers joining their forces proceeded to Kálburgá, surrounded that fortress and with guns18 and ballistas (manjánálik) reduced the garrison to extremities, and destroyed a portion of the tower and wall of the fortress. Púchárapí (?), who was governor of the fortress, falsely gave out that they were in a state of starvation, thinking that this would be the cause of separation and despondency among the royal troops: the result, however, was contrary to his wishes. At last the besieged being reduced to great straits owing to scarcity of water, some of them calling for quarter descended from the fort by tying nooses on ropes. The victorious army then from all sides of the tower and rampart entered the fortress and proceeded to pillage and plunder, and killed a great number of the people. They made Púchárapí prisoner, and sent him together with a despatch, announcing victory to the seat of government.

Khwájah Jahán then assumed the governorship of Kálburgá, and acted with such justice and kindness towards the inhabitants of the city and surrounding neighbourhood that he rejoiced their hearts. But after some time he received intelligence that a mutiny had taken place in the army at Ságáer. Şafídar Khán had laid siege to the fort of Şafak19 or Kaubárí (?); and a countless number of people in that fortress had died from famine and pestilence. By the exertions of Kaemps, Muḥammad bin ‘Ālam, Náthi ‘Alubak and other rascals who excited them, the mutineers after killing Şafídar Khán went to Ságáer, and taking possession of the fortress proceeded to strengthen it. ‘Alí Lújín and Fákhr-ud-Dín Muhrádár (keeper of the seals) by an artifice fled and escaped from the mutineers.

Since Khwájah Jahán did not think it advisable, without orders from the Sultán, to lead a force against the mutineers to quell this disturbance, he wrote a letter to their leaders, saying:—“Killing a bad man was a very good deed; but now it is necessary that you should without delay come in this direction, and bring with you whatever you may have in the way of goods, elephants, etc., that they may be sent to the foot of the royal throne, and that you may receive due reward from the king, otherwise you will be deprived of the goods and the fortress, and perhaps of your lives as well.”

16 Here the name is written كماناپند, and there being no dot to the second letter it may be read either Kanábáyand or Kahsáyand.
17 اورناچترن سرائناز فروند.
19 Name uncertain. Spelt كنابا in the text.
18 Here is the first mention of fire-arms.
Muhammad bin Alam sent Nathū ‘Almabak to Khwājah Jahān with a message, saying: —
"The story of the goods and riches attributed to us is utterly impossible."

When Nathū brought this message Khwājah Jahān imprisoned him, and sent an account of the circumstances to the Sultan, who ordered Khwājah Jahān immediately on receipt of the fardan to cross the river Jahanur [Bhima] and encamp on the further side, and not to move from there till the Sultan should himself arrive in those parts. In accordance with these orders Khwājah Jahān encamped on the other side of the river, and every day used to send his troops to plunder and devastate the country of the mutineers, and used to put terror into their hearts. The Sultan, on account of Muhammad Tughlak did not think it advisable to leave Daulatabad and move to any other part of his dominions.

When the army of Khwājah Jahān, by the Sultan’s orders, had been encamped for two months on the bank of the river Bhimā one night by decree of the Divine Creator an old man of luminous aspect whose countenance shone with divine knowledge, appeared to the Sultan in a dream and informed him of the extinction of the empire of Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh and announced the establishment of sovereignty in the Sultan’s illustrious family. Even in the midst of his dream the Sultan determined in his own mind that that old man was Ulwais Karanf. It has been already mentioned that the Sultan was a disciple of the saint Shekh Nigām-ud-Din Auliya who had promised him the throne; and whenever the Sultan was in any difficulty the saint used to reveal to him in a dream the means of getting out of it. When the Sultan awoke he related the dream to his assembled troops.

On an auspicious day he moved from the capital Daulatabad towards Kalburgā, leaving Kadr Khin, Garshāb, ʿImad-ul-Mulk, ʿĀḏ-ul-Mulk and other nobles in Daulatabad. In due time he pitched his camp in sight of Kalburgā, and the inhabitants of that place hastened out to offer presents and do homage to him, and they prayed for the eternity of his reign. The Sultan conferred special favours on the principal inhabitants of Kalburgā, and gave to each, according to his rank, presents and robes of honour.

When the news of the Sultan’s arrival reached Khwājah Jahān, leaving the leaders of his army in the camp, he himself hastened to pay his respects to the Sultan, who distinguished him by royal caresses and seated him on a golden chair.

In the midst of these affairs the king was informed that the Sultan of Hindustan, Muhammad Tughlak Shāh, while on his way from Gujarāt to Tathā had fallen ill and died near the Indus.20

The mind of Sultan ‘Al-ud-Din Hasan Shāh being thus set at rest from the annoyance of his enemies he turned his attention to the conquest of the various districts of the Dakhan. In three days’ time the royal army set out, and crossing the river marched stage by stage without halting to rest anywhere. When Muhammad bin ‘Alam heard of his approach, seized with panic, he threw himself on the mercy of the Sultan. The latter spared his life, but ordered him to be imprisoned, and whatever money and goods he possessed to be confiscated in order to prevent his offering further opposition.

After that the Sultan marched towards Sagar and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sagar tank; and reducing the district to a state of subjection, tranquillized the inhabitants and ordered compensation to be given for any oppression practised on them by the tyrants. The learned men and sheikhs of that part, such as Sheikh ‘Ain-ud-Din Bijapurī,21 ‘Al-ud-Din Jānpurī and Maulānā Mu’ayyan-ud-Din Harūlī — tutor of Sultan Muhammad Shāh — paid their respects to the Sultan, and he distinguished them by inām and pensions, each according to his merit.

21 Author of the Mukḥādī, and Kitāb-ul-Awā‘ir, containing a history of all the Muhammadan saints of India.
He then despatched a force under the leadership of Mubarak Khan and Kutub-ud-Mulk to make a predatory incursion into the district of Harib. When these amirs with a large force reached the fortress of Karabjur they laid siege to it and reduced the garrison to extremities. The governor of the fortress, who was one of the great men of the infidels, seeing the fury of the assault of the Mubammadan army, fear and terror shook the foundation of his strength and on the following day he sued for quarter, and waiting on the leaders of the army delivered over to them much goods and countless wealth as a peace-offering. After that victory the amirs sent some of the associates of the governor of Karabjur (?) to the Sultan. The latter looked with much favour on the leaders of the army, and rewarded each of them according to his rank.

At that time the royal army being ordered to march from Sagar moved towards Kanberi and Mudhol; and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kanbari, Kapras, the chief of that district, hearing of the arrival of the Sultan, and dreading attack by his army, sent smooth-tongued messengers with presents of horses, elephants and various goods to the Sultan. Through the interest of the courtiers they obtained an audience and presented a petition to the following effect:—

"I am the slave of slaves of the threshold of the royal throne, and I know the power of the conquering army, but from excess of baseness and sins I am debarred from the happiness of making my obeisance: if the royal mercy will wash away the dust of meanness of this slave in the limpid water of pardon, and draw the pen of forgiveness through the registers of crimes of this penitent one, he will assuredly pay two years' revenue into the royal treasury; and after that, obtaining hopefulness of royal favours, he will put away fear from his heart, and hasten with the step of service to the royal threshold."

The Sultan having compassion on the weakness and disappointment of Kapras ordered that his offer of tribute should be accepted, and that no further injury should be done to his fortress or country.

The army then set off on the march for the country of the accused Narayana, and when they reached Taligirya (?), Duniyapuk (?) begged for pardon, and he as well as his wife sons and other relatives came out of the fort and threw themselves at the feet of the Sultan who received them kindly, and confirmed them in possession of the fort and district.

The Sultan then continued his march against the traitor Narayana. On arriving within one stage of the place of that ignoble one a petition reached the Sultan from Shu-ud-Din Muktia, who in conjunction with Narayana used constantly to assist Sultan Muhammad Tughlak Shah. The letter contained assurances of his submission and loyalty, and said that he would shortly pay his respects to the Sultan. The latter was much pleased to hear this, and honoured Shu-ud-Din by sending to inform him of his benevolent inclinations, and wrote him a farmán containing many assurances of favour and affection. Mu'in-ud-Din had seen Narayana as well as the result of the fraudulent conduct of Ismail Mukh, so he hastened to wait on the Sultan and had the honour of making his obeisance to him. The Sultan in the plenitude of his favour and kindness embraced him and said:—

"It is the usage of people of sincerity and piety to exert themselves in the business of their lords, and when they obtain knowledge of justice and injustice, leave the service of the tyrant and incline towards that of the just man." Mu'in-ud-Din was then distinguished by a special robe of honour.

Next day the Sultan marched towards Mudhol, hunting and shooting on the way, and in terror of the troops the country was cleared of lions, tigers and panthers.

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Footnotes:
22 Not identified. The word is written "Harib" in the Br. Mu. MS.
23 Spelt in the text. Probably Elnabur is meant, between Golkozd and Bidar.
24 In the I. O. MS. this name is distinctly written مینودین (Shu-ud-Din) wherever it occurs; but in the Br. Mu. MS. it is in each place distinctly written مینودین (Mu'in-ud-Din). The latter is most probably correct.
When the royal army passed the river Kistā the country of the base infidels became turned topsy-turvy, and the cultivated lands changed into desolation: all the inhabitants took refuge in the four strongest fortresses in that part of the country.

The rebel Nārāyaṇa seeing that it was useless for him to use his claws against a furious lion, being himself a fox, he wished by fox-play to avoid contending with lions; so he sent an eloquent man to the Sultan with the following memorial:

"I am a slave of the ancient servants of the royal threshold, but owing to my many crimes and the awfulness of the wrath of the Sultan of the World I cannot have the presumption to kiss the ground before him. If the King of the World would order one of the slaves of the court to come over in this direction in order that this slave may explain his circumstances to him, and if he will briefly bring them to the notice of your Majesty, it will not be far from the perfection of kindness to servants and the application of a remedy."

The Sultan, agreeing to the proposal of that accursed, vile one, sent Kāfī Bahāʾ-i-Ḥājib to say to him: — "Your crimes are notorious, and on account of them you are deserving of exemplary punishment; but if you repent and obey the laws of government in future, your former faults will be overlooked, and your life and the lives of your sons and family — several thousand persons — may be spared; otherwise your fortress will be razed to the ground, your dwelling-places will be sacked, and your irreligious body with all your followers will become as a fable."

When the infidel Nārāyaṇa heard these awful words the fear which had settled in his heart was increased; but fortune having turned against him and plunged him in misery he could not agree to serve the Sultan, but set his heart on opposing him, and took refuge in the fort of Jamkhandī, which was considered one of the greatest of his forts. He sent three of his chief nobles to hold three other forts; and of these men he sent one vile one named Gopal to hold the fort of Mudhol, and two other infidels to Teral and Bāgalkot.

When the Sultan knew that the impure and fearless Nārāyaṇa had no desire to yield submission, he determined first of all to take the fort of Mudhol, which was the strongest of the forts of that contemptible one, who owing to the strength of that place was beyond the reach of everyone. This fort he determined to take, in order that fear being established in the hearts of the accursed people of that district they would no longer desire to offer any opposition nor engage in war with the Muḥammadan army.

When the Sultan, with the intention of attacking the fort of Mudhol, crossed the river and turned in that direction, the traitor Nārāyaṇa deemed it advisable to send a number of his troops to make a night attack on the royal camp, hoping by this manoeuvre to avert the fate which threatened them: but destiny was against them. The cursed Nārāyaṇa sent nearly two hundred horse and a thousand infantry on a dark night to attack the royal army; but he was not aware that he who throws a stone at the sky inevitably wounds his own head. This doomed band of infidels reached the corner of the Sultan's camp, but only to shut the door of safety in the face of their own fortune. The vile infidels in the fort of Mudhol also, when they heard the tumult of that powerless handful, a number of them rashly came out of the fort and joined that rabble. But since the royal troops, like their own fortune, were awake and on the alert, they suddenly intercepted those worthless infidels and almost annihilated them. Most of them were killed, but some escaped: a few crept like mice into the holes of the fortress, and about twenty of them fled towards Jamkhandī, and with a thousand troubles and perplexities reached that place.

Next morning the Sultan sat on his throne and held a public audience; and the nobles and leaders of the army brought before him the prisoners and booty which they had acquired. Some of the prisoners were put to death, and the brave men who on that dark night had shown special bravery were distinguished by royal favours, and the booty which had been gained was
given to them. This signal victory had the effect of greatly weakening the power of Narāyaṇa and dispiriting his army.

Simultaneously with this affair the Shāhzādah joined the camp of the Sultān, and a number of the nobles and ministers were sent out to meet him. When the Shāhzādah saw the Sultān he hastened to salute him. The Sultān called him to him, caught him to his breast, kissed him on the face, and asked him about his journey and the affairs of his army. The Shāhzādah gave him clear answers, and the Sultān was astonished at his shrewdness and sagacity, and presented him with a special robe of honour and many other royal distinctions.

On the following day the Sultān ordered an assault on the fortress; but afterwards perceiving that this would entail the loss of many brave men at the hands of the infidels, which was contrary to the laws of religion and manliness, he countermanded the assault and formed a cordon round the fortress, and dug a trench completely round it, so that it might more easily be taken.

For four months they were engaged in the siege of Mudhol: at last the infidels being reduced to extremities paid two years' revenue into the royal treasury besides promising to pay the future revenue; and agreed that after the return of the royal army they would be submissive to the court, and endeavour by every means in their power to atone for their past offences.

The army then encamped within sight of the fortress of Miraj. The Sultān spent two months in pleasure and recreation in that open country; the troops also passed their time in ease and leisure.

After that the Sultān determined to conquer the country of the Konkan, and started with his army for that district, marching by stages, and hunting and shooting on the way. The soldiers hunted the tiger, and they emptied the face of the country as well as the air of wild beasts, pelicans and cranes.

When the Sultān — the cream of the race of Bahman — passed Khārapatan, the people of that district on becoming aware of his approach, left their dwellings, and from terror of the army fled to the mountain-tops and hills and interior parts and valleys. The troops plundered all the cattle and pastures of the Hindūs. The camp remained in that place nearly two months, the army resting from the fatigue of the march.

They then moved towards Sagar and when they encamped in its neighbourhood, all the feudal lands belonging to those forts and districts having been annexed to the Sultān's dominions, were assigned to the agents of the court, each of whom, according to his worth and rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

After that the Sultān crossed the river Bhimā and taking tribute from Sēdam and Malkaḍ, he advanced towards Kalburgā.

Kīr Khān, who in tyranny and injustice exceeded Namrūd and Shidād, hastened to wait on the Sultān and was distinguished by a robe of honour and other dignities; but after three days, by the seduction of the black-faced Kālah Muhammad, he fled from the royal army, and the Sultān himself went in pursuit of that impure, base one. The army and baggage of Kīr Khān being captured, suddenly a great flood came on the road and drowned most of his followers; but he himself being apart from them at the time, escaped, and with much difficulty reached Kuttār.

The Sultān having returned from the pursuit of Kīr Khān marched towards the fort of Kallīāna, which was then occupied by Kālah Muḥammad, who from his innumerable crimes was nicknamed the 'black-faced.' The Sultān being determined to take the place divided the different sides of the fortress among his troops, who formed a cordon round it; and the besieged were reduced to helplessness.
Sikandar Khan, whom on account of his valuable services and sincerity the Sultan had entitled "Farzand" (son), arrived in camp with a large force, and had the honour of making his obeisance. The Sultan treated Sikandar Khan with much courtesy, and further exalted him by the dignity of the Ruby Umbrella, and raised him in rank above all the other slaves and khans. The Sultan ordered him to proceed to Kutur and lay waste the country of Kir Khan, also to make him prisoner and bring him before the throne. Sikandar Khan swore by the dust of the Sultan's footstep that he would not return till he brought that promise-breaking old man bound as a malefactor before the foot of the throne.

Sikandar Khan then marched from the Sultan's camp with a large force, and proceeded towards Kutur. News of his approach reached Kir Khan; and when the army arrived within a farsang of Kittur, Sikandar Khan was informed that Kir Khan watching his opportunity had sallied out from the fort with a force of brave men skilled in fight, made his way to the army of Sikandar Khan and in one attack untied the knot of agglomeration of those who, Pleiad-like, were drawn up in a compact formation, causing them to become dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, and pursued them as they fled; but suddenly Sikandar Khan rushed out from a place of ambush and attacked Kir Khan’s force. In the midst of this battle Fakhr Shahbân with some cavalry attacked Kir Khan, and the latter turned to repulse him. Fakhr Shahbân, in order to draw him on pretended to run away, and Kir Khan boldly hurried in pursuit; but in the meantime another party of Fakhr Shahbân’s friends having joined him they turned on their pursuers, and Kir Khan being unable to cope with them wished to pluck his foot from the net of misfortune and the grasp of fate by taking to flight, but Fakhr Shahbân caught him, and grasping him by the hair dragged him along the ground. The troops of Kir Khan endeavoured to release him, but failed, and at last they took to flight, leaving their leader in the net of misfortune. Fakhr Shahbân then bound Kir Khan and took him to Sikandar Khan. The latter was much pleased, and having written a report of the victory sent it by Fakhr Shahbân to the court of the Sultan. Fakhr, in despatch outstripping lightning and the wind, reached the camp of the Sultan on the second day, and informed him of the victory and the capture of Kir Khan. The Sultan was delighted to hear this good news, and Fakhr obtained many marks of royal favour, and the drum of rejoicing was beaten in the camp.

A week afterwards the Sultan marched with his army towards Kittur and when he arrived on that frontier, Sikandar Khan heard of his approach, and in accordance with his oath, he dragged Kir Khan in chains to the foot of the royal throne. The Sultan loaded Sikandar Khan with distinctions, and ordered Kir Khan to be denuded of the dress of life (put to death); but Sikandar Khan represented, saying: “Since this old sinner is given to me, and your Majesty's camp is pitched at the foot of the fortress of Kittur, if the people of this vile one repent and yield obedience, show regret for their tyranny and injustice, pay the past revenue and agree to pay the future revenue, well and good, but if not it will be perfectly easy to put him to a shameful death.” According to the petition of Sikandar Khan the Sultan refrained from putting Kir Khan to death, and the camp was pitched in sight of the fort of Kittur.

In the midst of these affairs Kâlah Muḥammad leaving Kailân went to the fort of Kittur and fortified himself there: several times he boldly sallied from this fort and attacked the Sultan's army, throwing them into confusion, and when the royal troops tried to intercept them, they, like foxes in fear of the attack of lions, took refuge in a hole in the fortress. But one day Kâlah Muḥammad, his fortune having turned against him, according to his past custom, came out of the fort with some of his troops and attacked the Sultan's army; but the latter intercepted them, and in one attack the sedition of that unfortunate, insignificant one was suppressed, his followers dispersed, and he himself made prisoner. According to a certain historian his figure was also relieved from the load of his head.

In this campaign the Sultan obtained two celebrated fortresses which reared their heads as high as heaven, namely, the forts of Kailân and Kittur: in whatever direction he went he used to return victorious.
After these victories the Sultan set out on the march for Kalburga, the seat of government; and in that excellent city erected lofty buildings and giving it the name of Absanabād selected it as the permanent dwelling-place of the throne. In some histories it is related that Sultan ‘Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Shāh took the city of Kalburga first of all, and afterwards proceeded to take Daullatābād and all the other towns. In any case, when Kalburga, Bīdar and Daullatābād with all their dependencies came into his possession, he was anxious to take all the other towns of the Dakhan. According to tradition the first victory which he gained was at Bhokardhan; as soon as he arrived there the Rāja of that place presented him with three laks of rupees and agreed to pay the revenue into the royal treasury. From that place the Sultan marched towards Māhrū, the Rāja of which place also sent countless wealth to the victorious army, and so obtained immunity from assault. The army then moved towards the celebrated Mandn, and the people of that country also agreed to pay tribute and contribution, and were exempted from molestation.

Then the Sultan set out for his capital, Absanabād, where he spent some time in pleasure and amusement, and the troops rested from the fatigue of the march.

[After that, the Sultan having conceived the idea of conquering the island of Goa as well as Dabhool and all the sea-coast and ports, determined to proceed in that direction. After accomplishing the journey the royal camp arrived in the neighbourhood of Goa, and they laid siege to the town, which after five or six months they succeeded in taking, and were gladdened by countless booty.

After taking Goa the Sultan moved towards Dabhool, and obtained possession of that district also. Thence he crossed over towards Kalhar and Kolhāpūr, where they also raised on high the banners of Islam and overthrown those of infidelity and error. Then the Sultan returned to his capital, Absanabād, and took his ease in the permanent dwelling-place of the royal throne.]

After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he was again desirous of conquering the country of Tilang (Telengānā) and acquiring a name and reputation, [so orders were issued to the army to move in that direction. According to orders the army assembled and marched towards Telengānā. The Sultan sent on in advance a number of his officers with scouts to devastate the country of the infidels whilst he followed in rear of them]. For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Telengānā, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonaghr he overthrew the idol-temples, and instead of them built mosques and public schools. When he had completed the conquest of Telengānā he returned to his capital, and opening the doors of justice and kindness in the face of his subjects and soldiers acted generously towards all the inhabitants of the Dakhan.

At this period the Sultan had obtained possession of most of the cities and forts of the Dakhan; so that his dominions extended from the east side of Daullatābād to Bhonaghr and the river Godavari — both north and south sides — to the river Gang [Wain Gangā?] and the west side of Kalburga to the river Kistnā, and Ganhar (?) and Dabhool and Goa. And the Rājas on the further side of the Kistnā becoming government landholders, agreed to pay tribute; and the Sultan assigned on feudal tenure to his ministers and nobles — to each according to his rank — the various districts and towns of Hindūstān which he had conquered. His own old district, which was Huker, Belgāon and Miraj, he entrusted to his eldest son Žafar Khān, whom he made his heir-apparent; and gave him the name of Sultan Muḥammad

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* This passage enclosed in brackets is entirely omitted in the Br. Mu. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist.
* Kalhar (sic) is frequently mentioned, and always in conjunction with Kolhāpūr. I am inclined to think that Karāj is meant.
* This passage enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS., evidently by mistake on the part of the copyist. It is to be found in the Br. Mu. MS., fol. 84 b.
HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

Shâh. Daulatâbâd he assigned to his sister’s son, Bahram Khân (Masindarâni); but when Bahram Khân became established in Daulatâbâd, a vicious disposition and evil imagination became embedded in his vitals (and he said to himself): — “Since Daulatâbâd was the coronation-place of the Sultan, and has been assigned to me during his lifetime, it is evidently his intention to give me his place.” With this idea in his head Bahram Khân became antagonistic and hypocritical.

At this time the Sultan had been ill for nearly three or four months, but Bahram Khân did not go to visit him, lest the Sultan should obtain an inkling of his intentions, and by issuing orders counter to his designs, render their accomplishment impossible. Such are briefly the particulars of this matter, which (please God!) will be mentioned hereafter in writing the history of Muhammed Shâh.

After a reign of eleven years, two months and seven days the Sultan died.

Shortly before his death the Sultan summoned his sons to his presence; and four princes like four strong pillars of the state, weeping tears of blood, presented themselves before their illustrious father, who embraced them, and as he looked at them wept bitterly at the thought of leaving them.

The Sultan in his will made Sultan Muhammed Shâh (who surpassed all the other sons in understanding and intelligence) his heir, and exhorted all his sons, near relations and army and subjects to obey him.

[The passage enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist, but is given in the Br. Mu. MS., fol. 29 b, last line of sec.

Sultan ‘Alâ-ud-Din Hasan Shâh, was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content; and he did much towards propagating the true faith. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Muhammed Shâh, became his father’s heir, and was entitled Zafar Khân, which was the title of the Sultan himself.

[The following interesting account of the origin of the Bahmani Dynasty and the reign of ‘Alâ-ud-Din Hasan Shâh Bahmani is taken from the Taqarat-ul-Muluk. It differs considerably from all the other accounts; and is, perhaps, not of much historical value; still I think it would be a pity to omit it.]

Let it not be concealed from the acute that concerning the origin of the Bahmani kings I have seen many relations, some of which say that they derive their origin from Bahman, son of Isfandyâr, son of Gushtasb, one of the magnificent kings of Persia.

Another report is that the sovereignty of the Bahmani kings dates from the time of Hasan Gangû. Now this Hasan Gangû was a youth of high descent, who by reverses of fortune was in very reduced circumstances.

One day he was sleeping in the desert under the shade of a tree. Gangû Pandit Bahman was passing near the spot, and saw the youth asleep. A cobra, the bite of which is known to be more deadly than that of the viper, holding a blade of green grass in its mouth close to Hasan Gangû’s face, had raised its head from the ground and was driving off the flies from his face. The Brahmin who witnessed this circumstance, by his sagacity discerned that some high dignity was in store for this Hasan. The snake remained there till Hasan awoke from his sleep, when it lowered its head and went on its way. The Brahmin then went up to Hasan
and inquired about his origin. Hasan told him all about himself. Gangû Pandit then said to Hasan: — "A great dignity is in store for you." Hasan asked: — "What reason have you for making that statement?" He replied: — "From this circumstance which I have just witnessed, that while you were asleep a large snake came, and holding a blade of green grass in its mouth, drove away the flies from your face; when you awoke, it, servant-like, lowered its head and went away. A very high dignity will come to you since a noxious animal performs service such as that for you. In time to come I hope in all sincerity for some humble situation in your service; perhaps by the happy influence of your favour I may obtain some post of honour; and I humbly petition that you will combine my name with your own, and that you and all your descendants will always sign your farmâns with the word "Bahmani." Hasan agreed to this proposal, and used to write himself "Bahmani," and eighteen of his successors who sat on the throne assumed the same surname.

Hasan Gangû held some situation in the service of the shekh entitled Shekh Muhammed Siraj Junaidî (May the blessing of God be on him!), and passed most of his time in his cell. One day the shekh was in the act of performing his ablutions in the village of Gangi, a suburb of Miraj, which is now known by the name of Murtajahâbd. The shekh having taken off the turban to wipe his head, Hasan Gangû took it up and placed it on his own head; upon which the shekh remarked: — "Hasan demands from me the crown of royalty."

When some time had passed in this way, Hasan one day complained of being in great want. The shekh said: — "All things are bound to happen in their own time."

Since that country was the abode of infidels there was no masjid there, so the shekh founded one; and the Musalmânîs with one accord gave the building to him.

By chance Hasan one day filled a large vessel with earth, and lifted it up: the shekh said: — "Hasan desires to lift the weight of the world."

One day the shekh was asleep, and as the sun was shining on him, Hasan sheltered him with his mantle. When the shekh awoke and perceived this he remarked: — "Hasan solicits from me the royal canopy."

Once, when Hasan's mother went to the shekh and represented to him some of the distress of their circumstances, the shekh told them to begin tilling the ground in a certain place, and their wishes would be fulfilled. According to the shekh's instructions they employed themselves in tilling the ground, and happening to find in it some indications of mortar and stone, they gave information of this to the shekh. He replied: — "Give thanks to God Most High (glorified be his name!) that our desire is accomplished. If you give thanks, I will increase you."

One night when Hasan was in his master's presence the shekh said: — "O king, collect an army and wage a religious war (jihâd) till you bring the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islam." Hasan replied: — "To wage war preparations are necessary, and at present I am poverty-stricken." The shekh said: — "God the Most Holy and Most High has bestowed on you a treasure." Then the shekh, taking Hasan with him, went to the piece of ground which he had told him to cultivate, and there disclosed the treasure. Hasan, by order of the shekh took away so much as he required, expended it in raising an army, and then informed the shekh of what he had done. Gangû Pandit exerted himself very much in carrying out these services. Then the shekh said to Hasan: — "Be present on Friday, for it is the predestined day."

As soon as it was night Hasan presented himself, and having recited the Fâdîkah with the army of the shekh, the latter tied a girdle round Hasan's waist, and directed him to proceed towards Miraj.

When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Miraj the governor of the fort was an infidel woman named Rânf Durkâvatî. Unconscious of their approach she had gone out on a journey, and when they met an engagement ensued.
In this battle the Musalmāns being completely victorious Rāni Durkāvatī was made prisoner, and the brave army of Islām entered the fort of Miraj. A letter announcing the victory was sent to the sheikh, who was much pleased at the news, and in reply desired them to call the fort Mubārkābād, as it was suspicious to them and the people of Islām. This victory took place A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347). The sheikh then said to them:—“Go on, for victory is on your side.”

Having gained possession of Mubārkābād and the neighbouring districts round it the power and glory of the Musalmāns increased day by day. They quelled all disturbances in that part of the country; and having tranquillized their opponents, by the advice of the sheikh they proceeded towards Kalburgā.

When they arrived in that neighbourhood they observed the actions and motions of the garrison of the fort and its governor; and having ascertained the numerical strength of his army and the nature of his warlike preparations, they thought to themselves that their small force was unequal to the task of taking the fort; and informed the sheikh accordingly. He replied:—“On the night of Wednesday Parvan Rā,o will be going on a pilgrimage to his own idol-temple, which is situate at a distance of three farsakhs: at that very time you should proceed to the fort, for the victory has already been given to you.”

Ḥasan was delighted and kissed the feet of the sheikh, and on the appointed night he went to the fort. The garrison, thinking it was Parvan Rā,o returning, opened the gate of the fort, and Ḥasan Gangū boldly entered and turned out the people of the fort. When this news reached Parvan Rā,o he was confounded; and returning from the temple engaged the army of Islām. A fierce battle ensued, and the Muḥammādan troops poured a rain of arrows on the enemy, in the midst of which Parvan Rā,o was slain and the remnant of his army dispersed. They buried Parvan Rā,o’s head near the gate of the fort, and the mark of the place still exists.

They named Kalburgā “Āḥsanābād,” and Ḥasan Gangū without further dispute being established on the throne of sovereignty in the city of Āḥsanābād, assumed the title of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-Din Bahman Shāh. He made Gangū Pandit pre-eminent, and it was agreed between them that Sultān ‘Alā-ud-Din and all his descendants should adopt the surname of “Bahman Shāh.” This victory took place in A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347).

He reigned with wisdom and firmness for a period of thirteen years, ten months and twenty-seven days. He died in the year 761 (A. D. 1359). He was constant in his discipleship to the sheikh, and his example in this respect was followed by his successors.

His eldest son, Sultān Muḥammad, was appointed his successor.

(To be continued.)

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. B. SUDHAMĀH PANTULU.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 308.)

XLII.

At Rajamundry there lived a king, Vishnuvardhana by name, who, distressed at the misconduct of his sons, requested a Brahman to instruct them in the paths of virtue. The Brahman thereupon began to tell them the following story of the crow, the turtle, the deer and the rat to prove to them the blessings of harmony.

There stood on the banks of the Godavari a huge cotton tree on which birds of the air used to roost at night. Laghupathānaka, king of the crows, woke early one morning and saw a Kirāta fowler who appeared to him a second Yama and said:—“I have seen this man’s face at dawn. Some misfortune is sure to happen. It is not wise to remain near him.” As he was flying away as quickly as possible, the fowler approached the

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20 About 104 miles.

21 According to all the other accounts he reigned eleven years, two months and seven days, and died in A. H. 759.
tree, scattered a little rice, spread his net, and lay in ambush close by. Thereupon Chitrāgriva, the dove-king, who was flying afar off, saw the rice and said to his fellow-doves:—"Whence cometh this rice in a desert? We should not crave for this rice. Once upon a time a traveller, through craving a bracelet, was deceived by a tiger and died.

Once upon a time an old tiger bathed and holding sacred grass in its hand stood on the bank of a tank and called aloud to a passer-by to take the golden bracelet which he offered him. The traveller thought to himself:—"This is my luck. Why hesitate?" So he asked the tiger to show him the bracelet, and the tiger stretched forth his paw and said:—"See, here is the bracelet." The traveller said:—"You are a cruel beast. How can I trust you?" The tiger replied:—"True, I was a very cruel beast in my young days, and slew a host of men and cows. As a consequence I lost my wife and children and have to live alone. But a kind man had mercy on me and advised me to give up killing men and cows and practice good actions. I took his advice, and now I am a poor weak brute. Why can you not trust me? As you are a poor man I wish to give this in charity to you. Go and bathe in the tank close by and you can have it." The greedy fool fell into the trap, went into the water, and was bogged in the mud. The tiger saw him and said:—"It is a pity you should have fallen into the mire. I will come and pull you out. Be not afraid." Thus saying he approached him slowly and caught hold of him. The fool as he was dying cried out:—"This is the result of my stupid covetousness."

The moral is that we should do nothing in a hurry.

One of the doves answered:—"What's the good of excessive caution? If we are to get our food we must run risks." On this they all flew and caught in the net.

When they found themselves entangled they turned on their adviser and abused him:—"This is what comes of following your advice." While the other pigeons reproved him Chitrāgriva said:—"What is the use of crying over spilt milk? We are in a mess, and must do our best to get out of it. A thought suggests itself to me. Let us all fly up together and take the net with us. When united even weak creatures can do much." Hearing this, the doves soared up into the sky, saying there cannot be any better suggestion. The fowler amazed thought of catching them when they alighted again, and followed them staring at the sky till they disappeared from his view, when he went home in grief.

When the birds saw this they asked Chitrāgriva the next thing to be done. He answered:—"I have a friend, the rat-king Hirāṇayaka, who dwells at Vicitravāna on the banks of the Gandak. He can save us by biting the net-strings with his strong teeth. Let us go to him." They took his advice and went to Hirāṇayaka. But the rat hearing the noise of their wings was sore afraid and would not leave his hole. Chitrāgriva called him in a loud voice and said:—"Friend why do you not speak to us?" The rat knew his voice and came out at once.

"I am delighted to see my good friend, Chitrāgriva," When he saw the pigeons caught in the net, he was startled, and said:—"Friend, what is this?" Chitrāgriva replied:—"Friend, this is the fruit of our destiny." The rat began to gnaw at the threads, but Chitrāgriva said:—"Friend, this is not the way to do it. First untie the knots of my subjects, and then mine." Hirāṇayaka replied:—"My teeth are very weak. I cannot cut all the knots. I will try to sever your knots as long as there is strength in my teeth. Then we shall see about the others if I have sufficient strength." To which Chitrāgriva replied:—"Do as you please. What can we do beyond our strength?" To which Hirāṇayaka said:—"Have you not heard of the proverb, 'charity begins at home?'" Thereupon Chitrāgriva replied:—"Friend, what you say is true enough. But I cannot endure the trouble of my subjects."

Thus pleased Hirāṇayaka and he set to work and freed all the doves, and after entertaining them sent them all home rejoicing.

The gurūd further said:—Hirāṇayaka then entered his hole, Laghupathanaka, astonished at what he had seen, came and alighted near the hole of Hirāṇayaka, and said:—"Oh, Hirāṇayaka! I desire your friendship. Have mercy on me and fulfil my desire." Hearing this Hirāṇayaka from inside the hole said:—"Who are you?" To which the crow replied:—"I am a crow. My name is Laghupathānaka." Hirāṇayaka laughed at this, and said:—"I am your lawful prey. How can we be friends? It will be with us as with the deer who was caught in the trap and owed his life to the crow." "How was that?" enquired Laghupathānaka. Sc Hirāṇayaka went on to say:—

"A deer and a crow once lived in the forest of Mantharavati in the land of Magadhe, and were close friends. The deer threw and grew fat until
a jackal saw him and thought to himself what a dainty meal he could make of him. So thinking the jackal came to the deer and said:—'Let us be friends.' 'Who are you?' asked the deer. 'I am Subuddhi, the jackal, and I desire your friendship.' So the deer took the jackal to his lair and when the crow who was perched on a tree close by saw them he said to the deer:—'Who is your friend?' 'This is my dear friend, the jackal Subuddhi,' he answered. To this the crow replied:—'Can you trust a new-comer? In days of yore, a kite, Jataghava by name, died through having entertained a cat, which story I shall tell you.

On the banks of the Bhagirathi is a large fig tree. In a hole in its trunk there lived Jataghava, an old kite. The birds that lived on the tree used to share their food with him and thus he managed to live. One day, Thirghakarna, a cat, approached the tree noiselessly, intending to eat the nestlings. They cried out when they saw her, and Jataghava, hearing the noise, looked out and spied the cat. The kite was so afraid of the kite, and thought to herself:—'I am in evil case, I can only escape by my cunning.' So the cat stood before the kite and bowed to him, whereupon the kite asked her who she was. 'I am a cat, and people call me Thirghakarna.' To which the kite replied:—'Be off at once, or it will be the worse for you.' To which the kite replied:—'Kindly let me explain.' So the kite enquired the cat's errand. To which she replied:—'I have changed my course of life and become a Brahmacarin. I have long wished to meet you, and hospitality is a sacred duty.' The kite, in answer, said:—'Cats are very fond of meat, and there are many nestlings here. This is why I spoke.' When the cat heard this, she put her paws to her ears, and invoking the Lord Krishna swore that she had given up animal food, and was now devoted to deeds pious. Hearing these words, the kite requested the cat not to be angry. 'How can a person know the character of a new-comer as soon as he arrives? Come and go as you please.' So the cat became a crony of the kite and used to live in the same hole in the tree.

By and by the cat used to creep out every night and eat some of the nestlings, which when the birds perceived they began to look about. The cat cleared out at once, and the birds found the bones in the nest of the kite and pecked him to pieces.

Therefore it is that I said that we should not trust a new-comer.'

Hearing this, the jackal looked indignantly at the crow, and said:—'You too were a new-comer when you took up with the deer. Is not a castor oil plant considered a huge tree in a treeless plain? It is only the ignorant that make a difference between a friend and a foe.' Hearing this, the deer said:—'Why all this wrangling? Let us all spend our days in one place in peace.' On hearing this, the crow consented. The deer, the jackal and the crow lived together in harmony. After some days had passed the jackal said to the deer:—'Friend! I have seen in the forest a field fully ripe. Accompany me. I will show you the field.' So saying the fox took the deer with him and showed him the place.

After this the deer began to graze there. The owner of the field noticed it and resolved to kill the beast. So he laid a net at a corner of the field and went home. The animal as usual came the next day to the field to graze and was entangled in the meshes and began to think:—'Alas! I am caught in a net! What can I do? Who is there to rescue me? If my friend the crow chance to come he might save me.' The jackal was pleased at the sight and thought that his object was gained. So he went up to the deer, who said:—'Friend, come quick and cut the net.'

The jackal said:—'This is the holy day of Munisvara. How can I touch animal sinew on a fast day? Any other day I am at your service.' Night came on. The crow missing the deer came to look for him and asked him what had happened. 'This comes,' he answered, 'of trusting a false friend.' Meanwhile the farmer came up, and the crow said:—'He comes like another Yama, and we must act at once. Do as I tell you. Spread out your legs and feign to be dead.' The deer followed his advice, and when the farmer loosed him from the net the crow gave a cry and the deer escaped. Just then the jackal came up in hopes of a meal; but the farmer, vexed at his mishap, killed him with a blow of his cudgel. He that digs a pit for others falls in himself.'

When he heard this tale, Laghupathanaka said to Hiranayaka:—'This is foolish talk. Accept me as your friend like Chitrangriva.'

To which Hiranayaka replied:—'You are fickle-minded. It is not advisable to make an everlasting friendship with the fickle-minded. To add to this, you are my enemy. It is not good to be on terms of intimacy with an enemy, however good he may be. I cannot therefore be intimate with you.' To which Laghupathanaka replied:—'Why talk so much without understanding my disposition? Hear my last word. I have seen Chitrangriva enjoying the pleasure of your company. I desire to be on terms of friendship with you. It is well if you fulfil my prayers.'
If not, I shall voluntarily starve myself to death and die." Hiranayaka hearing this came out of the hole and said:—"Laghupathânâka, I am very much pleased with you. I shall do what you desire me to do." Thus saying, Hiranayaka pleased the crow by his good deeds, let him depart, and entered the hole. From that time forwards, the rat and the crow spent their days in friendly intercourse.

Some time after the crow seeing the rat said:—"Comrade, it is very difficult to eke out a livelihood here. I intend therefore to quit this desert for a suitable abode." Whereupon Hiranayaka replied:—"Teeth, hair, nails, and men will not shine if their habitation is gone. The wise person ought therefore to give up the idea of quitting a residence." To which the crow replied:—"Friend, your words are weak. Elephants, lions and good men wander wheresoever they will. Crows, birds and crows perish in their own place, not being able to quit it." Whereupon Hiranayaka said:—"Comrade, where is it that you want to go to?" To which the crow replied:—"We should not quit an old residence without examining a new one. Therefore it is that I have not spoken to you before fixing our new quarters. There is in the forest of Dandaka a tank called Karparaguna. In it dwells my friend Manthara, the turtle-king. He is a charitable creature. That excellent tortoise will support me with plenty of fish food." Whereupon Hiranayaka said:—"What can I do here after you are gone? Take me therefore along with you."

Laghupathânâka hearing this was very much pleased and consented to the proposal. They then began their journey with pleasant conversation on the way and reached the tank in a few days. When Manthara saw them at a distance, he went to meet them, fetched them thither, and feasted them as became their rank.

Laghupathânâka then said to Manthara:—"Comrade, treat this rat king respectfully. He is the foremost among the virtuous, the ocean of good qualities, and is known as Hiranayaka. Even Sesha is unable to describe his qualities. How much then am I?"

So saying he narrated Hiranayaka's story in detail from the beginning. Manthara then treated Hiranayaka with much respect and said:—"Hiranayaka, what is the cause of your living in a desert?" To which he replied:—

"There was a town named Champakâvati which was inhabited by many Sannyâsîs, among whom was one Chudâkarna. He would eat part of the food fetched and would hang the other portion on a wooden peg fixed in the wall and then go to sleep. I would creep noiselessly to it and would every day partake of the food. Once upon a time he was conversing with his friend Vinâkarna and was constantly looking up and shaking his rattle and terrifying me. Vinâkarna then asked Chudâkarna:—"Why is it that you look up and shake your rattle?" To which he replied:—"A rat every day gets up the wooden peg and partakes of the food there. It is a source of very great trouble to me." Vinâkarna hearing this said:—"Where is the rat and where the wooden peg? Where did such little creature get the strength to climb such a great height? There must be some cause for this. Sometime ago I went to a Brâhma'n house to eat, when the Brâhma'n called his wife and said:—'To-morrow a few Brâhma'ns must be fed as it is the new-moon day. What provisions have you collected for it? ' To which the housewife replied:—'If the men bring home provisions the women can cook them. If they do not bring them what can we do?' Whereupon he grew exceedingly angry and turning to his wife said:—'We must manage with the things we possess and not seek what we have not.' To which the housewife agreed and said:—'I shall manage to-morrow's meal with the little that we have.' So saying she washed, pounded and dried a quantity of sesameum. A fowl then came and scratched away the seed. The Brâhma'n seeing this said:—'The sesameum seeds have become impure and unfit for a Brâhma'n meal. Go and exchange these for something else and return.' The housewife came the next day into the house to which I was invited to eat, and asked the housewife if she would give ordinary sesameum in exchange for her pounded seed. The housewife gladly agreed to her proposal, took some sesameum seed in a sieve and was conversing when the master asked her what it was that she was bargaining about. To which she said that she received pounded sesameum seed in exchange for a smaller quantity of unhusked seed. The Brâhma'n hearing this said:—'O fool! would anybody give pounded seed in exchange for unhusked? There must be some reason for her giving it. Do not take this grain.' So this rat cannot have such strength and this fixed abode here without a cause."

While Vinâkarna told this tale, Chudâkarna heard it, searched, and found a hole where the rat was residing. 'Why should it reside here? I shall dig it up.' So saying he took up an axe and dug into my hole and took away all the treasure stored up from many a long day. Being sorely vexed, and unable to earn my daily bread, I was creeping sadly about when Chudâkarna one
day saw me and said:—"Wealth is the root of all welfare. What is the good of life without money? This rat having lost all his wealth has lost with it his original strength." When the Sannyasin said this I grew dejected and thought thus within myself:—'It is not right for me to live here any longer. Nor is it proper to communicate my story to others.' Chudakarna seeing me not quitting the place aimed a fatal blow at me with his stick which I fortunately escaped. Had it struck me I must have been for long an inhabitant of Yāmaloka. So musing I left the place and came to the jungle where life is easier for us." Manthara hearing this said:—'Wealth is perishable, and it is useless to hoard it, as you will see from the fate of the miserly jackal.

One day a hunter named Bhaarava, of the city of Kalyana Kaṭak, went into the forest. He slew a deer and was carrying it home when he met a wild pig. He aimed an arrow at the beast, which in his death struggle gored him and a great serpent which lay close by. So all three died them and there. Up came the jokal, Thirgarava, and seeing the dead bodies rejoiced at the prospect of having abundant food. But in his greediness he thought to himself:—'The meat I will keep for use and meanwhile I will eat the bowstring.' As soon as he began to bite the string the arrow was released and slew him too."

When he heard these words of Manthara he rejoiced and said:—"Now I know the value of a good friend."

One day when they were enjoying themselves in the forest a deer rushed up, pursued by a hunter. The tortoise in its fear shuffled into the water; the rat crept into his hole and the crow flew to the top of a tree. He looked all round, and seeing no sign of danger called to his two friends. They came out and asked the deer what had befallen him. He said:—"My name is Chitranga, and I claim your protection." So they took him into their company, and all four lived pleasantly together.

One day the deer went out alone to graze, and when he did not return at the usual hour they feared lest evil may have befallen him.

They debated which of them should go in search of him. At last the crow said:—"I am the swiftest of birds, and will fly off and learn what has befallen him." He flew and flew high up in the air until he came to the place where the deer had fallen into a snare. The deer delighted to see his friend said:—"No time must be lost. Hasten and bring the rat Hiranayaka to gnaw the cords of the snare." So the crow went, and placing the rat on his back speedily flew back with him. When the rat succeeded in extricating the deer they asked him how he had fallen into this fresh disaster. "No creature," said he, "can escape his fate. When I was a little fawn one day I fell into a snare, was caught by a hunter and taken to the king's palace. There I was reared as a pet and golden ornaments were hung on my neck. One day when wandering in the city I was chased by boys but the ladies of the royal seraglio found me and tied me up near the chamber of the king. That night a heavy storm of rain came on and I cried out in my joy:—"How delightful is this rain! How sweet the grass will grow for me to eat." The king wondered to hear a beast talk in the tongue of men, and next day sent for the astrologers and told them what he had heard. They said:—"For a beast to know human speech is an event of ill omen. Your Majesty should perform rites of expiation and send the deer to a distant forest." So they sent me from that abode of peace and safety and I came to the forest where, as you know, I fell into the snare of the hunter."

Meanwhile the tortoise was anxiously expecting his friends the crow and the rat, and was delighted when they returned after rescuing the deer.

As they were talking the hunter camp up and missing the deer from the snare followed his tracks. The crow again espied him and warned his friends. The rat got into a hole, the crow flew away and the deer hid himself in a thicket. But the hunter secured the tortoise and was carrying him off when the rat said to the deer:—"You must repay us for rescuing you by saving the tortoise. Go into this pond, and lie down as if you were dead: the crow will sit on your back and seem as about to peck out your eyes. Then the hunter will put down the tortoise and he can escape."

They did as he planned, and the trick succeeded. The tortoise escaped and the four friends were once again united.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CRUSE AND GROSSO.

In the days when Jeddah (also Judda and Jidda) on the Red Sea was a great mart for European ships, all goods and payments were valued and stated there in cruse. It was a money of account and was divided into 40 duanes—
The quotations which follow show that the cruse was two-fifths of a commercial dollar or 40 cents, and that the duanee was therefore one cent.

It was also an actual coin, and as such the quotations show that its value was about two shillings sterling or something under, that being evidently also its value in accounts.

The word in its various forms represents the Arabic word کریش and its plural کرتش.

The term duanee, with its Italian variant medini (medino), I have not been able to trace. But both forms are prima facie from some identical root like the Arabic ۳۳ دین.

Neither cruse nor duanee are in Yule’s Hobson-Jobson, and oddly enough Kelly’s Universal Cambist makes no mention of Jeddah and its money.

1789. “Species of Coins current in Bassora and Bagdat . . . . 1 Crouseh is 43 Mamoudies.” — Alex. Hamilton, East Indies, II., Appx. 4.

1835. “At Bassora or Bussora . . . . the Mamoudie = 34 Grains of fine gold, or 40 Grains of fine silver, or 5½d. sterling.” — Kelly, Cambist, I. 30. (Therefore the crouseh = 24½ d. or a florin.)

1775. “Judda weight, 100 dollars at 250 Cruseh:

Lump silver (if good), 100 dollars at 250 Ditto: Bar silver, 100 dollars at 250 Ditto: Venetians, 100 weigh 29 Secar Rep. 13 Annas — 4 Judda Cruseh ½ Pice.‡

A List of Presents given the Bashaw and his Officers at Judda, with the different Assortment of Goods and the Specie they are to consist of:

Bashaw 42 Pieces, Value as per Judda Sale of Goods 500 Judda Cruseh . . . .

[total] 281 Pieces Value at Judda Cruseh 3000 . . . . To the Bashaw’s Guard on-board.

1 Cruseh per Day till they have cleared the Ship and 20 Cruseh his Buzceys.‡ Charges .

Paid Packers for packing ditto [old Copper], vis., 85 Bales at 14 Duaniess per Bale 29 [Cruseh] 30 [Duanies].” — Stevens, Guide to East India Trade, pp. 60-65.

1813. “Accounts are kept in cruse and duaneees, 40 of the latter making one of the former. Venetians 100 = 22½ Sicca Rupees [ = ] 4½ cruseh . . . . it would be best, in making your sales, to fix both the price and value of your silver and gold coin (in cruseh) with the merchant.” — Milburn, Commerce, I. pp. 87-94. (Milburn has, after the manner of the time, incorporated the whole of Stevens’ information, without acknowledgment.)

— See above, n. 1. Milburn has not succeeded in correcting Stephen’s mistake.

‡ Clearly an Italian form of کریش.
This term grosso seems to be the same that, under the forms gros, grosse, (groschen), groschel has spread itself, for both a coin and a money of account worth a penny to three pence, in former days into France, Switzerland, Prussia, parts of Germany, Poland, Hungary and Russia: vide Kelly, Cambist, passim.

R. C. Temple.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

In honour of Marbaut, the ruler of evil spirits, fiends, ghouls or ghatis, and vampires, a worship is performed at night on the day following the Pola feast, by the Marathas. They set an idol representing him, made of cow-dung; and present the accustomed offerings with rejoicings. When the dawn dawns, the ceremony is repeated. This done, a man from each house, with a bough in one hand and the idol in the other, goes on shouting at the top of his voice, “O Marbaut, eradicate all sources of ill health and molestations of devils.” On going a little distance he throws away what he took with him and then brings back in lieu branches of trees with a view to frightening the devil and avoiding fortuitous dangers.

A ceremonial rite which takes place either on the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 11th, 13th, or 16th day after a child’s birth, is generally superintended by adult women. First they bring a bitch and bathe it, anointing its face and four legs with ground turmeric and dry vermillion. A garland of flowers is then wrapped round its neck. And finally, after incensing it, they fall at its feet, utter these words: “Bless the mother with healthy progeny like yours.”

To propitiate a god or goddess, to procure revenge a man who has offended another, or to be victorious in an enterprise, animals are sacrificed. The satisfaction of the god in such cases is ascertained by the animals brought to sacrifice shaking their bodies when the water is sprinkled thick and fast over them.

M. R. Pedlow.

BITTERU AND BARIKA.

In the very interesting inscription at Managoli published by Dr. Fleet (Epigraphia Indica, Part I. Vol. V., January 1898) there occur the terms bittegu (p. 22) and barika (p. 23).

The passage in which bittegu occurs, I translate as follows—

... of Maningavallisi’s southern fields in (the hamlet of) Mogorvad (viz.) on the west of the road to Kallanguruk, on the east of the cultivable land of (the man called) Honokkavaru, on the north of the cultivable land of the goddess Kegagavanti (the shrine of the) mulaithina god, on the south of the fertile (yellowish) soil (mogor) of Chennagaimayya Bittegu (i.e., Chennal gaiamayya with the surname of bittegun or javelin-he gave fifty manda (of land) of forty spans of the established (size of the) blade (or the tip of a missile) to the pole of the god’s savage extent (? agadimbada = agadu-imbda?).

The term ‘barika’ is explained in Bhatakalanka’s Sabdanyadana, edited (A.D. 1899) by B. Lewis Rice, C. I. E., etc., as follows:—barikan | bari iti varanitam garhyau karma | tatra niyukta | a barika | bari ‘a turn-fixed low business’ | a man engaged therein || Thus barika probably means ‘a man who obtains a meal daily according to rotation from the houses of charitable people,’ or ‘a sponger.’

Tübingen, 5th May 1899.

F. KITTEL.

CARAFF.

Here is a delicious Hobson-Jobson from that veritable well of curious Anglo-Indianisms, the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III.


Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v., gives both caraffe and carboy as European words derived from k'jəkərəbəh Persian.

R. C. Temple.

KUKI.

How has this epithet or name come to be applied by Bengalis to the Lushai tribes? To what other distinct tribes to the east of Bengal is it applied? The derivation and use of the term, with some notes on the tribes known as Kuki, and references to fuller sources of information, would be an acceptable paper to some readers of the Indian Antiquary.

Booxoo is a term in what may be called Santal Mythology. A paper descriptive of the Bongo,

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2 [ʔ kərba'kərəbəh, the Lord of Death. — En ]
3 Narrated by the writer’s friend, N. Bamingum Madurai, Pillay.
its representations, ideas associated therewith, and on related matters in Santal beliefs, — would be an interesting contribution to aboriginal ideas of religion.

J. Burgess.

SPOY.

Earliest known instance of the Word.

Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v., says: — "We have found no English example in print older than 1760, but probably an older one exists. The India Office record for 1747, from Fort St. David's, is the oldest notice we have found in extant MS."

In his Diary of Sir William Hedges, Vol II. p. 359 f., he says in a note on a Bombay Consultation, dated 24th January 1717/18, containing the expression "a Company of Sopyas" and several references to sepoys in a procession of January the 29th, and also to "Government Sepoys in Liversies": — "This is an occurrence of the word Sepoy in its modern signification 30 years earlier than any I had been able to find when publishing the Anglo-Indian Glossary. I have one a year earlier and expect now to have it earlier still."

But in the same book, Vol. I. p. 55 f., Sir William Hedges writes, under date, December 12th, 1862: — "As soon as these letters were sent away I went immediately to Ray Nundiloll's to have had ye Sepoy, or Nabob's horseman, consigned to me with order to ye Perwanna put in execution." And then follows a good deal more about "the Seapy."

R. C. Temple.

MARRIAGE CUSTOM AMONGST MARATHAS.

The bride and bridegroom are made to stand in baskets filled with unhusked wheat. Behind them stands the maternal uncles of each (or any other fit persons) with naked swords in their hands, surrounded by the friends of the bride and bridegroom. The origin of the basket custom is supposed to be derived from the Khatriyas of old, and to mean that no man shall marry a woman until he can maintain her. The custom of the naked sword is also probably of Khatriya descent.

A legend is told to account for it thus: — A Rājā was engaged in marrying his son, when the evening before the final ceremony, Satwāl, the goddess who presides over the destinies of newborn children, warned him of danger to the pair to be wedded next day, and advised his taking unusual precautions. Sentries were accordingly posted round the place where the marriage was taking place, but the figure of a tiger painted on a soldier's shield suddenly became animated, and leeping up from the shield, killed the bride and the bridegroom before any one could interfere.

It is clear, I think, that the ceremony of the naked sword is a relic of the times when it was necessary to protect the marriage party from violence from outside.\footnote{[See Mookerjee's Magazine and Orient. — Ed.]} The late B. V. Shastri in P. N. and Q. 1883.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE IN NORTH INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The maternal uncle takes a very important part in Hindū marriages. On the day the tenu or letter announcing the auspicious date for the marriage is sent to the father of the girl, a present of sweetmeats (the proper amount of which is 10 sers) is sent to the maternal uncle. The wedding crown for the bridegroom and the wedding dress of the bride and bridegroom are presented by their respective maternal uncles. In other ways also he takes a prominent part in the wedding ceremonial. I would suggest that this is a survival of the primitive institution of the matriarchet, whereby legitimate succession was confined to the mother's side. For instances of this in various countries, see Letourneau's Sociology translated by Trollope. Where the marriage tie is loose the father of the child would be, as a rule, unknown, and naturally the woman's representative would not be the putative father of her child, but her brother. This is a point which might be elaborately worked out.

W. Crooke in P. N. and Q. 1883.

TRANSFER OF CATTLE-DISEASE, A FORM OF SCARE-GOAT.

Rūka means any contagious or epidemic disease of cattle. Foot-and-mouth disease is munkhōr.

The village to which the disease is transferred must be to the east of that which transfers it. The transfer must be made on a Sunday; and no field work must be done, grass cut, corn ground, food cooked, or fire lighted on the Saturday or Sunday.

All these precautions were observed by the people of Pur Khās, who also had a Brāhmaṇ with them and fired off a gun three times to scare the disease.
Some say that there was a pig, not a lamb, and that it was carried by a sweeper.

Saturday and Sunday seem in some way to be sacred to horned cattle, as on those days neither cattle, nor leather, nor ghū must be bought or sold; and all cattle that die on those days must be buried, instead of being eaten by the kamūs (village menials).

Denzil Ibbetson in P. N. and Q. 1883.

MUSALMAN TOMBS.

It is my impression that the symbols on Musalmān tombs vary considerably according to their locality. I think I can give an explanation of the question, regarding the oblong hollows on the top of certain Muhammadan tombs which I believe to be the tombs of women, but I do not think these hollows are filled with earth as is there supposed, but with the accumulated sediment of pounded sandal wood. In the year 1878 we spent some days at Fatehpur Sikri, about 22 miles from Agra. In the large court-yard of the mosque at this place is the tomb of Salim Chishti, the great saint of the time of Akbar. It was no doubt esteemed a very high privilege to be buried near him. Several tombs close by were pointed out to me by the guardian of this tomb as the last resting places of some of the ladies of, and female attendants at, the court of the Mughal Emperor. On Thursday evening, just about sunset, I was sitting near the saint’s tomb, when a well dressed native (Musalman of course) came by me, carrying a basin in his hand, which held perhaps a pint of a thick-looking liquid, the colour of cocoa. He proceeded to pour a small quantity of this on several tombs, into hollows similar to those described. After he had finished his pious duty, I accosted him, and learnt that these were all women’s tombs on which he poured the libation, and that he was in the habit of pouring this mixture of pounded sandal wood and water on them every Thursday at that hour.

The late Mrs. Murray-Ainslie in P. N. and Q. 1883.

RUSTIC DIVISIONS OF THE DAY.

With the Panjābī nīdā nītī compare the Mathurā expression komara chhōka, which means easy noon — i.e., not quite time for the midday collation, komara or komala being equivalent to narm, soft or easy; while chhōka probably represents the Sanskrit chashaka, a drinking vessel, and corresponds with what a Suffolk harvester calls his “beaver” (the French boire), a snack between breakfast and lunch.

The late F. S. Growse in P. N. and Q. 1883.

Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes. By M. V. Portman. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1886). 1

This is a heavy quarto, 390 + 191 pica pages, printed in a type easy to read, but in a confused manner for a work of this kind, which requires the judicious use of varied fonts to bring out the points clearly for the reader. The blame for this fault no doubt does not lie with the author, from what one knows of the vagaries of a Government Press.

It is a work of exceeding interest to myself for many reasons, and perhaps I ought not to have undertaken to notice it for this Journal, as it frequently alludes to my own work on the subject, and is based on my own suggestions as to the form it has taken. But the thought that the Andamanese languages are of necessity known to a few only, has overruled personal considerations and induced me to agree to do so. The labour involved in the production of this elaborate work, spread over nearly twenty years, must have been very great, and every page shows the minute knowledge and painstaking accuracy of the author. In addition, the information given is mostly original, and all of it is at first hand. The whole, therefore, forms a volume of great intrinsic merit and value to philologists. Its pages contain, perhaps, the most thorough examination to which any “savage” language has yet been subjected. Mr. Portman has, in truth, by this book added considerably to the debt of gratitude that science already owes him for his long-continued, patient, and intelligent studies of the Andamanese.

His peculiarities are, of course, now well known, including his defiant adherence to expressed views, and accordingly we have again his old trick of assuming that the public understands, without assistance, references to obscure and scarce books. Indeed, in one place he refers to “My History of our relations with the Andamanese,” which is not yet out, so far as I know; at any rate, I have never been favoured officially or otherwise with a printed copy thereof. And then he enters into a long criticism of details of Mr. Man’s invaluable monograph on the Andamanese.

1 First printed in the J. R. A. S. for April, 1899.
by means of references merely to the pages of the
Journal of the Anthropological Institute. This
will certainly serve only to puzzle, the reader, as,
unfortunately, subscribers to the Institute are not
very numerous, as possibly they might be with
advantage to themselves. We also find trotted
out repeatedly Mr. Portman's favourite theory, as
an established fact, of the probable disappearance
in the early future of the Andamanese as a people,
a theory which naturally may or may not be true.
Let us all hope it is not, as I most certainly do.

With this notice of blemishes, which are after
all not of much importance, let me turn to a very
brief examination of the contents of this most
laborious and valuable publication.

Like all true teachers, Mr. Portman begins with
an admirable map, taken from the Marine
Survey of the Andamans. The only fault that
could be found with this is that it does not
embody the latest fruits of that Department's
splendid work. But for this Mr. Portman is not
to blame, as it was not possible for him to have
included them. For the purposes of his book the
map is complete, clear, and quite trustworthy.

We are also favoured with a short chapter on
the five tribes of the Southern Andamanese,
with their septs and divisions, replete with new and
minute knowledge of the subject. These tribes are
the Aka-Beada, Akar-Bale, Puchikwar,
Aukau-Juwol, and Kol. Aka-Beada is a more
correct form of the Bojig-ngiijida of former
works. In addition, all Andamanese are divided
into long-shore men and forest men—Aryauto
and Eremtaga in the Aka-Beada language,
which is that spoken about the great Penal Settle-
ment at Port Blair. Each tribe speaks its own
language, or rather variety, not dialect, of the
general South Andaman language, of which Mr.
Portman thinks the Puchikwar to be probably
nearest the parent tongue, whatever that was. He
notices, too, both generally and specifically, that
the Andamanese freely use gestures to cline the
sense of their speech, and remarks on the
richness of the languages in concrete terms and
their poverty in abstract expressions. All this is
natural in a group of savage tongues.

The bulk of Mr. Portman's book is taken up
with well-chosen and well-presented specimens
of the languages as actually used, and most
careful analyses of typical sentences and words, a
full explanation of the manner in which, and the
plan on which, the words are built up, an attempt
to translate a portion of the Bible into one of
them, a comparative vocabulary, and an excellen
analysis of the words therein. The book has,
however, no vernacular index, a want that every
student thereof will at once feel.

The object of the work is "to give a general
idea of the languages and mental attitude, of the
people," and with the help of "a comparative
vocabulary and its analysis to show how the words
are constructed and how the different languages
compare with each other." To assist him in
achieving this, Mr. Portman has utilized a small
privately printed pamphlet of my own, which was
"A Brief Exposition of a Theory of Universal
Grammar," specially designed, some sixteen
years ago, to meet the very difficulties with which
he had found himself face to face, when he com-
menced the work under review. That pamphlet
arose out of the practical impossibility of using
the usual inflexional system of grammar taught
in Europe for the accurate description of a group
of languages constructed after the fashion of the
Andamanese. The book under notice is conse-
quently of exceptional interest to myself, as a
means of watching how my theory has stood the
first practical test which has been applied to it.
Mr. Portman has hardly used the Theory as I
should myself have used it, still his use of it is
such as to give an idea of its working in a
stranger's hands.

The Theory I propounded had its immediate
origin in the criticisms of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis,
public and private, on my former work on the
Andamanese speech, in which he pointed out that,
in order to adequately represent, for scientific
readers, such a form of speech, "we require new
terms and an entirely new set of grammatical con-
ceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative
language to our inflexional translation," and I
asked me accordingly if it were not possible "to
throw over the inflexional treatment of an unin-
flected language." This and the further con-
sideration that, since every human being speaks
with but the object of communicating his own
intelligence to other human beings, the several
possible ways of doing this must be based on
some general laws applicable to them all, if one
could only find them out, led me to make the
attempt to construct a general theory on logical
principles, which should abandon the inflexional
treatment, its conceptions, and its terms. Now,
my efforts led me not only to abandon the accept-
ed grammatical terms, but also to reverse the
accepted order of teaching them, to alter many
accepted definitions, and while admitting much
that is usually taught, both to add and omit many
details. Taken all round, the Theory was a wide
departure from orthodox teaching. But it is
always difficult for human beings to take quite a
new departure. The instinct of continuity — of evolution — is generally too strong in them to admit of a complete break with the past, and so Mr. Portman, while accepting my theory and using my terms in his laborious and remarkable pages, really does violence to both by adhering to the time-honoured plan of putting accent before syntax, in addition to the indiscriminate employment of the old terms side by side of my novel ones, in a confused and puzzling, but from the point of view of the evolutionist, a most interestingly naive style. I am also, I regret to say, otherwise far from feeling assured that he has understood either the theory or the terms, which by the way does not look well for my exposition! E.g., he says that one of the functions of the prefixes in the Andamanese is to indicate the genders of the roots. But I purposely and expressly left 'gender' out of the Theory, because it is merely a clumsy mode of explaining a certain kind of inflexion. Again, while informing us that the prefixes are used to modify the meanings of the roots, he says, "in short the prefixes are qualitative affixes," a term I employed to signify that class of affix which is used to denote the inherent qualities of a word. E.g., to use the familiar terminology, audi-re, verb; audi-ene, part.; audi-tor, noun; — laugh-ter, noun; laughing, part.; laughing-ly, adv. This sort of affix is quite a different thing from what I called a radical affix, used for modifying the meaning of the root into that of the stem derived from the root, defining a stem to be root plus a modifying affix. This can be seen from the last word analyzed, 'laughingly,' where ly classifies the word, laugh, as the root (in pedantic strictness a stem, because it is an amplification of a simpler root), and laughing the stem, i.e., the root modified by the affix ing. So in willingness and willingly, ness and ly would be qualitative affixes and ing a radical affix, as defined in the Theory.

Indeed, Mr. Portman's treatment of the Theory is throughout such a compromise between the system under which he was brought up and that I proposed — is such "fine confused feeding" in fact — that I cannot attempt to follow it further in a brief notice of his book, and in order to see how far the Theory is applicable to its purpose, viz., the adequate explanation of a novel savage tongue, I will, in a future issue of this Journal, put it to the test in my own way, using for the purpose Mr. Portman's sixth chapter on the Andaman Fire Legend, which he gives in all the five languages of the South Andamanese.

With the above remarks, I will take leave for the present of Mr. Portman's last book, congratulating him on producing for scholars on the whole so fine an example of patient and intelligent study, combined with straightforward honest presentation.

R. C. Temple.


To Prof. Kielhorn of Göttingen University I owe my acquaintance with this splendid volume, No. 25 of the New Imperial Series of the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The interest I take in matters connected both with India and with Holland induced me to examine the work with some care, and I now venture to offer a few remarks on a portion of it, viz., on the copies of the inscriptions and some of the accompanying translations, as well as on the Plates reproduced at the end of the book.

The work consists of three Parts, together with an Index and the Plates just mentioned. Part I., 'Historical Memoir,' pp. 1-43, gives an account of the development of the Dutch power in India, and of the gradual transference of their settlements to the English. Of this section it will suffice to say that the author's statements are supported by numerous authorities quoted at the foot of the pages.

Part II., pp 44-64, deals with the Monumental Remains. It is from this section that the work takes its title, and the inscriptions may therefore be considered to form the most important part of the book. To these we will now turn our attention. Of the first inscription the author gives "a copy and interlined translation" on page 47. None of the copies on pp. 47-54 are represented among the Plates, so that the book affords no means of comparing the transcripts with the originals. In translated copies, however, one would expect some indication of a proper division of the letters into words, as well as a complete translation. The first inscription is deficient in both respects. Only three lines out of the seven are translated, while some of the words cannot be correctly given; e.g., "iuer" should read "iuffer;" "ceniumy" must mean the month of June with the day indicated by the three letters "cen," which cannot be explained without a trustworthy facsimile; for "maanden" we should read "maanden en;" "jydden" may stand for "IX dagen." The last four lines of the inscription may then be translated: "book-keeper in the service of the honourable (?!) company; died the —th of June, Anno 1703, (at the age of) 21 years, 2 months
Welzalig is de mensch wiens leven heeft zo’n ende,
Met voorsmaak van Gods vreugd, bevrijd van al ellende.”

The translation is as follows:
“This stone covers the remains of mother, daughter, son.
Their souls are on high with God on Heaven’s throne.
Full blessed is the man whose life has such an end.
With foretaste of God’s joy, freed from all misery.”

The remaining dozen lines (p. 54) swarm with mistakes, which it will be unnecessary to point out or correct.

As far as those so-called copies of inscriptions are concerned (pp. 47-54), the work might as well have been left unpublished. If the transcriptions were worth reproducing at all, they should have been given accurately, and the task of copying and translating them should have been entrusted to a scholar possessing a competent knowledge of Dutch. As it is, this part of the work is almost valueless.

Of Part III, “Indo-Dutch Coinage,” pp. 65-72, I am not competent to speak with authority.

We will now briefly refer to the Plates at the end of the volume. They number 63, of which 52 are inscriptions on tombstones. Of these 29 are facsimiles, the others are drawings. All of them are finely reproduced, especially the ornamentations, but some of the drawings labour under the same disadvantages as the copies on pp. 47-54. They have been faithfully executed, apparently by one imperfectly acquainted with the language, but most of them (15, 18, 24, 26, 29, 30, etc.) are quite correct. Curiously enough, Plate 28, which represents a Latin inscription, also contains an error, whether found in the original, or only in the copy, cannot be ascertained from the Plate.

On p. 57 sq. are given some translations of Plates by Dr. J. Burgess, all from drawings. These translations are mostly correct, but a few remarks suggest themselves.

In Plate 15 the words round the monogram have been misunderstood and hence mistranslated. “When me to life brought I numbered ten and eight years ” makes no sense. The Dutch is plain enough, and reads: “ When death brought me into life,” etc.

Plate 21 (translation, p. 58), for “Pieteren” read “Pietersen.”
Plate 22 (translation, p. 58), for “Ceertruîjdt” read “Geertruïd”; for “Al Monde” read “Almonde.”

In Plate 25, line 4, there must be a mistake of the copyist. I suspect that the proper name “Gules” should read “Gilles,” not an uncommon Dutch Christian name. In the next line, for “Capieyn” read “Captieyn” or “Capiteyn.”

In the translation, p. 58, the word “skeleton,” in brackets, is superfluous, the Dutch “lichaem” (now “lichaam”) having only the meaning “body.”

The verses on Plate 31 make no sense. Line 3 should perhaps begin “die” instead of “des.” The 6th verse is wrong in the translation; it means literally: “where celestial inherit joy.”

On Plate 32, and in the translation on p. 60, we find a biblical text from Daniel 19, v. 13: “I am not sufficiently versed in theological matters to decide whether the Book of Daniel ever contained 19 chapters, but the text is from Chap. 12. In the same inscription we are told that Dirk Both was in his lifetime “merchant and chief,” which dual capacity perhaps accounts for the translation of the first verse, in which we are informed that “The cold bones of both lie under this slab.” This is intelligible only on the supposition that Dirk kept one set of bones for his functions as a merchant, and another when he acted as chief. Although the drawing has the word “both,” the translation might have supplied the capital letter to the word.

The translation of the verses on Plate 33 is misleading. The first verse should read: “Here lies De Munt’s pleasure, enjoyment, delight, and all.”

The third verse:

“Here mourned in bitter sorrow.”

The faesimile plates are well reproduced, and are almost entirely legible. As, however, none of them has been transcribed or interpreted, I give a copy and translation of what is perhaps the most curious one, viz., of Plate 45.

Neen Ghij Acht?
Wiens Rust-Stee ditte moge sijn,
Weet dan! ’t is Pieter Hemsinckx Fijn,
Eenen Bloem! van Yonge Geesten
Seer geacht bij de minst’ en meesten,
Door Deugden! die de Faem droeg vert!
Hier lijest sijn Romp! maer blijft in ’t hert
Gegrift, wiens oogen dees Bloem besaat
Oock in sijn Wandel Vreughden hadt.

Soodat Lof, Vreed’ en Goedigheijt,
Noijt vergeet Heijd’ of CHRISTENHEIJT.
Hy! wien ’t Vernuft scheen hoog gestelt,
Leght lag’! O Doodt! te Vrooeg gevelt.
Soodat het Lichaem hier beneen,
Met Moeder, Suster, rust bij een.
Wiens Zielen drie sijn opgegaen,
Oms’ Hemels Croon van GOED’ t’ ontfaen.

WAT IS DEN-MENSCH?
Hier legt begraven Pieter Hemsinck Jongman
geboren ten desen Contoire Zadrangapatnam
den 13′ Augusti : 1655. Overleden den 24′
Februarij : 1682. Out zijnde : 16 : Jaren, 6 :
Maenden, 21 : Dagen.:

Translation.

Takest Thou Heed?
Whose Resting-Place this may be,
Know then, it is that of Pieter Hemsinck,
A flower of youthful spirits!

Much esteemed by the lowest and the highest
For virtues which Fame carried abroad!

Here lies his body! but (his name) remains in
the heart
Engraved of him whose eyes possessed this
flower
And who had joy in his career.
So that (his) praise, peace, and kindliness
Are never forgotten by Heathen or Christendom.
He whose reason seemed placed high
Lies low! O Death! too early felled.
So that his body here below
With (those of) mother, sister, rests together,
Whose souls three have gone on high
To receive Heaven’s crown from God.

What is Man?
Here lies buried Peter Hemsinck a youth born
at this Factory of Madras the 16th of August
1655, died the 24th of February 1682, aged 16
years, 6 months, 21 days.

As the chief object of the publication of the
volume seems to have been to present to the
reader the Monumental Remains of the Dutch in
Madras, it would have been more satisfactory if,
together with the copies on pp. 47-53, the origi-
nals had also been given. If this had been done,
the numerous errors both in the copies and in
the translations might be better controlled. Nor
does it appear why only some of the plates have
been translated.

Göttingen, G. J. TAMSON.
August 1898.

1 This verse makes no sense in Dutch either, “geesten” being apparently used for the sake of rhyme with
“meesten.”

This remarkable compilation possesses the qualities which such a book should possess — a clear and well-considered plan steadily adhered to, a matured presentation of the matters entered, an informed selection of the authorities. A work on Chronology to be of use must, on its own merits, command respect and confidence as to general accuracy, and to my mind there is no doubt that Miss Duff’s book (to give the author her best-known name) is entitled to both. The methods adopted for ensuring accuracy are unimpeachable, and the sources of information as nearly so as existing conditions admit. The references to the authorities are ubiquitous and of the highest value. The list of those who have actively assisted the author is of itself a guarantee of the care, knowledge, and research brought to bear on the subject.

The general plan of the work is “a table of events in chronological order” of ascertained facts and dates only, supplemented by an extremely valuable Appendix, consisting of Lists of Indian Dynasties, in which are included all the known names of the kings, with the dates of those only, as to whom positive information is available. There are also collated lists of the Pauranic Dynasties — Baisunaga, Maurya, Suñga, Kanva, Andhrabhariya. These Lists and Tables are made to work in together, so as to form a kind of index of dates to each other, in a highly commendable manner. In addition, there is a very long, complete, and most laborious index to the whole work.

To say that such a book supplies a need, and will be of assistance to students, is to put the case too mildly, as it will, on account of its carefulness and completeness within its limits, be of inestimable value to those whose studies take them into matters connected with Indian history, and will save them an infinite amount of troublesome and thankless search in the verification of details; for Miss Duff’s admirable industry and patience have not only now placed the desired facts within easy reach, but have also supplied the necessary references to the authorities, by which her statements can be readily verified. One student, at any rate, of things Indian, tenders her hearty thanks in anticipation for much future trouble saved.

The preface hints at the present work being intended only as a preliminary edition, and, though no one could wish to compel an author to undertake so great and so careful a labour, as is involved in the book before us, more than once in a lifetime, one cannot but hope that should research, current and to come, cause, as it ought, another edition to early succeed the present one, the work will fall to the competent hand so successful on this occasion. But whenever the time comes such another edition, it is to be hoped that, just as the Sinhalese Chronology has been now introduced as germane to the Indian, circumstances will have rendered it possible to introduce the Burmese also. The connection of the various Burmese and Peguan Dynasties with, at least, Buddhist India was much closer than many suspect, and the present writer feels convinced that an intimate study of Burmese Chronology will serve to throw light on that of early India. The epigraphic data available for the purpose are quite as numerous and trustworthy as those for India, and the vernacular literary data are also very many and far from untrustworthy. Unfortunately, both these sources of correct information still await the attention of competent students.

This is one direction in which Miss Duff’s labours might in future be enlarged with advantage, should the state of research permit. Here is another. The Chand Dynasty of Kummaun, the Khângâra Dynasty, and some Népâli Dynasties are given in the Appendix. There are genealogies existing in MS., which should be procurable through the political agencies, of Chambâ, Jammâ, Nâhan, and many another Himâlayan ‘kingdom,’ the value of which, when historical inquiries are necessary, can be demonstrated by a reference to the prefaces of the various semi-historical tales from the Hills to be found in the Legenda of the Panjab. I once had, even if I have not now, put away in some forgotten place of safety, authentic vernacular copies of several of these in my own possession: and if I recollect rightly, some of them found a corner in Panjab Notes and Queries. All such lists require a good deal of verification, of course, but, though the facts they purport to relate truly might never find their way into the Tables, they might be usefully included in the Lists of the Appendix.

As to the limits that the author has imposed upon herself, personally I should like to see the work continued on to the year 1700 A. D. or thereabouts, so as to include the chief facts of the earlier European struggles in India.

With these remarks and hints, thrown out for what they may be worth, I take leave of one of the most praiseworthy efforts at the compilation of a good book of reference it has been my fortune to come across.

R. C. TMEPLE.
ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by Geo. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 93.)

C. PRONOUNS.

1. Personal Pronouns.

227. The Accusative is the same as the Nominative. I find, however, that the Dative is generally used for the Accusative in the 1st and 2nd person singular, and in the 1st person plural; e.g., अमि राजि wuchhan me (dat.), they will see me; अमि राजि me wuchhīu, you will see me; तराहि लेि trāv asi, leave us; but तिम लेि tim trāv, after he had left them; तिम लेि tim trādyaḥ, leave ye them.

The genitive is wanting, and its place is supplied by the Possessive pronouns, as will be subsequently explained.

228. Pronouns of the 1st and 2nd Persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>अमि bo, I</td>
<td>अमि qsi, we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>अमि bo</td>
<td>अमि bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
<td>अमि me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

229. Pronouns of the 3rd Person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>अमि su, he</td>
<td>अमि su, she</td>
<td>अमि su, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>अमि su, she</td>
<td>अमि su, she</td>
<td>अमि su, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>अमि tami</td>
<td>अमि tami</td>
<td>अमि tami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*228 In the earlier part of this work I have transliterated these words asi and tohi. As and tohe give the pronunciation better.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tamis₂²</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>tami</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tamis₂²</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>{ tám...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

2. Possessive Pronouns.

23o. मीन म्यून, my₃, my₄

Masculine.

Feminine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>мीन</th>
<th>мयून</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>мयूनि</td>
<td>мयूनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>мीन</td>
<td>мयून</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2² Dative also тём and अनम. The instrumental is also नम (properly a Demonstrative) [note that the fem. is tamis, and not नम (tami).

2³ I also find तम used in the masculine and feminine: e.g., तम kariu saldn (Matth. x. 12), salute it (sc. गरा, masc., the house); तम nahka gothsit (Matth. xxvi. 10), having gone near it (sc. कुल, masc.; tree); on it (sc. को, fem.; the way); as a locative in तम (andar) mans; तम tath (andar) mans; तम tath peth (Matth. xxviii. 2). [The explanation is that the Neuter Pronoun refers to things without life, whatever their grammatical gender may be. The Masculine only refers to Masculine things with life, and similarly the Feminine.]

2⁴ Regarding the suffixes which represent the personal pronouns, see § 47.

2⁵ Cf. Declension of मूल, a father, and मूल, a mother, §§ 218, 2, b and 214, 2, a.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>میانٴن myôni...</td>
<td>ٴن myôni...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>میانٴنی myônis</td>
<td>myônis...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>میانٴنی myôni...</td>
<td>میانٴنی myôni...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>میانٴنی myônis</td>
<td>میانٴنی myôni...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

| Nom.     | میانٴن myôni... | میانٴن miâne |
| Voc.     | میانٴنی miânyô | میانٴنی miânyô |
| Acc.     | میانٴنی miâni... | میانٴن miâne |
| Instr.   | میانٴنی miânyau | میانٴن miânyau |
| Dat.     |                      |              |
| Abl.     | میانٴن miânen | میانٴن miânen |
| Loc.     |                      |              |

**231. ضون sûn, our.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ضون sûn...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>ضون sâni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>ضون sûn...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>ضون sîni...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ضون سانی sânî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>ضون سانی sânî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>ضون سانی sânî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

| Nom.  | ضون سانی sòn... |
| Voc.  | ضون سانی sànî |
| Acc.  | ضون سانی sànî |
| Instr.| ضون سانی sànî |
| Dat.  | ضون سانی sànî |
| Abl.  | ضون سانی sànî |
| Loc.  | ضون سانی sànî |
### 232. जैन chôn, thy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. जैन chôn</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. जैन chôn</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. जैन chânyô</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. जैन chânī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. जैन chânyau</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. }</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abl. जैन chânen</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. }</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 233. तुहंद tuhond, your.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. तुहंद tuhond</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc. तुहंद tuhândî</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. तुहंद tuhond</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr. तुहंद tuhândî</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. तुहंद tuhândis</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl. तुहंद tuhândî</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc. तुहंद tuhândis</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Essays on Kasmiri Grammar

### Masculine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tuhondí</td>
<td>tuhonzã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>tuhondyo</td>
<td>tuhonzã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tuhondí</td>
<td>tuhonzã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>tuhondyau</td>
<td>tuhonzã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>tuhonden</td>
<td>tuhonzã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sing. Nom. tasond, fem. her, its.

Pl. Nom. tassodi, fem. tassanža

Declined throughout like țhonzã țuhond.

### 234. Nāhle

Sing. Nom. tihond, fem. tihonzã

Pl. tihondi, fem. tihonzã

Declined throughout like tuhond.

### 235. Remarks on the Possessive Pronouns.

1. The possessive pronouns also act as the respective representatives of the genitives of the personal pronouns. țózun, to hear, with a genitive means to listen to a person, to obey; thus, țôm nay țózì, if he do not hearken to thee; țôndini țózì, if they do not follow them; țôzì ywâns țihond (see below) țózun, they came to hear him. If the verb is compounded with a substantive, the possessive pronoun is similarly put in the place of the personal pronoun; e. g., myon igdr karì, he makes my confession, he confesses me; so with tuhond, your; bo țhund, țón ta'rif karān, I thank thee; țón khabardār karān, they will guard thee.

---

26 N. P. has țhindí, tihindí throughout; thus, Dat. sg. m. țhindí.
(2) Additional forms:

(a) For *taqond* may also be used *takond* *tqom-sound* (also written *tqom-sound*), *quq-sound*, and *tamyuk*. The first three are exactly declined like *taqond*; *talbandis*, *tqom-sandis*, *quq-soundis*; *tamyuk* follows the declension *kalyuk* (§ 2(8)); e.g., nom. pl. masc. *tanik* 26a; *tanichen lanjen peth*, under its (the tree's) branches.

(b) *tasquz* may also be *denn* *tahqaz*, *tqom-sanqaz*, *quq-sanqaz*, and *taminch*. The first three follow *tasquz*, e.g., *denn* *tahanzi*, *tqom-sanzi*, *quq-sanzi*. *Taminch* follows the declension of the feminine of *kalyuk* (§ 208).

[(c) For *nunn* *takond*, *timan-hond* may be used throughout; e.g., *timan-handis*.]

(3) Cases:

236. The Genitive is expressed by the Dative, according to rule v., § 209); e.g., *miyanis Khudawand-sound garq*, the house of my Lord.

According to some, the Locative, Ablative, and Instrumental do not occur in an attributive sense; but they do occur in this sense when used elliptically, or in the sense of 'mine' (cf. Matth. xxvii. 24, *myánî sût*, with mine); e.g., 'In whose house was he?'

*miyanis manz*, in mine. 'By what father was this said?' *sák*, by ours. I also find *chání ittiqul sn *eh hek balrav-mqts tsg*, by thy faith hast thou been made whole (instr., Matth. ix. 22); *jánah náu rgl h *

*chání gar* [sic] (sc., *andar*), at thy house (loc., Matth. xxvi. 18);

*chání náva-sôt*, in thy name (here apparently a Dative, for *chání náva*, Luke, x., 17); *chání kathí andarq*, out of thy speech (abl., Matth. xxvi. 73); *miyáa khólq*, for my sake (abl.).

237. Before Adjectives in *uk*, which represent the Genitive, also before infinitives, and those prepositions which are properly substantives, such as *khólq*, *sabáa,*

---

26a [We should expect *takond* to be used only when the pronoun is feminine, but N. P. frequently uses it as the equivalent of *taqond*. *Tamyuk* is only used when the pronoun refers to inanimate things. Similarly *tahqaz* and *aminch* below].
mukha, etc., and also before the comparative particle त न khotṛ (= than), we find the
form in sū; e. g.—

तहां द पति रत्नाक किलकोरुक, by them was it intended to
seize him.

tहां ति khalāki vōli ti chhi ganzarit, yea, the hairs of
his head are numbered.

tहां द सनाक बोन्कय, before his speech, before he spoke;

tहां द खात्रा, for him (often equivalent to a Dative), concerning
him (de eo); so also sūt.

tहां द khotṛ yachh chhi, they are worse than he.

तसि रतिसंद तहां अधितिस, the son will be cruelly treated by
them.

सानी धोही तसि, our daily bread.

तामीकी निङ khotṛ, in order to catch him.

(4) As regards his, her, in the sense of the Latin suus, see below under the Reflexive
Pronoun (§ 239).

(5) These pronouns can also be used as Possessive Adjectives, meaning ‘mine,’
‘thine,’ etc.

3. पान् pāṇa पान्य पानय, self.

233. पान् pāṇa, self, indeclinable; examples:—

तमी लहँ साने सार सती सुरी kahdlāt, by himself were
all our infirmities taken (i. e., He took upon Himself, etc.)

पाने चिंतिय यिति karun yittān, they themselves do not wish
to do this.

नाता chhūc pāने तसान, ye enter not in yourselves.

तो बुङ्कल्तराने ताने चित्तैको kfr, now there has
been heard by you yourselves his blasphemy.

(2) पानय pānay, this is an intensive form of पान्; e. g.—

पाङ्ग kari pānanen chhān kān pānay kfr, the
morrow will itself take thought for the things of itself.

तसि wonut pānay, it was said by you yourself.
4. The Reflexive Pronoun.

239. (1) पन् pân, self; e. g. —

(a) Dative पानस् pānas; e. g. —

मुहब्बत पानस च्हु करण्, he loves himself.
पानस च्हुन्ह स्मृत्रित् बच्छर्वि, he cannot save himself
(dat. instead of acc., as often occurs).

(b) Locative, with prepositions, such as सिद्द, पेठ, निष्क, निष्ठ nish, etc.

अदारः, अदि अदः, कूल, kyll, etc.

(2) पनुन् pānun (lit., my, thy, etc., body): —

(a) Myself, thyself, etc. (me ipse, and ipsum).

(b) ( = mea, tua, etc., sponte) of one self, voluntarily (Matth. xxvii, 40): From this is formed an adjective पाननि panani. Examples,—

पनुन् हुआ काहि, show thyself to the priest.
पनुन् द्युतुन फान्यि, he hanged himself.

पनुन् पानुन् बाच्रव, save thyself.

(3) पनुन्, fem. पनानि panāni, is used in a possessive sense, — mine, thine, his, our, etc. The meaning is to be referred to the subject of the sentence, which it represents. The masculine is in the 2nd declension. पनानि pananis, पनानि panani; pl. पनानि panānī.

Fem., 3rd declension — Nom. sg. पनानि panāni; Nom. pl. पनानि panāni, and so on.

With the suffix य y, it means mine (thine, etc.) own; e. g., पनानि यानुन जाँड़िliable नाल लि, they put his own clothes on him; पनानि यात्रितीन्दो सिद्द panānīkāthā sāt, by thine (his, etc.) own words.

5. The Reciprocal Pronoun.

240. पनावों pānavōn (properly an adverb), between each other, mutually; amongst selves; also अक ak. Examples,—

पावों दुपुक, they said amongst each other.
तथ आस पावों खिमलाई कुनार

तिम अस पावों हीयाल कुनार
tim āśi pānavōn khyāl karān, they were thinking amongst themselves.

पावों जायाँ चहिन्ना फिकर कुनार pānavōn khyāi chhina fikr karān, why think ye among yourselves.

Also पानस बानस पानस pānas pānas, his own self, himself; e. g., पानस च्हु लोकु पानस pānas chhu loka pānas, whoever counts himself as little.
they fell one upon another.

they began to think by themselves (i.e., in their hearts); also

6. Demonstrative Pronouns.

241. (1) ye yi, this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mas.</td>
<td>Nom. Acc. yi</td>
<td>yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instr. yim</td>
<td>yim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat. Abl. yimis</td>
<td>yim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femin.</td>
<td>Gen. yisond, or</td>
<td>yisond, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loc. yimis</td>
<td>yim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Notes:
28 [Wade, in the singular, has ye yemil, ye yemi, ye yemis, ye yeth, ye yethuk, etc. Notice has several times been drawn to the frequent confusion between e and i.]
29 I also find ye yith used in the masculine or feminine; e.g., r ak f se yith rikhī (fem.) andar, in this sense: yith (nent.) lāq sī, worthy of this, that (laq, with a dative means 'worthy of.') [As before explained, the neuter is always used when referring to inanimate nouns.]
30 R. g., yim-sēk laukau shikūyat weñ, by the people complaints were spoken about this.
31 E. g., 'imērārdi yimyuk tārjūnt (m.), Immanuel, of this the translation is.
242. [The following additional form of this pronoun is often used, especially by villagers:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>a² yi;</td>
<td>a² no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>a² nomi;</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>a² nomis;</td>
<td>neut. a² noth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>a² nomis;</td>
<td>a² nomis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>a² nomi-sond.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>a² nomis;</td>
<td>a² nomis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
<td>a² nomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>a² nomai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>a² noman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>a² noman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>a² noman-hond, or a² nohond.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

243. (2) a² su, that.

The author declines this in full. This is unnecessary here, as this pronoun is the same as the personal pronoun a² su of the third person, of which the declension is given in § 229.

The Genitive singular is:

- **Masc. and fem.** a⁴ sond or tami-sond.
- **Neut.** tamyuk or tatyuk.

Example: a⁴ sond tamyuk kan, a house, of that the foundation.

The Genitive Plural for all three genders is a⁴ sond tihon or tihan-hond.

For a³ tas (Dat. and Loc. sing., masc. and fem.), a³ tas is also used; e.g., a³ tas is also used; e.g., no tas is also used; e.g., no tas is also used; e.g., no wasiv tas las, say to that fox.

a³ tath, which is given as Dat., Abl., Loc., sing., neut., is used with all inanimate nouns, of whatever gender; e.g., a³ tath adar, in that place.
This Pronoun is also declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>مَا</td>
<td>مَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Plural** |   |   |   |
| Nom.  | ...  | مَا  | مَا  | مَا  |
| Acc.  | ...  | مَا  | مَا  | مَا  |
| Instr.| ...  | مَا  | مَا  | مَا  |
| Dat.  | ...  | مَا  | مَا  | مَا  |
| Abl.  | ...  | مَا  | مَا  | مَا  |
| Gen.  | ...  | مَا  | مَا  | مَا  |

244. اٰ وه, that (within sight), also occurs. Most of the following forms are given in the original:

Nom. sing. masc. اٰ وه fem. اٰ ه; neut. اٰ ه.

Instr. sing. masc. مَا  عام.

Dat. sing. masc. fem. مَا  عام; neut. مَا  عام.

Nom. plur. مَا  عام.

Dat. plur. مَا  عام.

Example.—يَمُّ كَرِهِبِ اللَّهِ مَا  ذُكِرْتُنَّ وَهُمْ نَزَّلُونَهُ (Luke, xi. 42), these should ye have done, and not left the other undone (so. with مَا  يوم and مَا  عام, مَا  اَلَّذِينَ, things).

Regarding the suffix مَا  ي added to these pronouns, see below (§ 259).

(To be continued.)
HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

(Founded on the Burkhān-i Maṣūrī.)

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 132.)

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Sultan Muḥammad Shāh,
son of Sultan ‘Alā-ud-Din Ḥasan Shāh Bahmani.

After the death of Sultan Alā-ud-Din Ḥasan Shāh and the completion of the mourning ceremonies, the royal crown was placed on the head of Sultan Muḥammad Shāh in accordance with his father’s will; and the nobles and grandees presented their congratulations and good wishes.

As soon as he was established on the throne, Sultan Muḥammad Shāh turned his attention to the interior economy of his army and his subjects in general, and distributed valuable presents.

When he had finished inquiring diligently into the affairs of his soldiers and subjects, being desirous of conquering countries and cities, he conceived the idea of conquering the country of Vijayānagar, and accordingly marched towards that place with a large and well-equipped force.

The Rāya of Vijayānagar, hearing of his approach, and being determined to oppose him assembled a numerous army and went out to meet the Sultan’s force. When the two forces encountered one another the troops on both sides fought bravely, and a battle took place such that the eye of Heaven was bewildered and became clouded, and the face of the sun was obscured by the dust of battle. After much fighting the breeze of victory at last blew on the arms of the royal army, and the other side took to flight; but being pursued a great number of them were sent to hell. The Sultan plundered most of the country of the infidels, levelling their idol-temples with the ground, and much booty in rice, jewels, Arab horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Muḥammadan force.

After this victory the Sultan proceeded towards Filampatan (?), and by the aid of God having conquered that country also, he set out on the march to his capital with immense booty. On arriving there he was informed that Bahrām Khan, governor of Devagir (Daulatabad), was in a state of rebellion, and as soon as he heard this the Sultan proceeded to oppose him. When the Sultan arrived near Devagir Bahrām Khan, being afraid to meet his attack, repented of his actions. At the intercession of Shekh Zain-ud-Din (hallowed be his grave!) the Sultan spared the life of Bahrām Khan, but ordered him to be banished from the kingdom: this was done, and he afterwards, with a hundred griefs and disappointments, perished in the desert of desperation and regret.

In the ‘Ayūn-ut-Tawārīkh it is stated that Sultan Muḥammad during his reign did not leave a single place in the Dakhān in possession of the infidels, and consequently ruled without competition.

The Sultan had two sons, Mujahid Khan who was the heir-apparent, and Fath Khan.

In the latter days of his reign being seized with the desire of conquering Teliṅgānā the whole of the country came into the possession of the agents of his government.

On returning from that campaign the Sultan, after having reigned seventeen years and seven months, showed signs of an irreparable manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness; and after making Prince Mujahid Shāh his heir, he obeyed the summons of God.21

21 According to the Taḵkavat-ul-Mulk, Sultan Muḥammad reigned 18 years, 7 months and 9 days, and died in the year 780 A. H.
Chapter III.

Reign of Sultan Mujahid Shāh,
son of Sultan Muḥammad Shāh,
son of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmani.

When Sultan Muḥammad Shāh died in A. H. 775 (A. D. 1373), in accordance with his will, he was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mujahid Shāh, who bestowed presents and various honours on the nobles and officers.

While thus engaged the Sultan took it into his head to exterminate the infidelity of Bijāñagar (Vijayāñagar), and to wage a religious war against the infidels; so with a numerous army and elephants, and placing his confidence in the Beneficient King he proceeded towards Vijayāñagar.

When the Rāya, Kapazah, who was the leader of the lords of hell, heard of the approach of the Sultan’s army, being hopeless of retaining his life and possessions, was excessively terrified, and shut himself up in the fort. He acted towards the infidels of that country with such helplessness and perturbation that to small and great, young and old, in that calamity the road of management was blocked, and the truth of the saying that “an earthquake is a great thing though it lasts but a little while,” became a stern reality to the inhabitants of that part of the country. As a matter of necessity the above-mentioned Rāya, Kapazah, sent to the court of Mujahid Shāh a number of his most intelligent and distinguished officers; and they representing their weakness and despair, and professing obedience and submission, agreed to pay a large sum as na‘l-bahā into the royal treasury; also to deliver over to the agents of the court the keys of the fortress which was the cause of hostilities and dispute. They also presented on behalf of the Rāya, a written agreement to the following effect: — “To the Lord of happy conjunction I am a mean slave, and devote myself heart and soul to his service as long as I live.” This agreement was made on condition that the Sultan should have pity on those helpless ones, and by his royal favour would insure their country against plunder and devastation by the troops.

After this the Sultan being encamped on the bank of the river Kistnah, and indulging in his favourite pursuits, drank cups of ruby-coloured wine; but suddenly Fortune poured the unpalatable sharbat of martyrdom into the goblet of his life. The particulars of this are briefly, as follows: —

Sultan Mujahid Shāh had a younger brother, or — according to one history — a cousin, named Dād Khān who cherished a desire of usurping the throne; and though outwardly loyal he was secretly intriguing and watching his opportunity. This man with a number of seditious persons one night entered the inner apartment of the Sultan when the latter was asleep in bed, and stabbed him with a dagger. The nobles and the troops, on hearing of the assassination of the Sultan, rent their clothes with grief.

The duration of the reign of Sultan Mujahid Shāh was one year, one month and nine days. This event happened on the 18th of the month Zī-ul-Ḥijjah, A. H. 779 (17th April, A. D. 1377), but God only knows with accuracy!

Note to Chapter III.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sultan Mujahid Shāh given in the Taṣkariyāt al-Mulūk.]

22 According to the genealogy of Vijayāñagar dynasty given by Mr. Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, p. 108, the Rāya of Vijayāñagar at this period was Bukka or Bukka Mahipati, alias Rājendras, who reigned from A. D. 1350-1372. The word Kapazah is very distinctly written in the MS.; even the vowel marks are supplied. According to Firishtah the name of this Rāya was Krishna. — Vide Briggs, Vol. II. p. 331 et seq.

23 Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.

24 The latter appears to be the correct relationship, as we shall see a little further on. According to Firishtah, Dād was Mujahid’s uncle.
Reign of Mujahid Shah Balwant Bahmani.

After his father's death Mujahid Shah ascended the throne. In the idiom of the Dakhan he was called "Balwant," that is, strong-bodied; he used to eat at one meal thirty sors, each sor being equal in weight to seventy-two dirhams,\(^{25}\) and he used to eat three meals a day, which makes ninety sors a day; but God only knows the truth!

Now the custom of the kings (of the Dakhan) was this, that at the time when they ascended the throne of sovereignty Shekh Muhammad Siraj-ud-Din used to present a pirdhan and turban which they put on, and then in an auspicious hour took their seat on the throne; and the same custom was observed at the ascension of Mujahid.

Mujahid used daily to repair to the monastery of the shekh, and discuss with him the affairs of state. One day he told the sheikh that he contemplated waging a jihād against the infidels in order to add splendour to the faith of Islam. The sheikh recited the fātihat and expressed his approval. Mujahid daily busied himself in organising his army, and then proceeded against the fort of Adoni with a large force, and laid siege to it for a year, when the garrison running short of water asked for quarter; and the governor of the fort came out and after obtaining a written treaty, returned to the fort with Mujahid Shah's deputy in order to evacuate and surrender the fort.

It is said that one of the servants of the sheikh said to the latter: — "Mujahid Shah has taken from you an assurance of victory, and from others also has obtained the glad tidings of victory." The sheikh replied: — "I have withdrawn my assurance of victory." This servant then took a letter from the sheikh to this effect to Mujahid Shah, and repeated to him what the sheikh had said. When Mujahid understood the contents of the letter he produced it in court and said: — "My ancestors were void of understanding when they gave regal power to these fakirs who are always hungry and thirsty; what affinity have we with them? Ask the sheikh what he means by this presumptuous talk. I shall teach him better manners." The servant replied: — "If this be your intention you will never attain this victory."

On that same night heavy rain fell, and the fort became well supplied with water. The garrison regretted having made peace, and applied themselves to strengthening the fort. They cut off the head of Mujahid Shah's deputy, and putting it into a gun, fired it towards the army of Mujahid Shah.

When Mujahid heard of the resistance of the garrison he returned to the city of Ahsanabad, and encamped outside in order that he might enter it on the following day at an auspicious hour. He uttered many threats against the followers of the sheikh; and there were many Habshis in the trains of the nobles and others, and they having done something which roused the anger of Mujahid, he uttered threats against them also, and they were in much fear of him. Next day Mujahid was found on the throne without his head, and it was believed that this deed was perpetrated by jinnis. The disciples of the sheikh would not allow the body of Mujahid to be buried in the tomb of the kings, but he was buried near it.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Dā'ud Shah.

According to the most authentic accounts Sultan Dā'ud Shah was son of Mahmud Khan, son of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Hāsan Shah Bahmani.\(^{26}\)

After the martyrdom of Sultan Mujahid Shah, the amirs and ministers and officers of the army nilens volens plighted their fealty to Dā'ud Shah, and accepted him as their sovereign; but the widow, or (according to one history) the foster-sister of Mujahid Shah, was determined upon revenge; so she bribed one of the Sultan's slaves with a thousand huns and a promise of

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\(^{25}\) A dirham = 45 grains.

\(^{26}\) According to Firuz Shah Dā'ud was son — not grand-son of 'Ala-ud-Din Hāsan.
more, to assassinate the king. Enticed by the bribe, he agreed to undertake this dangerous affair, and was watching his opportunity till on a Friday when the Sultan went to prayer in the masjid and the people were crowding on one another, that fearless shedder of blood and devoted slave approached the Sultan and caused him to taste the same sharbat as Sultan Mujahid Shâh.\textsuperscript{37}

Muhammad Khan, son of Mahmud Khan, and younger brother of the Sultan, was present in the crowd, and he fell the murderer to the ground with one blow of his sword, and despatched him from the world. He then returned to the palace, and seated himself on the throne in his brother's place. The nobles, ministers, learned men and sheikhs hastening to wait on him, saluted him as king and were all liberally rewarded.

This event happened in the month of Muharram, A. H. 780 (May, A. D. 1378),\textsuperscript{38} but God only knows the truth of the matter.

\textbf{Chapter V.}

Reign of Sultan Muhammad Shâh, son of Mahmud Khan, son of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shâh Bahmani.\textsuperscript{39}

The nobles and military officers having acknowledged Sultan Muhammad Shâh as their sovereign, placed the royal crown on his head and seated him on the throne. The ministers of state, great men of the court and those learned in the law, all obtained honours and rewards suitable to their rank and circumstances.

He was a king adorned with the ornament of intelligence and understanding and decorated with the jewel of justice and equity. In his time the people were at rest on the reclining-place of safety and security. In his age the dagger of tyranny and the sword of injustice rotted in their scabbards. In his reign there was no vestige of unlawful things; and habits of iniquity and impiety were removed from his time. He founded masjids, public schools and monasteries, and never permitted any receding or swerving from the straight road of rectitude and justice and the highway of the divine law. He held fast all the country which had come into the possession of his illustrious grandfather and his paternal uncle; and from partisans or friends in those parts no rebellion or sedition showed itself, and they never swerved from the road of obedience and subjection. The Sultan did not lead any army in any direction, but spread the carpet of justice and liberality, and so engaged himself in the requisites of self-evident duty and prohibiting unlawful things that no one had an opportunity of deviating from the beaten path of the divine law.

It is related that during the reign of this just king a certain woman, being charged with the disgraceful act of adultery, was taken for trial to the kedîr's court. On the way there an artifice occurred to the woman's mind, and when she was presented before the kedîr, being questioned as to her reason for committing that disgraceful act, she replied:—"O kedîr, a doubt has occurred to me on this point: Is each man permitted by the precepts of religion to have four wives? My opinion was that women might act in the same manner: now that I am aware of its impropriety, I am ashamed of the deed, and repent." The kedîr, astonished at her answer, remained silent; and that sinful impostor being freed from punishment hastened to her house.

\textsuperscript{37} Assassinated him.

\textsuperscript{38} According to Firistan it happened on the 21st Muharram, 780, which corresponds to the 29th May, 1378, A. D. The author of the Tazkara al-Mulak says he reigned one year, one month and three days, which exactly agrees with the Durhâd-i Mâ'âtir; but Firistan only gives him a reign of one month and five days.

\textsuperscript{39} There is here a serious discrepancy between our author and Firistan. According to the latter, the fifth king of the dynasty was Mahmud, son of 'Ala-ud-Din; but Firistan must be wrong, for the coinage shows that the name of the Bahmani king reigning at this period was Muhammad. Histories written quite independently of Firistan—such as the Tazkara al-Mulak and Târîkh-i-Jahân Ard—also corroborate the statement of our author. Dr. O. Codrington has recently written about this in the Numismatic Chronicle (3rd Series, Vol. XVIII. pages 269-278), and quotes a letter of mine on the subject.
During his reign Sultán Muḥammad promoted Khwájah Jahán — who was one of the amirs of his illustrious grandfather — to the rank of Vakil and Amīr-ul-Umrā; and Saiyid Tāj-ud-Dīn Jakājūt, son of Saiyid Rasūl-ud-Dīn Kūf-ul-Mulk, after his father, obtained from the Sultán the title of Kūf-ul-Mulk.

After a reign of nineteen years and nine months, or — according to another account — nineteen years and six months, this just king died.

This event occurred on the 26th of the month Rajab, A. H. 799 (25th April, A. D. 1397).

Sultán Muḥammad Shāh had two sons — Sultán Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh and Sultán Shams-ud-Dīn Dāǧūd Shāh, both of whom reigned in their turn.

CHAPTER VI.


After the death of Sultán Muḥammad Shāh, the generals, the amirs and wazirs, the learned men and the suite and servants of the court having consented to the accession of Sultán Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, who had travelled but twelve stages of his life, they raised the regal umbrella over his head, and all joined in the honour of pledged their loyalty and tendering their congratulations. The Sultán, notwithstanding his tender age, distinguished the nobles and grandees by royal courtesy, and presented them with robes of honour and various gifts; and having renewed for the nobles the farms under which they held their feudal lands, and bestowed on them countless dignities, confirmed them in their former possessions in the country. He then busied himself in the arrangement of various important affairs of the country and nation.

Sultán Ghiyās-ud-Dīn busied himself in improving the position of his father's slaves, and gave them too loose a rein. One of these, named Tughalbakht, he exalted above all the nobles; consequently he turned the reins from the side of rectitude; and as the Sultán had removed some of his father's nobles, it occurred to this man that the Sultán might do the same to the slaves; he therefore took steps to remedy the eventuality before its occurrence. Under the pretext of an entertainment he took the Sultán to his own house, and there with a red hot skewer deprived him of his sight. He then deposed the Sultán, and raised to the throne the younger brother of the latter, named Sultán Shams-ud-Dīn.

This event happened on the 17th of the month Ramaḍān, A. H. 799 (14th June, A. D. 1396), and the duration of the Sultán's reign was one month and eight days; but God Almighty alone knows the truth of things!

CHAPTER VII.

Reign of Sultán Shams-ud-Dīn Dāǧūd Shāh, son of Sultán Mujahid Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sultán ʿAlā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh Bahmani.

When the faithless Tughalbakht, with the concurrence of the nobles, deprived Sultán Ghiyās-ud-Dīn of his sight by means of a skewer, he — with the approval of the nobles and
ministers, sheikhs and learned men and grandees of the country and nation — seated on the throne of sovereignty Sultan Shams-ud-Din, who had not yet travelled seven stages on the journey of life; but he kept the reins of power in his own hands, so that Shams-ud-Din was Sultan in name only.

Firuz Khan and Ahmad Khan, grandsons of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shâh, who were worthy of the sovereignty, and eventually in their own persons added ornament and beauty to the crown and throne were faithful in their allegiance to Sultan Shams-ud-Din; but Tughalbakht and all the slaves of the Sultan, who were inimical to them, were always plotting to remove them in order to usurp the sovereignty for themselves. In consequence of this the two princes were obliged to fly to the fort of Sagar. The kotwal who had charge of this fort received the princes in a friendly manner and promised them all the assistance in his power. He joined them with a large number of retainers of those parts, and they proceeded against Sultan Shams-ud-Din. But when the two parties met, the Kotwal of Sagar proved faithless.

The nobles of Sultan Shams-ud-Din, deeming it advisable by promises of aid to the princes to endeavour to sprinkle extinguishing water on the fire of rebellion and contention which was fiercely burning, sent a trustworthy person to Firuz Khan and Ahmad Khan with a written treaty of peace; and since the princes saw that the most prudent course was to abandon contention and submit themselves they waited on the Sultan and folded up the carpet of strife.

When some time had thus passed, the idea of getting rid of the two princes again occurred to the minds of the slaves. The heart of the mother of the Sultan still burned with the remembrance of the fate of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, and the slaves persuaded her that Firuz Khan and Ahmad Khan were the cause of that base action. On this account the Sultan's mother conceived hatred against the two princes and set herself in opposition to them. The foster-sister of the Sultan, who was called Makhdumah Jahân, was the wife of Firuz Khan, and she having obtained information of this plot immediately hurried home and informed her husband. Firuz Khan and his brother then held counsel together; and most of the principal amirs, such as Khwajah Jahân, Ashdar Khan, Malik Shahâb, Saiyid Taj-ud-Din Jakâjût, Kutb-ul-Mulk and others who were vexed and distressed by the despotic power of the slaves, united together, and arranged that on the following day they were to go to the palace with a number of armed men, and before the slaves should hear of it, to seize and imprison the Sultan and seat Sultan Firuz on the throne.

Next day Sultan Firuz and Sultan Ahmad with a multitude of followers mounted and proceeded to the court; and after posting a number of their adherents at each door went on till they found the Sultan, whom they seized and imprisoned, and Sultan Firuz took his place on the throne.

In most histories it is stated that this event occurred on the 23rd Safar, A. H. 800 (14th February, A. D. 1397). Sultan Shams-ud-Din reigned for the space of five months and seven days.

CHAPTER VIII

Reign of Sultan-i Qasim Taj-ud-Dunya
wa ud-Din Abü-l-Muqaffar Sultan Firuz Shâh,
son of Ahmad Khan,
son of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Bahman.

After the deposition and imprisonment of Sultan Shams-ud-Din, on the same day Sultan Firuz placed the royal crown on his head and seated himself on the throne. The amirs, vazirs, sâyiids, sheikhs and learned men hastened to salute him, and obtained the felicity of kissing his feet; and his companions in adversity were eloquent in their congratulations and praises.

45 According to Firishtah he was in his fifteenth year.
46 According to Firishtah, Firuz and Ahmad were sons of Dâ'ud.
Sultán Frúz Sháh having imprisoned Tughbalbakt and the other conspirators, honoured the nobles and generals with sumptuous robes of honour and numerous presents, and promoted his adherents. He conferred on his brother, Ahmad Khán, the title of Khán Khánán; and Khvájah Jahan, who previous to this held an office under government, he confirmed in the same employment. For the amirs and those holding lands on feudal tenure he sent farmáwas and robes of honour, and the revenue affairs were carried on as formerly. He behaved with justice, kindness and liberality towards his troops and subjects, and being determined to use his best endeavours in the suppression of insidelity and the strengthening of the Faith, he contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayagnígar; so in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts.

Devdádar (Devarája ?), who was the chief (mubaddam) of those infidels, sent a person to the Sultán’s court, and representing their weakness and despair, penitently asked for pardon, and stated that if the Sultán would draw the pen of forgiveness through the pages of their offences, and secure them against his royal displeasure and wrath they would pay into the public treasury the sum of thirty-three laks of tanka, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts. The Sultán having washed with the limpid water of forgiveness and condonation the registers of offences of those penitent people, took from the Ráya of Vijayagnígar the sum agreed upon, and then quickly returned in triumph to his capital, where he spent nearly a year in enjoying himself.

After that, the desire of waging a jihád against the cities and towns of the infidels having entered the Sultán’s mind, in the beginning of the year 802 (A. D. 1899), he ordered a large army to be assembled, and on an auspicious day he marched towards the fort of Ságár. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sultán’s approach they tendered their submission and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army.

[Since the Sultán in the neighbourhood of Ságár, by his good fortune and the influence of his fresh and numerous victories obtained the submission of the samindárs and Ráyas of those parts, he gave to Ságár the name of Nuqratábád.]47

When he had received the thirty-three laks of tanka — which was the sum fixed for payment by the Ráya of Vijayagnígar — his desires being accomplished, and his important affairs carried to a successful issue, he returned towards his capital; and having encamped for some time on the bank of the river Jahní48 which is near Kalburghá, and is commonly known as the Bhartá, he founded a city there, and that city was commonly known as Frúzsábad.

In this year (A. H. 802 = A. D. 1899) Saiyid Muḥammad Gisú-dárás (long locks),49 with a number of disciples and darvishes came from Dillí to the Daḵán, and by his honoured presence made Kalburghá the envy of heaven.

47 This passage in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS.
48 Evidently the river Bhírkhá.
49 This famous Muḥammadí saint was born at Dillí on the 4th Rajab, A. H. 721 (30th July, A. D. 1321). His proper name is Ṣadrád-Dín Muḥammad Ússain, but he was commonly called Muḥammad Gisú Dárás, on account of his having long ringslets. He was a disciple of Shekí Ṣadrád-Dín Chirágh of Dillí, who sent him to the Daḵán in A. H. 802 (A. D. 1899) during the reign of Sultán Frúz Sháh Bahámaní. The latter received him with much honour and respect; but afterwards quarrelled with him, and to this disagreement with the saint the author of the Burhán-i Manázír attributes the subsequent misfortunes of Sultán Frúz.

Firísháháh tells us that Sultán Ahmad, in the early part of his reign, showed favour on the venerable saiýíd; and as the people generally followed the example of their king, the inhabitants of the Daḵán chose him for their guide in religious affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The king withdrew his favour from the family of Shekí Sírajúd-Dín, and conferred it on that of the holy saiýíd, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages and extensive lands near Kalburghá, and built for him a magnificent college and monastery not far from the city. The people of the Daḵán had such a respect for the saint that a Daḵání, on being once asked whom he considered the greater personage, the Prophet Muhammad or the saiýíd, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet Saiyid Muḥammad Gisú Dárás was a far superior order of being.
The Sultan was rejoiced to hear of the shahid's arrival, and sent some learned men to wait, and requesting information about him, to inform the Sultan of the truth of the matter. They visited him according to the Sultan's orders, and found him perfect in all kinds of sciences and miracles; so they hastened to the Sultan and informed him of what they had found. This being the means of increasing the Sultan's belief he hankered after the society of that perfect instructor, and in ceremonious and respectful treatment neglecting not the smallest trifle, he assigned several cultivated lands to him as reward. Some have said that in the first interview between the Sultan and Saiyid Muhammad Ghas-darās an altercation occurred which used to increase day by day up to the time when, according to the revolution of fate, the Sultan was deposed; and that it was owing to his want of attention to that cream of his race that he experienced the misfortunes which he did, as will presently be related.

The Sultan again conceiving the idea of waging a religious war against the infidels of the country of Vijayānagar, despatched an army in that direction. When they arrived there the troops opened the hand of slaughter and plunder, and threw the fire of chastisement among the infidel inhabitants of that country. By force of arms they conquered several of the districts of Bhānur and Musalakal. The Sultan having appropriated the fixed sum of thirty-three lakhs returned to his capital with immense booty; and after spending nearly a year there, liberally bestowing largess, he again assembled his army and moved towards Māhūr; but finding that fortress excessively strong and surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle, he was obliged to make peace with the Rāya of that place, and after exacting from him a large sum by way of tribute and contribution, returned to his capital.

At this time two slaves named Hūshyār and Bidār who by royal favours and rank were distinguished above all the courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them and most of the important affairs of government and the army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bidār was given the title of Ni'ām-ul-Mulk, and Hūshyār that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

In the midst of these affairs Khwājah Juhān, to whom, owing to his sagacity, the affairs of government had been committed, bid farewell to this perishable world, and his rank also was conferred on Bidār and Hūshyār.

The Sultan being determined to conquer Telingānā proceeded in that direction till having got near Rājāmūndrl he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital.

It is related that this sovereign during the period of his reign, which was twenty-five years and a fraction, made twenty-three (or twenty-four, according to other accounts — but God only knows secrets accurately!) expeditions against the districts and cities of the infidels, and plundered and devastated the countries of those accursed ones; and every year exacted from the infidels of Vijayānagar the sum of thirty-three lakhs of tanka, as originally fixed; and from Telingānā to Rājāmūndrl and from Vijayānagar to Rājāchūr the whole country was conquered by his army. In the latter days of his reign, the Sultan, who was nearly seventy years of age, and apparently much reduced in strength, was still strong in guarding the religion of Islām and the Faith of the Prophet; and notwithstanding his weakness, he had sufficient strength to undertake jihāds against the infidels.

He died at Kalbūgah on the 10th of Zul‘a’i Ka‘dah, A. H. 925 (1st November, A. D. 1422) at the age of a hundred years. His darāgh (shrine) is still to be seen at Kalbūgah, and a chronogram recording the date of his death is inscribed on it. The verses are translated as follows by Professor Eastwick (Madras Handbook, 2nd edition, p. 350):

"Like that of Ghān Darā, the Dakhān boasts no shrine!
"Ghān Darā! the empire of Islām and of this world are thine!"

The date of the saint's death is given in the symbolic letters which compose the words

مَوْمَعْدُوٰم دِيرِ وَ دِنٌّا

Lord of the Faith and of the World.

A much longer shahid, giving the day of the mouth as well as the year of his death and ending in the same words, is given in the Misʿaf-ul-Tawāfīkh, p. 114.
Towards the end of his reign he was compelled once more to march against Vijayānagar; and was determined to take the fort of Pāngal, which is one of the strongest and most celebrated of that district; but while he was on the way there, a body of troops of the accursed devils opposed the royal army with much bravery, and did not fall short in the fight; but after a severe struggle the Sultān’s army was victorious: the infidels were defeated, and the world was cleared from the pollution of their impure existence, and immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious army. The Sultān sent to his capital despatches announcing the victory, and then marched against the fortress of Pāngal which he besieged; but the garrison bravely sallied out and made a night attack on the Sultān’s camp. In this fight fortune turned against the arms of the Muḥammadians, and many of the true believers lost their lives. The army of Islām being completely defeated the Sultān marched from that place, halting nowhere till he reached the village of Iṭtakūr and those accursed impious people made chabūṭaras with the (dead bodies of the) Musalmān leaders. Owing to this defeat the physical weakness of the Sultān was increased; and many people believed that the defeat was due to the change of feelings of Saiyid Muḥammad Glaū-daṟāz.

When the Sultān having halted for some time at Iṭtakūr had somewhat recovered from his vexation he turned towards his capital; and settling down there went on no more expeditions, but spent his time in prayer, charity and good works and promoting the happiness of his people; and resigned the affairs of government to Bidār Niẓām-ul-Mulk and Hūshyār ʾAin-ul-Mulk.

Whoever sees authority in his hands is sure some day to rebel and aim at supremacy; and great men have said that the foundations of service of low-born people are fear and hope: when they lose fear and feel themselves secure they make turbid the fountain of loyalty; and when, by the acquisition of their desires, they become independent, the fire of ingratitude and sedition is kindled. It behoves a king, therefore, not to so exclude them from his benevolence that being without hope they should side with his enemies; and at the same time not to give them so much favour and power that they should conceive the idea of independence and rebellion; and sages have said that to cherish an ignoble person is to demean one’s self and to lose the thread of one’s own actions.

Such was the case with Bidār and Hūshyār, who, owing to the natural blackness and envy of their dispositions as well as by their elevation had injured the good fortune of Sultān Frūz.

These two inconsiderate waḍīrs used always to be hypocritical towards Khān Khānān and wished to exclude him from the succession. Khān Khānān was the Sultān’s brother, and owing to his understanding, mildness of disposition, generosity, bravery, and other good qualities the hearts of all the nobles, ministers and subjects, and most of the army were inclined towards him, and were anxious to make him Sultān; but Hūshyār and Bidār persuaded the Sultān—who never failed to follow their advice—to make his eldest son, Ḥasan, the heir and present him with the royal canopy and give him the title of Ḥasan Shāh. But not content even with this, they formed a plot, and represented to the Sultān that until the kingdom was free from the power of Khān Khānān, Ḥasan Shāh could never sit on the throne; also that Khān Khānān was always carrying favour with the subjects and the army, and that all the courtiers and populace were his well-wishers. Having no other resource Sultān Frūz Shāh countenanced the plot against Khān Khānān; and though, on account of his near relationship he was unwilling to put him to death, yet he consented to have him blinded. But Shīr Khān, who was son of the Sultān’s sister, having gained intelligence of this scheme, fastened to Khān Khānān and represented to him the position of affairs. Khān Khānān promised to fly, and with his eldest son Zafār Khān—who, after his father, aspired to the sovereignty—waited on Saiyid Muḥammad Glaū-daṟāz to ask his aid in attaining his objects and desires. The Saiyid received them with much honour and respect, and ordering food to be brought gave them to eat. He then with the hand of blessing himself tied turbans on their heads and predicted
sovereignty for both of them. Khân Khânân, assisted and inspired with hope, then took leave of that illustrious man, went to his house and with a number of trustworthy attendants prepared for flight. Just then a merchant from Lahsâ called Khâlf Hâsan (who afterwards in the reign of Sultân Ahmad obtained the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr, and who was celebrated for his great bravery and generosity), having this year brought Arab horses for sale to the government and having received a portion of the price of them, paid a visit to Sultân Ahmad. When by his shrewdness he became aware of the contemplated flight of Ahmad Shâh, he reminded him of the days of their friendly companionship as well as the requirements of sincerity and fidelity, and vowed to serve him at the risk of his life.

On the night when the Sultân (Ahmad) intended going forth, Khâlf Hâsan was present at the door of Sultân Ahmad’s house. Suddenly the latter with four hundred faithful and fully-equipped attendants issued from the house with the intention of flight. Khâlf Hâsan coming forward saluted him with the title of “Sultân.” Ahmad gathered a good omen from this salutation, and said to Khâlf Hâsan:—“Go to your house with all speed, for you are a merchant and a stranger, and if anyone sees you with me your property may be plundered and even your life sacrificed on account of me.” Khâlf Hâsan replied:—“At the time of ease and leisure to be a companion and confidant, and in the days of adversity to sprinkle the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of manhood and turn one’s back on one’s benefactor is contrary to the requirements of religion and manliness and is abhorrent to the disposition of an Arab or Persian: as long as there is life and breath in my body Heaven forbid that I should ride far from your stirrup! Kings, in their numerous important affairs have need of ministers, so it is possible that eventually some business needing the assistance of inferior may ensue. For the work done by the weak needle the head-exalting spear after all is inferior to it; and the sword is amazed at the work accomplished by the slender pen-knife; and a servant, however worthless and untrustworthy he may be, is not without his uses in asserting injury and blows.”

Sultân Ahmad, highly approving of the sincerity and faithfulness of Khâlf Hâsan regarded this also as a proof of his own future good fortune, and said to Khâlf Hâsan:—“If the sovereignty comes into my grasp you shall be a partner in my good fortune, and be required for the fidelity and kindness which you have shown towards me.”

Sultân Ahmad with his adherents then left Kâlburgah and proceeded towards Telangânî.

When the news of the flight of Sultân Ahmad was noised abroad in the city, Hûshyâr and Bidâr awaking from the sleep of negligence, 50 in a state of perplexity and helplessness waited on the Sultân, and asked permission to pursue Khân Khânân. The Sultân, owing to his near relationship and the bonds of fraternity, was unwilling to do so, and said:—“Wherever Khân Khânân through fear of his life may have hidden himself, it seems best to leave him alone.” The unhappy Hûshyâr and Bidâr having gained over some of the nobles again represented to the Sultân, saying:—The departure of Sultân Ahmad will be the cause of endless rebellion and sedition; it is therefore advisable to send people in pursuit of him, and prevent his assembling a force, and to throw the stone of separation among his adherents, so that the idea of rebellion may not enter his mind; for if he succeeds in collecting a large force it will be difficult to deal with him.”

Since the power of Hûshyâr and the senseless Bidâr 51 had arrived at such a stage that the Sultân had no choice in the matter, he maintained silence. Hûshyâr and Bidâr with thirty elephants and 20,000 horse went in pursuit of Sultân Ahmad, and by doing so, injured the reputation of Firuz and made themselves the butt of the arrows of the accidents of the time.

50 A clever play on words:—

51 Another clever pun:—
For every affair of consequence founded upon deception and treachery inevitably ends in destruction and regret; and the sages have said: — "The most foolish of men are those who awaken sleeping tumult."

Sultān Ahmād had stopped two days in Ni'matābād, when at the middle hour between sun-rise and meridian a cloud of dust arose on the road and a portion of the royal army with the elephants came in view, upon which Sultān Ahmād purposed retracting without offering any opposition; but Khaṭīb Ḥasan went up to him and said:

"To leave the battle-field without a wound is shabby; let his Highness wait a little till his slave exposes himself in battle and strives his utmost."

It fortunately happened that a band of cattle-hirers (mukariān) — called Banjārahs in the dialect of Hindūstān — had halted in the neighbourhood of that place, having with them a great number of bullocks. Sultān Ahmād, on the principle that "War is fraud," having thought of a stratagem, purchased the whole of their bullocks at a high price, and after tying cloths on their horns, arranged a troop of these bullocks facing the enemy, while he himself advanced with 400 well-equipped cavalry. The plan was, fortunately, as successful as he anticipated. A portion of the Sultān’s force, which fell upon the bullocks, at sight of them being completely overcome with terror, stood still and then fell back on the others as Sultān Ahmād and Khaṭīb Ḥasan attacked them. An elephant of mountain-like body and demon-like aspect was foremost in the royalist force; Khaṭīb Ḥasan threw a spear and hit it in the trunk, upon which the elephant turned on its own ground and took to flight, and the royalists seeing this, also turned and fled. Sultān Ahmād pursued them, and the generals seeing that, their only resource was submission, came forward from their troops, and throwing themselves from their horses, respectfully kissed the ground before Sultān Ahmād in token of submission. The Sultān treated them courteously and made them hopeful of his favour. He took possession of all the elephants, horses and baggage of Ḥūshyār and Ḥildār; and those two men — unsuccessful and discomfited like their own fortune — were soon put to death by the troops.

After that, Sultān Ahmād with a large army set out on the march for Kalbūrgah; and at every stage — nay, even at every step — amīr with their horsemen and retinue vied with one another in hastening to pay their respects to him, and were rendered happy by kissing the ground in submission to him, and were enrolled among his adherents.

When the news of the approach of Sultān Ahmād was passed on, the sons and slaves of Sultān Firūz made him nolens volens mount and go out of the city to give him battle. Historians have related that one day Sultān Firūz having collected 7,000 cavalry went out of Kalbūrgah with the intention of fighting Sultān Ahmād, but next day, on investigation, only 3,000 remained, the rest having hastened off to join Sultān Ahmād. When Sultān Firūz saw the state of affairs, abandoning all idea of opposition, he returned to Kalbūrgah, and with the tongue of inspiration uttered these words: — "When my good fortune was in the ascendant, each time that I rode forth from the city such an army used to assemble at my heaven-like court that calculators, through inability, used to abandon the attempt to compute its numbers; but to-day, when fortune has turned against me and the throne of sovereignty has become the prize of another, seven thousand horse become one thousand."

When the news of the return of Sultān Firūz to the city reached Sultān Ahmād, hastening to traverse the intervening distance, he alighted near a place of prayer of Kalbūrgah, and Sultān Firūz sent the salātās and learned men of the state to him with the keys of the fortress.

In an hour’s time Sultān Ahmād of fortunate aspect — like his own auspicious fortune — arrived at the court; and acting in the same ceremonious and respectful manner which had been his former habit, he alighted at his brother’s door, and in his accustomed manner saluted

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22 Chāsht-pūr, breakfast time. 23 i. e., stratagem is necessary in war.
Sultán Firúz who was seated on the royal throne, and then stood in his old place; but Sultán Firúz descended from the throne and caught his brother to his breast, and they wept together for some time. Sultán Ahmad pleading excuses made many apologies, saying: — "This boldness was due to fear of my life." Sultán Firúz said: — "Praise be to God that the sovereignty has fixed its residence in its own house: I have been to blame in that while having a brother such as you, I nominated another for the sovereignty; but since the Creator of the World has willed that it is to remain in our family, I now desire that you should treat your nephew Hasan Khán kindly, and that according to approved usages you should settle Firúsábád upon him and his heirs for ever, and make no change in this arrangement; for it is fitting that the fruit of the friendship which has always existed between me and you should show itself in our posterity."

When Sultán Firúz had finished the expression of his testamentary wishes he took the sword from his waist, and binding it on that of Sultán Ahmad, took him by the arm and seated him on the throne.

Shortly after his abdication Sultán Firúz Sháh died, and this event happened on the 11th Shawwal, A. H. 828 (28th September 1422 A. D.).

As to the cause of the death of this monarch of exalted dignity various accounts are related; but the most authentic is that Shír Khán, son of the Sultán's sister, convinced Sultán Ahmad that the existence of Sultán Firúz would give rise to sedition; and that since it is impossible for two swords to be in one scabbard, so also it is impossible for two kings to exist in one place. Led astray by the arguments of Shír Khán, Sultán Ahmad consented to have Firúz Sháh put to death, and on the date above mentioned he employed some men to strangle him, but God only knows the truth of the matter.

Sultán Firúz was an impetuous monarch, and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and destroying tyranny and heresy, and he took much pleasure in the society of shekhs, learned men and hermits. His reign lasted twenty-five years, seven months and eleven days.

After the death of Sultán Firúz, Sultán Ahmad sent Hasan Khán and all the other sons of the late king, in accordance with his will, to Firúsábád, and assigned that city to them; but in a short time Hasan Khán also bid farewell to this transitory world and joined his illustrious father.\[24\]

Note to Chapter VIII.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sultán Firúz Sháh given in the Taḵkát-ul-Mulâkah.]

Reign of Sultán Firúz Sháh,  
son of Ahmad Khán Bahmani.

He was a good, just, generous and pious king: he supported himself by copying the Kurān, and the ladies of his harem used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling them. As a ruler he was without an equal, and many records of his justice still remain on the page of time. One is a city which he built on the bank of the river Krisna;\[44\] he erected a lofty building in that city, and completed it, and constructed fortifications one farshāh\[56\] in extent round it, made of cut stone; and for a long time he lived in that city in enjoyment and the gratification of his desires. It chanced that at one time heavy rain fell,

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\[44\] According to Firishtah (Briggs, Vol. II., p. 400) Hasan Khán lived till after the death of his uncle, Ahmad Sháh, when he was blinded and kept a prisoner in his palace at Firúsábád.

Here ends the first Ṭabakát of the Būkhan-i Maḥārī.

\[56\] This should be the Bhimā, a branch of the Krisna.

\[44\] 6,000 yards.
and the water of the river overflowed to such an extent that the country round for three or four farsâbhs was flooded, and much damage was caused. In the streets and bâdsâr of the city the water rose so high that the Sultân and his family for seven days and nights had to live in the upper storey of the palace. The fortifications and the city still remain, but that building has not remained: the city is known by the name of Fîrûzâbâd.

He took Bâbâ Kamâl as his spiritual adviser, and became his disciple. Facing his own dome (tomb) another of elaborate construction was built for the saint, and beneath it a reservoir which the Sultân built during his lifetime: the dome and reservoir are still in existence.

The affairs of state, both great and little, he entrusted to Sultân Aḥmad, whilst he himself only attended to his devotions; and Sultân Aḥmad's power being very great in the government he gained over to his side the nobles and ministers and the whole of the army, and meditated opposition to the Sultân.

One day someone informed Sultân Firûz that Sultân Aḥmad was plotting against him, and contemplated carrying him off and becoming king in his place, and advised the Sultân to be on his guard; he only replied: — "What remedy is there against the decrees of Fate? It is certain that he will be king after me."

It is well known that seventy of the troops had mutinied against Sultân Firûz, and he had sentenced them to death, but at the intercession of Sultân Aḥmad their lives were spared and they were promoted. These men joined Sultân Aḥmad in plotting to kill Sultân Firûz. There were many Habshîs in the service of the Sultân as personal attendants: one of these Habshîs who was in charge of the royal wardrobe, used every morning to bring the Sultân's clothes into his private apartments, and dress him. When Sultân Aḥmad's power increased he wished to establish himself in the sovereignty; and deceiving the Habshîs and soldiers by false promises, persuaded them to join him in putting Sultân Firûz to death.

One day Sultân Aḥmad after making elaborate preparations came to the door of Sultân Firûz's palace with the intention of assassinating him. When the sentries saw this they began fighting with the followers of Sultân Aḥmad, and many were killed on both sides. At last the Habshi jâmah-dâr, 87 who was a confidential servant, told the guards that he would go and acquaint the Sultân with the attack of Sultân Aḥmad; but he had previously promised the latter to assassinate the Sultân at the time of the fighting. Watching his opportunity he entered the private apartment of Sultân Firûz, who at the time was engaged in reading the word of God. That unfortunate Habshi killed Sultân Firûz with a dagger, and then informed the people of the fact.

When the troops of the Sultân became aware of the murder, they retired from the fight, and each one hid himself. Some of the nobles raised the eldest son of Sultân Firûz to the throne, but at the same moment Sultân Aḥmad put him to death, and seated himself on the throne.

The duration of the reign of Sultân Firûz was twenty-five years, seven months and twelve days; and the period of the sovereignty of the eight Bahmani kings in the city of Aḥsanâbâd was eighty-two years, five months and eighteen days; but God only knows!

(To be continued.)

87 Keeper of the wardrobe; a servant who hands the clothes to his master.
There was a certain ascetic practising austerities in a forest. An emperor's son, while riding there with his friends and followers and with bows and arrows to shoot at birds, saw a dead snake lying on the ground, and an ascetic close by. "This fellow is performing a great penance," said the prince, and, taking the dead snake, hung it round the neck of the holy man, and moved on. It was the height of the rainy season, and the dead snake got wetter and wetter, became putrid, and thousands of creatures engendered in it. When the sun rose one morning after some days the worms showed themselves to be very active by creeping about the body of the ascetic; and when he scratched his body the discomfort caused thereby was indescribable. Enduring it no longer he opened his eyes and found myriads of worms creeping about his body and a putrid smell emanating therefrom, and the snake though decayed and in pieces still hanging on to him.

"Who put this on to my neck?" said the ascetic, and cursed the man, saying: "May the very same snake bite him, and suck his life's blood."

His penance being thus vitiated, the ascetic went to the river-bank to clean himself and renew it.

Now in the emperor's country his purâhit, his priest and his astrologer, said to him one morning on their usual visit to the palace: "O emperor, your son will be bitten by a snake on such and such a day and at such and such an hour. The prince has disturbed the austerities of an ascetic. The catastrophe cannot be averted, do what we may."

With a heavy heart the emperor heard the prophecy, and, saying within himself, "let us see how this shall come to pass," got the palace thorough: swept and cleaned from the ceiling to the ground, inside and out; and the fissures or chinks in the walls cemented with chunam and the holes of the running drains covered up with masonry, and took every precaution so that no snake should be harboured there, and on the day on which the snake was to bite the prince he had fires burning brightly around the palace, and permitting no egress or ingress even to a bird, waited for the worst. The whole population on the other hand, upon whom a gloom had been cast, poured into the palace-yard with deep sorrow, many wailing and all wishing that the evil hour might pass away without mishap to their emperor's son.

The news of the misfortune that was to happen to the prince on such and such a day and at such and such an hour was not confined to his country, but spread like wild fire in the seventy-six subsidiary kingdoms over which the emperor held sway, and every subject, the high and the low, sympathised with the emperor. And so popular was he that in one of the subject countries a mother said to her son, reputed to be a very great doctor: "You who know so much that every drug yields to you its virtue! You who know so well incantations, messengers from Hanumān1 to the dāityas,2 that every one of them seem to be at your beck and call! The emperor's son is in danger of death by a snake-bite. Will you not go and cure him?"

So saying, she rolled up a bundle containing the remains of the precious evening's food in his hands and bid him go to the capital. As he was going, the snake, in the guise of an old man, was also going there. It entered into conversation with the medicine man and asked: "Where are you going?"

"I am going to cure the king's son, who is going to be bitten by a snake!"

"Can you cure him?"

"Yes, I can."

"Really," interrogated the old man (i.e., the serpent in disguise).

"Yes, or else I shall make a sacrifice of my medical books and incantation books to the fire."

"Well, I am the serpent. I am going to bite the prince. You will see my power."

1 Hanumān is the patron of sorcerers.
2 Dāitya.
So saying the old man went to a bush, and, coming out as a ippakīla, with hood expanding, bit a "green" tree of twelve branches, blossoming with flowers and fruits, when, lo and behold! the tree burned itself up in an instant, the stump only remaining. Seeing this the doctor entered the forest hard by and bringing a leaf in his hand, extracted juice from it and poured it on the remains of the burnt tree, and immediately the tree came to life with its branches, flowers, fruits and all, flourishing as before.

Whereupon the serpent advised the man saying: — "Go by the way you came. Do not curse the prince. He has disturbed the austerities of an anchorite, who in consequence has cursed him. The anchorite's curse should not be made of no-effect."

Hearing which the doctor returned home only to receive his mother's curse for not carrying out her wish.4

Meanwhile, the evil hour drew nigh. An old purīhit of the king, full of years, who had been left at home, desired to see the prince once again and started for the purpose, and while going he saw a fresh lime lying on the path. Going along it he reached the palace and greeted the prince reverentially from behind the fires. The prince returned the greeting, and, seeing the lime in the purīhit's hand, he asked for it. Taking it he smelt it, when at once it became a snake, sticking to his nose with a long tail, and sucking the prince's life's blood. Thus was the anchorite's curse fulfilled, and nothing could avert it. And this is in accordance with the decrees of fate.

No. 13. — The Clever Wife.

There was once a miserly Kömati who used to give a sōr of jouāri every day for making three cakes. Of these he would eat two and a half and leave the rest to his wife, and half a cake is certainly not sufficient to keep any one's body and soul together, so it is not strange that the Kömati's wives, whom he married one after another, left him on the ground of insufficient food.

At last the Kömati got a wife who had a will of her own, and was a fit person to control him, though like the others she used to bake three cakes and place them before her husband. She stood her share of half a cake for three days, but on the fourth day she reserved a cake and a half for herself, and placed the rest before her husband.

"Where's the rest?" said the husband; "fetch it."

"Why?"

"I want it."

She would not bring it, and he refused to eat anything. So she ate all the cakes. The next day also she baked three cakes and entreated her husband to eat his share.

"How many cakes?" said he.

"One and a half."

"Say two and a half."

But she would not, and again ate them all. This went on for three or four days, and the consequence was that the husband became unwell, nearly died, but still remained obstinate.

Then the wife called some of her people and said: — "My husband is dead. Prepare a bier."

They came and prepared the bier, and when they were about to bathe the corpse she went up to it and said: — "Consent now."

"Say two and a half."

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4 The curse stands to this day — medicines showing their effect only in a few cases of snake-bite and failing as a rule.
He would not yield, and the woman on her part remained inexorable. The bathing over the body was placed on the bier and carried it to the cremation ground and placing it there they piled on the stacks of firewood and cowdung cakes, when the wife under the pretence of seeing her husband for the last time said near him and said gently in his ear: — "Now consent and say one and a half."

"No. Say two and a half," retorted he.

The next moment the pile was lit, when the dead man broke loose from the pyre, and exclaimed in a loud distracted tone: — "I consent, I consent. One and a half."

The people were frightened out of their wits, but when they came to know the story they laughed heartily and went to their homes. The miser also returned home with his wife, and henceforward divided the cakes equally.

DEDICATORY NECKLACES.

In the country lying in Lat. 30° 15' N., and Long. 73° 30' E., when a Muhammadan male child is born he is dedicated to Pir-i-Dastagir [Abdu'l Qadir Jillani], for 6, 9, or 12 years. On his completing his first year a silver necklace, somewhat lighter than a Norse torque, is put on his neck, and another is added on the completion of each year up to the termination of the dedication period, when all the necklaces are taken off and presented at the shrine of Pir-i-Dastagir. I have seen children wearing as many as seven of these necklaces, the state of the skin of the neck proving that they had never been taken off. Should the child die the necklaces are reserved for other possible children.

M. Millett in P. N. and Q. 1883.

SOME INDIAN MUSALMAN BIRTH CUSTOMS.

So long as the mother is confined to her bed a barber's wife (madam) cooks the food of the whole family in the presence of the women, and during the seven days of defilement the nurse and her husband supplies the water, and a brother's wife the earthen vessels required. But this last custom exists only in the villages, and does not extend to the large towns and cities. During the whole term of the confinement the Hinduized Musalmans will give nothing away out of the house — not even fire — nor will they allow the house sweepings to be thrown outside, nor is any woman, except one of their own caste, allowed to enter the house.

Gulab Singh in P. N. and Q. 1883.

SOME BIRTH CUSTOM IN BIHAR.

In Bihar, when a child is born whose elder brothers have died, and who is hence called mardak or mardakanded, the navel cord is thrown away. But if he is an ordinary child, whose brothers and sisters are alive, a portion is cut off and buried in the floor of the lying-in-chamber; over it the lying-in-fire, pasangh, is lighted. This fire is kept in all cases burning night and day, till the mother leaves the chamber.

G. A. Grierson in P. N. and Q. 1883.

KHWAJA KHIZAR AND HIS AFFINITIES.

WANTED: the various names of this god of the floods. The common ones are Khawjâ Khizar, identified with Ilyâs (Elias); Khawjâ Khâsâ; Durmindr; Dumindo; Jindâ Pir. See Trumpp, Adi Granth, xxiv. — Compare also the Russian myth of the Vodyanny or water-spirit being mixed up with Ilyâ (Elijah), who Ralston says, Songs of the Russian People, 2nd ed., p. 152, is properly Perun, the Slavonic Thunder God.

R. C. Temple.

CEREMONIAL COLORS.

Are there any instances known among the non-Aryan tribes of India or Burma of particular colors being associated with the various directions or points of the compass? The colors may be used in ceremonials, or may be referred to in myth or story, as in the case of Mt. Meru in Aryan mythology with its four sides of different colors.

If so, what reasons, if any, are given for the selection of the colors? And what is the general symbolic significance of the colors so used? If, for example, red is used as symbolic of some point of the compass, is red in its general symbolism connected with heat, or with war, or with anything else?

If green, blue or black are used symbolically of any of the directions, do the people have any knowledge of the sea; and what color do they use in describing it?
The foregoing queries are printed in hopes that a considerable body of material may be found to exist in various parts of Southern Asia in regard to this interesting branch of symbolism, the study of which in America has brought to light some curious points, which, however, require corroborative evidence from other parts of the world before they can be regarded as settled. The Chinese, Corean, and Japanese symbolism has been often recorded, as has that of the Vedas and Buddhism, but no material seems to be available from the many other peoples in Southern Asia.

Roland B. Dixon.

Calico and Muslin.

Here is a contribution of some importance to the history of both these Indo-European words. Cf. Yule, Robson-Jobson, s. vv.

1775. "N. B.—Calicoes, commonly called Muslins, or white Calicoes, are to pay, besides the above duty, 15 per Cent. to be computed according to the Gross Value of the Sale."—Stevens, Guide to the East India Trade, p. 120.

R. C. Temple.

Calambac.

Here are two good quotations in addition to those given by Yule, s. v.


1813. "Lignum Aloes, Agallochum or Calambar is the wood of a tree growing in some parts of the Malay Peninsula, Cochin China, etc. It is described as resembling an olive, and the wood being so much esteemed among the Asiatics is carefully watched. The trunk is of three colours, and distinguished by different names in commerce, viz., . . . . III. Calambac is the heart, or centre part of the tree, and is the wood so much esteemed in all parts of India . . . . It should have an agreeable fragrant smell and a bitter aromatic taste . . . . The true Calambac is generally in flat bits . . . . This wood [Eagle Wood.—R. C. T.] is never brought to Europe, being of little value."—Milburn, Commerce, II., p. 312 f.

R. C. Temple.

Bitt.

Here is a contribution towards the spread of this obscure nautical term.

1885. "The fourth [Beam] taken quite out and a new one put[t] in its place to secure the Bittins."—Report on the repairs necessary to "the Pink John and Mary." 7th July, 1635, in Pringle’s Madras Consultations for 1885, p. 96. To this Mr. Pringle’s note is: "Bittins, ‘two upright pieces of oak, called Bittins when the bits are large, or Knees when the bits are small.’ The word is in several European languages, but its origin is unknown." (p. 192).


There is no doubt then that the lascar’s form of the word has been borrowed from the Portuguese.

R. C. Temple.

Some Rustic Divisions of Time and Measurements.

Here are some instances.

Jhallángi and waddé velí, early in the morning.
Airon ghniroin, and ghussá musad, twilight.
Sarýt velid, an hour before dawn (Musalman).

Should not bhatá velid be just before noon? Is not baddé for nikdá? Similarly I think landá velid should be lahudd velid.

It may be stated generally that in the absence of clocks the peasant notes the time of day by reference to the position of the sun, or the time for feeding, or other daily habits. The hungry man’s stomach serves him for a watch; e.g., he will say "the sun has risen a reed’s height in the sky," or "the sun was in and out" (din andar bhker thá) — i.e., was just rising, or "din dhallíd hoid, the sun had begun to wester," or "din leh píd, the sun had set." Again, at night he refers to the position of the stars, their appearance, etc. Other expressions are "danght shám hogal, the evening (shades) had deepened," or "what time were we getting the second pair of bullocks to the well," or "what time we began to plough," or "when the lights (diwád) were being lit," or "some were in bed and some not," and so on.

In measuring space a peasant will say "as far as the voice can carry" (sadd paindd), or "as far as a musket ball will go," rather than use artificial measurements. Asked the depth of a well, he will say so many scores of pots (tind, the earthen pots of a Persian wheel) to reach the water.

Similarly the time of year is "the hot or cold or rainy weather," or is noted by the state of the crops more readily than by a specified month. The clout of the Panjáb keeps his shepherd’s calendar.

R. W. Trafford in P. N. and Q. 188 3.
A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, AS APPLIED TO A GROUP OF SAVAGE LANGUAGES.¹

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

IN reviewing lately for the Royal Asiatic Society Mr. Portman’s Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes, I pointed out that he had used a pamphlet of my own, privately printed in 1883, entitled “A Brief Exposition of a Theory of Universal Grammar,” which was specially designed to meet the very difficulties he had to face in giving a general idea of languages constructed on lines at first sight very different from those on whose structure modern European Grammar is based.

I also pointed out that the pamphlet in question arose out of the practical impossibility of using the usual inflexional system of Grammar, as taught in Europe, for the accurate description of a group of agglutinative languages, and that it had its immediate origin in the criticisms of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, public and private, on an old work of 1877 and certain MSS. by myself and Mr. E. H. Man on the Andamanese speech. Mr. Ellis explained that in order to adequately represent for scientific readers such a form of speech as the Andamanese, “we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bind an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation,” and he asked me accordingly if it were not possible “to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language.” This, and the further consideration that since every human being speaks-with but the one object of communicating his own intelligence to other human beings, the several possible ways of doing this must be based on some general laws applicable to them all, if only one could find them out, led me to make the attempt to construct a general theory on logical principles, which should abandon the inflexional treatment, its conceptions and its terms.

Such an attempt involved a wide departure from orthodox grammatical teaching, and I found that Mr. Portman, while adopting the theory, had been unable to clear himself of the teaching in which he had been brought up, and had consequently produced a work which was a compromise between the two. His laborious and praiseworthy efforts to adequately represent the Andamanese languages had failed in point of clearness, and my theory was not properly represented in his pages. I have therefore determined to revert again to the subject, and to give a more extended view of the theory than was then possible.

With these few introductory remarks I will proceed at once with my subject, commencing with a general statement of the argumentation on which the theory is based, testing it as a method of clearly presenting a savage group of tongues constructed after the fashion of the Andamanese by an explanation thereby of the linguistic contents of an entire story, as given by Mr. Portman, vis., The Andaman Fire Legend, and concluding by a skeleton statement of the theory itself.

Premising that I am talking of the conditions of sixteen years ago, I found myself, in building up the theory, compelled, in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars ended, vis., at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making that the unit of language. Clearly, then, a sentence may consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or ‘words,’ which I defined as single expressions of a meaning. It can also consist of two separate parts—the subject, i.e., the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, i.e., the discussion or communication. And when the subject or predicate consists of many words it must contain principal and additional words.

This leads to the argument that the components of a sentence are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part of principal

¹ From J. R. A. S., 1899.
and subordinate. Therefore, because of such relation, words fulfil functions. The functions of the principal words are to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words to illustrate the predicate, or to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by complementary words, which form that part of a sentence recognized in the Grammars as the object.

This completes the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms; but speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a purpose, and the function of sentences is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the following in any specified sentence: — (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information.

Now, purpose can be indicated in a sentence by the position of its components, by variation of their forms, or by the addition of special introductory words. Also, connected purposes can be indicated by connected sentences, placed in the relation to each other of principal and subordinate, which relation can be expressed by the position of the sentences themselves, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of special words of reference. And a word of reference can act in two ways, either by merely joining sentences, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Further, the inter-relation of the words in a sentence can be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form.

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of elliptical, i.e., incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses, and periods. But to keep our minds fixed for the present only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word is either —

(1) An integer, or a sentence in itself.
(2) An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence.
(3) An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
(4) A predicator, or indicative of its predicate.
(5) An illustrator, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
(6) A connecter, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words).
(7) An introducer, or explanatory of its purpose.
(8) A referent conjunctur, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.
(9) A referent substitute, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

These, then, are the terms I concocted and the arguments out of which they grew. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is syntax, and I will now explain why I consider that it is far more important to study function than form as essential to the correct apprehension of words, and how to my mind occurrence arises properly out of syntax and not the other way round, as we have all been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes
as there are functions which it can fulfil. The functions a word fulfils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein without or with variation of form, and, because of this, the form which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating the class to which it belongs for the nonce. It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms, i.e., the words, so connected being that of parent and offshoot. Form, therefore, can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong.

This is the induction that leads me to argue that form grows out of function, or, to put it in the familiar way, accident comes out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes.

Thus it is that the affixes determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called etymology or derivation. They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognized methods of prefixing, infixing, and suffixing, either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about inflexion in all its variety of kind.

Such is the line which I have long thought inductive argument should take, in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man, expressed through the ear by talking, through the eye by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech.

The grammar, i.e., the exposition of the laws, of any single language seems to me to stop at this point, and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of Comparative Grammar. In doing so one must start at the same point as before, viz., the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, i.e., of a language.

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position or forms or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, words are the components of sentences, and languages are varieties of speech, languages can vary in the forms of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created classes of languages. Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their forms, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words.
Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) pre-mutative, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intro-mutative, or those that infix them; and (3) post-mutative, or those that suffix them.

Thus does it seem to me that the inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, i.e., by languages. But as is the case with every other natural growth, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of connected languages, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective forms and positions, but not the meanings, of their words. And since the variation of form is effected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its genius or peculiar constitution, i.e., it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others.

I have always thought, and I believe it could be proved, that every language must conform to some part or other of the theory above indicated in outline, and in that case the theory would be truly what I have ventured to call it — "A Theory of Universal Grammar." That such a theory exists in nature and only awaits unearthing, I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by 'teaching,' acts on an instinctive assumption of its existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its rules of grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book knowledge of the language, which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from and inferior to the practical or true knowledge. I use the term 'true' here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

But it seems to me that if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by the untutored man, and to do no violence to what he feels to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge — between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye — would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages would consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly, and more easily learned, both by children and adults, than is now practicable. Looked at thus, the matter becomes one of the greatest practical importance.

This is what I have attempted to achieve in stating my theory; but, assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it will be observed that it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many accepted definitions, and, while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details. Taken all round, it is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. Hence the interest that Mr. Portman's efforts possess for myself.
But, as I have already pointed out in my review of his book, he has not strictly applied
the theory, and has mixed it up in his application with the accepted teaching. I will therefore
now put it to the test in my own way, using for the purpose Mr. Portman’s sixth chapter on
“The Andaman Fire Legend,” which he gives in all the five languages of the South Andaman
group.

The story is in each case a very short one, and is given by Mr. Portman as follows: —

THE ANDAMAN FIRE LEGEND.

Aka-Bead Language.

Interlined Text.

Taul-l’oko-tima — len Puluga — la mami — ka | Lurutut — la chapa tap — nga omo —
(a Place) — in God asleep — was | (a Bird) fire steal — ing bring —
re | chapa — la Puluga — la pugat — ka | Puluga — la boi — ka | Puluga —
did | fire God burning — was | God awake — was | God
la chapa eni — ka | a ik chapa — lik Lurutut lot — pugari — re | jek
fire seizing — was | he taking fire — by (Bird) burn — t | at-once
Lurutut — la eni — ka | a i — Tar-cheker lot — pugari — re | Wota-Emi — baraij —
(Bird) taking — was | he (a Bird) burn — t | Wota-Emi — village —
len Chaoga-tabanga oko — dal — re | Tomolola |
in The-ancestors made — fires | Tomolola |

Mr. Portman’s Rendering.

God was sleeping at Taul-l’oko-tima. Lurutut came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God
God woke up. God seized the fire; He took the fire and burnt Lurutut with it. Then
Lurutut took (the fire); he burnt Tar-cheker in Wota-Emi village, (where then) the Ancestors
lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tomola.

Akar-Bale Language.

Interlined Text.

Dim-Daura — le rita — Keri-l’ong-tauwer — te Puluga l’i toago chopa l’ —
(a Man) long-ago (a Place) — by God his platform fire
omo — kate | ong ik | akat-paura puguru — t l’ — a — re | Bolub ka Tarkaur
bringing was | he taking all-men burn — t did — (a Man) and (a Man)
ka Bilichau ongot oto — jurungeru — t — ia | ongat at — yanakat mo — nga |
and (A man) they in-the-sea-wen — t — did | they fish become — ing —
ongot oaro — tichal-ena — te Rokwa-l’ar-tonga-baraij — a oko — dal — nga l’ — a — re-
they carry-taking — by (a Place) — village-in fire-making di — d.

Mr. Portman’s Rendering.

Dim-Daura, a very long time ago, at Keri-l’ong-tauwer, was bringing fire from God’s
platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkaur and Bilichau
fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l’ar-tonga village and made
fires there.

Puchikwar Language.

Interlined Text.

Taul-l’oko-tim — an Bilik l’ong — pat — ye | Lurutut | l’ong at ab — lechi — nga |
(a Place) — in God sleep — did | (a Bird) he fire bring — ing |
Lurutut l’ong — di — ye | kota ong Bilik l’ab — biki — ye | kota Bilik l’ong — konyi —
(a Bird) seis — ed | then he God burn — t | then God awaken —
Mr. Portman's Rendering.

God was sleeping in Taul-l’oko-tima. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarchal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wauta-Emi.

AWUKAU-JUWOI LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Kuro-t’om-mik — a Mom Mirit — la | Bilik l’aukau — ema — t | pekar at — lo
(a Place) — in Mr. Pigeon | God slept — t | wood fire — with
(top — chike | at laiche Lech — lin a | kotak a anko — kodak — chine at — lo
stealing — was | fire the-late (a Man) — to he | then he fire-make — did fire-with
Karat-tatak-emi — in |
(a Place) — at |

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-t’om-mika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

KOL LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Taual-l’oko-tima — en Bilik — la pat — ke | Luratut — la oko-Emi — t at kek — an |
(a Place) — in God asleep — was | (a Bird) (a Place) — in fire too — k
Kaulotat — ke | lin l’ — a — chol — an Min-tong-ta — kete | Min-tong-ta — kete-lak l’-ir
(a Man) — was | by (he) — wen — t | (a Place) — to — by (it)
—bil — an | Kaulotat l’ir — pin l’ir — dank — an | k’irim — kundai — an |
—out-wen — t | (a Man) charcoal break — did | fire-make — did |
n’a n’ofam — tepur — an | at — ke n’ote — tepur — an | Min-tong-tauk —
they alive — became | fire — by (they) — alive — became | (a Place) —
pauroieh — in Jangil | n’a loko — kundai — an |
village — in ancestors | they fire-make — did |

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

God was sleeping at Taul-l’oko-tima. Luratut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Kaulotat went to Min-tong-ta, (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Kaulotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tauk village.

In making an analysis of the language in which the above story is couched, it is at first all plain sailing, and it will be seen at a glance from any of these sentences that the Andamanese sentence is the expression of a complete meaning, capable at once of being divided into subject and predicate. This can be seen as under, making S. mean that the word is in the subjective, and P. that it is in the predicative, part of the sentence.
Aka Beada.


Akar-Bale.

Dim-Daurale (S.) rita (P.) Keri-l'ong tawwar-te (P.) Puluga (P.) l'i (P.) too-ga (P.) choapa (P.) l'omokate (P.). Ong (S.) ik (S.) akat-pauru (P.) pugurut-l'are (P.). Bolub (S.) ka (S.) Tarkaar (S.) ka (S.) Bilichau (S.) (P. wanting). Ongot (S.) otojurugmutia (P.). Ongot (S.) atyankat (P.) monga (P.). Ongot (S.) oasotichal-enat-te (S.) Rokwa-l'ar-tonga (P.) baraij-len (P.) oko-dal-nga-l'are (P.).

Puchikwar.


Aukau-Juwol.


The whole narration in this language is extremely elliptical, and what Mr. Portman defines as the first phrase seems to me to be three elliptical sentences.

Kol.


There are instances in these languages of combining the subject and predicate in one expression, which are an indication of grammatical growth. E. g., Kaulotat-ke is really an indicator (noun) with a predicative (verbal) suffix, and signifies some such expression as: 'Now, there was one Kaulotat.' In m'ote-tepuran we have the subject and predicate again combined into one expression — n' (they) -ote-tepuran (became alive).

The next point for consideration, viz., that the components of the sentences are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative parts of it, having a relation to each other in that part, needs no special illustration, and one may pass on to the functions of the words, using the abbreviations given below in the illustrations exhibited. To make these clear to the reader, I will recapitulate the explanations given in the Theory.

Functionally a word is either —

1. An integer, or a sentence in itself. Int. (Interjection, vocative, etc.)
2. An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence. In. (Noun.)
3. An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement. E. (Adjective.)
(4) A predicator, or indicative of its predicate. P. (Verb.)

(5) An illustrator, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement. Ill. (Adverb.)

(6) A connector, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words). C. (Conjunctions, pre- and post-positions, etc.)

(7) An introducer, or explanatory of its purpose. Intd. (Conjunctions.)

(8) A referent conjunctur, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them. E. C. (Relative adverbs, pronouns, etc.)

(9) A referent substitute, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. R. S. (Pronouns.)

By 'complement' is meant the 'object,' and hence the indicators, explicators, and illustrators belonging to the 'objective' or complementary part of the sentence are marked as 'complementary indicators, etc.' thus: C. Ind., C. E., C. Ill.

The various sentences in the Legonds can therefore be analyzed as follows:—

**Aka-Beada.**


**Aka-Bale.**

Dim-Daurale (In.) rita (Ill.) Keril’ongtawerte (Ill.) Pulugula-(In.) -l’- (C.) -toang- (In.) (E. phrase) choapa (C. In.) l’omokate (P.). Ong (R. S.) ik (E.) akatpana (C. In.) pugurat-(P.) -l’- (C.) -are (P. phrase). Bolub (In.) ka (C.) Tarkar (In.) ka (C.) Biliichau (In., P. wanting). Ongot (R. S.) otojurumutia (P.). Ongot (R. S.) ayankat (C. In.) monga (P.). Ongot (R. S.) oaritialch-enate (E.) Rokwalt’artonga-baroi (Ill.) okodaluga-(P.) -l’- (C.) -are (P. phrase).

**Puchikwar.**


**Akuau-Jewo.**

Karot’onmika (Ill.) Mom (E.) Miritala (In., P. wanting). Bilik (In.) l’anakanemat (P.). (In. wanting) pekar (C. In.) atlo (C. Ill.) topchike (P.). At (C. In.) laiche- (E.) -Lech- (In.) -lin (Ill. phrase) a (R. S., P. wanting). Kotak (R. C.) a (R. S.) aukokodalchine (P.) atlo (Ill.) Karattatak-Emi-in (Ill.).

**Kol.**

Taull’okotimen (Ill.) Bilikla (In.) patke (P.). Lurratula (In.) Oko-Emit (Ill.) at (C. In.) kekan (P.). Kaulatat- (In.) -ke- (P., the whole expression being an Integer), Lin (Ill.) l’- (R. S.) -scholan- (P. P. phrase) Mintongtakete (Ill.). Mintongtaktelak (Ill.) l’- (R. S.) -irbilan (P. P. phrase). Kaulatat (In.) l’irpin (C. In.) l’irdauken (P.). (In. wanting)

The above method of syntactical analysis shows that all the languages arrive at a complete meaning, i. e., construct their sentences, in precisely the same way. In other words, they are all the outcome of the same habit of thought. It shows further, that that habit of thought is the simplest possible. Complications or extensions of ideas rarely arise, and then only in the most direct form. E. g., Puluga-l’t-toago-choapa (God’s-platform-fire, i. e., the fire from God’s platform) and Ongot atyaikut monga, ongot oorotichal-enato Rokwa-laartonga-barojja okodalnga-tare (they fish becoming, they carrying-taking-by Rokwa-laartonga-village-in fire-lighting-did, i. e., they became fish and taking (the fire) to the village of Rokwa-laartonga lit a fire). The only signs of old habit or use in the languages are the frequent ellipses, indicating familiarity with them. The analysis also shows the languages to be purely colloquial, and therefore to have never been subjected to the modifications necessary when communication by signs, i. e., by writing, is resorted to. In short, the analysis seems to prove that the languages are the outcome of minds capable of but a very limited range of thought. Here, then, is one measure of the “Universal Theory” as a working hypothesis.

Leaving the syntax here and passing on to the accident in accordance with the Theory, it will be best to state for the sake of brevity of exposition, that an analysis of the words composing the Andamanese sentences shows that all the languages are agglutinative; i. e., the words are formed by means of affixes to roots and stems without alteration of the radical forms of the affixes. It will also show, that, like all other languages, they have not developed solely on one principle, and that rudiments of synthesis, or the attachment of affixes to roots and stems with alteration of form, are also present.

Andamanese words are, therefore, as a rule, easily dismembered, and further examination will show that all the forms of affixes, i. e., prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, are present in them by agglutination. The use of the infixes is to modify the root or stem, and so they are what I have called radical affixes. The use of the prefixes is principally as radical affixes, but also to indicate the functions of the words or their relation to other words. They can, therefore, also be functional affixes. The use of the suffixes is likewise twofold: as functional affixes, or to indicate the inherent qualities of the words, i. e., to show which class they belong to. They are, therefore, either functional or qualitative affixes.

With this preliminary information let us set to work to analyse the words in the Legend, omitting proper names for the present, and presuming that in the following analysis R. = Root, S. = Stem, P. F. = Functional prefix, P. R. = Radical prefix, I. = Infix, S. F. = Functional suffix, S. Q. = Qualitative suffix.

**Akad-Beda.**

(1) Mami (R.) — ka (S. Q.). So also pugat — ka: boi — ka: sleep(ing) — was emi — ka.

(2) Chapa (R.).
fire

(3) Tap (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
steal — ing

(4) Omo (R.) — ro (S. Q.).
bring — did

(5) Chapa (R.) — la (S. Q.).
fire — (hon. suf.)

(6) A (R.).
he
(7) Iko (R.),
taking
(8) Chapa (R.) — lik (S. F.).
fire — by
(9) L' (P. F.) — ot (P. R.) — pugari (R. or S.) — re (S. Q.).
(ref. pref.) — burn — t
(10) Jek (R.),
at-once
(11) Baraj (R. or S.) — len. (S. F.).
village — in
(12) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — re (S. Q.).
— fire (light) — did.

Akara-balak.

(1) Rita (R. or S.).
very-long-ago.
(2) L' (P. F.) — i (R.).
(ref. pref.) — he (ref. subst.) — his
(3) Toago (R. or S.).
platform
(4) Chapa (R.).
fire
(ref. pref.) — bring — was.
(6) Ong (R.).
ho
(7) Iko (R.),
taking
(8) Akat (P. R.) — paura (R. or S.).
all (men)
(9) Pugura (S.) — t (S. Q.).
burn — t
(10) L' (P. F.) — a (R.) — re (S. Q.).
(ref. pref.) — di — d
(11) Ka (R.).
and
(12) Ongot (S.).
they
(13) Oto (P. R.) — jurugmu (S.) — t (S. Q.) — ia (S. F.).
sea-wen — t — was
(14) Aal (P. R.) — yaukat (S.).
fish.
(15) Oaro (S.) + tichal (S.) + ena (R.) — te (S. Q.).
carry + hand + take — did — carried
(16) Baroj (R. or S.) — a (S. F.).
village — in
(17) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
      fire (light) — ing.

      Puchikwar.

(1) L' (P. F.) — ong (R.).
       (ref. pref.) — he

       slcp — t

(3) At (R.).
      fire

(4) Ab (P. R.) — lechi (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
       bring — ing

(5) Kota (R. or S.).
       then

(6) Ong (R.).
       he

(7) E (R.).
       then

(8) L' (P. F.) — oto (P. R.) — toichu (S.) — nga (S. Q.).
       (he) with-fire-hit — ting.
       with-fire-hit-did.
       Cf. Poto-toichu-ye, (he)

(9) Kol (R.).
      again

(10) Da (R.) — nga (S. Q.).
       giv — ing

(11) Ota (R.).
       then

(12) N' (P. F.) — ong (R.).
       (plu. ref. pref.) — he — they

(13) O (P. R.) — kadak (R. or S.) — nga (S. Q.).
       fire-mak — ing.

      Aumau-Juwoi.

(1) Mom (R.).
      Mr.

(2) L' (P. F.) — aukan (P. R.) — ema (R.) — t (S. Q.).
       (he) — slcp — t

(3) Peakar (S.).
      wood

(4) At (R.) — lo (S. F.).
      fire — with

(5) Top (R.) — chike (S. Q.).
      steal — was

(6) Laihe (S.).
      Deceased
(7) A (R.)
   he
(8) Kotak (S.)
   then
(9) Auko (P. R.) — kodak (S.) — chine (S. Q.)
   fire-make — did.

Kol.
(1) Pat (R.) — ke (S. Q.)
   sleep — was
(2) Kaulotat (S.) — ke (S. Q.)
   (male-name) — was
   To use the current grammatical terminology, this is
   a most interesting instance of a verbal termination to a noun.
(3) At (R.)
   fire
(4) Kek (R.) — an (S. Q.)
   take — did
(5) Lin (R.)
   by
(6) L’ (P. F.) — a (P. R.) — chol (R.) — an (S. Q.)
   (he) — wen — t
(7) L’ (P. F.) — ir (P. R.) — bil (R.) — an (S. Q.)
   (it) out-wen — t
(8) L’ (P. F.) — ir (P. R.) — pin (R.)
   (he) charcoal-(getting)
(9) L’ (P. F.) — ir (P. R.) — dauk (R.) — an (S. Q.)
   (he) break — did
(10) K’ (P. F. or P. R.) — irim (P. R.) — kau dak (S.) — an (S. Q.)
    fire-make — did
(11) N’ (P. F.)
    — a (R.)
    (plu. ref. pref.) — he = they
(12) N’ (P. F.) — otam (P. R.) — tepur (S.) — an (S. Q.)
    (they) — kindle — d
    Cf. n’ote-tepur—an, they-kindled.
(13) At (R.) — ke (S. F.)
    fire — by
(14) Pauroich (S.) — in (S. F.)
    village — in
(15) L’ (P. F.) — oko (P. R.) — kau dak (S.) — an (S. Q.)
    (he) — fire-make — did.

Now the above mode of verbal analysis shows how few of the possible ‘parts of speech’
these Tribes require to use in order to express the ideas contained in a complete narration, how
very simple is the mental mechanism employed, how extremely limited the development of the
ideas when started. It shows that we are, in fact, dealing here with savage languages.
Here, then, is another measure of the “Universal Theory” as a working hypothesis.

(To be continued.)
HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

(Founded on the Burkhân-i Ma'dir.)

BY J. S. KING, M.B.A.S.

(Continued from p. 192.)

CHAPTER IX.

Tabâkah II.

Account of the Bahmani Rulers of the Dakhân whose capital was Biddâr.

The period of their rule, which began on the 5th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (22nd September, A. D. 1422) and ended on the 18th Shawâbân, A. H. 926 (4th August, A. D. 1520) was one hundred and one years, two months and eleven days. 54

Reign of Abû-l-Ghâzî Sultan Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Khân, son of Sultan 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Hasan Shah Bahmani. 55

On the date already mentioned Sultan Ahmad Shah took his seat on the royal throne of Kalbûrgâ, assuming the above-mentioned excellent titles. The great men and saiîdûs, the sheikhs, learned men, nobles and grandees plighted their fealty to the Sultan, rubbing the forehead of profound reverence on the dust of humility, and were eager and eloquent in their congratulations and praises. The Sultan distinguished them all with ungrudging favours, and they obtained honours and rewards. The nobles who had suffered much from the ascendency of the worthless Hûshâyûr and Biddâr gave thanks night and day, and cheerfully submitted to the Sultan’s irresistible mandates: the army and all the subjects, from the copiousness of their sovereign’s liberality and justice were happy and free from oppression.

Sultan Ahmad Shah had seven sons, and on the elder ones he bestowed special tokens of affection. The eldest of his sons, who was Ǧâfar Khân, he honoured with the title of Khân Khânân; to another he gave the title of Maḥmûd Khân, and to another that of Muḥhammad Khân; and Khâlîf Hasan, the cream of sincerity, fidelity and bravery, received many marks of favour and kindness, and was distinguished by the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr (king of the merchants).

In the midst of these affairs the bird of the spirit of Saiyid Muḥammad GâsÎ-derâs took flight to the realms of bliss. May the Most High God hallow his grave. 56

Sultan Ahmad Shah, who took great pleasure in the society of sheikhs and holy men, and had himself attained a high degree of perfection in the external sciences, did not put much faith in the sheikhs of the Dakhân; but having heard that there resided in the city of Kirmân a most eminent saint named Shâh Nîmat-u-Likh, celebrated for his miracles and his profound knowledge, the Sultan therefore ordered Sheik Khîṣân — who was one of the disciples of that saint — in conjunction with Kâṣî Mîsad Nûlkhîlî — who was the tutor of Prince Maḥmûd Khân — and Malik-ṣâb-Shârkh Kâlânî Khar, with innumerable presents, to go to the saint and implore his blessing. They accordingly set out for Kirmân, and paid their respects to the saint, and from the blessing of his holy utterances having obtained their desires, returned, taking with them the cap of discipleship and the garment of approval for Sultan Ahmad Shah. When the news of their arrival reached the Sultan he ordered a châbûtûrah to be erected at Antûr, 50 which is distant one stage from Kalbûrgâ, and the Sultan went out on a pilgrimage to that place, and there received the garment and cap of the incomparable saint.

54 In this period the author includes the reign of Ahmad II., the nominal successor of Sultan Maḥmûd; but he gives no account of his reign, because the dynasty practically expired on the death of Maḥmûd.

55 This is widely different from Sultan Ahmad’s genealogy as given by Firishtâh.

56 He died — as already stated — on the 16th of Zhul-Ḥadîth, A. H. 925 (1st November, A. D. 1422).

50 Attûr — between Kalbûrgâ and Aṣalpur.
In the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June, 1423, A. D.) the Sultan with the princes, nobles and ministers and all his retinue marched from Kalburgh towards the city of Bidar, and established the seat of government in that excellent city, where the face of the earth from the multitude of flowers and odoriferous herbs, adorned and coloured like the floor of the sky, resembled a peacock’s tail; while its buildings in loftiness rivalled the heavens, and in elegance equalled the palaces of paradise; and the splendour of its ramparts and the lustre of its walls made the people independent of the rays of the sun.

Also in this year the Sultan cultivated friendly relations with (Mirán) Mubarak Khan Farúqí, who was the Wāli of the country of Agra and Burhanpur, and to strengthen its foundations by a union of the families, asked his daughter in marriage for Prince Zafar Khan. The Sultan gave a magnificent entertainment on the occasion of the marriage, the city of Bidar was elaborately decorated and pleasure and joy were universal.

Sultan Ahmad Shah wages war against the rebellious and idolatrous people in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

The Sultan being then resolved to wage war against the infidels, led his army into the mountainous country, and the inhabitants being unable to oppose him fled into the interior, hiding themselves and their goods in the recesses of the mountains, where the royal troops pursued them, slaughtering and plundering as they went. The Sultan destroyed their temples and places of worship, erecting masjids in their place. From there the Sultan turned towards Marmat and put to the sword the inhabitants of that district also, and plundered and devastated the country. He then returned to the capital and busied himself in the affairs of government.

After a short time the idea of eradicating idolatry again entered his mind and he ordered an army to be assembled. Accordingly such an army presented itself before the door of the court that the master-master was unequal to the task of computing its numbers. With this army the Sultan marched from his capital and proceeded against the country of Tilang (Telinganâ). When the report of his approach reached the infidels of that country, washing their hands of life, they crept into their forts and bye-paths. The Sultan penetrated to the farthest limits of Tilang (Telinganâ) and took the fortresses of Mandal and Warangal which are among the principal forts of that country. He devastated the whole country and levelled the idol-temples with the ground, plundered the dwelling-places and freed the face of the earth from the impurity of the existence of the troops of devils and accursed infidels. The Râyas of Devarkoṇḍâ and Râkoṇḍâ being afraid to meet the attack of the victorious army, sent to the Sultan ambassadors understanding the language and tendered their submission, and sending numerous and valuable presents to the court, agreed to pay tribute. The Sultan showed them mercy and returned to the seat of government, Muḥammadabâd Bidar (sic), where he spen his time in administering justice and building cities and towns.

A year afterwards he conceived the idea of taking the fortress of Māhr which is one of the greatest and strongest forts of the kingdom of the Dakhan. Accordingly with a large army he marched towards the above-mentioned fortress. The army seized the country surrounding it, and making the fortress the centre of a circle, slaughtered and pillaged all round, and burned the harvest of life of the infidels of that country; and sweeping with the broom of plunder the permanent homes of the idols, seized whatever moveable and immovable effects they could lay their hands upon.

After the siege had continued a long time the Sultan thought it advisable to return to the capital, and in the following year, after the troops had rested and the cavalry horses become

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61 It is not stated what part of the country this was.
62 Not identified.
63 Not identified. Possibly Aigandal or Malangur is meant, both N.-W. of Warangal.
fat, to make a rapid plundering expedition against the people of that fortress: accordingly he marched back to Muḥammadabād Bidar (sic).

After the lapse of a year the idea of eradicating the heretics again entered the mind of the Sultān, and he determined upon a jiẖād; so, with a large army he set out on the march for the fort of Māḥūr. The infidels of those parts having shut themselves up in the narrow parts of the fortress closed upon themselves the doors of ingress and egress.

The Sultān ordered his troops from all sides of the fortress to strive their utmost to take it by assault. According to his orders the brave troops with bows and arrows, swords and spears fought bravely, and by the help of God and the good fortune of Aḥmad, the troops by the strength of their manly arms took the fortress, one so strong that no king had previously been able to conquer it; and opening their hands to slaughter and plunder, swept the whole fort with the broom of spoliation.

From that place the Sultān hasted to the fort of Kalam which he took by one gallant assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword. So in one expedition the Sultān took two forts which no king had ever before been able to conquer. He levelled with the ground all the idol-temples and infidel buildings of that country, erecting in their places masjīds and monasteries of the true believers, and after that returned to Bidar with immense booty.

After these victories the Sultān despatched Khalf Ḩasan — who had been given the title of Malik-ut-Tijār — with an army of brave and experienced men to the Kökkan. Khalf Ḩasan went into the country of Kökkan and the sea-coast, and extirpated root and branch the dwelling-places of the infidels, and in whatever direction he heard of any infidels, he proceeded against them, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence; till having taken many forts and towns of that country he greatly enhanced his reputation. The Sultān’s regard for him daily increased, and he loaded him with favours; but this excited the jealousy of the people of the Dakhān, and they were always at enmity with him; yet, owing to Khalf Ḩasan’s past services and the Sultān’s favour, as proved by the daily increasing good fortune, of the former, they had no power to injure him.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultān conceived the idea of exterminating the infidels of the country of Vijayānagar; and with this view he assembled an army. When the splendour of the royal, victory-denoting standard threw the rays of conquest round the kingdom of Vijayānagar, and cleared up that tract of country from the darkness of error and infidelity, the brave soldiers of the conquering army, opening the hand of domination and lordship to slaughter and plunder, took many of the forts and towns of that district, and an enormous amount of booty, prisoners of war, horses and elephants. After devastating the country of the infidels far and wide the Sultān returned to his capital, Muḥammadabād Bidar.

At this time a petition reached the Sultān from Narsing Rāya, governor of the fort of Khērīā, expressing his obedience and submission, and asking the Sultān to come to his assistance.

The Sultān goes to the fort of Khērīā.

Battle between Alp Khān, governor of Mālwā and the royal army.

Alp Khān is defeated.

When the Sultān became aware of the contents of Narsing Rāya’s letter he gave orders that an army should be assembled, and that from all parts of his dominions the nobles, ministers and generals with their followers should proceed to the royal court. The Sultān with a large army then set out for Khērīā; but when he had encamped in that neighbourhood he was informed that Narsing Rāya had broken faith with him, and joining himself to Alp Khān who at that time was Wālī of the country of Mālwā, had asked for his assistance, promising...
him a lakh of rupees (aikka) if he would come to his frontiers: and Alp Khan, forgetting the rights of Islam and good faith, proceeded to the assistance of those villains.

When Alp Khan with a large force arrived in the district of Khährâ, the Sultan saw that the most advisable course to pursue was to return two or three stages into his own dominions, and then if Alp Khan, resolving to make war against Musalmans, should also return, then the lives and property of Musalmans would certainly be safe; and if, deceived by the persuasions of the devil, he should be audacious enough to invade the Dakhan, he (the Sultan) might return and chastise him, and with the sword put such ideas out of the brain of that foolish one.

Accordingly having marched away from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Khährâ he turned towards his own country. When the ministers and generals became aware of the Sultan's (apparent) timidity, being ashamed of turning away from before the enemy they boldly represented that the return of the Sultan would assuredly give occasion for presumption on the part of the enemy; they therefore recommended the Sultan to wait a little till they engaged in battle with Alp Khan to the best of their ability, and perhaps the enemy would be defeated.

In spite of the strong representations of the nobles the Sultan paid no attention to them, but marched towards his own dominions, and when the news of his retreat reached Alp Khan he deemed it due to fear on the part of the Sultan, and hastened boldly in pursuit of him, so that as the royal camp used to march away from each halting-place he used to arrive at it.

When the Sultan had gone two or three stages into his own country, and ambassadors brought the news that Alp Khan was thus following the camp and was bent upon war with the army of Islam, the Sultan assembled the sheikhs and learned men and asked them the following questions: — "Whenever a Musalmân king in aiding infidels makes war against Musalmans, is it deemed lawful according to the sharâ' to fight against him?"

The learned men were unanimous in saying: — "From all past times repelling the allies of infidels has been considered the same as a religious war, and is incumbent upon all, just as much as reinforcing and aiding the true believers."

The Sultan having thus obtained a legal decision from the learned men of Islam he turned towards the nobles and generals and said: — "My motive in returning was this: Alp Khan is a Musalmân king, and to us who profess Islam it is not allowable to initiate war, moreover he who does so incurs the reproach of God, according to the saying, 'The curse of God is on those who awaken sleeping discord'; we therefore marched towards our own country in order that if Alp Khan should enter our territory we should not be the instigator of war with him; but now that he has had the presumption to invade our territory it behoves us to chastise him."

The Sultan then turning to his troops encouraged them to fight bravely, and led them to expect increase of rank. The royal army being arrayed with the utmost quiet, unfurled the standard of valour, and the various regiments were formed up facing the enemy. The Sultan in person having selected from the midst of the army 2,500 cavalry clad in steel armour and armed with lances, took post on one flank. When the ranks of the two hostile armies were drawn up, the customs of courtesy and mercy being discarded, they fell upon one another with sword, battle-axe and arrow, and strife and slaughter blazed up like a fire, only to be extinguished by the swords of the warriors. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the heavens were obscured by the dust. At last the Sultan with those 2,500 lancers which he had with him fell upon the enemy like a thunder cloud. Alp Khan, in spite of all his endeavours, was unable to shake them, and finally, turning his back on the battle, took to flight, and leaving all his baggage, court, tents, tent-walls,65 his haram, retinue and whatever is necessary, more or less, for kings, fled for his life. The royal troops having seized the whole of the stores, tents, pavilions, horses and elephants of Alp Khan and his troops collected them at the court of the

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65 Sarâ-pardah — a wall of canvas surrounding a cluster of tents.
Sultan, who divided the booty among his troops and forbade their pursuing Alp Khan. He sent the whole of Alp Khan's harem in travelling-litters and handahs by the road they had come, together with their eunuchs, and ordered 500 cavalry to escort them to the frontier and hand them over to Alp Khan's people, and to protect them from any molestation by the soldiery. This action of his is a manifest sign of his generosity and manliness.

The Sultan having taken possession of Narshih's territory as far as the town of Muhir assigned it on feudal tenure to Prince Muhmid Khan, who was his middlemost son; and until Muhmid Khan was imprisoned for life, this tenure remained unchanged.

After the Sultan had finished the settlement of Alp Khan's affairs he returned in triumph to his capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan sent a messenger with many valuable gifts to the presence of his spiritual guide — the synopsis of persons of merit, pattern to his peers, king of the teachers of truth, prince of holy men, essence of the descendants of the head of the apostles — Shihh Nur-ud-Din Nimat-Ullah Wall (may God sanctify his beloved grave!), asking him to send to this country one of the glorious descendants of that guide to the way of truth, and in this matter solicited and urged much. His Highness having no other fruit in the garden of his life but Shihh Khalil-Ullah (to separate himself far from whom was inconvenient) he sent to the Dakhan a fresh flower from the rose-garden of sincere friendliness, Mira Nurr-Ullah, son of Shihh Khalil-Ullah Wall, according to the urgent request of the Sultan; and in the year 843 (A. D. 1439) when Shihh Nur-ud-Din Nimat-Ullah Wall died, Shihh Khalil-Ullah also proceeded to the Dakhan. The Sultan received Mira Nurr-Ullah with the utmost respect and reverence, and exalted him above all the ayyiids, sheiks and learned men of the Dakhan; and when Shihh Khalil-Ullah arrived there his son, Nur-Ullah, died.

Disagreement between Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Ahmad of Gujerat.

It has already been mentioned that the Sultan had sent Khalif Hasan Malik-ut-Tijar to take possession of the Kopkan and the forts and hills of that country. When Khalif entered that territory, having conquered all the forts, towns, sea-coast and hills, he made an incursion into the island of Mahalim (Bombay), which is within the territory of Gujerat, and conquered that country also; upon which the inhabitants of Mahalim complained to Sultan Ahmad of Gujerat. The latter being jealous at this, appointed his own son and successor, named Muhammed Shih, to put down the rebellion of Khalif. The Sultan on being informed of the approach of the Gujerat army despatched Prince Zafar Khan — who was his heir-apparent, and who during the Sultan's reign received the title of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din (as will be mentioned mentioned in due course) — with a large force to the assistance of the brave Khalif Malik-ut-Tijar.

Prince Zafar Khan with his army in due time encamped on the shore of the creek (khalij) of the island of Mahalim, and Muhammed Shih with the Gujerat army encamped on the further side of the creek; and for some time the two armies remained facing one another, and all day long, prepared for battle, they used to come to the shore and stand facing one another; but neither of them had the boldness to cross the creek. When this had lasted for some time the Dakhan nobles, moved by jealousy which is inevitable towards foreigners, represented to Prince Zafar Khan: — "We do all the fighting and killing, but Khalif Hasan will get the credit of it." The prince being still in the flower of youth did not perceive the peril and evil inspirations of those deceitful Dakhan amirs, who with insidious arguments convinced the hapless prince. In a most shameful and dishonourable manner they left Khalif in the lurch, and earned for themselves an evil reputation in the world.

When the Gujerat army obtained information of this dispute, confident of victory, they fell upon Khalif Hasan. The latter, without allies, being unable to oppose a large army, left Mahalim, and the Gujerat army plundered all his baggage and took prisoner Khalif's brother, Husain bin Hasan, and then turned towards Gujerat.

Sūltān Aḥmad Shāh proceeds to take vengeance on the Gujarāt army.

When the news of this affair reached the Sūltān, being determined to avenge himself on the enemy, he summoned his army, and in obedience to his orders, from the districts, forts, cities and feudal lands the nobles and chiefs of the victorious army set out for the capital, Bīdār; and in a short time so large a force assembled at the door of the court that the east and west winds were shut out. The Sūltān holding out to his army hopes of reward, at an auspicious time unfurled the royal standard and set out for the frontier of Gujarāt. In due time he encamped within sight of the fort of Bahūl,67 situate on the frontier between the Dekhān and Gujarāt, and laid siege to it. The governor of the fort of Bahūl, who was an infidel, aided by the strength of the fortress, and hopeful of the protection of Sultan Aḥmad of Gujarāt because the fort from time immemorial had been in subjection to the rulers of that country — sent a letter to Sultan Aḥmad Gujarāti informing him that the Sūltān of the Dekhān was on his way to Gujarāt. In a state of despair he also informed him about the siege of the fortress, and assured him that if he (the Sūltān of Gujarāt) would free him from this difficult affair he would annuually pay a large sum into the royal treasury.

In consequence of this Sultan Aḥmad Gujarāti, with the intention of assisting the infidels of Bahūl, set out with an immense army, and in one stage arrived at that fortress. When the (Bahmanni) Sultan obtained information of the arrival of enemies he raised the siege and went out in all haste to meet his adversary. Both forces having reached the banks of the river68 slighted opposite to one another, so that there was only the breadth of the above-mentioned river between the two armies. Every day the two forces drawn up in battle array stood opposite one another; but, however much the troops of both sides endeavoured to cross the river and engage in battle, neither side gave any facility for so doing, and being unwilling to shed Musalmān blood the troops neglected to fight; so that for nearly a year those two armies were seated opposite one another, and neither of the two would begin the battle. When the time became very protracted the theologians and learned men from both sides intervened and with the limpid water of exhortations and advice extinguished the fire of battle which had been kindled, and laid the foundations of reconciliation. It was settled that the fort of Bahūl, which from ancient times had been in Gujarāt, should still remain in possession of the agents of that kingdom; and on this side whatever pertained to the servants of the Bahmanni court should remain so. After some days the bonds of mutual friendship and agreement were arranged between the two kings, and their animosity being brought to an end an offensive and defensive alliance was arranged, and it was agreed that they should not fail to exalt the standards of Islam and break down the rites of the heretics.

The two kings having agreed to all these terms of peace sent one another many valuable presents; and for nearly a hundred years the foundations of unmixed friendship remained firm between the kings of these two countries and they continually sent presents to one another, as will be related hereafter.

After this reconciliation the Sultan returned to his capital and looked after the comfort of his subjects and army, and far and near overthrew the customs of heresy and impiety. He promoted in office and rank each of the amirs and ministers of state: Muḥammad bin ‘Ali Bāwardī, who was one of the descendants of Sultan Saʿiṣar Saḥīḵī, received the title of Khwājah Jahān; and the commander of the left wing of the army69 being promoted to the command of the right wing the Sultan exalted him with the title of Malū Khān, and on the commander of the right wing he conferred the title of Sārang Khān. Shīr Malik became Kotwal of Dādaḵhān (?), and Shīr Khān, son of the Sultan’s sister, who had been the cause of the assassination of Sultan Firuz, met with the same fate as the latter. Mirzā Nūr-Ullah — grandson of Shāh Nīmat-

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67 Or Bahol, or Bhol, or Bhūl. Distinctly written كتبل in the text. But a reference to the Gujarat history shows that it was Bānol: now called Tambol, a hill fort in Khānsa, vide Bayley’s Gujrāt, p. 100 n., and pp. 119-120.
68 Probably the river Tepiš.
69 Sar-naubat-i Mīnāraḥ.
70 Sar-naubat-i Mīmānaḥ.
Ullah — obtained the title of Malik-ul-Mushā, Ḵᵛāרח and Kaḏl ᴬḥmād ᴬḫābul became Malik-ul-
‘Ullumāख and Ṣadr-i Ḵẖān; and Kaḏl Niḏām-ul-Dīn Ṣḥāfīt — grand-son of Saiyīd Ṣḥāfīt —
was exalted to the title of Ṣharaf-i Ḵẖān; and Saiyīd Abd-ul-Muʿāmin — grand-son of Saiyīd
Jalāl Buxhārt — became entitled Saiyīd Ajal Jalāl Ḵẖān.

In the midst of these affairs arrived news of the death of Shāh Ni’māt-Ullah, and the
Ṣultān was much distressed thereby. According to the custom of India he instituted a fair to
be held in his honour at his (the saint’s) tomb. He assembled all the saiyyids and theologians,
ṣekhs and darvīshes and waited on them himself; the king with his own blessed hand poured
water on the hands of the saiyyids and ṣekhs; and exalting Malik-ul-Mushā, Ḵᵛā Ṽīrzā ᴮürzā ᴮürzā Nūr-
Ullah above all the nobles and chiefs, stretched out the hand of two-fold friendship to that
family; and the same liberality which Ṣultān ᴬḥmād Shāh showed towards the sons of Shāh
Nūr-ud-Dīn Ni’māt-Ullah was also extended to the descendants of the saint; and each member
of that illustrious dynasty who ascended the throne used to unite in marriage a princess with
one of the descendants of Ni’māt-Ullah.

After these occurrences a dispute once more arose with the Wāłl of Mandū about the fort of
Ḳhêrāl. At last after much disputing and fighting peace was established and the above-
mentioned fort was restored to the Wāłl of Mandū, and it was agreed that the country on this
side of the fort should be in the Ṣultān’s dominions. This stipulation was confirmed on both
sides, allowing no deviation from the highway of sincerity and agreement. After that, each of
the sovereignties marched to his own capital; but the mutual friendship established between them
was not of the same quality as that which existed between the Bahmani and Gujarāt Ṣultāns
as will afterwards be related.

The Ṣultān proceeds to take several forts and towns.

When in the latter days of the late king, Firūz Shāh, on account of the weakness which
arose in the affairs of the country owing to the frequent wars, the disobedient and rebellions of
all parts triumphing in the circumstance, and thinking it a favourable opportunity broke into
rebellion and had retaken from the agents of government most of the forts and towns of the
kingdom and its frontiers. When Ṣultān ᴬḥmād Shāh ascended the throne, owing to the disputes
which arose between him and the Ṣultāns of Gujarāt and ᴬmlwā, till those affairs were over he
had not found leisure to retaliate on the rebellious ones in the various parts of the country and
chastise the infidels. Moreover, while the Ṣultān was engaged in repelling his enemies the
infidels, even without fighting, had succeeded in getting possession of various districts of
Ṭeṅgānā. But now that the mind of the Ṣultān was entirely at rest from contention with the
Ṣultāns of Gujarāt and ᴬmlwā, he turned his attention to the reconquest of those districts which
had come into possession of the infidels; and having assembled a countless force he pro-
cceeded towards the country of Ṭeṅgānā.

When the Ṣultān, spreading the wings of victory and conquest, threw the shadow of triumph
over the regions of Ṭeṅgānā the people of some of those towns and forts, traversing the road
of obedience and submission, made peace by agreeing to pay revenue as security for good
behaviour; but some who having bound the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the fore-
head of rebellion and impudence, took the road of unbelief, were sent to the house of perdition
by the blows of the death-dealing swords of the troops. By the aid of God and the good for-
tune of the Ṣultān strong fortresses were taken, the strongest of which was the fort of Ṭāṁgīr.
This celebrated fortress, which in strength resembled Alexander’s rampart, and all the other
forts and strong fortresses of that district having been taken by the royal army, the symbols of
infidelity were overturned.

The wāl of the fort of Ṭaṅṅgal, who was the most intelligent of the infidels of that
country, saw that in whatever direction the victorious army turned they levelled with the ground
the forts and towns and used to plunder and devastate the country and eradicate the inhabitants,
root and branch; so, foreseeing and dreading the attack of the royal army, he sent a deputation of his chief men to the foot of the throne, and by the interest of the confidential servants of the court, represented his readiness to submit to the Sultan’s authority and to pay tribute if his offences were pardoned. The Sultan in his mercy pardoned the inhabitants of the fort, and after taking security prohibited his troops from plundering it.

The Sultan was for a long time engaged in reducing Telenganâ and conquering the districts in possession of the infidels. Some who humbly submitted to his rule and agreed to pay tribute he confirmed in possession of their districts. Having made Ibrahim Sanjar Khán head of the army, he sent him in command of a division to conquer that country and conciliate the people; and conferred on him as a jâgir the fort of Dhamir and several districts.

After that the Sultan returned to his capital and resigned the affairs of government into the hands of Miyan Mahmad Nigam-ul-Mulk, who was the wisest man of his age, unequalled in learning and one of the descendants of the illustrious sheikh, Sheik Farid Shakar-bâr, and he consigned to Khalî Hasân the port of Dhâbol and all the ports on the coast.

In this year the Sultan in the interior of the fort of Muhammâdad Bidar laid the foundation of a palace and portico (pâshgâh) of extraordinary height and beauty. When he had completed the building Sheik Azart — owing to the perfection of whose fame it is unnecessary to speak in terms of praise — visited the Sultan’s court and composed two verses in eulogy of this palace, and the Sultan was so pleased that he presented him with 700,000 Dakhân tânakh, which may be equivalent to about 1,000 tânman, upon which Sheik Azart said:

"Your gifts can only be carried on beasts of burden."

The Sultan smiled, and added to his previous gift 25,000 more tânman for the expenses of his journey and the cost of carrying (the money). The sheik, after suitably thanking the Sultan for the abundance of his favours and kindness, agreeably to his desire, returned to his native country. By this generosity and kindness on the part of the Sultan he obliterated the names of the kings of the world from the register of the generous, and to the end of the world exalted the banner of his good reputation among the sons of man.

Maualana Sharf-ud-Din Masandarâni, who was one of the disciples of Shah Ni‘mat-Ullâh, inscribed in beautiful handwriting two verses on the door of the palace, and the Sultan presented to him also 12,000 tânman.

When the Sultan had reigned for a period of twelve years he resigned the crown and throne of sovereignty to the heir-apparent, Prince Zafar Khán, who was the eldest of the Sultan’s sons and adorned with the jewel of knowledge and generosity and the ornament of mildness and bravery; and all the nobles, ministers and generals plighted their fealty to him.

17 Shâhazâr = raining sweetness, eloquent.
18 The date of the building of the palace is not given. The description is so extremely hyperbolical in style that I shall not weary the reader by translating it.
19 I have not been able to ascertain either the value or weight of the Dakhân tânman or Persian tânman (or tânman) of that period. The tânman was a copper coin, and the weight of 700,000 of them must have been very considerable.
20 هم‌پذیرفته کلیه کتاب‌ها، صمد صادقی، از کتاب‌های معاصر.
21 Sheik Azart died at Afsâzfârîn, a city of Khurazân in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461) at the age of eighty-two. The following chronogram records the date of his death:

دریگ در کتاب‌های معاصر
کتاب‌های معاصر
با گرایش، خبربر
در شهر
آرام گذران، فرستاد
کتاب خصوص.

Also for Azart, Sheik of his days,
The light of his life is born of its rays.
Being Khurasan the second in poetry.
In Khurasan the date of his death you will see.
After that the Sultan divided the country of Hindustan among his sons: the district of Mahr with its dependencies he settled on Prince Malmud Khan78 and Rais Ichar and Chuli (?)79 with their dependencies on Daud Khan.

In the meantime the Sultan fell into a bad state of health, and in spite of the remedies of the physicians his illness daily increased till he died on the 25th or 26th of Rajab, A. H. 838 (24th or 25th February, A. D. 1435).

Account of some of the Good Qualities of Sultan Ahmad Shah.

The learned have recorded that he was a king renowned for his many good qualities and justice and piety. His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion.

In generosity he carried off the palm from all the kings of the world, as has been recorded in the following verses by Sheik Azari, who has been formerly mentioned.

An amir named Shir Malik, a celebrated noble of high rank, and who had the management of most of the important affairs of government, having gone to take one of the forts of the infidels, took the strong fortress, and with much booty and countless horses and elephants, was returning in triumph to the royal court. Saiyid Nasir-ud-Din, who was by birth one of the true Saiyids, an Arab, had been honoured by being presented to the Sultan, and had received various honours and presents; and the Sultan having given him a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalah, had dismissed him. On his way the Saiyid happened to pass through the camp of Shir Malik, and did not salute the latter in the usual ceremonious manner. Shir Malik from the pride which he possessed, becoming like a furious lion, ordered the Saiyid to be dragged to the ground from his saddle. The Saiyid in his indignation and wrath returned to the Sultan's court, and made the following representation: — "On account of the fault and friendship which, as is well known, the Sultan of the World entertains in regard to my family, I have travelled to this country, leaving the sacred places and tombs of fathers and ancestors, the society of companions and friends; and regardless of attachment to my mother country, which is beyond the power of imagination. The result of the love and reverence for the Prophet Muhammad is only this, that a descendant of that holy personage is dragged from his horse to the ground: this disgrace and baseness has been inflicted on the Saiyid."

The Sultan was much affected by this speech, and showing much kindness and consideration towards the Saiyid, strove his utmost by valuable presents to soothe his feelings, and then sent him on his intended journey.

When Shir Malik arrived near the seat of government the nobles and ministers of state went out to meet him, and showing him the greatest honour brought him to the court. When the eye of the Sultan fell on him the fire of his wrath was kindled and blazed up. He ordered the elephant called "Kassab" (the butcher) to be brought. The spectators on were amazed at this, and from fear of the king's anger trembling seized their limbs, and they said to themselves: — "Notwithstanding such valuable services and such gallantry on the part of Shir Malik, to kill him and throw him under the feet of an elephant is far from the Sultan's usual kindness and gratitude." But no one had the courage to say anything till the elephant-keeper brought the appointed elephant, when the Sultan, without giving Shir Malik an opportunity of saying a word, ordered him to be thrown under the elephant's feet. The Sultan then said: — "Thus only can insult to descendants of the Prophet be suitably requited; and the protection of Islam is incumbent upon all."

The Sultan's age was between 60 and 70, and he reigned for a period of 12 years, 9 months and 24 days,80 but God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters.

78 Or Muhammad Khan (?) — vide p. 149 n. 79 Not identified.
80 This period added to the date of his accession (11th Shawwal, 835) would make his reign terminate on the 5th Shabban, 838 (9th March, 1434). According to Firishtah he reigned 12 years and 2 months.
Note to Chapter IX.

[The following brief account of the reign of Sultan Ahmad is taken from the Ta'khrat-ul-Mulik.]

Reign of Sultan Ahmad Wali Shah Bahmani in the city of Muhhammadabad, which is now known as the city of Bidar.

After the murder of Sultan Firuz, Sultan Ahmad ascended the throne.

One day when he went out hunting in the neighbourhood of Muhhammadabad a dog seized a hare by the tail. The hare turned round and fighting with the dog, overcame him. Sultan Ahmad on seeing this said:—"The climate of this country seems to be conducive to bravery, seeing that a hare beats a dog. If I should found a city here and make it my capital, the men who shall be born here and grow and thrive in the climate of this region will certainly be braver and more manly." Besides, in the city of Ahisanabad the Sultan had hemorrhage, and it was not a fortunate place for his capital. For this reason, in a propitious hour, he laid the foundation stone of the city of Muhhammadabad, and in a short time he approved of its completion; and he passed the period of his life in that city in pleasure and the gratification of his desires.

During his reign Makhdum Khwajah Jahân came from Khurasan for the purpose of trading; and showing great ability in political affairs he served four Bahmani kings, always faithfully and with good will, till in the latter end of the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Humayun, he suffered martyrdom, and left behind him a good reputation in the world.

Sultan Ahmad ascended the throne in A.H. 830 (A.D. 1426), and in the same year founded the city of Muhhammadabad, and for twelve years, nine months and twenty four days lived in peace and happiness and with a good reputation. He died in A.H. 842 (A.D. 1438), but God only knows!

Khwajah Jahân comes to the Dakhan, enters the service of the kings and attains high distinction.

It is related that Makhdum Khwajah Jahân was a wise, good and experienced man who chanced to arrive in the port of Dhabol, now known as Maimun Mustafabad; and the various kinds of people he saw there seemed to him wonderful and strange. One day in the bidar he was sitting in the shop of a merchant, when the governor of the said port, with the utmost pomp and grandeur passed through the bidar seated on a throne (singhasan) and playing with a bulbul which he had on his hand. The Khwajah was astonished at this circumstance, and said to himself:—"It is evident that the people of this country are simple-minded and playful: one might pass one's life very pleasantly among such people and find much enjoyment in their society, and attain high dignity. He then wished to proceed to the seat of government at Bidar, but Sultan Ahmad had given orders that any foreigners or foreign merchants, from wherever they might come, should transact their business at the port of their arrival and were not to be permitted to proceed to the court. Khwajah Jahân therefore waited on the governor of the port with valuable presents, and begged permission to proceed to the seat of government. The governor explained the abovementioned excuses for refusing his request. The Khwajah said:—"I have travelled in many countries, such as Rum, Syria, Egypt, Khurasan, Turkistan, etc. I have travelled through all these countries, and collected in them rarities of various kinds fit for kings, and it would be a pity if the king should not see them." He added:—"I have written on the subject to the king and the ministers of state, and am sending them various presents: do you also write a few words to the ministers of state, and perhaps my business may thus be brought to a successful issue." The governor of the port

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81 Compare Burhân-i Ma'dīr, Fol. 170 a, I. O. MS., where the same story is told of Ahmad Nizām Shâh, the founder of the Nizâm Shâh dynasty and the city of Ahmadnagar.
82 In the Burhân-i Ma'dīr the first mention of Khwajah Jahân is in the reign of Humayd.
wrote a letter to the king through the ministers of state. The petition of the Khwájah reached the ministers, and when they became acquainted with its contents they joined in presenting it to Sultán Áhmad; but he was not at all willing to let the Khwájah come, and said:—"These intelligent foreigners are ingenious, and would soon deceive people: if this man came here he would in a short time attain authority and power, which would be displeasing to all of you." The ministers replied:—"What harm can one man, a merchant, do? We shall see what manner of man he is, and whether he is fit for service: if he be not deserving, it will only be for a short time, his business will soon be concluded, and we can dismiss him." As the ministers were pressing in this matter the Sultán gave his consent, and after some days the Khwájah arrived with his goods in the city of Bīdar, and visiting each of the ministers, explained the object of his coming. By their advice he presented as offerings to the king some Arabian horses, rare silk cloths, some Turkí and Hàbshi slaves, several kinds of pearls and other valuable jewels and some beautifully written and highly ornamented copies of the Kurán. When he reached the court he took one of those Kuráns on his head, and placing the remainder on the heads of his slaves, entered the presence. When the king was informed that what they carried on their heads were Kuráns he involuntarily arose from his throne, and taking the Kurán which the Khwájah had on his head, put it on a corner of his throne, and turning towards the ministers of state said:—"The Khwájah even in the court has given orders to me, in order to do honour to the word of God he has brought me off my throne: it remains to be seen what he will do after this." The king after inspecting the presents sent them into his palace, and then questioned the Khwájah about the affairs of other kings; and the Khwájah gave his answers in a pleasing narrative, and related various particulars about the manners and customs of other kingdoms. The king was astonished at what he related and pressed him to tell him more particulars. He was much pleased with the Khwájah's society and commanded him to visit him every day. He honoured the Khwájah with several valuable presents and appointed a lofty and spacious dwelling for his residence. Like the other servants of the court the Khwájah used to present himself at court daily, each time bringing some present with him, on which account the king's favour and affection towards him daily increased, till he went so far as to consult the Khwájah in matters pertaining to the government and finance; and the successful results of whatever he used to do by the advice and approval of the Khwájah strengthened the king's reliance upon him and caused the dignity and rank of the Khwájah to be much increased. But in the meantime Sultán Áhmad died.

(To be continued.)

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.
BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICH BURKHARDT.
Trans. and ed. by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.
(Continued from p. 179.)

7. The Relative Pronoun.

[245. This is nearly, but not quite, the same as the Demonstrative Pronoun ә yи: — ]

Masculine. Feminine. Neuter.

Singular.

Nom. Acc.... ... ә yеs әә yеsә ә yиh

Instr. ... ... әә yәmә әә yәmә әә yәmә

Dat, Abl., Loc. ... әә yәmәs or әә yәs әә yаth

Gen. ... ... әә yәsonәd or әә yәmәsοndә әә yәmәyәk
Masculine. Feminine. Neneter.

Plural.

Nom., Acc. ... \( \ddot{\text{yim}} \) \( \dot{\text{yima}} \) \( \ddot{\text{yim}} \)

Instr. ... \( \ddot{\text{yima}} \)

Dat., Abl., Loc. ... \( \ddot{\text{yiman}} \)

Gen. ... ... \( \ddot{\text{yihond or yiman-hond}} \)

Before this pronoun there is often inserted the word \( \ddot{\text{s}} \) \( \ddot{s} \); e. g. —

\( \dddot{\text{kus chhu si yas uk dosti dsi}}, \) who is there, to whom there will be a friend (i. e., will have a friend?)

\( \dddot{\text{kus chhu su si yomi tee yiyi ydriy yotuy}}, \) who is he that both given thee this authority.

Examples of the use of Relative with Demonstrative Pronouns:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neneter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{yus — su}}, ) who — he.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{su — yus}}, ) he — who.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{yus — suy}}, ) the very one — who.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{s}} ) ( \ddot{\text{yose — sy}}, ) the very woman — who.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{y} i} ) ( \ddot{\text{ti}}, ) which — that.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{ti} \ddot{\text{m}} — \ddot{\text{yim}}, ) they — who.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{time} — \ddot{\text{yime}}, ) they (fem.) — who.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \ddot{\text{yime}} — \ddot{\text{yime}}, ) these (fem.) — who.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

So also \( \ddot{\text{yim — timan}}, \) \( \ddot{\text{tim — yiman}}, \) \( \ddot{\text{tas nach — yose}}, \) etc.
8. The Interrogative Pronoun.

246. گی kus, who?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
<td>گی kus</td>
<td>گی kus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>گی kame</td>
<td>گی kame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat., Abl., Loc.</td>
<td>گی kame or گی kus</td>
<td>گی kath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>گی kame-son or گی kason. گی kamyuk.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom., Acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 kya is used adjectively for all genders in reference to all inanimate things; e.g., kya jawd, what answer? kya kom, what deed? kya gawd, what testimony? kya badi, what evil? kus akq, means, ‘who? E. g. kus akq chhu si (Math. vii. 9; xii. 11), who is it, that?


[247. گی kah, گن kah or kah, گن kah or گن kah, anyone, someone; with (نی), no one; is, in the singular, always declined as a feminine, even when referring to a masculine noun. Thus: —

| Singular, Instr., Dat. | کنی kansi, or کنی kaini : Gen., کنی kani s si-hond. |
| Plural, Nom. (m. f. n.) | کنی kah, کنی kinte ; Instr. کنی kinteau. |
| Dat. | کنی kinteau. Throughout the s of the base is pronounced as in the French word bon. |

کنی or کنі kah, means ‘anything.’ It remains unchanged throughout its declension.]
Examples:

- kāh shūr, any child.
- kēh lokaśi shurū, any little children.
- kāh luk, or zē kēh sānī, some people.
- kam kēh, some few, only a few.
- yē kēh, whatever, all.
- kāh kathā nā, nothing.
- kōnsi akis, to anyone.
- kōnsi mahāvīra, to any man.
- nā kēh zi (Luke, xi. 6), nothing which.

kustām, any one, someone, is declined like kās kus, with tām tād added. Instrumental sg., kōnsi tām, by any one; kōnsi tām dūshmanān, by any enemy.

fulāni, a certain one; fulāni shakhs, a certain person.


yē yē, kāh akā, prati kāh akā, whoever. The Dative is yē yē, yē yē akis, to whomever.

dat., yē kēh; yē yē kēh, whatever, all which.

sērvī kēh, all whatever, i. e., all: yē yē sērvī kēh yē, all that.

11. Other Pronouns.

prat akā, prati akā, kāh prat, every one; prati kāh, prati kānā, every tree. prat kōnī, several; prat kōnī sabāda, for many reasons

prat kōnī tarkūri-hond dāhyum hīṣā (Luke, xi. 42), tithe of all manner of herbs. prat akis, to every one; kānā kōnsi akis, to every one.

ak — beyāk, the one — the other.

beyi, the others; nā beyi kāh, no other.

hūrikā, by how many? Dat. kānā kūthān (Luke, xv. 17), to how many.

kaintsa, by several; kaintsan, to several; kaintsq doḥa pata, after many days.
12. Certain Correlatives.33

Demonstrative and Relative.  Demonstrative.  Interrogative.

250. (1) Masc. sg. 44 yuth, { like this, }  44 tyuth, like that  44 kyuth, like what?
   pl. 44 yithi  44 tithi  44 kithi
Fem. sg. 44 yith  44 tith  44 kith
   pl. 44 yitha  44 titha  44 kitha

(2) Masc. sg. 44 yut, { this much }  44 tyut, that much  44 kyut, how much?
   pl. 44 yiti  44 titi  44 kiti
Fem. sg. 44 yita  44 tyita  44 kyita
   pl. 44 yitaa  44 tyitaa  44 kyitaa

kus chhu yuth moli z, who is such a father, that he (Luke, xic 11).

(3) Demonstrative }  44 yethan hyuh, like this, like which.
    Relative
Demonstrative 44 kethan hyuh, like that.
    Interrogative 44 kethan hyuh, like what?

251. Correlative Pronouns and Adverbs.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>yi, this</td>
<td>ku, that</td>
<td>kus, who</td>
<td>yus, who</td>
<td>su, he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>yiti, there</td>
<td>kiti or qiti,</td>
<td>kati, where</td>
<td>yati, when</td>
<td>tel, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yit, here</td>
<td>huti or qiti,</td>
<td>kati, where</td>
<td>yati, where</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>huti, ati, horta,</td>
<td>kati, horta,</td>
<td>yati, yoha,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>whence</td>
<td>tati, lora,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>yitha, thus</td>
<td>hitha, in that</td>
<td>kyatha, how</td>
<td>yitha, how</td>
<td>titha, so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>yit, this much</td>
<td></td>
<td>kyuth, of what</td>
<td>yuth, of that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kind?</td>
<td>kind?</td>
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(To be continued.)

33 The adverbial Correlatives will be given later, under the head of adverbs. [As the author did not live to write the portion relating to adverbs, the translator inserts at the end of this chapter the usual table of Correlative adverbs.]
NOTES AND QUERIES.

A STORY ABOUT LAL BEG AND THE LALBEGI SECTS.

Lal Beg was the son of Shekh Saras, a resident of Multan, who left that place in the train of his spiritual master (? Shāh Kuṃsā) for Sadhana, in the Amālā District where he devoted himself to the worship of Pirān Pir ['Abdul-Qādir Jilān, 1078-1166 A.D.]. Shekh Saras had no child, and some one referred him to Bālnik, then residing at Ghazni. Whereon the Shekh set out for Ghazni, taking his wife with him. As he approached the place he came across a girl, named Pundari, feeding swine, and enquired of her as to the whereabouts of Bālnik, whereon she said that she was his daughter. On this the Shekh offered to watch her swine if she would take his wife to her father, to which she agreed. When she returned she said that two young pigs had been born during her absence, and asked Shekh Saras to carry them home for her, which he did. Meanwhile his wife had so won over Bālnik by her devotion that she asked her what she wanted and she said "a son." So Bālnik promised her a son, whom she was to call Lal Beg. After nine months she gave birth to a son, and dutifully called him Lal Beg.

When Lal Beg was twelve years old his mother dedicated him to Bālnik, and sent him to the prophet on an elephant. He served Bālnik with heart and soul, and the prophet was so pleased with him that he made him chief of all his disciples. Lal Beg then proceeded to Kabul and Kashmir, accompanied by Bālnik and all the sect. On arrival at Kabul and Kashmir (!) Lal Beg told his followers to go and beg in the cities, but the people would not have it. So they complained to Lal Beg, who told them, after consulting Bālnik, to fight the people, and with the help of all the saints and the gods, Lal Beg gained the victory, and took possession of Kabul and Kashmir.

After establishing his authority Lal Beg placed one of his followers, named Sultān, a native of the place, on the throne, and then went to Thanesar, where Bālnik died. Lal Beg subsequently went with all the followers to Delhi, and founded the Lalbegi religion, dividing his followers into five sects, viz., Lalbegi, Shekhi Dūmri, Hil, and Rawat.

R. C. Temple in P. N. and Q. 1883.

NOTES ON MARATHA MARRIAGES.

The father, or in his absence any near male relation of the bride, gives her away. A shawl or a cloth screen being thrown over them, the bride and bridegroom are placed face to face, and told to throw garlands of flowers round each other's necks, and the screen is then withdrawn. The other ceremonies are the usual ones, but a thread is wound round and round the pair in token of the indissolubility of the marriage tie. The bridgegroom remains on at the bride's house till the completion of the adi ceremony. In the interval the mother and other near female relatives of the bridegroom receive them in state, on which occasion valuable and costly presents are made her, while her relatives present adās, etc., in return. Another public state meeting between the ladies of the two families also takes place at which presents are interchanged either before or after this ceremony. At the adi ceremony a basket filled with rice, polis (sweet-cakes), laddus (sweetsmeats), lamps made of uncooked wheaten flour with oil and wicks, combs, tooth-picks, looking-glasses, etc., but seven of each article is placed on the head of the bridegroom's mother (or of the lady acting for her) while the married couple, if children, sit on her knees. After this the bride and bridegroom go to his house with the usual procession, and wind up the ceremony with the worship of Lakshmi. The families then interchange grand dinners, and the ceremonies end with visits to the shrine of the tutelary gods. Thus, the Gāckwārs of Barodā visit Khandobā, the family god, and Būhrājī (a goddess).

The late B. V. Shastri in P. N. and Q. 1883.

SALAGRAM.

The Sālagrām has been described as a fossil fish imbedded in a ball of petrifed mud, of which the surface has been cracked or worn away in different places, thus disclosing a number of small cavities in the inside caused by the shrinking of the organic remains. The name has been suggested by this peculiarity of appearance, and means simply "full of holes," or "cellular," from adha, the Sanskrit prototype of the English "ball" and its cognate "cell," and grāma, the familiar Indian name for a "village," here used in the sense of "a multitude," as in composition it ordinarily is. Among Hindus of the present day Sālagrām is one of the most popular proper names, and is often spelt by the unscientific Śilīg Rām, apparently under a mistaken impression that the mutilated last syllable has something to do with the god so called. Compare the somewhat similar confusion between San Greal and Sang Rat.¹

¹ (The late) F. S. Growse in P. N. and Q. 1883.

¹ [For the Proper names Śilīg, Śilīg Rām, Śilīg Rām, Śīl Grām, all derived from the Sālagrāma, see Proper Names of Panjabis, p. 71. — Ed.]
A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR, AS APPLIED TO A GROUP
OF SAVAGE LANGUAGES.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 208.)

I NOW propose to go into the proper names, and to see what their analysis tells us.

AKA-BEADA PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taull (R.) — 'l' (P. F. — I.) — oko (P. R.) — tima (R.) (P. R. + R. — S.)
Taull-tree — (its) — corner
len (P. F.) — in.
So the whole expression signifies 'in the village at the corner among
the Taull trees.'

(2) Puluga (S.) — la (S. Q.)
God (hon. suf.). The Deity, i. e., a supernatural anthropomorphic being.
The word may mean 'the Rain-bringer.' N. B. — 'Rain' often — 'Storm' in the
Andamanese tropics.

(3) Lurarut (S.) — la (S. Q.).
Lurarut. This is the name of a well-known bird, but in the context
clearly signifies some man named after the bird. Here, however, we have an
indication of legendary growth. For the Andamanese nowadays naturally mix-
up those of their ancestors who had 'bird' and 'animal' names with the birds and
animals after whom they were named.

(4) I (P. R.) — Tarcheker (S.)
Kingfisher. A 'bird' name, see (3).

(5) Wota (R.) — Emi (R.)
rise-up — hut. 'The village of the huts from which the Tribes rose (like
a flight of birds),' i. e., the traditional cradle of the race.

(6) Chaoga (S.) — tba (R.) — nga (S. Q.)
spirit — greatest-be — ing. Chaoga denotes properly the appearance
a dead person is supposed to assume, and the whole term signifies 'the dead who
were greatest,' i. e., 'greater than ourselves,' the (revered) ancestors.

(7) Tomol (S.) — ola (S. Q.)
Tomo(ka)'s-sons — (hon. suf.). The Tomolola are the earliest traditional chiefs, i. e.,
the very earliest personages beyond 'the ancestors.'

AKAR-BALE PROPER NAMES.

(1) Dim (P. R.) — Daura (R.) — le (S. Q.)
(male-name) — (hon. suf.)

(2) Keri (R.) — 'l' (P. F. — I.) — ong (P. R.) — tauweer (S.) (P. R. + S. — S.) —
Keri-tree — (its)
to (S. F.) — by
i. e., 'by the village on the sand among the Keri-trees.'

(3) Puluga (S.)
God.

(4) Bolub (S.)
'fish' name. See the 'bird' names above.

(5) Tarkok (S.)
'fish' name. See (4).
(6) Billichau (S.).
Flying-fish. A 'fish' name. See (4).

(7) Rokwa (S.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — ar (P. R. — to (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.) — nga (S. Q.)
stone — (its) — row-be — ing
i. e., 'the village by the row of stones.'

PUCHIKWAR PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taual (R.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — oko (P. R.) — tim (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Taual-tree — (its) — corner
— an (S. Q.).
— in. See identical Aka-Beda term.

(2) Bilik (S.).
God.

(3) Luratut (S.).
'bird' name. See Aka-Beda term.

(4) Tarchal (S.).
'fish' name. See (3).

(5) Chalter (S.).
Kingfisher. A 'bird' name. See (3).

'the ancestors' — to. See chaoga-tabanga, the Aka-Beda term.

(7) Wauta (S.) — Emi (S.) — en (S. F.).
Wauta — Emi — in. See the Aka-Beda name Wota-Emi.

ACKAU-JUWOI PROPER NAMES.

(1) Kuro (S.) — t' (P. F. = I.) — on (P. R.) — mika (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Kuro-tree — (its) — very-big
i. e., 'the village among the great Kuro-trees.'

(2) Mirit (S.) — la (S. Q.).
Pigeon — (hon. suf.). A 'bird' name.

(3) Bilk (S.).
God.

(4) Lech (R.) — lin (S. F.).
male-name — to.

(5) Karat (S.) — t' (P. F. = I.) — atak (P. R.) — emi (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.)
Karat-creeper — (its) — hut
— in (S. F.).
— in i. e., 'in the village where the huts are among the Karat-creepers.'

KOL PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taual (R.) — l' (P. F. = I.) — oko (P. R.) — tim (R.) (P. R. + R. = S.) — en (S. Q.)
For this name see Aka-Beda.

(2) Bilik (S.) — la (S. Q.).
God — (hon. suf.).

(3) Luratut (S.) — la (S. Q.). For this name see Aka-Beda.
(4) Oko (R.) — Emi (R.) — t (S. F.). 
Oko — Emi — at 
This is the same place as the Wota-Emi and 
Wauta-Emi already given, but it appears here in a presumably simpler form, signifying 
'the (original) hutu.'

(5) Kaulotat (S.) — ke (S. Q.). 
Kaulotat-tree — was. 
This is an instance of a 'tree' name. See Aka-Beda (3). 
The peculiar 'verbal' termination to the word in the text is commented on elsewhere.

(6) Min (R.) — tong (R.) — ta (R.) [or tauk (S.)] (R. + R. + R. [or R. or S.] = S.) 
Min-tree — leaf — bone 
— kete (S. F.) — lak (S. F.). 
— by — to 
I. e., 'at the village of the rib-leafed Min-trees.'

(7) Jangil (S.). 
'the ancestors.'

Now these proper names bear out in every respect the conclusions to be drawn from the 
former analysis, because they are clearly either mere roots or stems, or compounds of roots and stems 
thrown together by means of infixed affixes, the infixes themselves being in their nature plain 
functional prefixes of what is usually called a "pronominal character." The sense of the words is 
also usually immediately apparent, showing the difficulty the speakers have in getting out of the 
region of concrete into that of abstract ideas — indicating, that is, the 'savage' condition of 
their minds.

But the 'savage' nature of the languages comes out even more clearly if we apply the theory in 
another way, i.e., if we exclude the proper names and pick out the roots or stems of all sorts to be 
found in the five versions of the "Fire Legend." This will show that, leaving out persons and 
places, the five tribes tell five versions of an abstract story by an effort of memory with the aid 
between them of only seven separate indicators (nouns), seventeen separate predicates (verbs), and 
eight separate radicals, indicating the other parts of speech. Only once is an explicator (adj.) used 
in all the versions; only thrice an illustrator (adv.), and then only once in any instance in the same 
language. No introductory words to sentences are used at all; only one conjunction between words 
and only two between sentences, referring in each case to what has been already said. There are no 
forward references, and there is only one referent substitute (pronoun, in this case of the 3rd person). 
In telling the Legend, we therefore see that, to employ the old familiar phraseology, the Aka-Beda 
use two nouns, eight verbs, one ref. conj., and one pronoun. The Akar-Bale use five nouns, nine 
verbs, one adv., one conj., one pron. in two forms. The Puchikwar use one noun ('fire'), six verbs. 
one adv., one ref. conj. in two forms, one pron. The Aukau-Juwoi use two nouns, three verbs, one 
adj., one pron. The Kol use three nouns, seven verbs, one adv., one pron. Poverty of thought and 
idea could hardly go lower than this. We are really brought face to face with the speech of 
undeveloped savages.

The evidence is as follows: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aka-Beda</th>
<th>Akar-Bale</th>
<th>Puchikwar</th>
<th>Aukau-Juwoi</th>
<th>Kol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>barajj</td>
<td>barojj</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>panojj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>platform</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>toagj</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all-men</td>
<td>paura</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>chappu</td>
<td>choppa</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>yuakat</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>peakar</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charcoal</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pin</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table of Roots and Stems.**

**Indicators (Nouns).**
**Predicators (Verbs).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aka-Beada</th>
<th>Akar-Sale</th>
<th>Puchikwar</th>
<th>Akan-Juwoi</th>
<th>Kol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seize</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>di, li</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light-a-fire</td>
<td>dal</td>
<td>dal</td>
<td>kadak</td>
<td>kodak</td>
<td>kaudak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>mami</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pat</td>
<td>ema</td>
<td>pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steal</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>top</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring</td>
<td>omo</td>
<td>omo</td>
<td>lechi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>pugat,</td>
<td>pugari</td>
<td>puguru</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake</td>
<td>boi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>konyi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-into-sea</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>jurugmu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>become</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tichal</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>chol</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extinguish</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>bil</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break-up</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>dank</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindle</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tepur</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explicators (Adjectives).**

- deceased...
  ...
  ...
  laiche...

**Illustrators (Adverbs).**

- long-ago...
  rita...
  ...
  ...

- again...
  ...
  kol...
  ...

- past (by)...
  ...
  lin...

- Connectors (Conjunctions).

- and...
  ka...
  ...

- Introducers (Conjunctions).

- Nil.

**Referents.**

(a) Conjurators (Conjunctions).

- at-once...
  jek...
  ...
  ...
  ...

- then...
  ...
  ota, kota, |
  e...
  ...

(b) Substitutes (Pronouns).

- he...
  a...
  i, ong
  ong...
  a...

- (they)...
  ongot
  n'ong...
  n'a...

Incidentally the above tables indicate the extent to which the languages belong, in the first place, to a family, and in the next to a group, which may be further indicated by examination of the affixes. But, as the examples available are so few, nothing beyond indication can be here expected. The proof can be seen by an examination of Mr. Portman's Comparative Vocabulary and his most patient analysis of the words therein.

**Tables of Affixes.**

**Prefixes, functional.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aka-Beada</th>
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<th>Puchikwar</th>
<th>Akan-Juwoi</th>
<th>Kol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his, its</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l', t'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (?) his | ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
| theirs | ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
  ...

TABLES OF AFFIXES.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Puchikwar</th>
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<th>Kol</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his, its</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l', t'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (?) his | ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
| theirs | ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
  ...

TABLES OF AFFIXES.

<table>
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<th>Puchikwar</th>
<th>Akan-Juwoi</th>
<th>Kol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his, its</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l', t'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (?) his | ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
| theirs | ...
  ...
  ...
  ...
  ...

TABLES OF AFFIXES.
Prefixes, radical.

\begin{itemize}
\item ot-
\item at-
\item oko-
\item ab-
\item ar-
\item i-
\item ong-
\end{itemize}

Suffixes, functional.

\begin{itemize}
\item by -lik -te -ke ...
\item in -len -a -in, -an, ...
\item with ...
\item to ...
\item at ...
\end{itemize}

Suffixes, qualitative.

\begin{itemize}
\item was -ka -kate, ia ...
\item -ing -nga -nga ...
\item did -re -t, -te ...
\item (honorific) -la, -ola ...
\end{itemize}

The reader will by this time have perceived that the development of the fundamental meanings of the roots and stems of Andamanese words is effected by means of radical prefixes; a consideration that brings us in contact with the most difficult and most interesting feature of the Andamanese languages.

To the Andamanese mind roots present themselves as being divided off roughly into classes as under, to use Mr. Portman’s classification, which is, of course, an impossible one, according to the general system of grammar he purports to follow. But, as his classification is sufficient for the purpose of illustrating my points, I shall not now disturb it.

Mr. Portman’s classification is stated by him thus:

The Andamanese roots appear to be divided into five groups, which are as follows:

1. Names of parts of the body, with special reference to the human body. Roots referring to the human race generally.
2. Names of other natural animate and inanimate objects.
3. Roots which are capable of being converted into either Explicators or Predicators, as well as being Indicators.
4. Pronouns.
5. Postpositions, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Exclamations, Proper Names of Andamanese men and women, the Flower Names given to Andamanese girls, Honorific Names etc., Particles.

Now, with reference to the above statement, the main function of the radical prefixes is to indicate the group to which a root belongs, either primarily or secondarily by
implication. In the groups, or in some of them at least, there are sub-groups, e. g., in group 1 we find sub-groups, of which the following are samples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aka-Beada</th>
<th>Akar-Bale</th>
<th>Puchikwan</th>
<th>Akaun-Jweil</th>
<th>Kol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>ot-cheta</td>
<td>aut-chekta</td>
<td>ote-ta</td>
<td>auto-tau</td>
<td>ante-toi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>on-kauro</td>
<td>ong-kauro</td>
<td>ong-kaure</td>
<td>ann-koran</td>
<td>ann-kaure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>aka-bang</td>
<td>aka-boang</td>
<td>o-pong</td>
<td>aukun-pong</td>
<td>o-pong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>ab-lo</td>
<td>ab-lo</td>
<td>ab-lu</td>
<td>e-lu</td>
<td>e-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>ik-puka</td>
<td>id-puka</td>
<td>ir-bo</td>
<td>re-hankan</td>
<td>er-bakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pine</td>
<td>ar-gorob</td>
<td>ar-kate</td>
<td>ar-kurab</td>
<td>s-kurup</td>
<td>o-kurup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As might be expected of savages, the Andamanese are intensely anthropomorphic, and this fact comes out in their languages, the radical prefixes in form and origin revolving for all Groups chiefly round those used to differentiate the parts of the human body or human attributes and necessities. There are, however, radical prefixes, whose function is purely to modify the meaning of a root, and so to form, in combination with the root, a pure stem. Here are instances out of Mr. Portman’s book:

Yop(-da) is, in Aka-Beada, ‘soft’ or ‘pliable’; then, a sponge is ot-yop, soft; a cane is auto-yop, pliable; a pencil is aka-yop or akulo-yop, pointed; the human body is ab-yop, soft; certain parts of it are ong-yop, soft; fallen trees are ar-yop, rotten; an adze is ip-yop, blunt.

Chaurog(-ngu) means in Aka-Beada generally ‘tie(ing) up.’ Unmodified by a radical prefix it refers to the tying up of bundles of firewood or plantains, whence chaurog-ngu(-da), a faggot. But when so modified it can mean as follows: aut-chauorng-ngu, tying up the carcasses of dead pigs so that they may be carried on the back; aka-chauorng-ngu, tying up jack-fruit into bundles; ar-chauorng-ngu, tying together the feet of little pigs while alive to prevent escape.

The anthropomorphism of the Andamanese, already noticed, induces them to refer all words, capable of such reference, directly to themselves, by means of referent prefixes to stems composed of roots plus radical prefixes; thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aka-Beada</th>
<th>Akar-Bale</th>
<th>Puchikwan</th>
<th>Akaun-Jweil</th>
<th>Kol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>-cheta</td>
<td>-chekta</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-tau</td>
<td>-toi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-d°</td>
<td>ot-</td>
<td>aut-</td>
<td>ote-</td>
<td>auto-</td>
<td>aut-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my-d°</td>
<td>d’ot-</td>
<td>d’ant-</td>
<td>t’ote-</td>
<td>t’auto-</td>
<td>t’aut-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>-kauro</td>
<td>-kauro</td>
<td>-kaure</td>
<td>-kuran</td>
<td>-kaure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bis-d°</td>
<td>on-</td>
<td>ong-</td>
<td>ong-</td>
<td>ann-</td>
<td>ann-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy-d°</td>
<td>ng’on-</td>
<td>ng’ong-</td>
<td>ng’ong-</td>
<td>ng’aun-</td>
<td>ng’aun-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above cases, to the roots for ‘head’ and ‘hand’ are added for ‘his’ the root-forms of the prefixes, to which for ‘my’ and ‘thy’ have been superadded abbreviated forms of the root-forms for ‘I’ and ‘thou.’ And so it is for all the ‘persons.’

Also when the reference is possible to “persons in the plural,” some, but not by any means all, the Andamanese emphasize the fact of such reference by modifying the form of the radical prefix to indicate it, thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aka-Beada</th>
<th>Akar-Bale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Ot.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot</td>
<td>otot</td>
<td>ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ong</td>
<td>oiot</td>
<td>aung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka</td>
<td>akat</td>
<td>akar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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No such alterations take place in Puchikwar and Aukan-Juwoi, except to differentiate ‘thy’ from ‘your.’ Thus: in Puchikwar, aate, sing., is aatet, plu.; and in Aukan-Juwoi autau, sing., is autel, plu.; and so on.

To the differentiating plu. radical prefixes are added, where necessary, functional prefixes, thus:—

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<td>your</td>
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<td>ng’aotot</td>
<td>ng’aute</td>
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Another noteworthy fact, again due to anthropomorphism, is that usually the Andamanese languages conceive every word, when possible, as referred to ‘the 3rd person,’ e.g., ot-cheta-da is strictly not ‘head,’ but ‘his head.’ So otot-cheta-da is strictly ‘their heads.’ And so, in order to express a clear reference to a ‘3rd person,’ where the context renders such necessary, they do so by means of a referent prefix evolved for the purpose, thus:—

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<td>‘s, its, his (their)</td>
<td>l’-</td>
<td>l’-</td>
<td>l’- le n’-</td>
<td>l’- le n’-</td>
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The last three forms seem to explain the origin of this curious habit, for in them we find a special referent prefix for ‘their,’ and so, when it is necessary to make ‘their’ clearly referent, we find a second prefix le superadded. We can therefore also say that the referent prefix l’- seems to indicate one of the signs of ‘growth’ in the languages, as we now have them.

Lastly, when the natural conditions require that an Andamanese should throw into a single expression more than one idea, he does so by direct and simple combination, with the aid of his referent prefix for ‘its,’ as may be seen from the proper names and some of the compound words in the texts of the Legend. Thus: Taul-l’-okotima, Taul-tree-its-corner, i.e., (the village at) the corner (among) the Taul-trees; Keri-l’-ongtanuer, Keri-tree-its-sand, i.e., (the village on) the sand (among) the Keri-trees.

So here, again, it appears to me that the languages, even in the complicated forms and usage of the prefixes, show themselves to be purely and directly the expression of ‘savage’ thought, affording yet another measure of the Theory as a working hypothesis.

Now, of course, the Andamanese go far beyond this skeleton in the details of their speech, but everything else to be found in it seems to me to be a development of these fundamental laws, arising out of a mere following up to a further expansion the ideas contained in them, or out of the necessities of speech itself. There are no more further ‘principles’ to explain, so far as I can at present see, and I would refer the reader to Mr. Portman’s careful and laborious pages for a proof of the present assertions. I would also take leave to refer him to those pages and to the foregoing observations, should he desire to judge for himself how far the Theory may be called a successful attempt to meet the conditions.

I will now proceed to state the Theory in skeleton form, believing that its bones can be clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of direct natural development of detail,—that a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech can be logically deduced from the general principles enunciated therein.

It seems to me to be necessary to say very little at present by way of preface. The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, viz., the expression of a complete meaning, or, technically, the sentence. Words are then considered as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them, and next as to the means whereby they can be made to fulfill their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. This course of reasoning commends itself to my mind as logically correct, and if it be so, must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech.
Terminology is a matter of convenience, and I have in the exposition of the Theory, changed the familiar terminology of the Grammars of the orthodox sort merely as a convenience. The question presents itself to me as one of choosing between the devising of new terms and the giving of new definitions to well-known old ones, used habitually in other senses. To my own mind it is easier to apprehend and retain in the memory the meaning of a new word than to keep before the mind a new definition of an old and familiar one. Hence my choice. But this is so much a personal matter, that it is a question of indifference to myself which method is adopted.

The familiar terminology has accordingly been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, and conjunction become indicator, explicator, predicative, illustrator, connector, and referent conjunctive, while interjections and pronouns become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs are converted into introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjugation, and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion — the object becomes the complement of the predicate, and concord becomes correlated variation. Also for obvious reasons subjects, necessarily occupying an important place in Grammars which aim at explaining all that there is to say about a language — such as its phonology, orthography, and elocution — are not now considered in the exposition of the Theory.

THE SKELETON OF A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR.

Speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. Languages are varieties of speech.

The units of languages are sentences. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a word. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the subject and the predicate. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the components of a sentence are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil functions. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject or indicative of the complement. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either —

1. Indicators, or indicative of the subject.
2. Explicators, or explanatory of the subject.
3. Predicatives, or indicative of the predicate.
4. Illustrators, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
5. Complements, or complementary of the predicate.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also complementary indicators may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And complementary explicators may be illustrated by illustrators.
But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a purpose. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the position of its components, by variation of the forms of its components, or by the addition of introductory words to express it or introducers.

Also, since the functions of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, connected purposes may be indicated by connected sentences. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or referents. A referent word may express the inter-relation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore conjunctors or substitutes.

Also, the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or conjunctors, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predications are especially connected with indicators; explicators with indicators; illustrators and complements with predications; and referent substitutes with their principals; there is an intimate relation between predication and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predication, predication and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by correlated variation in the forms of the especially connected words.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a phrase. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a simple expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a clause. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a period.

Therefore a word is functionally either —

(1) A sentence in itself or an integer,

(2) An essential component of a sentence, or

(3) An optional component of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predications, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either —

(1) An integer, or a sentence in itself.

(2) An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.
(3) An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement.

(4) A predicator, or indicative of its predicate.

(5) An illustrator, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.

(6) A connector, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components.

(7) An introducutor, or explanatory of its purpose.

(8) A referent conjunctor, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.

(9) A referent substitute, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfill all the functions of words, or it may fulfill only one function, or it may fulfill many functions. When a word can fulfill more than one function, the function it fulfills in a particular sentence is indicated by its position in the sentence, either without variation of form or with variation of form. There are, therefore, classes of words.

Since a word may fulfill only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also, since a word may fulfill more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfill. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its position in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its form.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class, and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfills a new function, it becomes a new word connected with the original word. The relation between connected words is that of parent and off-shoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and off-shoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or simple stem, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or compound stem. A compound stem consists of a principal part or root, and additional parts or radical affixes. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfill functions and belong to classes, they possess inherent qualities. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by qualitative affixes.

Affixes are, therefore, functional, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; radical, or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; qualitative, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be —

(1) prefixes, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;
(2) infixes, or fixed into the root, stem, or word;
(3) suffixes, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.
Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their full form, or in a varied form. When there is variation of form, there is inflexion or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and inflected words may conform to particular kinds of inflexion.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its component, with their position, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms.

Since sentences, are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, classes of languages.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or by those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) pre-mutative languages, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intro-mutative languages, or those that infix their affixes; (3) post-mutative languages, or those that suffix their affixes.

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either pre-mutative, intro-mutative, or post-mutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be connected languages, or those that vary the forms or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered or altered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose stems are common belong to a group. Connected languages whose roots are common belong to a family; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M. B. A. S.

(Continued from p. 219)

CHAPTER X.

Reign of Sultan ‘Alâ-ud-Din Ahmad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah.

After the death of Sultan Ahmad Shah, with the concurrence and approval of the nobles and heads of the army, on Monday, the 22nd of the month Rajab in the year 838 (21st February, A. D. 1435) Sultan ‘Alâ-ud-Din ascended the throne; and, according to the custom
of kings, the great sayyids, sheikhs, and learned men being present at the time of the sovereign’s taking his seat on the royal throne, and his highness Malik-ul-Mushālikh Shāh Burhān-ud-Din Khalif-ULLAH, son of Shāh Nūr-ud-Dīn Nī‘mat-Ullāh Wālī, who was the religious instructor of this king and son of the spiritual adviser of the late Sultan, took hold of the Sultan’s right hand; and Saiyid Khaṣaf taking his left hand, they seated him on the throne; and the nobles and grandees scattered money. The Sultan placing two chairs, one on each side of the throne for those two illustrious fortunate ones, they were seated on his right and left; and the other sayyids and learned men — such as Malik-ul-Ulama Kāsī Ahmad Kabūl Sādār-i Jahan and Sādār-ul-Ulama Kāsī Niẓam-ud-Dīn Sharīf Sharīf-i Jahan and Malik-ul-Mudarrisain83 Saiyid Aḥmad Jurlān obtained permission to sit at the foot of the throne. The courtiers congratulated the Sultan on his accession, and in eloquent language sang his praises; and each one according to his rank and station received robes of honour and other gifts. Poets recited elegant congratulatory verses and were rewarded by kingly gifts.

When by common consent Sultan ‘Ala-ud-Dīn succeeded to the absolute sovereignty of the Dakhān by hereditary right and descent he regulated in such a manner the distribution of justice and the erection of the structure of equity that the impression of the beneficence of Faridān was eclipsed, and Nashīrawān’s fame for justice was powerless to compete with it.

On Fridays and festival days he used himself to ascend the pulpit and read a khutba in extremely eloquent language. Owing to his excessive mildness and mercy he was averse to the shedding of blood or hanging, and he generally spent the happy hours in playing and toying and pleasure and mirth and the society of rosy-cheeked, sugar-lipped fair ones and youths with cypress-like stature and silvery forms. From sociableness and excess of banqueting after this class of people he used not to attend to state affairs as much as he ought, and from want of attention to the important affairs of government, the affairs of the kingdom continually fell into commotion and confusion, and his subjects became disgusted, as will be shown hereafter.

Sultan ‘Ala-ud-Dīn in the early part of his reign dismissed several of the amirs, ministers of state and inferior officers of government, and appointed a number of others in their places: thus Miyaḥ Muḥammad Niẓam-ul-Mulk Aḥmad Shāh was dismissed from his government and put to death. Kawām-ul-Mulk Ghurī received the title of Niẓam-ul-Mulk, and his son became Kawām-ul-Mulk. Muḥammad bin ‘Ali Bawardi — who was Khwājah Jahan — and the other nobles and ministers were confirmed in the titles and appointments which they already held.

The Sultan appointed two of his own slaves commanders of the right and left wings of the army. The command of the left wing — by the custom of the late Sultan — was given the preference over all the dignities of the right wing, and Malū Khān had been appointed to it, and Sārān Khān to the command of the right wing.84 The descendants of Malīk Muḥammad Afghān, in’dmardar of the district of Halkundah were advanced to very high rank: thus Malīk ‘Imād-ul-Mulk obtained Mubarakabād Miraq on feudal tenure; and another of that clique obtained the title of Mu’azzam Khān, and the district of Bījāpur was assigned to him on feudal tenure. Mūshir-ul-Mulk Afghān took on feudal tenure Halsanga which is a taraf of Bījāpur; and the greatest of them received the title of Majlis Akram Dilāwar Khān, and was promoted to a government.

In the beginning of his reign the Sultan constructed a garden and palace named Ni’matābād on the bank of the river. In that Paradise-like garden and palace, which was distant about one tarafād on the capital, the Sultan took up his abode; and reclining on the māmād of pleasure and delight he employed himself in drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine and enjoying himself with ruby-lipped, heart-ravishing (females) and in listening to the melodies of sweet-tongued musicians.

83 King of the Professors.
84 Vide page 117.
85 About 6,000 yards.
The nobles and great men used every day to perform the sanctuary of that khat'ah with their business unattended to. Moreover, many of the courtiers, nobles and generals built houses for themselves in the neighbourhood of that lofty building, and took up their abode there, so that they might often have the honour of an audience.

At this time Sanjar Khán, who was one of the greatest of the Sultán’s nobles, in accordance with orders was engaged in fighting against the Uriah leader of the infidels of Telengáná, and used constantly to take as prisoners the cursed people of that district, and used to send them to court; and the Sultán after confirming them in the faith of Islam sent them on to Prince Humáyún Khán, who was the eldest of his sons. By the aid of God many of these wanderers in the desert of error and ignorance were led to the pleasant fountain of the right road, and by the light of Islam the darkness of infidelity was expelled from their hearts, and two of them were promoted to the rank of amir and wasir. The Sultán himself used often to say: — “Why does Sanjar Khán match himself in battle against the possessors of elephants?” For at that time in the government of the Bahmani Sultán there were not more than about one hundred and fifty elephants, whilst those infidels had nearly two hundred thousand. Notwithstanding this the gallant Sanjar Khán was continually plundering their country, and used not to fail in killing and imprisoning the worshippers of idols.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultán sent Diláwar Khán Afgán with a large force to take the entrenchment and fort of Shārkah. He accordingly set out with his force, and having arrived at those frontiers, after some parleying and fighting settled matters peaceably; and taking an immense amount of valuable property for the government from the chief of each of the two districts, returned to court. But when he went to pay his respects to the Sultán he was dismissed from his government, and a eunuch who had recently received the title of Dastúr-ul-Mulk was appointed in his place. The people of the Dakhán being much distressed by the tyranny and oppression of that untrustworthy one used to complain of him day and night at the court; but the Sultán, from the extreme mildness of his disposition, used to wink at it, and do nothing to check his oppression of inferiors; but Prince Humáyún Khán, from his innate mercy, out of kindness ordered one of his attendants to watch for an opportunity to free the people from the oppression of that mutilated one.

In this year Naṣir Khán, Wáil of Aśir, conceived the idea of conquering the Sultán’s dominions; and notwithstanding the long-established friendship and agreement between them, he invaded the Bahmání territory and began to plunder and devastate. The Sultán on hearing that Naṣir Khán with a large army had invaded his territory and laid waste several villages on the frontier, proposed to each one of his nobles to fight against Naṣir Khán, but none of them would undertake it. At last he summoned Khalf Malik-ut-Tijár and nominated him for this business. Khalf without delay or thought consented, and applied himself to the task of putting down Naṣir Khán’s rebellion. The Sultán conferred many favours and benefits on Khalf, and presenting him with his own special robe gave into his hands a naked sword with a golden inscription on it. Khalf took leave of the Sultán and set out without even first going to his own house.

When the news of the approach of Khalf Malik-ut-Tijár with a numerous force of spearmen reached Naṣir Khán, he did not think it advisable to remain in the Sultán’s territory, so he abandoned the vain expectations and desires which he had entertained, and being unable to oppose himself to the royal army, as a last resource he took to flight and shut himself up in the fortress of Aśir. Khalf Malik-ut-Tijár pursuing him reached the neighbourhood of the fortress, and surrounding it laid siege to it. This continued for a long time till at last the distracted life of Naṣir Khán, by order of the Almighty, becoming a captive in the claws of fate

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86 Not identified. Perhaps it is the name of the renegade chief called Sirkah a little farther on.
87 Ruler of Khandesh, and father-in-law of the Sultán.
88 A play on words: — اصغر حمار آباد کرديه.
the bird of his spirit flew off from the narrow fortress of his body towards its native country. This event happened in A.D. 839 (A.D. 1435).

After this Khalf Malik-ut-Tijar returned with much booty to the court and paid his respects to the Sultan.

Rebellion of Muhammad Khan, the Sultan’s brother.

The Sultan proceeds to put it down.

In this year, by the suggestion of the wicked devil of seduction, the idea of rebellion and ingratitude having obtained a hold on the heart of Muhammad Khan, the younger brother of the Sultan, he turned the reins of opposition towards the desert of error, and after killing ‘Imad-ud-Mulk Ghur on the bank of the river Pen Gangâ he raised aloft the canopy of sovereignty and the banner of pomp, and required the affection and favours of the Sultan by rebellion.

When the king became aware of the movements of Muhammad Khan he collected a large army and set out from the seat of government to suppress the rebellion.

On the other hand Muhammad Khan also assembled a large force and hastened to oppose him. After encountering one another the fire of slaughter was kindled on both sides, and extended to Mâhr, and owing to the bodies of those slain on both sides the road became so blocked that the east and west winds were shut out. At last victory declared itself on the side of the Sultan, and the army of Muhammad Khan was routed: the latter, finding that fortune had turned against him, took to flight. The Sultan ordered a number of his troops to go in pursuit of Muhammad Khan, but gave strict injunctions not to injure him personally: and if they caught him, to bring him without using violence to the foot of the throne, and if not, to let him go. But Muhammad Khan having escaped with his life from this affair repented of that improper action which had emanated from the suggestions of the devil, and sent an eloquent messenger to the Sultan to sue for pardon. The Sultan graciously forgave his past offences and caused a treaty to be drawn up assigning to him on feudal tenure the district of Rayachal in Telungana, and sent him the royal diploma of the jagir together with the treaty. Muhammad Khan, conciliated and made happy by the favour and kindness of the Sultan, proceeded to his own districts and did not again swerve from the path of obedience and submission.

During the time of Muhammad Khan’s rebellion the infidels of Vijayanagar, thinking it a good opportunity, had invaded the territories of Islam, and taken possession of the fort of Mudgal, and devastated all the surrounding country; so, after suppressing the rebellion of Muhammad Khan, the Sultan, in retaliation, proceeded with a large force towards the Vijayanagar territory.

When the news of his approach reached the ruler of Vijayanagar he fortified himself in the fortress of Mudgal, which is one of the strongest forts of that country; and having filled that strong fortress with his choicest veteran troops he made ready for battle. The Sultan pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Mudgal, and his troops formed a cordon round it. After the siege had lasted for some time signs of weakness and despondency being apparent on the side of the defenders of the fort, they sued for quarter; and agreeing to give security, sent messengers to the court of the Sultan professing obedience and submission. They agreed to pay tribute by paying a large sum into the royal treasury; also to pay compensation for any injury inflicted on the Sultan’s subjects, and in future never to presume to invade the Sultan’s territory, and each year to remit a certain sum to the royal treasury. After that, the Sultan having effected his object returned to his capital.

In several histories it is stated that Sultan ‘Alâ-ud-Din remained nearly two years on this journey, and waged a jihad against the infidels of those countries. The forts of Mudgal,
Chandan-Wandhan and Sátárá besides many other fortresses and walled towns (bárāh) fell into the possession of the Sultán's army; and after successfully accomplishing his desires he returned to his capital.

After he had finished suppressing the sedition of rebels and killing and plundering the idol-worshippers he spent his time in pleasure and enjoyment in gay society.

In the midst of these affairs His Highness Malik-ul-Mushá'ikh Sháh Khallí-Ulláh bin Sháh Núr-ud-Dín Ni'mat-Ulláh died. This illustrious man of high origin left two sons: one of them — Sháh Ḥabib-Ulláh — was son-in-law of Sultán Ahmad Sháh; and the other — Sháh Mühabb-Ulláh — was son-in-law of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the latter having given him his eldest daughter in marriage.

Massacre of Saiyids in the fort of Chákanah (Chákan).

In this year (688 = A. D. 1454) Khalf Hasan contemplated the conquest of Sankísar (Sangamésvar) which is one of the greatest of the forts on the sea coast; his reason being that a great number of infidels under the protection of this strong fortress, and relying upon the thick jungle and difficult obscure places used to engage in highway-robery by sea as well as by land, and on account of the wickedness of these people Musalmáns passing to and fro used to be in a continual state of terror.

Khalf Malik-ut-Tijár first laid siege to and took the fortress of an infidel who was called Sirkah; and the cursed Sirkah, who had been made prisoner by the army of Islam was given the option of embracing the faith of Islam or being sent to hell. The accursed one having come into the Faith by the door of pretext and duplicity voluntarily made the following proposal: —

"I have always been familiar with this mountainous and forest-covered district of Sangameshvar; and now that I have embraced the Faith of Islam, to protect any longer the professors of paganism and infidelity would be anathema maranka to me. If you will proceed in that direction that fortress also will easily fall into your hands, especially as I shall be in close attendance on you, and the difficulties of the road and the intricacies of the jungle will be no obstacle to you; for I shall lead your force to the foot of the fortress by such a road that they will experience no inconvenience, and you will attain the object of your desires.

Khalf Hasan, deceived by the speech of his villainous enemy, taking him as guide of the vanguard of his force, proceeded in that direction. However much the army showed to Khalf the evil of that action, which was of unswerving regret, yet — according to the verse —

"When Fate hangs down its wing from heaven
All the sagacious become blind and deaf"—

the veil of predestination had hung down the curtain of negligence over his arrangements, and the speech of his monitors made no impression on him till the black-faced depraved guide took the army by a road, from terror of the ups and downs of which even the devil would have been confounded. At last they arrived at a place where from three sides lofty mountains reared their heads to the revolving heavens, and the depth of its valleys extended below the earth; the skirt of that mountain as well as the plain was filled with a jungle extremely difficult to pass through owing to the intricacy of the trees, and one side of it was connected with an encircling sea creek. In this dreadful and deadly place nearly thirty or forty thousand cavalry and infantry were crowded together ready for battle, and to make matter worse Khalf Malik-ut-Tijár was at that time afflicted with a dangerous illness, so that he could scarcely move. In this state of affairs the infidels threw themselves on the army of Islam, and Khalf and a great number of saiyids and pious men suffered martyrdom. The remnant of the routed force, who with a hundred thousand difficulties escaped with their lives, hurried to the town of Chákan which was the permanent abode of Khalf, whilst the armies of the Dakkan, who from olden times had been the deadly enemies of foreigners, picturing this affair in an infamous manner, reported it to the Sultán. The latter on hearing their version, in his anger, without thinking
of the perfidy of which he was guilty, concurred with the base advice of the vezīrs that the remainder of the saiyids and foreigners should be put to death; and by one wrong order uprooted the foundation of the lives of so many thousand foreigners and poor people and descendants of the chief of the Prophets.

Bājā Ḥustam, who had the title of Niğām-ul-Mulk, and Sālār Ḥamshah who was Mushir-ul-Mulk, being in agreement with one another, assembled a countless force of Musalmāns and Hindūs and proceeded towards the fort of Chākan which was the place of residence of the foreigners. At that time nearly 1,200 saiyids of pure descent from the city of the Prophet Muhammad and the holy martyrs, ‘Alī and Imām ʿUsāain, together with 1,000 other foreigners—pious and abstinent followers of Islam—resided in that fortress.

When the Dakhkhānil vezīrs arrived in the neighbourhood of the dwelling-place of those poor foreigners and heard their numbers they saw that a peaceable policy was advisable, so they offered them safe conduct (amān), and with deluding and strongly-expressed oaths allayed the fears of those foreigners of good disposition, and invited a number of them to a friendly conference; and those simple-minded people placed such reliance on the false oaths that from the fastness of the fortress they stepped into the desert of death and opened on their own faces the door of annihilation, till the whole of them had fallen into the mouth of the crocodile of misfortune and the net of affliction. But on that day the vezīrs clothed the saiyids and foreigners from head to foot and sent them to their homes. On the next day when the sun rose it the east the Dakhkhānil amir arranged a great feast and summoned those saiyids and foreigners from their dwellings under the pretence of an entertainment; but they had concealed nearly two or three thousand armed men in appointed places, so that when they found an opportunity they might put the guests to the sword. All the unfortunate saiyids and foreigners, at the proposal of the treacherous amir, put away their arms and came into the place of slaughter; and the amir, inventing a new way of entertaining guests, seated their dear guests with the greatest ceremony; and every now and then, on pretence of food, took a number of them aside to the place which was their place of sacrifice, and there entertained them with the water of the sword of tyranny and the sharbat of destruction, so that about 1,200 saiyids of pure lineage and nearly 1,000 other foreigners from seven to seventeen years of age were put to the sword, and all of them at that entertainment were made to taste the sharbat of death.

Since the occurrence at Karbalā and the tyranny of the shameless Zaid, at no time have such misfortunes been inflicted on the servants of God. The perpetrators of it will doubtless receive retribution on the day of judgment. In this world happened to them what happened, as is related. Those two maleficient sarvārs in that same season were seized with leprosy, the worst of infirmities and diseases, and their sons used to swagger through the streets of the bāzār, and how much more so their daughters!

Enmity between Sultān ʿAlī-ud-Dīn and Sultān Mahmūd Khilji.

Whilst the Dakhkhānil amir had been oppressing the saiyids and foreigners in the manner related, Jalāl Khān, grandson of Saiyid Jalāl Bukhārī, with his son Sikandar Khān, who had been specially distinguished and exalted on account of his education and beneficence, had with them two or three thousand well-trained and experienced cavalry, but as they counted themselves among the number of the foreigners they feared to present themselves at court lest they should meet with the same fate as their compatriots. Their enemies used to prevent their having an opportunity of speech, so that they were counted as rebels and infidels, and their traducers made the fact of their not presenting themselves at court to seem like a proof of the accusation; and used to say: — "The truth or falsehood of the matter will be settled by summoning them; if they come, all doubts will be set at rest, but if not they should be driven away; for once the fire of sedition waxes high it cannot easily be extinguished.

"The fountain-head may be stopped with a spade;
But when it is full, it cannot be crossed on an elephant."
The Sultan lent a willing ear to the speech of these mischief-makers, and sent a person to summon Jalal Khan and Sikandar Khan. They with soothing excuses sought means of avoiding compliance with the summons of the Sultan, and showed some reluctance to appear at court. But their excuses only tended to strengthen the suspicions of the Sultan, who proceeded against them with a numerous army. When they heard of the Sultan’s approach, Sikandar Khan left his father together with his family and baggage in the fortress of Balkonda with some reliable troops, while he himself with 1,000 cavalry crossed over to Mahur, and from there wrote a letter to Mahmud Khilji, who in those days was the ruler of the kingdom of Malwa, representing his weakness and despair, and asking that king to come to the assistance of the descendants of Ahmad Muktar.

Sultan Mahmud, who expected some such contingency, resolved to proceed to the Dakkhân with a large force. Marching by stages he arrived at Mahur, where Sikandar Khan joined him. The Sultan at that time was on his way to Balkonda, and when he heard of the approach of Sultan Mahmud he went to oppose him.

Historians have related that on that occasion the Sultan (Ala-ud-Din) had with him nearly 180,000 cavalry, and the army of Sultan Mahmud was not more than 50,000 cavalry. When only one stage remained between the two forces, and Sultan Mahmud became aware of the numbers opposed to him he knew that it would be folly to contend against them, so returned to his own country by double marches. He left one of the amirs of his army with 1,000 cavalry to protect Sikandar Khan, with orders that if the latter contemplated returning to his own country he was to be prevented.

Sikandar Khan who was now hopeless of assistance from Sultan Mahmud, repented of his rebellion and wished to rejoin his father and children whom he had left in the fortress of Balkonda; so he used to remain two or three stages behind on pretence of obtaining provisions. One day, according to custom he did this till Sultan Mahmud was a day’s march ahead; and Sikandar Khan then resolved to go to Balkonda, and accordingly turned in that direction. The force which had been appointed for his protection tried to prevent him, but the heroic Sikandar Khan attacked them, and they not being sufficiently strong to resist him refrained, and Sikandar Khan moving in the direction previously determined on rejoined Jalal Khan and his family. After consultation he then sent a person to the Sultan’s court, expressing contrition for what had occurred and suing for quarter. The Sultan pardoned him and received him at court with much favour and kindness.

When the Sultan had reigned for a period of 23 years, 9 months and 22 days he died.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Ahmad Shah was a king adorned with the ornaments of clemency, generosity, learning and sincerity. Although he spent most of his time in the society of beautiful youths and in such like pleasures; so that it is mentioned in histories that he had in his haram several thousand female slaves, with whom he spent the best part of his time; still he did not neglect the poor and needy and his subjects and dependents.

In the early part of his reign he released each person who had been wrongfully imprisoned, and he strove to utmost in the propagation and adornment of the faith of Islam. He threw down ancient churches and idol-temples, and in place of them founded masjids, public schools and charitable institutions, among which was a hospital of perfect elegance and purity of style, which he built in his capital, Bidar, and made two beautiful villages there as a pious endowment, in order that the revenue of these villages should be solely devoted to supplying medicines and drinks; and skilful physicians were engaged to attend to the sick and afflicted friendless poor, and with the favour of God they used to cure the people of their ailments. So much did he attend to carrying out the orders and prohibitions of the divine law that even the name of wine and all intoxicating liquors was abrogated in his jurisdiction;

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80 The word in the original is kadiis, plural of kansiAH, church. Does this mean Christian Churches?  
81 مرقع.
and if now and then some one fearless of the consequences drank wine or any intoxicating liquor, molten lead used to be poured down his throat. Those guilty of night-brawling and lewd practices were banished from his dominions, so that not even the name of such people remained in the country; and qalāndars, beer-drinkers and gamblers, according to the Sultān’s orders had chains put on their necks and were punished by being made to clean dirty places and drag stones and clay and do such like hard labour, in order that if industrious they might earn their livelihood by useful employment and not engage in forbidden practices. The Superintendents of Police were ordered to instruct the common people of the city and the people of the bāds in the customs of Islam and the laws regarding lawful and unlawful things and the laws of the Prophet, and repent of sins and prohibited things. He himself used to attend evening prayer on Fridays and festival days and read a ḵaṭbā with much eloquence, and land himself by the titles: “The Sultān, the learned, the just, the clement, the benign, the merciful to the servants of God, the independent ‘Alā-ud-Dīn wa-ṣad-Dūnyā Aḥmad Shāh al Wall al Bahman.”

In some histories it is mentioned that Saiyid Ajall, who was of the family of Kattlah and one of the chiefs of the pious descendants of the Prophet in the place of martyrdom, and was much grieved and vexed at the massacre of the saiyyids of Chākan, was present in the masjid one day when the Sultān landed himself with the above-mentioned titles. Without hesitation Saiyid Ajall stood up and said: “God to thee for a liar; thou art not the just, the merciful nor the clement, thou who hast massacred the descendants of the Prophet, and yet sayest these words in the pulpits of the Musalim.” This he said, and went out of the masjid.

The death of the Sultān occurred in the latter part of Jumādā I. in the year 862 (April, A. D. 1457).  

[The following brief account of the foregoing reign is taken from the Taskarat-ul-Mulāk.]


When Sultān ‘Alā-ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh became established on the throne in his father’s place he used to honour Makhdūm Khwājah Jahān even more than his father had done, and the Khwājah used his best endeavours in consolidating the dominions, and he caused to the government incalculable profits which he collected in the royal treasury; and the treasury was so well filled that in the time of former kings it did not contain a hundredth part of the amount. He used often to send an army to the infidels’ frontier, and conquer their country and exact tribute from them by way of capitation tax. In whatever direction the royal army proceeded they returned victorious; and from all directions and from every country soldiers and merchants flocked towards the city of Bidār.

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He died in the year 866 (A.D. 1461–2) after a reign of 23 years, 9 months and 7 days. He appointed his son Humayūn Shāh as his successor.

Chapter XI.

Reign of Humayūn Shāh, son of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh.

Although the late Sultān had bequeathed the sovereignty to Sultān Humayūn Shāh, who was the eldest of his sons, and had made him heir-apparent, yet since most of the nobles, ministers of state, princes and the inmates of the ārama were in terror of Humayūn Shāh, they were unwilling to have him as king; on this account both nobles and plebeians concurred in wishing to raise to the throne Hasan Khān, son of Sultān ‘Alā-ud-Dīn; accordingly they seated him on the throne and plighted their fealty to him, whilst the common people, citizens and soldiery entered the house of Humayūn Shāh and began to plunder and pillage. Humayūn

*9 The Taskarat-ul-Mulāk gives the date of his death four years later than this.
Shāh, together with Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh, grandson of Shāh Niẓāmat-Ullāh and eighty troopers whom he had as a body-guard, intending to take to flight, came out of the house and happened to pass by the darbār. The elephant-keepers who were standing ready with the elephants, being well acquainted with Humāyūn, came forward and saluted him. Saif Khan and Ulugh Khan had been appointed to protect the darbār, and when they saw Sultan Humāyūn Shāh, Ulugh Khan opened the door and invited him to enter. Sultan Humāyūn, relying upon his word, entered and killed Saif Khan with his sword, and with the acquiescence of Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh and the favour of God ascended the throne, and giving Hasan Khan a slap in the face said: — “How dared you during my lifetime desire sovereignty and sit on the royal throne?” He then imprisoned Hasan Khan and ascended the throne.

The nobles who had sworn allegiance to Hasan Khan were not willing to have Humāyūn Shāh as king: some of them from fear took to flight. Among these Rāja Rustam Niẓam-ul-Mulk, who was the pivot of the kingdom and the pillar of the state, fled towards Chākān and Junīr (Junnar), where joining his son, who was Malik-ut-Tujjār and governor of that district, he fled towards Gujarāt; and Malū Khan, commander of the left wing of the army, fled to Rāčchār.

Sultan Humāyūn Shāh ascended the throne on the 22nd of the month Jamādī līlī in the year above mentioned. He put to death all the nobles who had been in a state of rebellion. Some, together with Hasan Khan, he imprisoned. The courtiers and others volens volens submitted to his rule.

Humāyūn Shāh was a king who in learning, eloquence and wit stood alone and distinct among the sovereigns of his time. In valour he was like the brazen-bodied Isfandýár, and in bodily strength unrivalled in the Dakhān; but with so many personal excellencies and outward and inward perfections he was of fierce disposition and a shedder of blood: he showed no compassion towards one accused of a crime, and fearlessly shed the blood of Musalmāns for the most trivial offences. When he ascended the throne, seeing the importance of having a reliable and prudent minister who would be of one accord with him, he recalled and placed the affairs of government in the hands of Najm-ud-Dīn Mahmūd bin Muḥammad Gāwān Gīlānī, who was one of the great men of the kingdom, and in justice, penetration and profundity of reflection was the most accomplished of his age, and was afterwards promoted to the title of Khwājah Jahān. The Sultan presented him with a special robe of honour and golden belt, and in showing his regard for him and exalting his dignity neglected not the smallest particulars; and that sincere-minded and able minister in his high office regulated the affairs of government in such a way that there was no room for improvement.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan learned that Sikandar Khan, son of Jalāl Khan Bukhārī, at the instigation of the devil, had raised the standard of rebellion and with a large force was advancing on Golconda. On hearing this news the Sultan was excessively enraged, and ordering a large force to be assembled, sent Khan Jahān in command of it. The latter making rapid marches reached Sikandar Khan and engaged him, but being unequal in strength, after some slight skirmishing he took to flight. The Sultan was furious on hearing the news and determined to go there himself. When Sikandar Khan heard of his arrival he boldly attacked the Sultan’s force and used his best endeavours, but fortune only laughed at him; his army was defeated and he himself slain.
After Sikandar Khán had met with the due requital of his rebellion and ingratitude, the Sultan proceeded against Jalál Khán, Sikandar Khán’s father, but the latter on hearing of the Sultan’s approach, wrote to him tendering his submission, and was pardoned and received at court. The Sultan then returned to his capital. After he had spent some time there in looking after the interests of his subjects he determined on a jihad against the infidels of Tilang; accordingly he assembled a large force and proceeded in that direction. Having given the command of a portion of the army to Khwájah Jahán Turk he despatched him in advance with some of the amirs and generals, while he himself followed with the remainder of the army.

Khwájah Jahán with nearly 20,000 cavalry and forty elephants and a countless number of infantry started ahead of the Sultan’s force, and in due course arrived within sight of the fort of Dāvarakonda, which owing to its immense strength had never been taken by any conqueror. It was excessively lofty and had a deep aqueduct running into it. There Khwájah Jahán pitched his camp and laid siege to the fort. After the lapse of some days, the defenders of the fortress being reduced to extremities, sent a message to the Ray of Uriya (Orissa) who at that time was chief of the infidels of that country. They represented to him the helpless state to which they were reduced, and agreed to pay him a large sum if he would send an army to their assistance and free them from that deadly strait. That assured one, from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism, thought himself bound to assist the infidels of that fortress; so he sent a countless force with a hundred elephants to the assistance of the defenders of the fortress. When this news reached Khwájah Jahán he held a council of war with the amirs and Khán. ‘Imád-úl-Mulk, who was celebrated for his bravery, knowledge and shrewdness, advised that before the junction of the army of Orissa with that of Tilang, they should move their camp from that confined space into the open plain, where they would fight more advantageously. In truth this plan was by far the best; but Fate had so hung the curtain of negligence over the eye of Khwájah Jahán’s judgment that he could not distinguish right from wrong, and he took his own course. Suddenly the enemy’s army came into view of Khwájah Jahán’s force; and the defenders of the fortress, seeing the standards of the infidels in the distance, opened the gate of the fortress and sallied out, so that the army of Islam was hemmed in between the two forces and attacked on both sides. The infidels’ forces being more numerous than that of Islam the latter was routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted. The Mussalmáns were pursued to a distance of three farakhs; nearly six or seven thousand of their cavalry were killed, and a great number besides died of thirst in the deserts.

At this time the Sultan had arrived within 20 farakhs when messengers brought him the news of the defeat of Khwájah Jahán and the massacre and plundering of his army; and following closely on this news the remnant of the defeated army also arrived. The world-consuming anger of the Sultan being kindled he burned up the harvest of life of Nílám-ul-Mulk Ghúrí and Iklim Khán. Khwájah Jahán and all the military officers he punished with various kinds of insult and torture, or imprisoned. He then set out on an expedition against the infidels to avenge the disaster; but in the meantime a messenger arrived from Bídár, who informed the Sultan that Yusuf Turk having released from prison Hasan Khán and Munzír Hábíb Ulláh — grandson of Sháh Ni’mat-Ulláh — gained over a number of the troops that had proceeded to the district of Bhág.

For the right understanding of this matter it is necessary to explain that when the Sultan went with his army to take vengeance on the infidels, seven persons, particular friends of

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1 According to Fírishtáh he was imprisoned: and we read further on (page 169) that he was killed when the prisoners made their escape.

2 Dávarakonda was at that time in possession of the zamindárs of Teliqgáná, and its inhabitants had been in alliance with Sikandar Khán. — Fírishtáh.

3 According to Fírishtáh this was Nílám-ul-Mulk. The latter is probably correct, as we see a little further on that Nílám-ul-Mulk Ghúrí and Iklim Khán were put to death. Khwájah Jahán told a deliberate lie in order to save himself at the expense of Nílám-ul-Mulk.

1 A little more than 10 miles. Fírishtáh says they were pursued 80 miles.

2 A little over 68 miles.
Mīrzā Ḥabīb-ʿUllāh, who by the accidents of fate had been dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, having assembled like the Pleiades, planned the release of their spiritual preceptor, and forming a confederacy went to Malik Yusuf Turk (one of the slaves of the late Sultan ʿAlā-ud-Dīn, and celebrated for his great integrity and devotion, charities and piety) and disclosed to him their secret plans. Yusuf entered into the views of the associates and made an agreement with them. Some of the kotwāls of the fortress being also on their side, twelve souārs and fifty foot-soldiers joined them: nearly five or six thousand cavalry together with several celebrated amīrs also agreed to join the kotwāls of the fortress.

When it was nearly evening, Yusuf Turk and the associates went to the gate of the fortress. At that hour each of the gate-keepers had gone about some business, and the few who were present tried to stop them: but Yusuf had prepared a farānā with a ruby-coloured seal — which was customary on the royal mandates of the Sultāns of the Dakhān — and showed it to the gate-keepers. By this means they passed through the first door, but when they arrived at the second door, which was the principal one of the fortress, a great number of men came forward to stop them, and said that until the kotwāl’s permit came they could not act upon the farānā. Yusuf seeing that the sword was the only means of silencing their tongues, cut off their heads and entered the fortress. By this time the sun having set a great darkness had fallen over the fortress. A number of them going to the door of the great prison, which adjoined that of the fortress, broke it open with axes. Nearly six or seven thousand saiyyids and learned and pious men were confined in that prison, and when they found the doors open and saw the means of effecting their escape, they broke their chains and manacles with sticks and stones and rushed to the door of the prison. The friends of Mīrzā Ḥabīb-ʿUllāh who had caused all this disturbance then went to a village called Mīrzā-Dih, and there all were released from their bonds. Now in the fortress, between friends and enemies, there were 12,000 persons with swords and axes scattered about, so the whole city was soon in a state of riot and confusion; and as owing to the darkness of the night friends and enemies could not be distinguished from one another, many were killed. Yahyā Khān, son of Sultān ʿAlā-ud-Dīn, and Jalāl Khān Buhārī were basely and cruelly killed on that dark night. Hasan Khān, the sovereign of a moment, who as yet had tasted only the bitterness of life, rushed out of the fortress and hiding himself in the house of a barber disguised himself in the dress of a darvāzeh, and Mīrzā Ḥabīb-ʿUllāh with his friends joined him. The Mīrzā wished to retire into a sequestered life, but Hasan Khān persuaded him against it, so they made a mutual agreement, and leaving the city set out for Bīr. The soldiers, obtaining information of this, sought them from all sides, and in a few days a great number joined them.

When the news of this insurrection reached the ears of Humāyūn Shāh the fire of his world-consuming wrath began to blaze up, and he became like a madman: he put in chains and threw under elephants a great number of his amīrs and generals, and returned in all haste to his capital. On the way, in the excess of his rage, he used to bite the back of his hand till the blood flowed from it. The author of the Tarikh-i Maḥmūd Shāhī, who was one of the courtiers of Humāyūn Shāh, relates as follows: — “I have heard that when the news of the insurrection of Hasan Khān reached the Sultan he was so overpowered with fury that there were times when in his rage he used to tear the collar of his garment and bite the ground till his teeth were covered with blood; and when he arrived in the city of Bidar, such shedding of blood and such numerous acts of tyranny and oppression emanated from him that no preceding tyrant had been guilty of such.”

Sultān Humāyūn Shāh told off a force to go in pursuit of Hasan Khān and Mīrzā Ḥabīb-ʿUllāh, who had gone in the direction of Bījāpur. Sirāj Khān — who afterwards became Mu’azzam Khān — was governor of that place. He met the fugitives with all kinds of honour

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8 Ḥabīb-ʿUllāh had been imprisoned on account of his friendship for Prince Hasan Khān. — Firuṣṭah.

9 Properly Bīlā. A little further on they are said to have gone to Bījāpur. The two places are about equally distant from Ṣedār. Firuṣṭah also says they went towards Bīlā.
and ceremony, waited on them with propriety and presented them with suitable gifts, and making an agreement and compact with them, emptied the fortress and brought them into it; but at night-fall he assembled a large force, and in the quiet of the morning when Hasan Khan and his adherents were wrapped in a deep sleep in their beds the double-dealing Siraj Khan with his troops entered the fortress, and taking possession of the horses and baggage, surrounded the citadel in which were Hasan Khan and Mirza Habib-Ullah with their six devoted followers; and when the sleepers awoke they saw the hostile troops which had surrounded the citadel. When Hasan Khan saw what had happened he cried for quarter. Although Mirza Habib-Ullah endeavoured to dissuade him from showing this weakness and humility, and reminded him of the want of faith and trustworthiness of those people, and in language suggested by their situation, quoted the verse:—

"The snake in protecting inflicts injury:
Moreover its tooth is poisonous."

Hasan Khan, from his excessive fear, gave no heed to his words, and at last threw himself on the mercy of Siraj Khan; but Mirza Habib-Ullah and his friends resolved not to accept quarter which was not at all to be relied upon. He said:—"We are all born to death, and are prepared for the arrival of the predestined moment. I am resolved never to place the hand of submission in your hand or sue for mercy from you.

An enemy does not become a life-long friend;
The Arabian thorn-tree produces no fruit but thorns.
The hyacinth does not grow from white seed.
Who ever saw sugar-cane produced from the common cane?
And strive as one may, one jewel does not become another."

His eloquence, however, made no impression on these people, and Shah Habib-Ullah and his friends suffered martyrdom. The poet Saiyid Tahir has composed a chronogram of the martyrdom of Shah Habib-Ullah, which occurred in A. H. 863, A. D. 1458.

Hasan Khan, to whom they had given a promise of security was sent to the court of Humayun Shah, and the Sultan caused him, in his own presence, to be thrown before tigers and killed. The faithless Siraj Khan, after breaking his promise became afflicted with leprosy.

After that Sultan Humayun Shah opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once. From the sighs of the hearts of the afflicted each night there used to be a thousand cavities in the livers of the celestial globe, and the daylight, from the smoke of the hearts (sighs) of the oppressed used to appear like a dark evening. The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water; and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sultan used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword.

Several of the new Musalmans whom Sanjar Khan in the time of the late Sultan, during his war with the infidels, had made prisoners — as already mentioned — were promoted to high dignity. Among these was a Brahmin youth to whom the name of Hasan and the surname of Bahri was given. He was a youth adorned with beauty both of person and disposition, and ornamented with perfect sagacity and shrewdness: on him was conferred the title of Sarang Khan.

Historians have related that Shitab Khan, one of the Sultan's amirs, having fled for his life, the Sultan, on the 27th of the month Ramaazan, which is the time for repentance, ordered
the inmates of his (Shitāb Khān's) ḥaran to present themselves in the court-yard of the court where there was an assemblage of common people and soldiers; and tortured them in a most shameful manner.

The sum of the matter is this that in the kingdom of the Dakkhān the torture of Āsmān and sudden misfortune had descended, and the storm of the vengeance of God had burst upon that city and its environs.

At length a welcome event occurred which opened the doors of mercy and rejoicing to those oppressed people: on the 28th of the month Zī-ul-Qa'dah Sulṭān Humāyūn Shāh was removed from the court of sovereignty to the vestibule of the last day, much to the delight of his subjects.

The death of Sulṭān Humāyūn Shāh occurred on the 27th of Zī-ul-Qa'dah in the year 865 (3rd October, A. D. 1461), and the period of his reign was three years, five months and five days.

The poet Nazir has composed the following chronogram of the death of Humāyūn Shāh:

"Humāyūn Shāh has passed away from the world.
"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humāyūn!
"On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
"So delight of the world gives the date of his death."

(To be continued.)

ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.
BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARDT.
Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E, Ph.D., I.C.S.
(Continued from p. 228.)

D. THE NUMERALS.
I. — Cardinal Numbers.
1. Simple Numbers.

252. (a) Units: ʿak, or ʿak, 1; ʿa, sq, 2; ʿa, tri or ʿre, 3; ʿa, tebr, 4; ʿa, pānts, 5; ʿa, shah, 6; ʿa, sat, 7; ʿa, ʿōf, 8; ʿa, nau, 9.

(b) Tens, hundreds, &c.; ʿa, dah (or ʿa, and so in all similar cases), 10; ʿa, wuh, 20, ʿa, ṭrāh, 30; ʿa, teatajih, 40; ʿa, pantedh, 50; ʿa, shaţh, 60; ʿa, satat, 70; ʿa, shīh, 80; ʿa, namat, 90; ʿa, hat, 100; ʿa, sās, 1,000; ʿa, pānts, 5,000; ʿa, dah sās, 10,000; ʿa, lachh, 100,000.

(c) Tens with units: ʿa, kāh, 11; ʿa, bāh, 12; ʿa, truđh, 13; ʿa, sej, 14.

Note: the name of a genius who presides over the 27th of every Persian solar month. Some consider this genius to be the same with Murdād or Asrael, the angel of death. — Johnson's Dictionary.

The author states above that Humāyūn died on the 28th of the month, and here on the 27th. Firāstah ives 28th.

Note: ʿa, ʿa, 586.
2. **Compound Numbers.**

(a) By addition with:

(2) AGED dakh, 10; 15136 teodh, 14; 15147 pandh, 15; 15148 sadh, 17; 15149 arad, 18.

(3) 15150 wuh, 20:

| 20 akawuh, 21 | 25 pentsuh, 25 |
| 20 zoahwuh, 22 | 26 shawuh, 26 |
| 20 trowuh, 23 | 27 satwuh, 27 |
| 20 tsowuh, 24 | 28 ahawuh, 28 |

(γ) 15151 trah, 30

| 30 akatrah, 31 | 35 pentsatrath, 35 |
| 30 doyatrah, 32 | 36 shayatrah, 36 |
| 30 teyatrah, 33 | 37 satatrath, 37 |
| 30 teyatrah, 34 | 38 atrath, 38 |

(δ) 15152 satajih, 40

| 40 akatjih, 41 | 45 pentsatjih, 45 |
| 40 doyatjih, 42 | 46 shayatjih (Wado sheetjih), 46 |
| 40 teyatjih, 43 | 47 satatjih, 47 |
| 40 teyatjih, 44 | 48 aratjih, 48 |

(ε) 15153 wansah (for 15154 pantsuh), 50

| 50 akawansah, 51 | 55 pentsawansah, 55 |
| 50 dowansah, 52 | 56 shawansah, 56 |
| 50 towanasah (Wado, tre), 53 | 57 satawansah, 57 |
| 50 tsowanah, 54 | 58 astransah, 58 |

(θ) 15155 shait, 60

| 60 akhaiith(-hlyth), 61 | 65 pentshaith, 65 |
| 60 dohail, 62 | 66 skhaith, 66 |
| 60 trehail, 63 | 67 satahaith, 67 |
| 60 tsohaith, 64 | 68 arahaith, 68 |
| 253. The numerals from 2 on, take the substantive in agreement in the plural; e. g., 70 people. |

II. Ordinals.

254. With the exception of godanyuk (fem. godanich, § 217) or goduk, first, and doyum, second, all ordinals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the syllable yum: e. g., trayum (three), third; tenyum, fourth; pentyum, fifth; shayum, sixth; satyum, seventh; ahıyum, eighth; naryum, ninth; byum, tenth; pandahyum, fifteenth; wuhum, twentieth, and so on. [The feminine is in — im, thus doyim, ğorim, teürim.]
III. Adverbial Numerals.

255. (1) Multiplicatives.

These are formed with the aid of the substantives ५ लीत (m. pl. ५ लीत, fem. pl. ५ लीत), ५ फरी (l. pl. ५ फरी, fem. ५ फरी), time, turn; ५ गुण, fem. ५ गुण, 'fold' in the following manner: — ५ अक लीत, one time, once; ५ अदित लीत, another time; ५ दोय लीत, the second time; ५ त्रिय लीत or ५ त्रिय लीत, three times (also ५ त्राण लीत); ५ त्राण लीत, seven times; ५ त्राण लीत, for the third time; ५ गुण (५ सती लीत), seventeen times seven; ५ गुण, 'many times, how many often; also ५ काली लीत (Mth. xxiii. 37); ५ काली लीत तब, up to how many times [५ गुण, fem. ५ गुण, one-fold; ५ गुण, fem. दोय लीत ५ गुण, two-fold; ५ गुण, fem. त्राण लीत ५ गुण, three-fold;]

५ गुण, four-fold; [Mth. xxviii. 8] has ५ त्राण गुण, thirty-fold; ५ गुण, sixty-fold; ५ गुण, a hundred-fold [all as adverbs].

256. (2) Distributives.

These are formed by the repetition of a number; e. g., अक अक ak ak, each on (cf. पानप पानप shahras andar, each in his own city).

257. IV. Quantitative Adjectives.

(1) ba'zi (dat. ba'zi), some: e. g., ba'zi sori dost, some of our friends.

(2) kaintes (instr. kaintes), several.

(3) sefha (dat. sefhan, also sefhan; instr. sefha) many.

(4) sori-y (dat. sori-y; fem. sori-y), whole; e. g., sori-y sori-y jamat, the whole assembly: abl. sori-y (for sori-y); e. g., sori-y sori-y jamaat, with his whole heart.

(5) sori-y (dat. soren soren-y; instr. sori-y), all.

(6) yi sori-y or yi sori-y kah, the whole; yi sori-y kah, all that.

258. V. Declension of Numerals.

The Numerals are declined like adjectives. Thus: — अक ak; dat. m. अक sori; instr. m. अक sori-y or अक sori-y kah, the whole; अक sori-y kah, all that.

* [The word is a corruption of the Skr. gâya, not of gâya, a mass, as suggested by the author.]

5. to Prepositions: ʻandara-y, even from (Luke i. 15).

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ATTEMPTED HUMAN SACRIFICE AT HINGOLI.

On the morning of the 4th of March a Hindu, named Govinda, a labourer engaged under the Public Works Department in repairing the Akla-Hingoli Road, came into the police office at Hingoli and lodged a complaint. He was horribly burned about the head, arms, and chest, parts being absolutely charred. His statement was that on the previous night he was returning from the Hingoli bādr to the stone-breakers' huts, two miles up the road. As he passed the cotton ginning mill, which stands by itself half way between the two places, he was invited by some men there to sit down and smoke in the mill compound. When they got him near the boiler, they seized him and thrust him head first into the furnace. Being a strong man he managed to free himself before they could shut the door on him. He subsequently managed to get back to his hut, and next morning, with the assistance of his wife, came down to the police station at Hingoli. The unfortunate man, who was suffering terrible agony, was taken into the Station Hospital, where everything was done to alleviate his pain. His recovery was almost hopeless from the first, and on the 14th he eventually died of tetanus. The Pātra Engineer, Nauroji, part-owner of the mill, and one of the firemen, have been arrested, but the former has been released on bail for Rs. 20,000.

Though it seems almost an inconceivable thing to happen in a British Cantonment at the end of the nineteenth century, the unanimous opinion among all the Natives is that the wretched man was offered as a sacrifice to the engine, which had not been working satisfactorily; and so far there is no other explanation to be offered. There is a very strong feeling among the British community at Hingoli that the case should be thoroughly cleared up, and the perpetrators of this dastardly outrage brought to justice.

Geo. F. D'Penha.

THE SACRED THREAD.

As most formulae in magic seem to be founded on the assumed potency of certain numbers ascribed to each deity, so the minute of religious ritual have a similar origin, even to the lights in the thurible, the ingredients of the incense, etc. All are worthy of enquiry, and give clues of historical import.

When ceremonial sacrifice ceased the janā or sacred thread remained, as its name shows (yajna apdeya, what is worn at yajna or sacrifice). In a ḍhaka of Manu the Brahman is prescribed one of cotton; the Kashtriya one of mūrata, a wild fibre, and in another place of sīkṣ; the Vaisya of wool. In the Epics the heroes had them made of antelope hide, thus showing this record to be older than the other: now all use cotton. Undoubtedly the ancient material was the wool of the victim, as is the Pātra thread. The separation of castes caused a change, the lower order of the three castes sticking to the wool, the warrior taking to the victim of the chase. The Pātra sacred thread (Zend kāstik, belonging to the waist) is of 72 (12 x 6, the perfect number and its half) woollen threads or yarns, passed three times round the waist by both sexes. It is tied with four knots. Vide Dastur Hoshanji's Glossary to the Pehlavi texts of the Arda Virof. The Pātra thread is made with ceremonies worth noting.

W. Buchanan in P. N. and Q. 1883.
NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 277.)

No. 6.

Death and Burial

(including Funeral Rites and subsequent observances).

Inert and phlegmatic as are the Nicobarese in most circumstances of life, yet some of their demonstrations of grief at the death of a relative or friend amount to what might be described as frenzied extravagance. This, although attributable in part to real sorrow, especially on occasions of family bereavements, is no doubt, as regards many of the quasi mourners, mainly induced by their superstitious fears and the dire necessity — for such do they regard it — of conciliating and propitiating the disembodied spirit, which, for the first few days after its release — when it is called hōika-pute or hōika-kamapāh —, is believed to be peculiarly active and malevolent.

The funeral customs in the Central and Southern islands of the Archipelago differ in so many points from those observed by the communities inhabiting the Northern islands that it will be necessary to treat of each separately. I will, therefore, endeavour to describe first the practices which prevail throughout the Central group and also, for the most part, among the Southern islanders, and then sketch briefly the chief peculiarities of those adopted by the inhabitants of Car Nicobar, Teressa, Bompoka, and Chowra.

In every case of illness or serious accident the mentāna (i.e., the “medicine-man,” exorcist or shaman) is at once summoned, and by his arts and incantations and the erection of fetich-charms (hentā-kōi and hentā, ante, Vol. XXIV. pp. 170-1) seeks to deliver his patient from the power of the Evil Spirits, to whose agency the disease, suffering or injury is attributed. When, notwithstanding all his efforts, death supervenes it is not considered necessary to remove the body from the hut until the preparations for the interment are complete, but notice of the melancholy event is at once sent to all neighbours and friends in adjacent villages, for no one is supposed to willingly or wittingly fail to bid farewell to the remains of the departed or to make the customary offerings, consisting of a few or many fathoms — according to the wealth or spirit of generosity of the donor — of white or coloured calico or other cloths, or silver bangles, necklets, spoons, forks or other valuables. Any friend who is unable from some valid cause — such as absence from home, sickness or other trouble — to pay this mark of respect is expected to make his excuses and explain his conduct at the earliest opportunity to the chief mourner who, if satisfied, condones the other’s absence; otherwise, it would be regarded as a slight to be remembered and rendered in kind as soon as an occasion offered for the purpose.

Should a relative from any unavoidable cause be absent when the obsequies are performed he is restricted from visiting the village where the deceased died and was buried until the

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42 Even over an unpopular person or notorious evil-liver the same lamentations are made. In the rare event of a person dying insane the only difference observed is that the exhumation ceremonies — yet to be described — are omitted; while, in the equally uncommon case of a murderer, the corpse is either taken out to sea and sunk or buried in some out-of-the-way spot, after which no further notice is taken of the remains.

43 Subsequent to this brief period it is called simply tōi till after the temporary disinterment of the skull and jaw-bone a year or two later, when less fear is entertained of the spirit, which is then described as mekiga-kamapāh.

44 As will be shown in a subsequent paper dealing with Religious Beliefs and Demonology, this belief does not extend to those in precarious health through old age or general debility.

45 As the name of a deceased person is tabooed, the messenger has to convey the intelligence by saying, “So and So’s father (or brother, sister, etc.) has just died.” It is more particularly by, or in the presence of, relatives that this reticence is observed. How wide-spread is this objection to utter the name of a deceased person may be seen by referring to the Journal Anthropol. Inst. Vol. XV. p. 73.
first memorial feast (entain), the reason being that he was not present at the ceremony—shortly to be described—when the mourners are required to take upon themselves vows of abstinence in token of their respect to the memory of the departed, or—as it would no doubt be more accurate to say in many cases—of their dread of offending his spirit.

During the interval that the news of the mournful occurrence is being conveyed to all concerned, at home the female relatives of the deceased are engaged in the last offices. One near of kin gently closes the eyes of the corpse in order to give the appearance, of sleep, for not only is the glazed fixed look of death held in fear, but the further benefit is gained of darkening the vision of the departed spirit—believed to be still hovering near—and thereby preventing it from acting malevolently towards the living. Next, the body is laid with the foot about a yard from the fire-place and the head towards the entrance of the hut, and carefully washed with hot water. For some reason, said to be no longer known to the present generation, this duty is performed once, thrice or five times at intervals during the hours that must elapse before the interment, and invariably by a female, preferably a relative. While all this is taking place one or other of the mourners seated round the corpse gives utterance from time to time to some ejaculation, such as “How generous!” “How unselfish!” to which remarks assent is forthwith given in a chorus of sobs and exclamations of ait ait ait from the men, and, ahô-ahô-ahô from the women in attendance, repeated assurances being every now and again addressed to the corpse of the sorrow caused by his (or her) death.

While the body is being laid out various necessary duties have to be performed by one or other of the mourners and their friends:

(a) If the stores of food belonging to the deceased or other occupants of his hut were not removed prior to the death they are at once carried away to another hut for issue after the burial. The water is, however, retained for the use, during the day or night, or both, as the necessities of the case may require, of the mourners, who keep a sufficient quantity boiling both for washing the corpse and for their own consumption, as they are prohibited from taking any food until the prescribed cleansing of the dwelling and individual purification of themselves on the day following the funeral shall have been accomplished, the pangs of exhausted nature being meantime sustained by means of quids of tobacco and sips of hot water.

(b) Some of the cocoanut-shell water-vessels (kishôya, ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 45) are, however, taken with their contents to the entrance of the hut, where an uneven number (generally 3, 5 or 7 pairs) are violently dashed against a post so as to crack the shells. In like manner all or the bulk of the portable property of the deceased, such as (in the case of a man) his spears, pots, baskets, paddles, plates and a great variety of other articles, are broken or otherwise rendered unserviceable; and then the whole are conveyed to the cemetery in order to be deposited at the proper time on the grave or at the head-post, this being one of the essential sacrifices prescribed by time-honoured custom.

(c) A small quantity of cooked meat, rice, pandanus and yam, together with some fruit, is brought from another hut and placed near the head of the deceased for the refreshment of the spirit, which is believed to be hovering near the corpse and it is kept there till just before the removal of the body, when it is thrown below the hut, where it is consumed by the pigs, fowls and dogs.

47 The hut-fire is not extinguished when a death takes place, or while the corpse is being laid out, but it is kept up only to such an extent as to allow of water being boiled for the use of the mourners.
48 See footnote 66, post.
49 The body is washed once only if decomposition has set in, and not at all when it is thought advisable to expedite the removal of the remains, such as during an epidemic. Until it is buried, a corpse is called komopāh, after which it is styled pana-apā.
50 A widespread custom, as pointed out by Mr. J. G. Frazer (Jour. Anthr. Inst. Vol. XV. pp. 91-94).
(d) A stretcher for the corpse, called da-yung, is constructed by breaking up a canoe, made of common wood, belonging to the deceased or one of the mourners. The board thus obtained must be of about the same length as the corpse, and from six to ten inches wide. Curious pegs, called shindam or shinnband, to the number of 5, 7, or 9 — again no even number is permissible — are made by lashing together in an inverted V shape (♭) the ends of two sticks, about two feet in length, of the *Garcinia spectosa*, and pointing the other ends *(ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 170).*

(e) To every village (mattai) — and be it here mentioned that this term is applied to a collection of huts however few in number, — excepting those of comparatively recent origin or which are not occupied throughout the year, a graveyard (shuk-puttla) is attached; and either other mourners or their friends repair with wooden hoes and old paddles in order to dig the grave, which must be about five feet deep. Certain others are at the same time engaged in making the three posts which are needed for the grave, viz. — the head-post (kanou-bōi) which is the largest and about eight feet long, and is made of hard-grained wood called kouching; the extra head-post (puttla), which is about six feet long; and the foot-post (kanou-iō), which is of about the same length.

(f) The chips and shavings, produced while making the da-yung, the shinnban and the three grave-posts, are then collected and placed in a heap on the ground near the foot of the ladder of the hut where the corpse is lying. A quantity of coconut husks — sufficient to maintain a fire until the hour fixed for the interment, — is added to the pile, which is then ignited by a flame kindled with fire-sticks *(ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 49)*, or obtained from a fire known to have been recently so kindled. In wet weather this restriction necessarily entails no little inconvenience. The object of the fire is said to be two-fold, viz., to keep the disembodied spirit at a distance, and to apprise friends approaching or passing the shore in a canoe of the sad occurrence: on no other occasion is a fire so lighted.

(g) As soon as the two head-posts have been made and the grave dug, the kanou-bōi is firmly planted into the head of the grave, while to the upper portion

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81 The canoe must not be one made of the favourite minjō wood (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), as this is said to excite the recently disembodied spirit, whom it is advisable to propitiate by the strict observance of all traditional practices.

82 When a death occurs at any such village the corpse is at once conveyed to a hut in the old established village to which it is affiliated.

83 In the Central and Southern groups the cemetery is usually situated between the village and the adjacent jungle; and as these sites are generally within a short distance (40 yards or less) of the sea the soil usually consists chiefly of sand. Certain portions of each graveyard are recognized as belonging to different families, and they are sufficiently spacious to allow of additional interments without disturbing the remains of those whose bones have not yet crumbled into dust. At Chowra, Teresa and Bompoka the dead are temporarily interred near their late home and not in a general cemetery. At those islands, as well as at Car Nicobar, they have crematories at a little distance from their villages whither, after celebrating various memorial feasts in honour of the dead, the bones are eventually consigned.

84 These implements are subsequently laid on the grave, and, at the expiration of a few months, removed and thrown into the jungle.

85 The position of the grave is not determined by any regard to the points of the compass, but, at the Central group and Car Nicobar, the head must be towards the jungle and the foot towards the shore, i.e., the body must be buried at right-angles to the coast. The natives of Chowra and the Coast people of the Southern group bury their females, however, in the opposite direction, i.e., the feet towards the jungle and the head towards the shore, while the island tribe (shem Pea) bury their dead in a squatting position, with the face towards the nearest river or creek. At Teresa and Bompoka the corpse is interred parallel to the shore, without reference to the direction of the head and feet.

86 This custom would appear to be connected with the superstitious known as "barring the ghost by fire." Furthermore, at sunset on these occasions torches are lit and carried down to the water's edge by a party of young men and waved rapidly seaward to the accompaniment of shouts of "fa, fa, fa, fa!" which is said to be interpreted by the Evil Spirits, whose names are severally rehearsed, as "Go away!" This ceremony is known by the name of ko-chung. It is as well to mention here that among all the tribes in these islands the young leaves and flowers of the coconut tree are credited with the power of scaring away demons, for which purpose they are extensively used.
The trophy of pigs' tasks, which has been suspended over the entrance of the hut of the deceased from the time of the last memorial-feasts celebrated by the owner, is, together with one or two kareau and hentâ-kōi (ante, Vol. XXIV. pp. 136 and 170), carried out and thrown unceremoniously into the adjacent jungle. In doing this care is taken for obvious reasons to remove the M. O. P. shell "eyes" from the kareau and throw them apart! In addition to this the chulk-fâm fetish (consisting of necklaces of split plantain-leaflets), which is invariably kept on the left side of the hut, as viewed from the entrance, is wrapped up in an Areca spathe and stowed away until the first memorial-feast (enxoin) is held, when it is restored to its prescribed place (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 135).

To return now to the group of mourners engaged in preparing the corpse for burial. When the body has been washed for the last time, turmeric-unguent (consisting of turmeric-root paste mixed with coconutt-oil), is smeared all over it by a relative of the same sex, if available; the ear-sticks (iche, ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 108) are left as worn in life, and the neng and opotap (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 47) are removed, and replaced by the neng-ta-chhâ or the lê-to-uta (ante, Vol. XXIV, p. 170), according to the sex of the deceased, who is then dressed in any articles of European attire which he (or she) may have possessed; for no garment which has belonged to a dead person may be appropriated by another, but must be buried with the corpse. Except in the case of infants, a lighted cigarette is next placed for a few moments between the lips, and then laid aside for the purpose of being deposited on the grave together with the utensils and cloths used in washing the corpse. The mourners now proceed to decorate the body, according to the resources of the family and the description of offerings presented by their friends, with such silver ornaments as bracelets, anklets, necklets, waistlets and headbands; even offerings of new spoons and forks are often added. After this, a cap (called shauânyam-kamepâh) is made of one white and two red handkerchiefs, or of 3, 6, 7 or 9 white, red and blue pieces of calico, and placed on the head of the corpse. Another handkerchief is wrapped round the throat, which is called the tamâl-kulâ-kamepâh, signifying "neck-tie of the corpse." Moreover, a chin-stay is prepared with a strip of calico and applied so as to keep the jaw closed, and the hands are bound together at the wrists with bands of white calico and laid over the abdomen, the ankles also being in like manner secured. An uneven number of silver coins are then placed between the chin-stay and the cheek, and sometimes even in the mouth, in order that the soul and spirit, being thus enabled to pay their way, may meet with a kindly welcome in journeying to their new home.

57 Sometimes the hentâin is similarly employed at the burial of male adults (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 170).
58 It is believed that the spirit will return at exact as slight the use, by even a surviving relative, of any articles of attire or portable property of which the deceased was possessed.
59 This sum is described as oal-aw'-pumaâdë (i.e., "in the cheek of the corpse") in allusion to the place where the coins are usually deposited. According to the statements of some this custom is no longer regarded as of any benefit to the deceased, but is continued from motives of respect, affection or dread, as the case may be. The practice will be recognized as corresponding to that of "ferry-money" in vogue only in the neighbouring province of Burma, but in parts of Europe (Jour. Anthr., Inst. Vol. XV. p. 78).
60 As nothing which has been sacrificed in this manner — no matter how great its value may be in their eyes — can be recovered and brought into use, it happens after the lapse of one or two years, when the skull and jaw-bone are exhumed, that the coins and all the ornaments about the head and neck are taken out, merely in order that they may be cleansed, after which they are replaced, this, as well as the re-interment of the skull and jaw-bone, occurs on the day following the exhumation in all parts of the Central Group except Katchal and certain villages on Camorta, where it takes place after five days.
While these preparations are in progress the funeral-guests continue to assemble, each bearing offerings, termed olyâna, consisting of silver personal ornaments or of calico, the latter of which vary in extent, according to the circumstances or liberality of the donor, from a few fathom to one or more entire pieces of 24-40 yards. These gifts of cloth must be of material that has never been used, and may be of red, blue, white, spotted or checked, but never of black, calico. Immediately on their presentation they are torn by the family into lengths of about four yards, and laid ready for use on the floor.

First, 3, 5, 7 or more uneven number of two-fathom pieces of red or white calico belonging to the family of the deceased are produced, and, after a slit of about one foot lengthwise is made in a certain part of each, the corpse is laid on a crepon and enveloped with these shrouds in such a manner as to leave exposed through these slits only a narrow portion of the face from the forehead to the chin. Neatly trimmed Orania spathees, called dânda-oal-hâina — 3, 5, or 7 in number — are then wrapped round all but the head, and are tied tightly with split cane. The corpse is next placed on the da-yung (i.e., the stretcher), and lashed to it with more split cane, thereby ensuring perfect rigidity and facilitating the process of removing the body to the grave. One or three gaudy patchwork skirts, such as are worn by women at memorial-feasts, called lôtea-utea (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 170) are then wrapped round the waist of the corpse, whether it be that of a man or woman. When so worn it is termed kântal. Next, the calico offerings of friends, already referred to as having been brought and torn into lengths of about 4 yards each, are taken in hand. An uneven number of these — from 3 to 29 in the case of an ordinary individual, and a larger uneven number in the case of a headman or menlâna — are selected, and, after a slit has been made in each in the same manner as in the first shrouds, they are wound round the corpse so as to leave only a narrow space down the centre of the face exposed. Last of all, 7, 9 or 11 neng-ta-chika are tied round the whole. In the case of one who had occupied a leading position in their midst, the ensnared corpse, when thus ready for burial, presents, as may be imagined, a considerable bulk.

Save in cases where, for sanitary reasons, it is important to expedite the burial, the hour usually fixed for the funeral is either sun-down, before midnight, or at early dawn. Under no circumstances can an interment take place between the hours of 11 a.m. and 1 p.m., as the shadows of those lowering the body into the grave, as well as those of the mourners taking their last look at the shrouded figure before the earth is made to conceal it from sight, would then fall into the grave and not safely outside or across it, and the consequences of this mischance are too serious to be rashly encountered; the belief being that sickness, if not certain death, would speedily overtake any who are guilty of such indiscretion. The danger does not extend to the act of digging the grave, though precautions against the possibility of harm arising to those who have been so engaged is averted before the arrival of the corpse by the menlâna in attendance, who carefully sweeps the grave in order to expel any intruder lurking therein. This is done with a leafy bough plucked from a small jungle tree, called kâng. This act is termed kohâ-kala, which denotes "brandishing."

On the completion of the elaborate process of preparing the corpse for burial the ensnared figure is gently moved to a position at right-angles to that which it had up

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41 Many bundles of this material are annually purchased from ship-traders, and reserved for this purpose.
42 It will have been observed that in almost all their funeral appointments the Nicobarese avoid the use of even numbers, though their reasons for so doing rest merely now-and-then upon the authority of tradition.
43 These, as well as the first set of shrouds, are termed lamûk-kamapâh (lit., "wrapper of corpse").
44 This practice is said to have originated in the belief that the defunct is thereby enabled in some mysterious manner to hold communication with the Supreme Being after being laid in the grave. They fail, however, to explain the nature or mode of such communications, for the soul (hââ) is held to have taken its flight, while the spirit (hâkha) is for the next few months fully engaged in endeavouring to enter the body of some surviving friend.
45 All the calico offerings which are in excess of the mourners' requirements for the shroud are torn into lengths about six inches wide and distributed to each of the male friends attending the funeral for use as a neng, or loin-cloth, on their return home.
to this time occupied, and is laid immediately under the centre of the roof of the hut.\textsuperscript{66} The mourners then assemble round the body, the nearest relatives resting their heads or elbows thereon, and the remainder ranging themselves behind, while the last farewells are uttered in heart-broken accents and with bitter wailings, termed \textit{shidang-kamapdh}. This lasts but for a short time, and then, at a given signal, some young men who are in readiness at the entrance approach and, hastily raising the body, carry it head-foremost down the ladder, and convey it away swiftly to the cemetery.\textsuperscript{67} One or more of the mourners\textsuperscript{68} not unfrequently cling to the corpse and have to be forcibly parted from it. Such persons will sometimes even allow themselves to be dragged half-way to the grave, where also they usually make a feint of throwing themselves upon the body after it has been lowered; but a slight show of resistance on the part of the bystanders generally suffices to frustrate any such attempts.\textsuperscript{69}

The \textit{meli\textasciitilde{sana}} then commands the disembodied spirit to go quietly to the grave with the corpse and remain there until the first memorial feast (\textit{entoin}), when it will be required to proceed to Hades. It is further exhorted not to wander about in the meantime and frighten the living with its ghostly presence.

When the body has been laid in the grave the peculiar \textit{X}-shaped pegs, called \textit{shimp\textasciitilde{d}n} or \textit{shamp\textasciitilde{d}n}, to which allusion has already been made, are brought into use: 5, 7 or 9 of these are driven into the ground across the body at regular intervals from the head downwards in order that the Evil Spirits, known as \textit{Mong-w\textasciitilde{a}nga}, may be unable to abstract the remains,\textsuperscript{71} a work which is supposed to be the special function and delight of this class of Demons.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave \textit{dai-ta-k\textasciitilde{e}ng} (i.e., leaves of the \textit{k\textasciitilde{e}ng}) are again waved over it in order to disperse any spirits which may still chance to be hovering near; for it is held that, through sympathy with the deceased, the spirits of the bystanders, and even a stray demon, might by overhaste be interred with the corpse. To make assurance doubly sure, therefore, a dry cocoanut-leaf torch, such as is used in these islands when fishing

\textsuperscript{66} Up to this stage in the proceedings the position of the corpse has been as shown below in the diagram marked "A," where "a" represents the entrance at the top of the hut-ladder; "b" the fire-place; "c" the corpse, with its head towards the entrance and feet near the fire-place; and "d" the \textit{chuk-f\textasciitilde{e}m} fetish, already referred to in the foregoing. The corpse is now placed as in the diagram marked "B," i.e., at right-angles to its first position, and in the centre of the hut, with the head towards the \textit{chuk-f\textasciitilde{e}m}.

\textsuperscript{67} The only reason given, at least in the Central group, for taking the corpse out of the hut head-foremost is that it is more convenient to the bearers who reach the grave at the lower or foot end. There does not appear to be among them any trace of the superstition held by some races that if the dead person is carried out of his home in this manner he will be able to find his way back again. (\textit{Anthrop. Inst. Journ.} Vol. XV. p. 72.)

\textsuperscript{68} As soon as the corpse has been removed for burial the fire which has up till that time been kept burning near the foot of the hut-ladder is extinguished by water.

\textsuperscript{69} Women and children do not necessarily accompany the body to the grave, but are not prohibited from doing so.

\textsuperscript{71} It is, however, related that on one occasion a mourner overcame all resistance thus offered and threw himself into the grave, where he so injured himself by falling on the \textit{sham-p\textasciitilde{d}n} that death resulted.

at night, is lighted and waved a few times inside the grave, whereupon, at a given signal, the earth or sand is rapidly shovelled in with the blades of old paddles by a party of young men who are standing in readiness to perform this duty.

Outside the grave and on the kanöi-köi are then placed a variety of spears, paddles and other things belonging to the deceased, all of which are broken or damaged before being so deposited, in order that all may see how sincere the mourners are in their intention of denying themselves the use or benefit of any of the property, notwithstanding its undeniable value in their eyes. Another reason given for this wholesale destruction of property is that strangers who have no respect for the sacredness of tabued or sacrificed articles might appropriate uninjured and serviceable objects regardless of the displeasure of the disembodied spirit, who would unquestionably resent any such token of indifference and disrespect by wreaking vengeance probably on those through whose remissness such misconduct had been rendered possible.

After the grave has been filled in, the small post called kanöi-läh, already referred to, is erected a little beyond the foot in order to mark the position and length of the grave. A cord is then fastened between the head and foot posts, and on this are suspended three pairs of kishōya (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 45). The middle pair over the centre of the grave is alone filled with water, the two other pairs over the head and foot respectively being empty.

On the graves of children a touching tribute is paid to their memory by placing on their graves models of the implements, etc., which they would have had occasion to use in after years had their lives been prolonged. Toys also belonging to the little ones are broken and laid over them. In all cases, except that of very young infants, memorial feasts are celebrated. The tabu, however, is less stringent in regard to the coconut plantations and trading operations when death takes place before the tenth year or thereabout, after which age the rites and ceremonies for the interment of a child are identical with those for an adult.

Besides the objects already enumerated as placed on the grave it is customary among the communities of the Central group to offer an uneven number of cooking-pots belonging to the dead person, in each of which one or more small holes are carefully bored in order to render it unfit for use. These pots are left there for about six months, and are then thrown into the jungle with the bulk of the offerings spared for a while after the first memorial feast, which is invariably celebrated within that period, by which time they are no longer fit to remain un evidence.

17 From the nature of these objects a stranger is able to ascertain the sex of the occupant of the grave.

18 In the observance of this custom, which is common to all the islands, it is not obligatory on the part of the widow, widower, father, son or other relative of the deceased to perform any special act in the work of destruction, such as breaking pottery, etc.

19 As an instance of this, I would here quote from a note I made in September, 1886, when visiting Teressa island. On that occasion I saw in one of the villages the grave of a recently-buried child, aged about two years. As is the irrevocable custom at that island, the grave was situated close to the hut which had been the home of the deceased. Round the head-post was wrapped an areca spathe, and from it hung a basket (kentais, ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 106), in which were placed offerings of fruit and vegetables, together with a stem-sheath of the ground-rattan (kenchōk, ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 108), also coconuts and kishōya (vide ante), the latter purposely riddled with holes. Bundles of Chaceia leaves and a homyōka (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 169), which had been twisted out of shape and otherwise damaged, were also to be seen. I also observed a miniature axe, brooms, dice and knives. At the foot of the grave on a bamboo pole were models of various domestic implements, also a paddle, skull-hat (ante, Vol. XXIV. pp. 155-6), a bottle of coconut-oil and a spathe-box (takō, ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 48) containing an offering of new calico. Strips of coloured calico was attached to both the head-post and the bamboo pole, and a cane connected the two, from which a string of young coconuts was suspended. On the grave itself was laid lengthwise a coconut-leaf. Both the bereaved parents were smeared with turmeric-paste, and presented a ghastly jaundice-like appearance.

20 The only things placed on the grave for the use of the disembodied spirit are a little tobacco, unripe coconuts, fruit and water. In the grave it has money and abundance of cloth and ornaments wherewith to make a good start on arriving in Hades.
The blades and prongs of the spears retained by the mourners are, like those sacrificed at the grave, bent or rendered otherwise — at least temporarily — unserviceable. They are, however, sometimes after the la-neát-la, or final memorial feast, which brings the mourning period to a close, repaired and again brought into use. In the meantime, as will be found mentioned in a subsequent paper dealing with Memorial Feasts, they form part of the display of property which is made by the chief mourner on each of the koraáh (or memorial feast) days, which occur at stated times during an interval of two or more years.

Domestic pets (if any), such as paroquets, minahs and monkeys, owned by the deceased, are given away to friends. Dogs were formerly killed at the death of their master and buried in the jungle, but now-a-days they are spared and appropriated by some other member of the family.

Any money possessed by a dead person, over and above that buried with him,²⁶ is kept till nearly the close of the mourning-period, when it is expended in the purchase of rice and other articles which have to be provided for the final feast; or — and this of course refers only to silver coins — is converted into personal ornaments, which are worn for the first time on that occasion.

At the termination of the ceremonies at the grave the mourning party return to their hut, where one or two women cover their heads with cloths and, leaving the face exposed, turn to the wall which is between them and the direction of the grave and weep silently.²⁷ This is said to be in token that the general body of mourners, whose representatives they are, although compelled to be otherwise engaged, are equally grief-stricken and would fain indulge their sorrow by refraining from every kind of employment.

While this scene is taking place within, outside the hut the demonstrations of woe assume a more serious form, and the grief and despair at the bereavement felt by the community in general and the family in particular are shewn by hacking almost in half one of the supporting posts at the entrance of the hut. Although the injury is not so great as to endanger the stability of the dwelling it is sufficient to necessitate the substitution of a new pile; but this renewal is deferred till the celebration of the last of the memorial-feasts, called la-neát-la (from leát signifying "finished, enough").²⁸

Under every dwelling-hut there is a light wooden platform, called šēkha, on which are kept various articles, e.g., one or more pomák-ōñk (ante, Vol. XXIV, p. 136) also bundles of firewood, freshly-gathered bunches of Pandanus fruit, vegetables, etc. After the partial

²⁶ The late Mr. de Roëstoff stated that "the silver things are laid on the chest of the corpse, but they are afterwards recovered when the skull is dug up." The mistake here made probably arises from his having seen the ornaments taken out of the grave, as is sometimes done at the exhumation, in order to clean them. They are, however, invariably restored in the course of a few hours, or at any rate as soon as the skull is re-interred at the close of the Festival. It would be entirely opposed to all their views and sentiments in this matter to re-appropriate anything that has been sacrificed or offered in honor of the dead. — A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect, Home Dept. Press, Calcutta, 1884, page 261.
²⁷ This is termed the ha-chij-ōñk hore, in allusion to the self-imposed fast and abstinence from social enjoyments on the part of the disconsolate mourners.
²⁸ If a death occurs while a festival is being held the body is usually removed to the nearest village for interment, but under these circumstances it is generally brought back at the la-neát-la feast, and interred in the family burial-place.
²⁹ These are large cylindrical bundles, generally about three feet in diameter and about a foot thick, having all the appearance of being firewood, but each billet is so neatly trimmed and shaped that one might expect even a casual observer to entertain a doubt as to its being really intended for such an ordinary purpose. They are always kept in readiness for offering on the grave of a relative or friend at the celebration of the first memorial feast (sa)njan, and are never burnt. They entail no little time and trouble in their construction, and therein lies the merit of the offering. It is recorded by the late Mr. de Roëstoff (A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect, Home Dept. Press, Calcutta, 1884, p. 90) that Pastor D. Rosen, a Danish Lutheran minister who conducted a mission in Nancowry Harbour in 1831-34, wrote as follows regarding these singular objects: "It has amused me to watch the pedantry shown by the Nicobar people in their choice and treatment of firewood," showing that he, like many subsequent visitors, misapprehended the real use for which the pomák-ōñk is intended.
destruction of the hut-post, as just described, the itāka is broken up, and the materials of which it is constructed are thrown into the jungle. This act necessitates the removal of the pomāk-brāh which is then rolled away and stored under another hut until the time arrives for celebrating the enōin feast.80

The ceremony mentioned in footnote 56 (ante) takes place before dusk; and after sundown on that and the two following days a fire is kindled near the head of the grave by means of fire-sticks, and kept burning throughout those three nights by one or more of the mourners who undertake this duty. The usual occupants of the hut sleep therein after the funeral and may in fact sleep in no other.

As has been already mentioned, mourners are not allowed to taste81 anything except hot water until about 24 hours have elapsed since the demise. It is not thought necessary to draw water specially for their consumption, but any that may happen to be in the hut at the time is used. No idea of its defilement through the presence of death seems to have crossed the Nicobarese mind. Evidently some sentiment of the kind, however, attaches to the state of the hut and the persons of the mourners, as it is obligatory early on the morning after the interment that a thorough house-cleaning be undertaken. After everything has been removed from the walls and floor of the hut, the former are swept with a broom (yēt-hanga), and the latter washed with hot water (at-shētch-oal-īt).82 The mourners then wash themselves by pouring water over each other. This is known as the kōlaich-i-dih-hare, implying purification by ablation. After they have dried themselves, they, have, in order to be completely purified from their recent contact with the dead, to be anointed with an unguent, termed damun-ānka,83 by the meliāna who, moistening his fingers therewith, performs the act of unction (enilana) by anointing each mourner in turn on the head and shoulder, uttering meantime repeatedly the mystic term "epah" or "ēwah," which to the people of the present day conveys no precise meaning, but is regarded either as an injunction to the Evil Spirits to keep away, or as conferring some sort of charm or protection against their machinations. Meantime a man takes a short lighted torch, made of dry cocoanut leaves, which he waves in all directions inside the hut with the object of driving away any Evil Spirits that may be lurking therein. This act is termed kohā-īt-oal.

With the further object of disguising themselves so that the departed spirit may fail to recognise them, and may do them no mischief, all the mourners shave their heads (kōōah-kōō),84 in addition to which the women shave their eye-brows (kōōah-pugōl-oamūt), and the men eradicate with tweezers any hair they may have on their upper lips and chins (kōōah-enkōōi).85 It is also common for a mourner, for the same reason, to assume some new name86 for him or herself, which, in a great measure, accounts for the fact that some individuals have borne several different names in the course of their lives. This dread of the disembodied spirits of their departed relatives and friends87 is induced by the conviction that they so keenly desire to return to the scenes and associates of their earthly existence that they are utterly unscrupulous as to the means and methods they adopt for the purpose of attaining their object.

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80 At some villages this feast takes place on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the interment, but generally not till 3 or 5 months have elapsed. In the latter case a dark night is selected.
81 The reason for this fast from solid food is that if a meal were eaten in the presence of a corpse, the ghost might inadvertently be swallowed at the same time.
82 For this purpose they use a brush-like object, called fonna-kōō (or konna-kōō) (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 49), consisting of a Pandanus drupe after the pulp has been extracted. Old rags of sack, etc., are afterwards used for wiping the planks. (Journ. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XV. p. 67.)
83 This consists merely of the pounded leaves of a certain tree mixed with cocoanut-oil.
84 Some have been observed to shave all but a single lock of hair on the crown, after the manner of Hindus. It should, however, be mentioned that this custom of shaving is optional in the case of a meliāna, most of whom affect long hair. Journ. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XV. pp. 73 and 99.
85 In cases of sudden death, as from a fatal snake-bite, the same measures are adopted by all the fellow-villagers of the deceased, and the mourning they observe is the kambūders-kambūdes (vide note 89).
87 The natives of Car Nicobar affirm that among them this feeling extends only to the spirits of bad men and of those who met their death by foul means. These do not become less dangerous until many years have elapsed.
When the physical purification and fortification against the Unseen Powers are accomplished, the mourners and their friends assemble at the hut to partake of a meal (styled ouantang-kirâha), which is prepared and eaten in silence. It consists of a pig and fowl freshly killed, and also of as great a variety of articles of food as can be procured. The object of this lavish provision is that each favourite viand may be represented, and thus enable the bereaved as well as their friends to decide at once from which they will abstain during one or other of the two mourning periods, viz., that styled hemukdeva-hamishê (or ouang-yamında), which terminates at the first memorial-feast (entaïn), and that called hemukdeva-didê, which extends until the celebration of the final feast (lamedīta) two or three years later. The various dainties are spread on trays, and each person is afforded the opportunity of declining or partaking of any number of them. By this means it soon becomes known which of those present intend to deny themselves, and to what extent their abstinence will be carried. At the conclusion of this repast a tray, containing a portion of each kind of food that has been served, is carried by one or two of the company and deposited on the grave as an offering to the departed spirit, but no effort is made to protect it from birds or animals, so that it usually happens that the whole amount is speedily consumed by pigs, fowls, dogs, and crabs.

ON THE EAST-CENTRAL GROUP OF INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

The division of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars of Northern India, into two main groups, a Western, corresponding to the ancient Sàurasîhi Prakrit, and an Eastern, corresponding to the Mûkâdhi Frâkrit, has long been a common-place to students of the subject. The existence of a central language corresponding to the ancient Arêha-Mûkâdhi Frâkrit has also been assumed, but what that central language is at the present day has not, so far as I am aware, ever been clearly stated. The researches connected with the Linguistic Survey of India, on which I am at present engaged, have enabled me to locate it definitely. I have named it Eastern Hindi, and its two or three dialects together form the East-Central Group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The Eastern group includes Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, and Bihâri; and the Western, among others, what I now call Western Hindi, Panjâbî, and Gujarâtî.

The following note has been drawn up for the Survey; but, as a long period must necessarily elapse before the Survey-report can see the light, and as the correct identification of the language is of some interest, I venture to lay an early copy of it before the readers of the Indian Antiquary:

The East-Central Group. — The East-Central Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars is a group of dialects, not of languages. It includes only one language, viz., Eastern Hindi.

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Through some misapprehension of the facts it was recorded by the late Mr. de Röepstorff that this meal is eaten at the grave, whereas the mere suggestion of such having ever been their practice evokes a prompt denial [P. 200 of the Dictionary quoted in Notes 78 and 79 (ante).]

Hemukdeva-hamishê implies abstinence from singing, and ouang-yaminda, the putting aside of personal ornaments; while hemukdeva-didê signifies a thorough and complete abstinence from every form of self-gratification, whether in respect to food, drink, self-adornment or social entertainment. The first two terms, applied alike to the mourning observed by friends and certain of the relatives of the deceased, entail abstinence from singing, dancing, playing on instruments, wearing ornaments or new clothing, and the use of red paint on the person, as well as indulging in those luxuries that were formally declined at the meal here described. In those cases where the entain takes place after a few days (ante, note 90) the self-sacrifice imposed by this class of mourner necessarily amounts to little more than a farce. It is far otherwise, however, in regard to those who observe the hemukdeva-didê, as this requires them to deprive themselves of every kind of self-indulgence for a period extending generally to about three years, when the final memorial-feast is usually held. Till then no intoxicant, tobacco, cultivated Chaitica betel-leaf, pork, fowl, fish or turtle (unless captured with a single-pronged spear), ripe cocoanuts, vegetables, plaintains and rice may be consumed. Needless to add, no ornaments or new garments may be worn or paint applied to the person, and no form of recreation, such as singing, dancing or music, may be enjoyed.

Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. XV, pp. 73-76, where Mr. J. G. Frazer points out that “the nearly universal practice of leaving food on the tomb . . . . , like the habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes, probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and raiment.” . . . . “Rather than use the property of the deceased and thereby incur the anger of his ghost, men destroyed it. The ghost would then have no motive for returning to his desolated home.”
Its geographical habitat. — This language, which includes three main dialects, Awadhí, Baghelí, and Chattisgarhi, occupies parts of six provinces, viz., Oudh, the North-Western Provinces, Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, Chota Nagpur, and the Central Provinces. It covers the whole of Oudh, except the district of Hardoi and a small portion of Fyzabad. In the North-Western Provinces, it covers, roughly speaking, the country between Benares and Hamirpur in Bundelkhand. It occupies the whole of Baghelkhand, the North-West of Bundelkhand, the South-Sone tract of the District of Mirzapur, the States of Chang Bhakar, Sarguja, Udaipur, and Kotes, and a portion of Jashpur, in Chota Nagpur. In the Central Provinces, it covers districts of Jabalpur and Mandla, and the greater part of Chattisgarh with its Feudatory States.

The dialects. — The three dialects of Eastern Hindi closely resemble each other. Indeed, Baghelí differs so little from Awadhí, that, were it not popularly recognized as a separate speech, I should have certainly classed it as a form of that dialect. Its separate existence has only been recognized in preference to popular prejudice, Chattisgarhi, under the influence of the neighboring Marathi and Oriya, shows greater points of difference; but its close connection with Awadhí is nevertheless apparent. The Awadhí-cum-Baghelí dialect covers the whole Eastern Hindi area of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Chhand Bhakar, and the districts of Jabalpur and Mandla. It is also spoken by some scattered tribes in the Central Provinces districts to the south and west. If we wish to make a dividing line between Awadhí and Baghelí, we may take the river Jamma where it runs between Fatehpur and Banda, and, thence, the southern boundary of the Allahabad District. This is not quite accurate, for the Tihari dialect spoken on the north bank of the Jamma in Fatehpur, shows sufficient peculiarities to entitle it to be classed as Baghelí; and the language of the south-east of Allahabad, which is locally known as Baghelí, but which I have classed as Awadhí, is a mixture of the two dialects. The boundary must be uncertain, as not any definite peculiarity which we can seize upon as a decisive test. Chattisgarhi occupies the remainder of the Eastern Hindi tract; that is to say, the States of Udaipur, Kotes and Sarguja, and a portion of Jashpur, in the Chota Nagpur Province, and the greater part of Chattisgarh.

As above described, Eastern Hindi occupies an irregular oblong tract of country, extending from, but not including, Nepal to the Easter State in the Central Provinces, much longer from north to south than it is from east to west. Its mean length may be roughly taken as 750 miles, and its mean breadth about 250, which together give an area of about 187,500 square miles. The number of speakers of each dialect is roughly as follows: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Awadhí</td>
<td>16,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghelí</td>
<td>4,612,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarhi</td>
<td>3,719,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,331,999</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With reference to the above figures, it should be explained that, probably owing to the prestige of the court at Lucknow, Awadhí is spoken as a vernacular not only in the tract above described, but also by Muhammadans over the Eastern parts of the North-Western Provinces, and the greater part of Bihar, the language of which is, in the main, Bihari. I estimate the number of these Awadhí-speaking Musalmans at about a million, and these figures are included in the figures for Awadhí given above. Similarly, as regards Chattisgarhi, the above figures include not only the speakers of that dialect in the area of which it is the vernacular, but also 54,095 speakers of it in the neighbouring Chattisgarh and Orissa Feudatory States, whose main language is Oriya. In both cases, the speakers are permanent residents of the areas in which they were found, so that the total above given represents the number of speakers of Eastern Hindi in their proper homes.
Speakers of Eastern Hindi abroad. — Large numbers of speakers of Eastern Hindi are scattered all over Northern India. Putting one side the number of Oudh men who have travelled abroad in quest of service, there is our native army which is largely recruited in that Province. Unfortunately it is impossible even approximately to estimate the number of these Eastern Hindi speakers who are away from their homes. All that can be done is to give the following approximate estimates for the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and for Assam:

Estimated number of speakers of the Eastern Hindi in Assam ... ... 32,290
" " " " Lower Provinces ... ... 111,258

Total ... 143,548

Origin of Eastern Hindi. — As explained elsewhere, in the early centuries after the Christian era, there were two main languages or Prakrits, spoken in the Jamna and Ganges valleys. These were Saurasêêl spoken in the west, its head-quarters being the Upper Doab, and Mâgadhî spoken in the East, with its head-quarters in the country south of the present City of Patna. Between these two there was a debatable ground, roughly corresponding to the present province of Oudh, in which a mixed language, known as Ardha-Mâgadhî or Half-Mâgadhî, was spoken, partaking partly of the character of Saurasêêl, and partly of that of Mâgadhî. We know that all the languages of the Eastern Group are descended from Mâgadhî, and that the group of closely connected languages, of which Western Hindi may be taken as the type, is directly descended from Saurasêêl. It now remains to state that this mixed language, or Ardha-Mâgadhî, was the parent of modern Eastern Hindi.

Geographical position of Eastern Hindi in regard to neighbouring languages. — Eastern Hindi is bounded on the north by the Aryan languages of the Nepal Himalayas, and on the west by various dialects of Western Hindi, of which the principal are Kanaûtî and Bundêêkhaôdi. All these are descended from Saurasêêl. On the east it is bounded by the Western Bhojpuri and Nagpuri dialects of Bihâr, and by Oriya. On the south it meets forms of the Marathi language. These three are descended from Mâgadhî Prâkrit. It is hence surrounded on two sides by languages derived from Saurasêêl, and on two sides by languages derived from Mâgadhî, and, as might be expected, is the modern representative of Ardha-Mâgadhî. Like it, it partakes of the nature of both the ancient languages.

Its name. — The name Hindi is popularly applied to all the various Aryan languages spoken between the Panjab on the west and the river Mahâ-nândâ on the east, and between the Himalayas on the north and the river Narbâdâ on the south. From these Bihârî has already been subtracted. It is spoken in Bihar and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces. We shall also have to subtract the languages of Rajputana, and there remain, still bearing the name of Hindi, the dialects spoken in the basins of the Jamna and the Ganges, say, from Sirhind in the Panjab to Benares. These divide themselves into two main groups, entirely distinct from each other, a Western and an Eastern. The Western includes, amongst others, Bundêêl, Kanaûtî, Braj Bhâkhâ, and the standard Hindustâni which forms the lingua franca of the greater part of India. These dialects are all various forms of one language, which I call Western Hindi. The Eastern group includes the three dialects that together form the language which I term Eastern Hindi. It is necessary to explain this, as no attempt has hitherto been made to name these two languages. Its very existence has hitherto been a matter of doubt.¹

The East-Central Group compared with the Eastern. — The dialects of the East-Central Group differ from the languages of the Eastern Group mainly in the conjugation of the verb.

¹ The student is warned that the Eastern Hindi of Dr. Hoernle’s Gaudian Grammar is not the language here given that name. That Eastern Hindi is Bihârî. Dr. Hoernle himself has long abandoned the name ‘Eastern Hindi,’ and has adopted ‘Bihârî.’
Pronunciation. — As regards pronunciation, the languages of the Eastern group do not agree among themselves. The three most Eastern languages of the group, viz., Assamese, Bengali, and Oriya, have one marked peculiarity, in that the letter a is usually pronounced like the o in the English word 'hot.' In Bihari, this sound is gradually flattened as we go westwards, until in Western Bhojpuri, it has the ordinary sound of the 'u' in 'nut.' Eastern Hindî has also this pronunciation of the vowel.

Declension. — In the declension of Nouns and Pronouns, Eastern Hindî closely resembles Western Bhojpuri. It has the same tendency to use an oblique form in ś; with regard to which, however, it would be more accurate to say that Western Bhojpuri has borrowed from Eastern Hindî, the oblique form of the other languages of the Eastern group invariably ending in ś. The post-positions attached to nouns are mostly the same as in Bihari, the most marked exception being that of the Dative-Accusative, which in Eastern Hindî is 'ka' or 'kā,' while, in the languages of the Eastern Group, it is 'ka' or 'kā.' It may be added that the post-position of the Locative is 'mā' or 'mā,' while in Bihari it is more usually 'mā'; and it does not occur in the other Eastern languages at all. These two post-positions, ka and mā, are typical of the East-Central Group.

Pronouns. — The declension of Pronouns in Eastern Hindî closely resembles that of the Eastern Group of Languages. In one important test point it agrees with that group in differing from the more western ones. While in the latter the typical vowel of the genitive singular of the personal pronouns is ś, in the East it is ś. Thus, in Western Hindî 'my' is 'mārā,' but in Bengali and Bihari, it is 'mār.' Eastern Hindî follows the Eastern Group in this respect.

Conjugation. — In regard to verbs, there are greater points of difference than in the other parts of speech. The verb substantive is in Eastern Hindî 'ahē or 'ahe, 'I am,' although, in the Eastern parts of Oudh, 'bahē, which is nearly the same as the Western Bhojpuri 'bahe,' also occurs. In the Finite verb there are three main tenses which admit of comparison, the Present Conjunctive, the Past and the Future. Of these, the Present Conjunctive, which is derived from the Sanskrit Present Indicative, is practically the same in nearly every Indo-Aryan Language. No profitable comparison can therefore be obtained from it.

The Past Tense. — The Past Tense, on the other hand, presents striking differences. In all the Indo-Aryan languages this tense was originally a Past Participle Passive. Thus, if we take Hindustani, the word mārā, which is derived from the Sanskrit Past Passive Participle maśritak, does not mean literally 'he struck.' 'or 'I struck,' but 'struck by him' or 'me' and so on. Similarly, 'kāhā,' derived from chalita, is literally not 'he went,' but 'he is gone.' It will be observed that the Sanskrit Passive Participles above quoted have the letter ś in the penultimate syllable. This is the case in regard to most Sanskrit Passive Participles, and it is important to note it, for this ś is retained in most of the dialects derived from Saurasenī Prakrit. Thus from the Sanskrit 'maśritak,' there sprang the Saurasenī 'mari,' from which came the Braj Bhākhā 'māryā,' in which the y represents the original Sanskrit and Prakrit i. The change of i to y is one of spelling rather than of pronunciation. We may, therefore, say that this i or y is typical of the Past tenses of the group of dialects, which are sprung from Saurasenī Prakrit.

Turning now to the languages derived from Māgadhi Prakrit, we see an altogether different state of affairs. In the Saurasenī languages, the t of 'maśritak' and 'chalita' has altogether disappeared. In the Māgadhi Languages, we find in its place the letter t. Thus 'struck' in Bengali is 'mārila,' and in Bihari māral-. It is a peculiarity of all these languages that they object to using the Past Participle by itself; as is done, for instance, in Hindustani. They have a number of emetic pronouns, meaning 'by me,' 'by thee,' and so on. These they tack on to the Past Participle, so that the whole forms one word. Thus, when a Bengali wishes to say 'I struck,' he says 'mārilā,' 'struck,' 'am,' 'by me,' and unites the whole into one word, mārilmā.
Similarly, the Bengali chalitām originally meant ‘it was done by me,’ hence, ‘I went.’ In process of time the way in which this word was built was forgotten, and the past tense in Bengali is now conjugated as if it was an ordinary active verb. The particular enclitic pronouns which are used in the Māgadhi-derived languages vary in form from dialect to dialect, and for the purpose of comparison with Eastern Hindi, it will be convenient to consider those in use in the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihār.

Eastern Hindi combines the peculiarities of the Sauraseni and of the Māgadhi languages. The typical letter of its past tense is not the Māgadhi I but the Sauraseni i or y. On the other hand, the past participle cannot stand by itself, but takes the same enclitic pronouns as those used by Bhojpuri. In order to show this clearly, the masculine singular of the Past tenses of Eastern Hindi and Bhojpuri are here given side by side. In each case the root, the tense characteristic, and the enclitic pronoun are separated by hyphens. In reading the Eastern Hindi forms, it should be remembered that, in this language, ya, e, and i are practically interchangeable, some localities favouring one spelling, and some another. The spelling given below is that of the Awadhi dialect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Eastern Hindi</th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I struck</td>
<td>Mār-e-aū</td>
<td>Mār-əal-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou struck</td>
<td>Mār-i-s</td>
<td>Mār-al-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He struck</td>
<td>Mār-i-s</td>
<td>Mār-al-as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we spell the Eastern Hindi words as follows, as is often done, we see the connexion, on the one hand, with the Sauraseni dialect, and, on the other, with Bhojpuri, even more clearly:

Mār-y-aū
Mār-y-as
Mār-y-as

These are the original forms, of which the forms with i and e are corruptions. This Past Tense, with, according to local spelling, the third person singular ending in is, es, or yas, is pre-eminently the typical shibboleth of a speaker of Eastern Hindi. In conversation this form of a verb naturally occurs with great frequency, and is hence continually heard. Speakers of the language from Oudh cover the whole of Northern India, for they are great wanderers in search of service, and, even in Calcutta, nothing is more common for a European to hear than an up-country syce saying words like ‘kahis,’ he said, or ‘māris,’ he struck. Such expressions must be familiar to every Englishman, and most people would be astonished to hear that they were relics of a mixture of Sauraseni and Māgadhi Prakrit.

In this tense, Eastern Hindi has another strong point of resemblance with the Sauraseni group of dialects. I have already pointed out that in the Māgadhi languages, the memory of the fact that these past tenses are really passive in character has been lost. The suffixing of the enclitic pronouns has given the tense the appearance of an ordinary past tense of an Active verb. In Eastern Hindi we see this process of forgetting actually going on. The memory of the passive character of the tense has been partly preserved by the fact that the language possesses a literature. In the old poetry of Malik Muḥammad and Tulsi Dās the fact that the tense is passive is rarely forgotten. The subject is put into the case of the Agent, which in this dialect does not end in e; but is the same as the ordinary oblique form, and the verb is made to agree in gender and number, not with the subject, but with the object. In accordance with this, the verb has still, to the present day, a feminine form in the past tenses, and, as we go west, where the influence of the neighbouring Sauraseni dialects has helped to keep the memory alive, the subject of such tenses of transitive verbs is still in the case of the Agent. Thus, in Eastern Oudh ‘he struck’ is ‘a māris,’ in which a is in the Nominative case, and means ‘he;’ but in Unao in Western Oudh, the expression used is ‘u māris,’ in which u is in the oblique form and means ‘by him.’ The nominative singular of u is uā.

The Future Tense. — The case of the Future Tense is similar, but more complicated. In Sanskrit there are two ways of saying ‘he will go.’ It may be said either actively or passively,
i.e., we may either use the direct expression, ‘he will go,’ or we may say ‘it will be to-be-gone by him.’ The first is in Sanskrit chaṭṭhitayati, and the second chaṭṭityayam used impersonally. We shall first trace the former into the modern languages. In Sauraseni it first became chaṭṭitai, with the same elision of t that we noticed in the case of the past participle. Then the two s’s became changed to h, and we have chaṭṭhay. This form has survived to the present day, and in Braj Bhâkhâ and other Sauraseni-derived dialects means ‘he will go.’ The whole tense is thus conjugated in Braj Bhâkhâ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mârîhaï, I shall strike</td>
<td>Mârîhaï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mârîhai</td>
<td>Mârîhaû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mârîhai</td>
<td>Mârîhaï</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We are thus entitled to say that the characteristic of the future tense in the Sauraseni group of dialects is the syllable ëh.

The Māgadhī group of dialects, i.e., those which form the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, on the contrary prefers to form its future on the impersonal passive future participle, an example of which is the Sanskrit word chaṭṭityayam, it is to be gone, equivalent in meaning to the Latin eundum. The impersonal nature of this participle should be noticed. It does not say who is to go. It leaves this to be supplied by a pronoun. The Sanskrit chaṭṭityayam becomes in both Prakrits chaṭṭiyam, and we find the next stage of growth in the word chaṭâba, in the old Eastern Hindî of Tulasî Dás. It is here used as a pure future, and is not changed either for person or number. Ëhâlabé means ‘I, thou, he, we, you, they will go.’ The explanation is the original meaning in Sanskrit. As in that language, the word literally means ‘it is to be gone.’ Who it is that has to go, is left to be defined by the aid of a pronoun. Hence the form of the verb remains unchanged.

Coming now to the present day, we may take Bengali as an example of the Eastern group of languages. Assamese and Oriyâ follow it in every particular. As in the case of the past tense, Bengali cannot use the future participle alone, it must add enclitic pronouns to it. Its future participle ends in ëh. That is to say the Prakrit chaṭṭiyam becomes chaṭîb, while similarly the Sanskrit mârî-tayam, it is to be struck, becomes in Prakrit mârîtayam, and in Bengali mãrib. To this it adds the enclitic pronouns. When a Bengali wishes to say ‘I shall strike,’ he says ‘mârib,’ ‘it is to be struck,’ and then ‘ëh,’ which he writes a, ‘by me,’ i.e., mãrib-a. The Bengali future is therefore conjugated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mâr-ib-a, I shall strike</td>
<td>Mâr-ib-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mâr-ib-i</td>
<td>Mâr-ib-ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mâr-ib-ë</td>
<td>Mâr-ib-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining Eastern language, Bihârî, holds fast to the same principle in forming the first two persons of the future. That is to say, it adheres to the base with ëh, in this case, mãrib. It is, however, unable to make up its mind about the third person. In Maithilih and Māgadhī it uses the present participle somewhat clumsily for this person of the future, but in Bhojpuri it takes refuge in the ëh-future which we have just met in Sauraseni, so that we have the curious spectacle of a future in which the first two persons are really impersonal passives, while the third person is active. As in the case of the Past tense, however, all memory of the

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*The chaṭṭiyam which we meet as the future in the ordinary Hindustâni of the books has an altogether different derivation.*
passive origin of the first two persons has been lost. The Bhojpuri future is, therefore, as follows:—

Singular. Plural.
1. Már-ñab-ū, I shall strike Már-ñab
2. Már-ñab-ē Már-ñab-ē
3. Mārihā Mārihā

In the first two persons, the terminations are enclitic pronouns meaning 'by me,' 'by thee, and so on. Eastern Hindī goes still further in the same direction. The Awadhī dialect closely agrees with Bhojpuri. Its future is:—

Singular. Plural.
1. Már-ñab-ū, I shall strike Már-ñab
2. Már-ñab-ē Már-ñab-ē
3. Mārihā Mārihā

As, however, we go west, we find in the Awadhī-speaking district of Unao the following:—

Singular. Plural.
1. Mārihā, I shall strike Mārihā
2. Mārihā Mārihā
3. Mārihā Mārihā

This is a pure ūh-future, and is identical with the one given above for Braj Bhākhā. The Baghāl dialect, according to Dr. Kellogg, takes a mean position between these two extremes. It may be noted that the first person singular, māriyeyē, more really approaches the Prakrit form māriya-vam than in any other dialect.

Singular. Plural.
1. Mār-ñayē-ū, I shall strike Mār-ñab
2. Mār-ñū-ē or mārihē Mār-ñū-ē
3. Mār Mārihā

It should be remarked, however, that the specimens collected for this survey from the Baghāl-speaking area only show the ūh-future, conjugated exactly as in Unao.

The Chhattīgārādhī future shows another mixture of these two forms. It is as follows: —

Singular. Plural.
1. Mārihā, I shall strike Mār-ñab or mārihān
2. Mār-ñū-ē Mārihā
3. Mārihā Mārihā

We thus see that, as in the Past Tense, the Future Tense of Eastern Hindī occupies an intermediate position between that of the Māgadhī languages of the East, and that of the Saurasēnl languages of the West.

General Conclusion. — We are hence entitled to state that the Eastern Hindī language, or, in other words, the East-Central group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, agrees generally in regard to its nouns and pronouns with the Māgadhī or Eastern Group of vernaculars, but, in regard to the verb, occupies a position intermediate between that group and the Saurasēnl group, whose habitat is immediately to its west. It is the modern representative of the ancient Ardha-Māgadhī Prakrit.
ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICK BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 252.)

APPENDIX.


(1) Chünkî seňhau gond kamar, si timan kâmen-hond, yim ase anđar uĎqi' sapane, [raison]
yâyan kân, (2) yitha pōthi timau, yim goda petha pāna vouchhanwol tā kalâmqi khidmat karanwol olā, ase nish kâroko riṇayat; (3) me ti sōn munâsib si, goda petha kōshish tā daryāft karit, lēkha saţh pōthi sōbru kō châni khatrā, ay fūzī Thîyâ̄lī, bitârī, (4) yith timau kathan-haṇs râstit, yimânhans tse ta'tim chhek hāmsats, ṣānak.

261. Word by word analysis.

Chünkî (Pers.), Conjunction, because, forasmuch as; seňhau, adj. instr. pl., of senja (§ 257), many; gond, 3, sg. impersonal, aor. of gandun, to bind (§ 180, No. 65); kamar, m., waist, with gandun, to tighten the waist-cloth, to undertake; si (Pers.), conj., that (≡ și); timan, dat. pl. demonstr. pron. (§ 243); kâmen-hond, gen. pl. of kōm, fém., deed, work, business (3rd declension); yim, nom. pl. fem., rel. pron. (§ 245); ase, loc. pl. of bo, I (§ 228); andar, proposition, m., with dat.; uĎqi' (Arab.), participle, happening; sapane (§§ 90, 158), aor. 3 pl. fem., of sapanun, to be, with uĎqi', to occur; si, repeated on account of the relative sentence; yâyan (Arab.), declaration; karan, 3 pl. pres. (subj.) of karun, to make; yitha pōthi (§ 259, 2, e.), adv. in what manner; timau, instr. pl., demon. pron. (§ 243); yim, nom. pl., rel. pron. (§ 245); goda, fém., beginning, abl. goda (for godi); petha, preposition, from (with abl.); pāna (§ 238), self; vouchhanwol, nom. pl. masc., noun of agent, of vouchkan, to see (§ 84); to, conj., and; kalâmqi, adj. nom. pl. masc. of kalâmeh, i. e., gen. of kalâm (Arab.), a word (§§ 198, 1, 6, and 208); khidmat (Arab.), fem., service, ministry; karanwol (like vouchhanwol), from karun, to make; with khidmat, to do ministry, to minister; kalâmqi khidmat karâ, men doing-ministry of the word, ministers of the word; ŝi, aor. 3 pl. masc. of ċaun, to be; ase, as above; nish, preposition, to, ase nish, to us; kâroko, aor. 3 sg. f. + suffix k; by them was it (i. e., riṇayat, delivering, riṇayat karun, to deliver) done; timau riĎ kâroko, by them it was delivered (§ 92); me, dat. pers. pron. (§ 228); și, also (quotus); sōn, aor. 3 sg. impersonal of sânum, to consider, think (§ 180, No. 46); munâsib (Arab.), proper, right; și, as above; goda petha, as above; kōshish (Pers.), labour, energy; daryāft (Pers.), understanding; karit, participle absolute
of karun (§ 84); lēkha, 1 sg. pres. (subj.) of lakhan (lekhun), to write; gāthā (Arab.), adj., complete, correct; pōthī, instr. sg. of pūth, m., manner (cf. above yithā pūthī); sūru-y yēh, all that, the entire (§ 248); dhānti, abl. fem., possess. pron. (§ 232); khātra, for the sake of (§ 208); ay, interj.; fāḏī (Arab.), excellent; Thyōhipus, Theophilus; bitartīb (Arab.), adv. from bi, in, + tartīb, order; yuth, conj., as; timan, dat. plur., dem. pron. (§ 243); kathan-hauz, gen. pl. fem. sg., of kath, a word, teaching; rādī (Pers.), fem., rightness, truth; yima-hauz, gen. pl., rel. pron., agreeing with ta’lim (Arab.), fem., teaching, instruction; āṭhe-y, there is to you (§ 164); hētṃaṭ (for hētṃaṭ) (m. hītmat), perf. part. fem. of hēma, to take, agreeing with ta’lim; sānak, 2nd pers. pres. (subj.) of sānum, to know, to learn.

262. Literal Translation.

(1) Forasmuch as by many was the waistband tightened (i. e., it was undertaken) that of those things which happened among us (that) declaration they should make; (2) in the manner in which by them, who from the beginner self-seers (i. e., eye-witnesses) and of-the-word ministry-doers (ministers) were, to us delivery was made; (3) by me also it was thought proper that from the beginning diligence and understanding having made (i. e., with diligence and understanding), I should write in a truthful manner everything for thy sake, O excellent Theophilus, in order; (4) so that of these things the truth, of-which by-thee instruction has-by-thee been taken, thou-mayst-know.

(The to be continued.)

THE COPPER COINAGE OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

BY REV A. WESTCOTT.

Preface.

The numismatic enthusiast in Southern India cannot fail to be bewildered by the extraordinary multiplicity of the copper coins which fall in his way. Leaving on one side the coinage of native potentates, he finds that the early coinage of the Companies in itself offers a wide field for his energies. In the absence of any complete catalogue he knows not what to expect, and experiences much difficulty in arranging the specimens which he has secured. By the aid of Atkins' Colonial Coins, and Thurston's Madras Museum Catalogue, he can compile a fairly complete list of the gold and silver coinage, but to the copper coinage, especially in its early stages, he has no adequate guide.

With the view to preparing the way for a more or less complete guide to these coins, I have arranged a tentative catalogue comprising those coins of which mention has been made in other available lists, adding thereto some pieces in my own collection which do not appear to have been published hitherto.

A. Copper Coins of the London Company. 1

[Abbreviations:

A. = Atkins' Coins of British Possessions and Colonies.

H. = Hultzsch (article in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI).

T. = Thurston's Catalogue of Coins in Madras Museum.]

1 Queen Elizabeth in 1600 granted a Royal Charter to 'The Governor and Company of Merchants trading into the East Indies.'

This London Company's first settlement on the Coromandel Coast was at Pudicant, where they had a precarious tenure by favour of the Dutch. In 1620 they obtained an independent settlement at Masulipatam, and in 1622 were able to open a branch establishment at Aramgām. Their third settlement, in Madras, together with the right to coin money, was purchased from the Raja of Chandragiri in 1639.
I. — Undated Coins.

1. H. No. 24.

Ob. — Srl.
Rev. — Kumpini (i.e., Tamil for Company).

2. H. No. 25.

Ob. — Star of eight points.
R. — Kumpini.

This eight-pointed star seems to have found favour with the Company. It was revived subsequently. See Nos. 9 and 10.


Ob. — Orb and cross.
R. — Sri Ranga.

The orb and cross, of which this is apparently the earliest occurrence was the special device of the London Company. The Inscription Sri Ranga on the reverse doubtless is due to the instruction of the Raja of Chandragiri that the Company should retain the image of Vishnu on their coins. Figures of Venkateswara, Lakshmi, and the like are found on the Company's pagodas and fanams, but not on the cash, unless the copper coin in the Madras Museum (C. 5) is a genuine coin, and not, as is far more probable, a sham pagoda.

Some of the specimens of this coin in my collection have a different reverse. The coin is a single cash of about 10 grains weight.

4. T. No. C. 42.

Ob. — Traces of orb and cross, and of the letters C. C. E.
R. — Sri Ranga.

This is the first occurrence of the letters C. C. E., which are presumably the initials of Chartered Company to the East Indies. One writer describes these two C's as 'crescent moons.' This is, however, a mistake, and does not explain the E.

5. A. 66.

Ob. — Orb and cross inscribed C. C. E. within a beaded circle.
R. — 'Indian characters within a beaded circle.'

The inscription on this coin is undecipherable though quite distinct. It is assigned to the reign of George I. (1714-1727). But as it has the device of the London Company, I include it with their coins, though greatly suspecting its genuineness.

II. — Dated Coins.

6. H. No. 27.

Ob. — Orb and cross with 78 in the lower division of orb.
R. — Sri Ranga.

The 78 on this coin is understood to represent 1678. The Company received a new Charter from Charles II., with permission to coin in 1677, and this coin is probably one of the results thereof. Atkins includes this coin amongst Bombay coins; but it is clearly a Madras type, and I have obtained two specimens of it out of Madras soil.

7. H. No. 28.

Ob. — 16 within a circle.
R. — Sri Ranga.
8. H. No. 29.

Ob. — 1705 within a circle.

R. — Sri Ranga.


Ob. — Eight-pointed star within a beaded circle.

R. — IV (i.e., 1701).


Ob. — As No. 9.

R. — 1710.

The above four coins are probably efforts of the new or English Company, but Nos. 7 and 8 are connected with the London Company's coinage by the Sri Ranga of the R, and Nos. 8 and 9 by the eight-pointed star of the Ob. (see No. 2).


Ob. — Orb and cross inscribed C. C.

R. — The date 1691 between wavy lines within a circle.

This coin and Nos. 12 and 13 are the fore-runners of the long series extending from 1702-1806. The coin is called 'Dudu' or 'Faluce' by Atkins. I attribute this new departure in coinage to the Company's new Charter granted by James II, in 1686 with renewed permission to coin. It has been remarked that the Company began to coin the Dutch pagoda also in 1691. 8


As No. 11, but date 1693.

13. A. 68.

As No. 11, but date 1695.


Ob. — Orb and cross, inscribed C. C.

R. — 1691 within a circle.


Same as No. 14, but date 1699.

The above two coins are the fore-runners of the subsequent 'Half-faluce' series. I cannot be absolutely certain as to the exact dates, as on both specimens the last figure is rather indistinct. Both No. 11 and No. 14 are indisputably clear when turned upside down.


Faluces of various dates from 1702-1806 similar to Nos. 11-13, but of irregular shape, and ruder workmanship, and with numerals larger and ill shaped. In my collection are 'faluces' of the years 1731, 1786, and 1789, being dates not recorded by Atkins.

8 Little Tamil boys of the present day in Madras almost invariably call copper coins 'doottie' which is their way of pronouncing 'dudu.' They also speak of 'kiz.' The word 'anna' is quite tabooed by them.

9 This Dutch or Three-Swami Pagoda, as well as the old Star Pagoda should be included in the Company's Madras gold coinage. They are not mentioned by Atkins.
"Half-faluce" of various dates from 1702-1804 similar to Nos. 14 and 15, but of ruder shape and workmanship. 4

These two long series of "Faluce" and "Half-faluce," though a continuation of the London Company's coinage, and bearing their device, belong properly to the period of the United Company.

B. Copper Coin of the English Company. 5


Ob. — A heart-shaped shield inscribed E. E. I. C. and surmounted by the numeral 4.

R. — As on some Tinnevelly Nayakar coins.

This coin probably belongs to the period 1699-1703 when the rival companies London and English were at strife, previous to the incorporation of the old one in the new. It is an interesting piece on account of its displaying for the first time the 4. above the shield, which afterwards became so familiar in the trade mark of the United Company. 6

C. Copper Coins of United East India Company.

I. — Undated Coins.

64. T. C. 38.

Ob. — 'Bale-mark' of the Company: surrounded by a beaded circle.

R. — Crossed lines and symbols.


Ob. — 'Bale-mark' V C X E I.

R. — Crossed lines.


Ob. — 'Bale-mark' C V E I

R. — Crossed lines.


Ob. — 'Bale-mark' V E

R. — Similar to that of No. 64.

68-78. A. 109-111.

Ob. — In Persian and English XL Cash.

R. — This is Forty Cash (in Telugu and Tamil).

4 As illustrating the rough workmanship of this remissed series, I may remark that T. No. C. 34 which is figured in pl. xv. 11, and is described as having an 'undecipherable inscription' on the Reverse, appears to me to be a 'half-faluce' of 17 x 6 figured upside down.

5 In 1698 William III. granted a Charter to a new Company. This action was much resented by the old Company, whose Government was 'determined' in three years commencing from Michaelmas 1698. But as Governor Pitt remarked, "afterwards it (i.e., their Government) is secured to them by their subscriptions" to the new Company. The new Company was styled, "the English Company trading to the East Indies."

6 On second thought I omit Nos. 69-68, as I am very doubtful as to the reading of their obverse. It has been read as Kumpini, as Madura, as Sri Vira, and by myself as E. E. I. C. with flourishes. The character is supposed to be Telugu; but it is not easily recognisable as such, and I take it to be bogus Telugu. For the present it seems safer to suppress these coins.
Atkins notices three varieties of this coin; but including his published varieties I have observed six. Besides the variety in the form of the dividing line on the obverse, one specimen in my collection has a dividing line on the reverse also. The Tamil lettering also varies in several respects, e.g., one piece reads ‘yithū,’ another ‘ityha.’

This piece, and the others of the same series that follow, though undated, are known to have been first coined in 1807.

Same as Nos. 68-73, but smaller and inscribed XX Cash.

Of this piece too there are varieties not mentioned in Atkins.

Same as above but smaller and inscribed X Cash.

86. A. 120.
Same as above but smaller and inscribed V Cash.

Same as above but inscribed 2½ Cash.

87. A. 121.
Same as above but smaller and with no dividing line.

88. T. No. C. 43.
Ob. and R. — ‘Bale-mark of the Company.’

89. T. No. C. 54.
Ob. — Quarter Dub of the Company (in Tamil).
R. — Quarter Dub of the Company (in Telugu).

II. — Dated Coins.

The following, being all small coins, are for convenience sake placed in succession:

90. T. No. A. 2 and 3.
Ob. — ‘Bale-mark.’
R. — 1733.

91. T. No. 4.
Ob. — ‘Bale-mark.’
R. — 1736.

Ob. — ‘Bale-mark.’
R. — 1737.

93. A. 122.
Ob. — ‘Bale-mark.’
R. — 1795. (1210 = 1795) within a square.

94. A. 123.
Similar to last, but date 1796. (1211 = 1796).
95. A. 124.
Similar to last, but date \( \text{I}^1 \) (1212 = 1797).

96. T. No. A. 87.
Ob. — 'Bale-mark.'
R. — 1807.

97. A. 125.
Ob. — United Company's Bale-mark, etc. — 1794.
R. — Company's arms, etc. '48 to one Rupee.'

98. A. 126.
As last, but Company's crest only on R.

99. A. 127.
As 97, but date 1797.

100. A. 128.\(^*\)
As 97, but smaller, and ' 96 to one Rupee.'\(^*\)

101. A. 129.
As 100, but date 1797.

102. A. 131.
Ob. — Company's arms, etc., 1803.
R. — Value in Persian and English, XX Cash.

103. A. 133.
As 102, but smaller and X Cash.

104. A. 135.
As 103, but smaller and V Cash.

105. A. 137.
Ob. — Company's crest — 1803.
R. — Value in Persian and English, I Cash.

106. A. 132.
As 102, but date 1808.

107. A. 134.
As 103, but date 1808.

108.\(^*\) A. 136.
As 104, but date 1808.

\(^*\) These coins were struck for the Northern Circars. Atkins states that this coin was an attempt to assimilate the Mohammedan and Hindu monetary systems. Accepting this piece as equivalent to 20 Cash the Rupee becomes 960 Cash. The relations of the two systems were complicated.

By Government Order of December 9th, 1817, the following values were fixed:

- Star Pagoda (Hindu) = 3½ Rupees = 45 fanams = 3,600 cash.
- Rupee (Mohammedan) = 12 fanams + 68 cash = 1,028 cash.
- Fanam = 56 cash.

According to above scale 3½ Rupees = 3,600 cash which is sufficiently near to the Pagoda Value of 3,600 cash. Eventually the Mohammedan system prevailed.

\(^*\) This series of 48, 96 to the Rupee, should be compared with the Ceylon series of 12, 24, 48 of 1801, and of 48, 96, 192 of 1802.

\(^*\) The above series of 1803 and 1806 were minted in England, and in immense quantities. In 1810 there were reported to be 60,000 pagodas worth of these coins in Madras, and it was recommended that they be shipped to Bengal. They are still common in Madras and continued current until the general Indian Copper Coinage was introduced.
MR. SCAPE.

(See Yule’s Hobson Jobson, s. v. Bandanna: ann. 1848: 44, i.; but it is only a quotation from Thackeray’s Vanity Fair.)

Scape is a Suffolk name. Rich. Scapey is mentioned under date 6, Nov. 1626 in Bacon’s Annals of Ipswich, p. 483. J. Scapey is mentioned under date 17 May 1660 in Stowmarket Churchwardens’ Accounts (Hollingsworth’s Hist. of Stowmarket, p. 196, i.). On 23 Apr. 1731 there was a marriage-licence for Rich. Martin and Ann Scapey both of Earl Stonham (Archd. Suff., No. 2579), and on 28 Jan. 1724 for Rob. Sceby or Scapie and Mary Marriot both of Earl Stonham (Archd. Suff., No. 2860). In Earl Stonham churchyard there is a head-stone to Will. Scapey (1740-1807), and in the neighbouring churchyards of Coddenham and Badley the spelling is Scapey. In Beyton churchyard Scarpe is found. Tho. Ward of Great Finborough m. Pleasance Scapey (1753-1815), and their grandson Tho. Scapey Ward of Theeler’s Farm, Elmstead, Essex, died in 1867. Scapey Tydeau, farmer, was living at Earl Stonham in 1844 (White’s Suff. Directory for that year).

CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

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10 I have not yet seen any specimens of these coins. I insert them on the authority of Atkins. Their relation with the three following is interesting. They are of the same year, and of the same values, and apparently intended to circulate in the same district.

11 Thurston catalogues 2 Dubs and half Dub of 1801, but I take this to be an error for 1808. (Cf. T. No. A. 62 with its figure Pl. ii. 3.)
HISTORIANS have related that, when Sultan Humayun Shâh was on his deathbed, he summoned Khwajah Jahan and Khwajah Mahmûd Ghân, and by the terms of his will left them to decide as to which of his sons — viz., Sultan Niğâm Shâh, Sultan Muhammad Shâh, or Joanid Shâh — was best fitted for the succession. Since the tokens of sovereignty were manifest in the appearance of Sultan Niğâm Shâh, after the death of the Sultan, Khwajah Jahan, in concurrence with the amirs, nobility and grandees, on the date above mentioned, in the capital Bêdar, seated Sultan Niğâm Shâh at the age of eight years on the throne in place of his father. According to the customary service devolving upon the sayyids as heads of the people, Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh, son of Shâh Khalli-Ullâh, and Saiyid-i Sharif Saiyid Manjâlah, son of Saiyid Hanîf, each taking a hand of the Sultan, seated him on the throne; and the sheikhs and learned men who were present recited the fâtihat and they as well as the nobles and ministers uttered the customary praises and congratulations and plighted their fealty; and having received suitable gifts recited these lines:—

"O king, may thy high fortune be everlasting!
May the dust of tranquillity be the collyrium of thy penetrating eyes!
May the mirror of thy heart be always as free from blemish as the precious gems in thy sword."

The prince being still only a boy in the flower of youth, the administration of the affairs of government was entrusted to the Queen-Mother, Makhdumah Jahan, who was daughter of Mubarak Khan, son of Sultan Firuz Shâh; and with the aid of the sound judgment of the wise minister Khwajah Jahan Mahmûd Gâwân the affairs of State were wisely administered. First of all their attention was given to the comfort of the subjects, and they busied themselves in repairing the injuries inflicted by Humayun Shâh. All the innocent persons who had been imprisoned by him were set at liberty, and the agents of government were confirmed in the offices and rank which they formerly held. But as most of the amirs and easirs, through fear of the vengeance of Humayun Shâh, had fled and become scattered abroad, and the affairs of the subjects in general and the army had fallen into a state of the utmost disorder, and oppositionists and breeders of disturbance had withdrawn from their allegiance and raised rebellions, the Râya of Orissa with a large force of infantry, cavalry and elephants had invaded and devastated the whole territory of Islam. The nobles and ministers of State who were present at court assembled large forces, and Sultan Niğâm Shâh set out with them from Bêdar to repel the invasion. When they had gone only ten farsakhs* from Bêdar the army of Orissa arrived from the other direction, and between the two forces not more than three farsakhs† remained. Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh with a force of 160 armour-clad cavalry armed with lances, placing his reliance on God, started at daybreak against the infidels, and encountered the enemy's vanguard, which consisted of nearly 10,000 infantry, 400 cavalry and some elephants. An engagement took place which lasted from mid-day till sunset. Many of the enemy were killed and the dust was defiled with the impure blood of the cursed infidels. The sayyid fought with the greatest bravery and the enemy's force was completely defeated. When the remainder of the enemy's force saw what had happened they wavered and fled, leaving their tents, baggage and other valuable goods on the spot.

* About 34 miles.
† About 10 miles.
Sultán Maḥmúd Khiljí waged war against Sultán Nigm Sháh.

Just when the mind of the guardian of the Sultán was at rest on the conclusion of the Orissa affair, letters arrived from the protectors of the frontiers saying that Sultán Maḥmúd Khiljí having become aware of the dispersion of the army of the Dakhání and the disorder which reigned in it, and the ascendancy of the infidels, had — at the instigation of the Ghúrla who had taken refuge with him to escape chastisement from Humáyún Sháh — come with an immense army, and crossing the frontier had encamped in a desolate part of the country. Immediately upon hearing this news the Sultán with his army proceeded to oppose Sultán Maḥmúd, and at the distance of about ten farsakhs from Bárí the two forces met and drew up in order of battle.

Malik Sháh Turk, on whom the title of Khwājah Jaháñ had been conferred, and another Turkí slave who held the title of Sikandar Khán were in the centre of the army, in attendance on Sultán Nigm Sháh with a hundred elephants and 11,000 cavalry. The right wing was under the command of Nigm-ul-Mulk Turk with 10,000 spearmen and forty elephants; and in the left wing was Khwājah Maḥmúd Gáwán, who at that time held the title of Malik-ut-Tujjár, with 10,000 cavalry and forty elephants.

On the other side Sultán Maḥmúd Khiljí drew up his army, both right and left wings, and strengthened his position; and he himself with 20,000 cavalry and 150 elephants raised his standard in the centre; but notwithstanding the overwhelming number of his force he dug a deep trench round his position so that horses or other animals could not cross it.

The two armies were drawn up in this manner in front of one another. From the clamour of drums and trumpets the heavens were in anguish, and sleeping Tumalt raising his head from its pillow awoke at the noise.

Malik-ut-Tujjár with the left wing attacked the enemy’s right where Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Din had raised his standard. The latter though he advanced and fought with much bravery was unable to meet the attack, and at last gave way, and his father being killed he took to flight. Nigm-ul-Mulk also from the right attacked and broke the enemy’s left, and numbers of them were dispersed. Muhábat Khán, governor of Chanderi, and Zahir-ul-Mulk as well as other amírs of Sultán Maḥmúd who were on the enemy’s left were killed. When Sultán Maḥmúd saw both wings of his army thus broken and most of his amírs and troops disheartened, he was about to take to flight; but in the midst of this the elephant-keepers of the (Bahmani) Sultán seeing the order of the enemy broken had drawn up in line fifty formidable elephants in expectation that the enemy would fly before them, and at once drove them towards the enemy’s force. The Turkí amírs who had been delicately nurtured from their youth and were unaccustomed to the tactics of warfare, neglected to send a force in rear of the elephants, as they should have done, and so left the elephants unsupported in the midst of the enemy. Sultán Maḥmúd Khiljí who still remained in his place, seeing this move in the game of chess, showed a fresh rook and sent a force of infantry and cavalry to cut off the elephants from the Dakhání army and shut them in. At this time it occurred to the mind of the foolish Sikandar Khán11 that the Sultán owing to his youth was unable to ride well, and fearing that he might be wounded, he lifted the Sultán from his saddle and seating him in front of himself tied the Sultán’s kamar-band firmly to his own waist; but this unseasonable movement caused the army to be disheartened, and when the troops no longer saw the Sultán in his place they turned and fled from the field of battle. The elephants which had been driven at a rapid pace, remained in the hands of the enemy. The centre of the Dakhání army without experiencing any reverse, and though the Sultán was still alive, like a flock of sheep without a shepherd, turned towards the desert; and contrary to their custom these brave men, every one of whom was skilled in fight, looked like the disordered locks of women.

11 Sikandar Khán, son of Jaláli Khán Bukhári, was killed during the previous reign (vide p. 164), so this must be some other individual of the same name.
Khâwîjah Jahân and Sikandar Khân, who were with the centre of the army in attendance on the Sultan, saw the flight of the army, and taking the Sultan with them proceeded to Bîdar. Sultan Mahmûd from excessive fear and amazement, did not move from his place, but fell into this reflection: — “The army of the Dakhan are practising a stratagem: they have placed a force in ambush and pretend to run away, so that when we pursue them they may surround us; otherwise why should the army fly after gaining the victory?”

At midnight the amîrs brought Sultan Nizâm Shâh into the city of Bîdar; and next day when the sun rose, Makhdûmah Jahân, the mother of the Sultan (who through fear of Humâyûn Shâh had fled to Rayâchûr, but now — encouraged by a royal written agreement — had returned to court), gave orders for the defence of the fortress of Bîdar, and appointed Nizâm-ul-Mulk also to assist her. Then taking the Sultan with her, led the whole force to Firûzbâd Kalburgâ.

Sultan Mahmûd waited three days in the same place till he was assured of the real flight of the Dakhânî army. After that he marched to Bîdar and encamped within sight of the city, and proceeded to plunder and devastate the city and district. He razed to the ground the houses of the nobility and inhabitants; so that both the great and small of that country recited the takbir of death over their household goods and habitations, and lost all their money and effects.

The enemy’s army surrounded the citadel and laid siege to it.

From olden times — as has been formerly mentioned — the foundations of mutual friendship had been firmly laid between the Bahmani dynasty and the Sultâns of Gujarât; so in this interval Makhdûmah Jahân, who was the most sensible woman of her day, wrote a letter to Sultan Mahmûd, king of Gujarât, complaining of the tyranny and oppression of her enemies, and sent it by the hand of an eloquent messenger imploring assistance from the Musalmân of that country.12

When Sultan Mahmûd heard this news he resolved to proceed to the Dakhân to repel the tyrant Mahmûd Khilji; but his nobles and ministers expostulated with him, saying: — “Dâûd Khân who had possessed the sovereignty for a week is still lying in wait, and though this is the third year of Your Majesty’s reign your rule is still not as firmly established throughout the country as it should be, nor have the important affairs of government been farthered as much as could be desired; therefore at such a time as this to leave the seat of government, and for the benefit of others to go on a campaign is a matter for serious consideration.”

Sultan Mahmûd, though still in the flower of youth, replied to the amîrs in elegant language: — “God is with him who is with God, and to assist Musalmâns and friends is praiseworthy and necessary, for the regulation of the affairs of the world and of mankind is founded upon concord; and it is certain that if the heavens and the elements did not agree with one another and join together in this manner, the organization of the universe would be annihilated; and if the race of men were to break the chain of mutual assistance and reciprocity the foundations of the laws of Nature would be overthrown.

When Sultan Mahmûd had ended this manly discourse and had inspired his people with manliness and bravery, after expressing their regret to the Sultan for their unworthy thoughts they changed their minds and said: — “If there is no help for it but to send an army into the Dakhân, the best course seems to be to enter the kingdom of Mâlwa, and so cause anxiety to the mind of the Khiljâs; by this means you will not have to travel so far from your own territory; and if (which Heaven forefend!) any disturbance should arise in this country, you will be able to return quickly to quell it. By this plan assistance to Sultan Nizâm Shâh will also be assured, for when Sultan Mahmûd Khilji shall hear of your advance towards his territory, he will quit the Dakhân and hurry back to his own kingdom.”

When they had explained this plan to Sultān Maḥmūd he taxed his courtiers with meanness and want of spirit, and ignoring their advice he without delay marched with his army towards the Dakhan; and in due time arrived at Sultānpūr and Nandurbār, near the frontier of the Dakhan, where he encamped.

In the meantime the army of the Dakhan, which by the accidents of fortune had become scattered like the constellation of the Bear; like the Pleiades soon re-assembled under the shadow of the Sultān’s victorious standard. The personal property and the families of most of the troops being in the citadel of Bīdar, their sense of honour, zeal and bravery was roused, and attracted them back to their allegiance to the Sultān. Just then the news of the arrival of Maḥmūd (Gujarātī) at Sultānpūr reached the Sultān, and inspired both him and the army with fresh courage. A continuous correspondence then took place between the two Sultāns.

Sultān Maḥmūd (Khīljī) was for a long time engaged in the siege of Bīdar; every day he used to fill the ditch of the citadel with earth and rubbish, but when night came the defenders used to come out and entirely remove it and restore the ditch to its former state. A number of historians have related that Sultān Maḥmūd Khīljī on his journeys used to carry about with him various kinds of vegetables growing in wooden frames, so that at each halting-place he might, at the time of eating, have fresh vegetables on his table. During the siege of Bīdar his supply of vegetables being exhausted, he ordered that somehow or other by lawful means vegetables should be procured for him. He summoned one of the sheiks of Bīdar, called Maulānā Shams-ud-Dīn the Truth-teller — who on account of his friendship for Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh, had remained in Bīdar — and consulted him, saying:—

"If we buy vegetables in this place for the use of the Sultān, and pay for them, will it be lawful?" The above-mentioned maulād fearlessly replied: — "You must surely be in jest: to invade the territories of Musalmāns; to lay waste their country and houses, and rob them of their property; and then to ask for a legal decision from the doctors of the law on the subject of vegetables, is not the act of people of understanding."

When Sultān Maḥmūd Khīljī heard the news of the assembly of the army of Sultān Nīzhām Shāh, and that Sultān Maḥmūd Gujarātī was coming to his assistance, he raised the siege, and taking Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh and his followers with him, marched from Bīdar and set off two or three stages towards Kalyānjī so as to escape by way of Chāndor; but in the meantime spies brought the news that Sultān Maḥmūd Gujarātī, with his army was proceeding in that direction; so Maḥmūd Khīljī in fear of his life turned from that direction and hastened towards his own dominions by way of Būrānpūr and Adrī.

When the news of the flight of Khīljī reached Sultān Nīzhām Shāh he ordered Khwājah Jahān with a large force to go in pursuit of him, and to hang on the rear of the enemy’s army, and slaughter and plunder them wherever he found them. Marching with all speed he came up with the rear of the enemy’s army, plundered their baggage and killed great numbers of them.

On the road news again reached Sultān Maḥmūd Khīljī that the Gujarāt army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the district of Sultānpūr, so, seeing that that road also was closed against him, he summoned the chief of Gondwārah and soothed him with various kinds of favour and kindness in order that he might lead them by some other route by which they might avoid molestation from the enemy. The chief said: — "In this neighbourhood there is no practicable route for the army and baggage; but there is a road like the place of Hārūt and Mīrūt towards Akot and Elichpūr, far removed from the route of the army of the king of

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12 As having the stars scattered, in opposition to the Pleiades where they cluster.
13 Names of two angels who, having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, were sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man was subject. They could not withstand them: they were seduced by women, and committed every species of iniquity; for which they were suspended by the feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of judgment. — Johnson’s Dictionary.
Gujarat; but for several stages, owing to the difficulties of the road and the thickness of the jungle, it is hardly practicable.

Verse.

The earth is more waterless than brimstone,
The wind more heart-burning than hell.”

As a matter of necessity Sultan Mahmud chose that route for the passage of his army, and said: — “The difficulty of the route is easier than throwing one’s self into the jaws of destruction.”

Turning aside from the direction of Daulatabad, which was the route of the Gujarat army, he marched with as much speed as possible towards Akot. When the tyrannical army entered that valley and desert of which the chief of the Gonds had told them, owing to the numbers of the army and the length and narrowness of the road, the hot winds and the scarcity of fresh water, the troops were excessively distressed; and in the first march five or six thousand of them died of thirst. A band of Gonds who were robbers on that road, when they saw the sufferings of the army from want of water, took the opportunity to plunder them from front and rear and right and left. The remainder of the army, after encountering a thousand difficulties and dangers, had managed — half dead — to reach Karan.13

Notwithstanding the trouble and torment suffered by the army of Sultan Mahmud from want of water on the first march, immediately upon hearing this news, being in terror of their lives they started on, sometimes rising and sometimes falling. It is stated on reliable authority that on that march a cup of water was sold for two rupees, and was thought very cheap at the price. The truth is that since the designs of Sultan Mahmud were not accommodated to propriety and rectitude towards mankind no result but disaster and reverse of fortune accrued to him from that improper and unfair movement. From the seed of trouble and tyranny which he had sown he neither saw nor gathered any fruit but regret and affliction. On the second stage of his march he lost a great number of men; and those who escaped death were so knocked up by the fatigue of the journey that they would have preferred death to life. Mahmud Khalji, who was himself the originator of his own unpraiseworthy movement, put to death the chief of Gondwara whom he suspected of purposely misleading them, though he had graphically described the difficulties of the route.

After the flight of Mahmud Khalji, Sultan Nizam Shah wrote and sent to Sultan Mahmud Gujarat a letter thanking him for his kindness.14

A year after this Sultan Mahmud Khalji again took it into his head to wage war, and with nearly 90,000 cavalry he set out towards the Dakhdan. When Sultan Nizam Shah heard of this he assembled his army and unfurled his standard for the purpose of repelling the aggression; and at the same time despatched a letter to Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat informing him of the enemy’s invasion. When the ruler of Gujarat was informed of the boldness of Mahmud Khalji he at once prepared to oppose him.

Mahmud Khalji through fear of him shrank from the encounter, and halted on the frontiers of Devagiri (Daulatabad), where he contemplated his own territory with a look of reflection and anxiety, thinking that perhaps the flood of destruction might surround him, and there might be no opportunity for retreat by the way he had come. When he was assured of the approach of the army of Gujarat, like a gnat which flies from the sound of the wind he beat the drum of return, and hastened away.

When Sultan Nizam Shah became aware of the flight of his enemy he wrote the following letter to Sultan Mahmud Gujarati: — 17

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13 This is probably meant for Karanja, Lat. 29° 29' N., Long. 77° 32' E.
14 The letter occupies a page and a half of the MS., and being written in extremely ornate style, and interspersed with Arabic quotations, the reader will probably thank me for omitting it.
17 The greater portion of this letter is omitted for the same reason as the other.
"The sum of the matter is that the envious and malevolent Kbilj had marched towards Daulatabad, but on the 1st of the month Rajab, A.H. 867\(^{18}\) (22nd March, A.D. 1462) his spies informed him of Your Majesty's arrival near Sultānpur and Nandharbār for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of our mutual friendship, and eradicating and destroying that troublesome one. As soon as he heard of our alliance that disappointed wanderer retreated by the same road as last year; at which we were much rejoiced. Such being the state of affairs it seemed right to inform you. May the enemies of your country always be vanquished, and the rulers of your State always be victorious!"

In this year Sultān Nīgām Shāh, son of Humayūn Shāh died suddenly in the thirteenth year of his age. His nuptial feast had been prepared, when from the karam sounds of lamentation and wailing arose, and the assembly of pleasure was changed into one of mourning. The nobles and ministers, the inmates of the karam and the court attendants shed tears of blood in their anguish.

His age was eleven years, and the period of his reign, according to the best authorities, was two years and fourteen days. This event occurred on the 13th of Zīl-ul-Kādah in the year 867 (26th July, A.D. 1463).

**Chapter XIII.**

Reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh II., son of Sultān Humayūn Shāh.

After the death of Sultān Nīgām Shāh the nobles and generals consented to the succession of his brother, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, who was then in his tenth year; and according to precedent; on the above-mentioned date, Malik-ul Muḥājir Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh and the chief sajdī, Saiyid Manjaha bin Saiyid Khaaf, seated him on the throne, recited the fāṭihah and wished him long life and prosperity, and the nobles and generals plighted their fealty to him.

The Sultān behaved with liberality towards the doctors of the law, the nobles and ministers, and subjects and army; and invested them with robes of honour, and distributed many valuable presents.

In truth Sultān Muḥammad Shāh was a king endowed with dignity, of high abilities as a ruler; and his magnificence and pomp exceeded that of any other king of Hindūstān as well as his own ancestors. Among other articles of luxury and regal dignity a thousand Turki slaves from Kibchāk of exceeding beauty waited on him, each standing in his (?) place with folded hands and lowered head. In the time of this monarch the laws of justice and equity were strengthened and confirmed, and the foundations of tyranny and oppression were destroyed.

In the beginning of his reign the affairs of government were conducted by Malik-ut-Tujjār Khyājah Mūḥammad Gāwān; and with the approval of Makhdūmah Jāhān and all the amirs and grandees Khyājah Jāhān Turk Shāh was punished because in the time of the late Sultān he had been guilty of negligence in the war with Mūḥammad Kbilj. The power of Malik-ut-Tujjār was now vastly increased; and his orders were everywhere obeyed throughout the dominions of the Sultān.

At this time Nīgām-ul-Mulk was sent with an army against the fortress of Ḥārelah. On arriving there he encamped within sight of the fortress and laid siege to it. After the siege had lasted some time the defenders capitulated, and Nīgām-ul-Mulk agreed to give them quarter, so they came out; but the governor of that fortress, who was an infidel, had treacherous designs concealed in his heart, and at the time of taking pān he stabbed Nīgām-ul-Mulk to the heart with a dagger.

\(^{18}\) The year is not stated here; but we see from what follows, as well as from the Mīr, al-āṭ Sīkandārī (lith. ed. p. 92) that it was A.H. 867.
A learned man has composed a chronogram giving the date of his death.

After this occurrence the soldiers of Islam drawing the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of hatred cut down that fearless impure accursed one who had committed so shameful a deed; they also killed his followers, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence. They then plundered and devastated the fort and surrounding country, seizing all the goods they could lay their hands upon, and levelling with the ground the dwellings of the idol-worshippers.

The deceased Niğâm-ul-Mulk had two adopted sons, slaves of Humâyûn Shâh, whom he himself had educated; one entitled Yâkrush (or Yaghrush) Khân, and the other Faṭḥ-ULLâh Wafâ Khân. The two sons taking the body of their father went with the army to the court of the Sultan, and making their reverence at the foot of the throne exposed to the view of the Sultan the booty which they had brought. The Sultan invested the sons of Niğâm-ul-Mulk with robes of honour, and conferred on them as a jâgir the whole of that country (Khêrlah) and its dependencies. He gave Abd-Ullâh the title of ‘Adil Khân, and Faṭḥ-Ullâh that of Daryâ Khân, and exalted them above their equals. This event occurred in A. H. 870 (A. D. 1465).

**Marriage of the Sultan.**

In this year the Sultan desiring to marry, orders were given to prepare the marriage feast.

After the conclusion of the marriage festivities robes of honour and princely gifts were conferred on the nobles, ministers and generals.

In the midst of these affairs the ruler of Mâlîwâ sent an ambassador named Sharf-ul-Mulk to the court of the Sultan with valuable presents and a letter applying for the restoration of Khêrlah, which from olden times had belonged to the rulers of Mâlîwâ, but had recently been taken by the Dakhânîs.

When he understood the contents of the letter, the Sultan appointed Shekh Malik Ahmad Muhtasib to proceed to the court of the king of Mâlîwâ with a letter and valuable presents. When Shekh Malik Ahmad arrived in Mândâ he waited on Sultan Mahmud; and laying the foundations of peace and prosperity, presented the letter of which he was the bearer, and which was to the following effect:

"Your Majesty's letter reached its destination, and its contents are understood.

As regards the districts of Ahmadabad Mâhir, which in the reigns of Sultan Ahmad Shâh Wall-ul-Bahmani and Sultan Al-Halim Al-Karim Sultan ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn Ahmad Shâh, were conquered from the districts of the infidels and have come into our possession; and for the most part under the farajîdî of Niğâm-ul-Mulk Ghârî the revenue of those parts has been paid into our royal treasury; and up to the present time they have been in our possession: you shall therefore withdraw your claim to them, and there shall be no further dispute in the matter.

As for Khêrlah; since it is known on reliable authority that during the reign of the late Sultan Ahmad Shâh Wall Al-Bahmani it belonged to Hushang Shâh, it shall be restored to you.

As regards the other districts of the infidels, which are for the most part in a state of war and have never professed the faith of Islam, and the inhabitants of which are continually plundering and devastating the dominions of both of us, they shall belong to whomsoever shall take them with the sword.

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19 This is not one of the names previously given.  20 The Sultan was then only thirteen.  21 King of Mâlîwâ.
After ratifying these terms of agreement, which are not subject to alteration, the messenger is to return."

According to his orders, Shekh Malik Ahmad ratified the terms of the treaty, and then returned to the capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan one day gave a public audience, and having conferred titles on the nobles and ministers, made the following eloquent speech in darbar:—

With the consent of the Queen-Mother, Makhdumah Jahân, the office of prime minister and the regulation of the affairs of the country and people was conferred on Khwâjah Mahmûd Gâwân, who was ennobled by the title of Khwâjah Jahân, and was given unlimited authority over all the affairs of State. He used his power wisely; and in whatever direction he turned, he reduced the countries to submission and compelled them to pay tribute. He thus increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never achieved by former sovereigns.

After the affairs of government had been put into the hands of Khwâjah Mahmûd, entitled Khwâjah Jahân, orders were issued for the assembly of a large army with which he proceeded on an expedition against the infidels of Hublî and Bagalkot, and the troops surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it. The sound of drums and trumpets reached to the heavens, and they took to their arrows, cannons and guns. Eventually the Dakhani troops took possession of the fortress. They put many of the garrison to the sword, plundered the houses and seizing whatever they could carry off, levelled the rest with the ground.

The Sultan by that attack having gained possession of the fortresses of Hublî and Bagalkot and the remaining forts and districts of that country, reduced the chiefs of those parts to submission, and the latter after having paid the revenues of their districts into the royal treasury, were exempted from further molestation by the troops.

After that the Sultan returned to his capital.

The Sultan sends Khwâjah Mahmûd Gâwân with a large force against the infidels of the Konkan.

When the Sultan had spent a short time in enjoyment and recreation in his capital he conceived the idea of waging a jihâd against the infidels of the forts and hills of the Konkan; so he summoned the nobles and ministers of State, and explained his intentions. Khwâjah Mahmûd Gâwân, standing up among the nobles, respectfully saluted the Sultan, and said:—

"We are ready to sacrifice our lives in your service and to save you from the trouble incidental to conducting a campaign yourself in person: if Your Majesty so orders it, I will undertake this duty, and by the aid and favour of God and Your Majesty's good fortune I shall clear the base infidels out of all the forts and towns of that country, and take possession of them, and so free Your Majesty's slaves from all anxiety from them."

The Sultan highly approved of this proposal, and presented many royal gifts and a special robe of honour to Khwâjah Jahân. A number of nobles and generals were appointed to co-operate with Khwâjah Jahân in conquering the Konkan.

Khwâjah Jahân with a large force set out on the march from Bidar, and halting in the district of Kolhapur, made preparations for the campaign. He summoned the army which was in that place; and from Junnar and Châkan Asad Khan joined him with a large force. Kishwar Khan also arrived with his force from Kalar (?) and Dabhool.

When a sufficiently large force had assembled Khwâjah Jahân proceeded against the rebellious people of that land, and ordered his troops to cut down and burn the jungle which served as a hiding-place for the enemy. When the base infidels of that country became aware of his approach they joined one another in numbers like ants and locusts to oppose him, and
nearly fifty engagements took place between the Muhammadans and the infidels. After that the rainy season arrived with its clouds, rain and storms; so Khwâjah Jahân unavoidably adjourned the campaign, and with his army returned to Kolhâpur, where he remained till the conclusion of the season of damp and mud. Then Khwâjah Jahân raised his standard and resumed the conquest of the country of the infidels. First of all, marching to Rabankana (?), he took the fort immediately upon his arrival there; and thence he marched to the fort of Mâchâli, and quickly succeeded in gaining possession of that also. After that the army marched towards the fortress of Sangameshvar which in strength was second only to Junnar. As has already been related in these pages, the infidels of those parts in the time of Khâlf Hasan Malik-ut-Tujjûr had massacred him and the brave soldiers of Islam.

When the Râya of Sagameshvar heard the news of the approach of the brave minister with his army, and had also heard of the conquest of the forts of that country, fearing vengeance, he was overpowered with terror; and having no other resource he sent a person to Khwâjah Jahân to sue for quarter, and delivered up the fortress of Khâlîn to the agents of Khwâjah Jahân.

This unrivalled minister passed nearly two years in that country and mountainous region, He put many of the base infidels to the sword, and seizing most of the forts and towns from the hands of the infidels, threw the fire of rapine and plunder into the homes of the idol-worshippers, and immense booty and valuable goods, such as horses, elephants, maidens and female slaves of cypress-like forms and tulip-like cheeks, as well as precious jewels and pearls fell into the minister’s hands.

Khwâjah Jahân with his army took this immense booty to the court of the Sultan, and after making his obeisance, presented so many offerings from the booty which had fallen into his hands in his numerous victories that the beholders were astonished. The Sultan, by royal favours and kindnesses, exalted Khwâjah Jahân above all his equals, and conferred on him the titles of Majlis-i Karîm and A’zam Humâyûn Makhîm Khwâjah Jahân; and orders were given that in the royal assembly none of the nobles or grandees should take precedence of Khwâjah Jahân; and that he should have supreme authority in the government of the Dakhân dominions.

In this year the Queen-Mother, Makhîm Khânah Jahân died, and in A. H. 875 (A. D. 1470) the Sultan assumed the reins of government.

In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingânâ and informed the Sultan that the Râya of Orissa, who was the principal vâga of Telingânâ, was dead.

The Sultan was rejoiced to hear this news, and resolved upon the conquest of those dominions; accordingly he held a council of war with his nobles and ministers. Malik Niğâm-ul-Mulk Bâhti, who was one of the favourites of Humâyûn Shâh, said: — “With Your Majesty’s permission I will undertake this duty.” The Sultan invested him with a special robe of honour, and despatched him with some of the other nobles in that direction.

When the base infidels of those parts heard of the approach of the royal army they assembled an army more numerous than ants and locusts, in the midst of heat like the flames of hell, and came out to oppose the army of Islam; but however much they strove, attacking and retreating before the conquering army, they were at last reluctantly compelled to take to flight, and the royal army pursued them and put many of them to the sword.

After this victory, Niğâm-ul-Mulk Bâhti marched towards the fortress of Bâjamundarî (Râjamahendrî), and in a short time obtained possession of it. Thence he proceeded towards the fort of Konâvîr, which is situate on the summit of an extremely high mountain and built on hard rock. This fortress he laid siege to and after great exertions it was taken like the others.

22 Not identified. 222 A hill close to Vishâlgâh, in which rises the river Muchkandâl.
Malik Niğm-ul-Mulk took most of the forts of those districts, and assigned them to the nobles and ministers on feudal tenure; then hastening back to the royal court he made his obeisance to the Sultan and presented to him the booty which he had obtained from the land of the infidels, and he was rewarded by kingly gifts and a robe of honour.

At this same period the prime minister, Khwajah Jahân, founded four lofty and beautiful domes and colleges in the bazar of Bidar. Maulâni Mahmûd Shirâzî has composed a chronogram recording the date of the building of the college 24 (A. H. 876, — A. D. 1471).

Up to the time of the writer of these pages — which is a thousand years from the Hijrah (A. D. 1591) — those buildings and the four domes, in ornament and elegance, are still the admiration of the world.

In the year 879 (A. D. 1474) the Sultan sat in state on his throne and gave a public audience to the amirs and nobility, and in elegant language explained as follows: — "The announcers of news have informed me that the district of Wairagad, which is in possession of Jatak Râya, the ungrateful, is a mine of diamonds; and I am resolved that that district also, like all the others, shall be brought into the possession of the servants of this court; and that in those districts the rites of Islam shall be introduced, and the symbols of infidelity and darkness be obliterated."

Majlis Raft 'Abd-Ullâh 'Adil Khân; or — according to one historian — Faṭh-Ullâh Daryâ Khân25 (according to the diversity of opinion of historians) stood up, and saluting the Sultan, said: — "I hope that I may be intrusted with this duty in order that at the risk of my life I may, by the aid of God and the favour of Your Majesty's good fortune, take the fortress of Wairagad and conquer the infidels of that country."

The Sultan rewarded 'Adil Khân with kingly gifts, invested him with a special robe of honour and despatched him in that direction with several nobles and ministers. The said 'Adil Khân with a large force marched towards Wairagad, and in due time encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, which was exceedingly lofty and strong, and laid siege to it. The troops displayed much gallantry and strove their utmost, so that the defenders were at last reduced to extremities. When Jatak Râya witnessed the strength and bravery of the attacking force he was overcome with fear, and sued for quarter. He sent a message to Majlis Raft 'Adil Khân, tendering his submission; and said that if a written promise of safe conduct for his family were granted, he would surrender the fort. 'Adil Khân accordingly gave the required written promise, and took possession of the fort; and leaving some of his troops in charge of it, returned with the rest of his army to the royal court, and presented to the Sultan the valuable booty which he had obtained. The Sultan rewarded him handsomely, invested him with a special robe of honour, and assigned to him as a jagir the districts which he had conquered.

The Sultan's army proceeds to repel the faithless Parkataph.26

In this same year,27 and in the midst of these occurrences Khwâjah Jahân Khwâjah Mahmûd Gâwân informed the Sultan that the perfidious Parkataph had withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa. He added: — "With Your Majesty's permission I will go and put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of Kânara and Vijayanagar and annex them to the dominions of Islam."

The Sultan was astonished at the military ardour and bravery of that pure-minded, incomparable minister; but, preferring to enjoy the happiness of himself waging a jihâd, he

24 The words recording the date are ٍرمى نُقُول مَن
25 These are the two sons of the murdered Niğm-ul-Mulk mentioned on page 194.
26 In nearly every place in which this name occurs in the MSS, it is spelt differently, e. g., Parkataph, Birkana, Parkatahah, Parkathyah, Parkthah and Barkatha. It ought to be written Birkanâ Rây, or, perhaps, Vikramâlîyana — vide Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., Part II., p. 638.
27 A. H. 879 (A. D. 1471).
ordered his army to be assembled, and from all quarters countless troops flocked into the court.

The Sultan with an army more numerous than drops of rain or the sand of the desert proceeded towards the fortress of Belgaum (Belgaum); one which is distinguished and exceptional in strength among all the forts of the Dakhan: from the foundation of the walls to the niched battlement, all built of cut stone, and it had a deep wet ditch. In due time the Sultan encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, and being anxious to take it he ordered his troops to be drawn up in great force in front of it. The royal engineers apportioned the ground to the different amirs and heads of the army, and in a few days the attack commenced with loud noise and they battered the towers and battlements with cannons, guns, mangonels and all the implements of war. Each day they used to throw the day of resurrection into the fortress of the infidels, and with the crash of cannon and mangonels destroyed the buildings and dwellings of the infidels and filled in the ditch with earth and rubbish.

When for a long time the troops of Islam had been contending in this manner with the infidels, the hearts of the latter were filled with the greatest dread of the army of Islam, and they began to give way. But Parkatapah, who was the chief of the lords of hell, seeing the state of terror of his followers, resolved to resort to stratagem and deception to induce the royal army to raise the siege. He therefore sent a person to the amirs and ministers and bribed them to induce the Sultan by some means or other to refrain from taking the fortress. Next day, when the nobles went to make their obeisance to the Sultan, they all, with one accord, interceded for the cursed Parkatapah. When the Sultan saw the unanimity of the amirs in interceding for the worshippers of idols he smiled a forced smile, and spoke as follows in elegant language: — "What boldness is this on the part of the cursed Parkatapah, that he dares to contend against our forces! Against us, the foremost among the sons of men, who have inherited the name of ‘Sultan’ and the title of ‘Kayhan’ from our illustrious ancestors: against us who from the time of Bahman, son of Isfandyar, to Kayumars have been illustrious sovereigns. With God’s help I will make into fuel for hell that accursed, contemptible one with all his kindred, in order that other rebels may take example from him."

The Sultan then urged his troops to make fresh endeavours; and in order to see the progress of the fight, and encourage the hearts of his brave warriors, he rode his pie-bald charger; and from his regal dignity and majesty the strength of the army was increased so that each one became equal to a thousand, and instilled the utmost fear into the hearts of the infidels.

When Parkatapah saw the helpless state of the garrison, he trembled and himself sent his family from the towers of the fortress to make their obeisance to the Sultan, while he himself came out from a tower in front of the royal court, with a rope round his neck, and tying himself to a pillar stood like a slave. The Sultan on seeing this and the coming of his family, took pity on the wretched creatures, and forgiving their offences spared their lives; and bestowed the fortress on his minister Khwajah Jahan.

After that the Sultan returned towards his capital; but on the way stopped some days at Bijapur, and bestowed handsome presents on his nobles and ministers, and rewarded all according to their several merits and services. He then returned to his capital.

In the same year a great famine occurred in the Dakhan; and since that sudden misfortune originated in Bijapur it was generally known as the famine of Bijapur: it extended to most of the districts, and many people died of hunger and destitution. After that the Creator of the world and Provider of the necessaries of life opened the doors of comfort in the face of man-
kind and all kinds of animals; and in His great mercy freed the people from trouble and disquietude. Praise be to God for His beneficence!

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan was informed that the perfidious Raya of Orissa, with a large force of foot and horse, had invaded the territories of Islam. Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, who was situated as a barrier between the country of the infidels and the territories of Islam, owing to the numbers of the enemy's force, was unable to cope with them, hastened towards Wazirbad. The Sultan ordered his army to be assembled in all haste at the town of Malikpur, near Ashtur, on the bank of a tank which was one of the innovations of Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri. According to orders they flocked there from all parts, and in a short time an immense force was assembled; and the Sultan marching with them, in due time arrived near the fortress of Rajamundri (Rajamahendral). From that innumerable force the Sultan picked out 20,000 men with two horses each, and leaving the minister Khwaja Jahân in the royal camp in attendance on the prince (Mahmud Khan) he himself with the picked troops proceeded to Rajamundri; and was accompanied on this occasion by the Prince of the Apostles, Shah Muzaffar-Ullah, grandson of Shah Nemat-Ullah.

When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Rajamundri, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel Narsinha Raya with 700,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he had dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narsinha Raya heard of the arrival of the Sultan's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight.

When the Sultan became aware of the flight of the enemy he appointed Malik Faiz-Ullah Darya Khan with several other amirs of his conquering army to go in pursuit, and in slaughtering and plundering to strive their utmost. Darya Khan, accordingly, with his division pursued the infidels as far as the fortress of Rajamundri, and laid siege to it. The Sultan also followed him with all speed and raised his victorious standards at the foot of the fortress. The noise of the war-drums and trumpets was such that the infidels imagined it was the trumpet of Israil. Orders were given to the army to surround the fortress, and with cannons, guns, arrows and all the engines of war to reduce the besieged to extremities and deny them the necessaries of life.

It had nearly arrived at that stage that the face of victory was reflected in the mirror of the desires of the royal troops, when suddenly the commander of the fortress cried for quarter. The Sultan in his exceeding mercy and kindness took pity on those unfortunate people, pardoned their offences and gave them a written promise of quarter. The governor of the fortress riding on an elephant of gigantic size went to pay his respects to the Sultan. He made his obeisance and was enrolled among the Turk, Tilangi and Habshi slaves.

The Sultan with some of the nobles and great men went out on the summit of the fortress, and signified his wish that the rites of the faith of Islam should be introduced into that abode of infidelity. He appointed to the charge of the fortress the same person to whom it had been formerly assigned.

After that the Sultan went forth, and exalting his victorious standards, proceeded towards his capital, where he turned his attention to the administration of justice and looking after his subjects and army. He liberally rewarded the officers and brave men of his army.

In the midst of these events 'Adil Shah, Wali of Agra and Burhanpur, who had been constantly in submission to the Sultans of the Dakhan, and recited the kiuabah and
coined money in the name of those kings, and been a staunch friend and ally of theirs, came to Bīdar to pay his respects to the Sultan; and the latter several times took part in festive entertainments in the society of Ādil Shāh.

The Sultan marches to Kanchipura and that neighbourhood.

Khwaja Jahān is put to death through the deception of people jealous of him.

In the months of the year 885 (A.D. 1480) the Sultan was informed that his subjects in one of Kondavīr had broken out in rebellion, and throwing themselves on the protection of Narsīha Bāya had altogether withdrawn from their allegiance to the rule of Islām. Undoubtedly to defer or neglect to admonish and chastise them would give rise to sedition and disturbance, and probably lead to the destruction of the country; so the Sultan on hearing the news, in the month of Ramāzān in the above-mentioned year (November, A.D. 1480) ordered his army to be assembled; and marching with it towards the kingdom of Vijayānagar, in due time arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Kondavīr, and encamping there, completely surrounded it, so as to prevent all entrance or exit on the part of the infidels.

Immeiatly upon this movement of the army, the rebels in the fortress were much disturbed, and the swords, spears and arrows struck terror to their hearts; so they hoisted flags of submission on the towers and battlements. They all then begged to be forgiven, and said:—

The cause of our swerving from the road of obedience, and travelling in the desert of error was this, — Certain ministers of the royal court, who wished to seize for themselves the government entrusted to them, set over us as their agents a clique of disreputable, tyrannical oppressors who stretched out the hand of oppression and authority over our property and worldly goods; and would not refrain from their unjust practices, however much we represented the circumstances. They would not allow the tale of our oppression to reach the Sultan; so at last we were driven to desperation.”

When the Sultan became aware of the circumstances of those guiltless oppressed people he pardoned their past offences, and in his exceeding kindness bestowed the fortress with all its dependencies on Malik Hasan Humayun Shāh Tišām-ul-Mulk Bahri in order that he might exert himself in cherishing the subjects. But from the words of the inhabitants of the fortress the dust of vexation towards Khwajah Jahān settled on the margin of the Sultan’s mind, and he secretly resolved on his destruction.

After the conclusion of the affair of Kondavīr agreeably to his desires, it occurred to the Sultan that the extensive plains are only open to military operations up to the rainy season, and the eradication of the worshippers of Lāt and Manāt and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired; and as the infidel Narsīha, — who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingānā and Vijayānagar — had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and n’ul-bahā,14 therefore the best course to adopt was to trample his country under the hoofs of his horses, and level the buildings with the ground.

It has been related that this Narsīha had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kānarah and Telingānā, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayānagar.

The Sultan now, because of the above-mentioned considerations, marched with his army from the above-mentioned fort,16 and advanced about forty farsangs17 into the country of Narsīha, and on arriving within sight of the fortress of Malīr — which was the greatest of the forts of that country — encamped there.

14 Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.
15 Kondavīr.
16 About 130 miles. The actual distance of Malīr from Kondavīr in a straight line is about 270 miles.
When the cursed Narasinha obtained information of the approach of the royal army, he became uneasy and took to flight without giving battle; and used to pass each day in a house and each night in some jungle or other.

One day the Sultan ordered a letter to be written to the impure Narasinha founded upon threats and intimidation, reminding him of his hostility both former and recent. When this angry and terror-inspiring letter reached that undiscerning infidel, trembling for fear of being attacked by the Sultan’s army, and having no other resource, he sent a quantity of valuable presents of jewellery and other valuables, elephants and horses to the Sultan’s court, and confessing his weakness, promised obedience and submission.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan was informed that at a distance of fifty farsakhahs from his camp was a city called Ganji (Kanchipuram or Kanchi), situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one, containing temples which were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels and valuable pearls, besides innumerable beautiful slave girls. From the rise of Islam up to this time no Muslim monarch had set foot in it: no stranger had laid hand on the cheek of that idol-temple; and it was suggested that if the Sultan were to send an expedition against it, immense booty and treasures would doubtless be obtained.

On hearing this news the Sultan left the prince and the pure-minded minister, Khwajah Jahangir and some of the nobles and great men in charge of the camp, whilst he himself with nearly 10,000 horse made forced marches from that place; and after they had for one day and two nights, travelled a long distance through an uneven country, on the morning of the second day, which happened to be the 11th of Muharram in the year 886 (12th March, A. D. 1481) the Sultan with Nigam-ul-Mulk Bahri, Khan-i ‘Azam ‘Adil Khazan and 150 special slaves of the Sultan, outstripped the whole army, and having surrounded the city of Kanchi, entrapped the people of that city of sinners. Out of a number who had been appointed for the protection of the city and temples, some were put to the sword, whilst others by a thousand stratagems escaped with their lives, and took to flight. The royal troops moment by moment and hour by hour following one another were assembling till a large army was collected under the Sultan’s standard. After that, at a sign from the Sultan, the troops took to plundering and devastating. They levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity; and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands, that they were beyond computation.

After the successful accomplishment of his desires, the Sultan returned from that place to his camp. On arriving there he ordered an elegant poetical account of this celebrated victory to be written, and copies distributed throughout his dominions.

In the midst of these affairs a clique of jealous and malevolent persons who play with the understanding of everyone, and by deceit and knavery under the semblance of friendship, create ill-feeling between father and son, having conceived pure lies and vile inventions which had the appearance of truth, reported them to the servants of the Sultan.

The details of this summary and the abridgment of this digression is this — that a number of spiteful persons, “disease in their hearts,” who were continually making malignant imputations against the Khwajah, with a large sum of money, bribed one of his confidential slaves who always kept his seal about him, to affix his seal to a paper, and return it to them; so that by this cunning device they might accomplish their designs. The misguided slave, according to the wishes of those evil persons, readily consented to do that shameful deed.

The conspirators wrote a letter purporting to be from Khwajah Jahangir to Narasinha Raya, full of treachery and ingratitude towards his benefactor; and at the time of leisure they pre-

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**Footnote:** About 170 miles. The actual distance in a straight line from Malabar to Kanchipuram is about 120 miles.
sented that letter to the Sultan in his private apartment, and secretly gave him that manifests, calumny in the garb of sincerity and certainty; and this served to verify the statements of the former calumniators. Since, from the passage of the complaint of the inhabitants of Kondavir, the dust of alleged injury from the minister had already settled on the mind of the Sultan, the contents of this letter put the former matter into motion, and he fully determined to put to death that incomparable minister.

On the 5th of Safar, in the year last mentioned (A. H. 886 = 5th April, A. D. 1481), the nobles being all assembled in the court, the Sultan, on pretence of having taken an aperitif, retired from the assembly, and sent some one to summon Khwajah Jahan, and called him into his private apartment.

It is said that when the Khwajah was mounting, with the intention of waiting on the Sultan, an astrologer represented to him that it would be advisable for him to put off going into the Sultan’s presence on that day. The Khwajah replied: — “The merit of attendance on His Majesty may be productive of eternal happiness and honour to me. Praise be to God, to Whose goodness I bear witness!”

It is related that before the Khwajah attained the grade of martyrdom, he used continually to repeat this verse:

"As martyrdom to love is glorious here and hereafter,
Happy should I be to be carried dead from this field."

And in an ode which he had composed in the previous year in praise of the Sultan, he foretold this circumstance.

When the Khwajah arrived in the presence of the Sultan, he kissed the ground in salutation. The Sultan asked him: — “If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment?”

Khwajah Jahan, without hesitation, replied: — “The abandoned wretch who practises treachery against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword.”

The Sultan then showed Khwajah Jahan the forged letter; and when the wretched Khwajah saw it, he exclaimed: — “By God! this is an evident forgery.” He placed his head on the ground and emphatically swore: — “Although this letter is sealed with my seal, your slave has no knowledge of its contents. God forbid! that such base ingratitude should emanate from this slave, with so many past services and risking of life; who has experienced so many acts of kindness from Your Majesty, and who has been distinguished and selected above all his equals.

By God, the jewel of whose commands
The spiritual perforate with their heart’s blood,
It is like the false story of Younaf and the wolf —
That which his enemies say of this slave.”

However much Khwajah Jahan spoke in this strain, it was of no avail. The Sultan, on some excuse, rose up. Jauhar Habshi and some of the slaves had previously been ordered to watch for the Sultan’s signal, and whenever he might look towards them, to kill Khwajah Jahan, and clear the mind of the Sultan from anxiety on account of that minister. At a sign from the Sultan they now martyred Khwajah Jahan by blows of their swords, and threw him in the dust of destruction. And having called Asad Khan inside they put him also to death.

But the clique who had designed this plot, in a short time met with their just recompense; for shortly afterwards their fraud and deceit became manifest to the Sultan: their treachery.

38 A quotation from the Koran.
39 Alluding to Joseph’s brethren telling Jacob that he had been torn by a wild beast.
and ingratitude was proved, and they receiving the punishment due to them, were put to death, and the remainder were banished.

* * * * *

After the execution of Khwájah Jahán, the Sultán proceeded towards his capital, and looked after the comfort of his soldiers and subjects, treating all with much kindness. After some time he repented of having killed that minister; but since the arrow had sped from the bow and the shaft of fate lodged in the butt, regret was of no avail. For this reason delay and deliberation in punishing is advocated by the greatest of sages, who says: — "One cannot remedy the punished, while he who is not punished can be judged."

In some histories it is related that after the martyrdom of Khwájah Jahán, the Sultán one night in a dream saw the Prophet seated on the throne of judgment, and the father of Khwájah Jahán appealed against oppression, and demanded retribution for the blood of his son. The Prophet asked him for his witnesses, upon which he produced them; and in accordance with the orders of the Prophet, the law of retaliation was enforced upon the Sultán, who from terror of that dreadful dream, awoke; and by compulsion and uneasiness related the dream to his intimates. He was in a constant state of terror owing to that dream.

A year after that the Sultán again conceived the idea of waging a jihad against the infidels, and having collected an army in numbers like the sand, he resolved to invade Vijaynagar and seize the Konkan. On the way there the Sultán was seized with asthma and fever, and his strength suddenly failed owing to the severity of the fever. Although skilled physicians applied remedies and did their utmost, they could not cure him: in fact, they only increased his illness. The Sultán seeing death approaching made his will. He sent for Prince Aḥmad — afterwards called Sultán Mahmūd, and having appointed him heir to the throne, died.

The nobles and statesmen rent their clothes and put dust on their heads and began weeping and wailing.

* * * * *

Sultán Muḥammad Shāh was a king characterized by mildness and bravery; but he had sold the gem of his precious soul for the jewel of the liquid ruby of pure wine, and had burnt the nest of the bird of his spirit in the desire of pleasure. He had a great partiality for the Turk slaves, and left in their hands the management of all the important affairs of State.

The Dakhan amirs — who had been brought up by the ancestors of the Sultán — after his death unanimously agreed to the succession of Sultán Mahmūd Shāh. Outwardly they had mixed with that clique [the Turks], like dice of ivory and ebony on a chess-board, but in the end they played with false dice, and suddenly falling upon the Turks, threw them on the chess-table of annihilation and misfortune, and arrested them. But eventually the Dakhan amirs treated one another in the same manner, and crossed swords with one another; so that a country which was adorned like the faces of the fair became utterly dishevelled and confused like the curls and hair of women: some of which occurrences shall after this, please God, be written in the account of Sultán Mahmūd Shāh.

The age of Sultán Muḥammad was twenty-eight, and the duration of his reign, twenty years and two months. His death occurred on the 5th of the month Šafar, in the year 887 (26th March, A. D. 1482). An excellent man has composed the following chronogram of the date of his death:

"The king of kings of the world, Sultán Muḥammad,
"Who was suddenly plunged into the ocean of death;
"Since the Dakhan became waste by his departure,
"So the ruin of the Dakhan 40 was the date of his death."

(To be continued.)

40 The words giving the date are خرائطئیا 5 کن The same chronogram is given in Firishtah.
ALEXANDER GRANT'S ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF CALCUTTA IN 1756.

Preface by R. C. Temple.

The story of the Black Hole of Calcutta is of perennial interest, and hence no apology is necessary for the publication of this document, which is a letter by Capt. Alexander Grant, "Adjutant-General" of the forces engaged in the Defence of Calcutta against the army of Surajuddaula, evidently intended to excuse his conduct. Major Minchin, the Commander, and Capt. Grant were dismissed from the E. I. Company's service for deserting their posts, and Dr. Bustoed, who extensively quotes, in his Echos of Old Calcutta, from this document now under consideration, and puts the case as to the deserters very mildly, says: — "Desertion in the presence of the enemy on the part of those to whose lot had especially fallen the duty of seeing the struggle, however hopeless, to the end, is a charge not to be lightly made. Any reference, therefore, to an occurrence, which carried with it so deep a stigma, should in fairness be accompanied by what has been alleged in exculpation of their conduct by those chiefly concerned. Both the Governor [Roger Drake] and the Adjutant General [Alexander Grant] have liberated their consciences on this subject. Their personal narration, though it may not quite fulfil the object of the writers, will perhaps help us to realise more vividly the scenes in which they were prominent actors: " (p. 18 f.) Weak as Grant's letter may appear to us nowadays, it and his other representations had the effect he desired, in that he was finally re-instated in service.

It was on the 19th June, 1756, that Grant deserted from Calcutta, and his letter was written on the 13th July following. The document now published is not, however, the original, but a copy made on 22nd February, 1774, for John Debonnaire, from whose heirs I have received it, together with several other most interesting MSS. relating to India, which I hope to publish in this Journal in due course. ¹

This John Debonnaire was one of several of identically the same name, who were wealthy merchants of Huguenot descent in London and India during the XVIIth Century. The pedigree, so far as the wills and documents I have been able to see, is as follows: —

\[
\text{Debonnaire, probably the original refugee during the Huguenot emigration of 1666-1716.}
\]

\[
\text{Peter Debonnaire} \quad \text{John Debonnaire, b. c. 1674: m. 1718: d. 1747.}
\]

\[
\text{John Debonnaire, styled "the elder"} \quad \text{John Debonnaire, styled "the younger."}
\]

\[
\text{and described as an E. I. merchant. I have an inventory of his clothing, d. 1747, made apparently in Bombay. He d. 1756.}
\]

\[
\text{1724-1795, for whom the copy of Grant's defence was made in 1774. He was part owner of the "Grantham, taken by the French and properly condemned as a lawful prize" before 1765.}
\]

\[
\text{Ann Debonnaire: 1755-1829, John Debonnaire: b. c. 1757. He was a merchant residing in Calcutta, 1787.}
\]

\[
\text{heir of the Debonnaire property, as 2nd wife = William Tennant = Mary Wyld, as 1st wife.}
\]

\[
\text{and described as the last of her name. As 2nd wife = William Tennant = Mary Wyld, as 1st wife.}
\]

\[
\text{She was the Mrs. Tennant painted by Gainsborough.}
\]

\[
\text{Richd Temple of the Nash}
\]

\[
\text{William Tennant}
\]

\[
\text{Charles Tennant = Sophia Temple}
\]

\[
\text{Richd Temple}
\]

\[
\text{Governor of Bombay}
\]

\[
\text{Charles Tennant of}
\]

\[
\text{St. Anne's Manor, owner of the MSS.}
\]

\[
\text{Richd Temple, the present writer.}
\]

¹ E.g., The Voyage of the Wagh round the Coast of India, from the Hugli to Bombay in 1746 during the capture of Madras by the French under Labourdonnaise. The wreck of the Duddington in 1756 on "a desert island" off the coast of Africa and the Voyage to India of the Happy Deliverance, built by the shipwrecked crew.
The copying of the letter by the old writer is obviously incorrect in places and the style is involved throughout. I have, by means of brackets, tried to elucidate the greatest of the difficulties, where possible. Also, in the MS. the text runs continuously without paragraphs or regular stops, and such stops as occur are, after the fashion of the day, wrongly placed or of a description not understood at the present time. For the sake of clearness I have, therefore, paragraphed the text and placed the stops after the current practice, so far as that has been possible. Otherwise the text is presented to the reader verbatim.

Letter.

Fulta from on board the Success Gally 13 July 1756.

Sirs, — As the Loss of Calcutta will undoubtedly be represented in various ways, my Duty, as well as my having once had the honour of your Acquaintance and Continance, demands my giving some account of it, especially the Military Transactions. My having been Appointed to act as Adjutant General during the Troubles, enables me to do it in a more particular manner, than I otherwise could have done, had I been stationed at my post, as I issued out all Orders from the Govenour, and saw most of them put in execution. For what relates to private Correspondance must refer you to a long Narrative of Mr. Drakes which he informs me he intends to transmit by this conveyance.

You must have already rec'd the Accounts of the Surrender of Cossimbuzar on the 4th of June, and the manner Mr. Watts was decy'd and made Prisoner in the Nabobs Camp and obliged to deliver up the fort. We have dispatched Patamors for that Purpose when we rec'd the news on the 7th. We may justly impute all our Misfortunes to the Loss of that place, as it not only supplied our Enemy with Artillery and Ammunition, but flush'd them with hopes to make as easy a Conquest of our chief Settlement, not near so defensible against any Number of a Country Enemy, and were no apprehensions but it could hold out, had they attacked it, till we were enabled by the Arrival of Supplies from your Settlement to March to its releif. It is defended by 4 Solid Bastions, each mounting 10 pieces of Cannon, 6 and 9 Pounders, besides a Line in the Curtain to ye River of 24 Guns, from 2 to 4 Pounders, all tolerably well mounted and most of them on field carriages, 8 or 10 Cohorns Mortars, 4 and 3 Inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and a proportionable Supply of all kinds of Ammunition. It is Garrisoned by a Lieutenant and 50 Military, most Europeans, and a Sergeant, Corporal and 3 Matroses of the Artillery and 20 good Lascars. 1 or 2 Houses that stood close to the Walls were Commanded by so many Guns that the Enemy cou'd not keep possession of them.

When we receiv'd the News of Cossimbuzar being taken by the Nabob and of his Intentions to march against us, with the Artillery and Ammunition of that place and with an army, as we where Informed, of 50000 Horse and foot, elated with the promise of the Emence Plunder expected in Calcutta; We began to think of our Long neglected defenceless State and our Situation, and to receive our Enemy, which we always despised, but now thought worth our Consideration. That we were in this defenceless Situation can't be imputed to our Masters in England, as our Governour and Counsil have had repeated Injunctions with in this twelve months past to put the best posture of defence possible. But such orders the Representations [?] have been made by some Officers of the Necessity and manner of doing it have been constantly neglected, being always Lull'd in such an unfortunate State of Security in Bengal, that nothing but an Army before the Walls cou'd convince us but every Rupce expended on Military Services was so much lost to the Company.

I will now proceed to inform you as well as possible what our Situation was to stand a Soige. The Plan of Fort Wm and a part of Calcutta, which I here inclose you, and which since my coming on board I have sketch'd out from memory to give a clear Idea of the manner we were attacked, will represent to you the Situation of our small Fort in respect to the Houses that surrounded it and the Number of Guns mounted upon it. Our Military to defend it, exclusive of those at the Subordinate Factory, amounted only to 180 Infantry, of which number there were not 40 Europeans, and 36 Men of the Artillery Company, Seargeants
and Corporals included; hardly a Gun on the Ramports with a Carriage fit for Service. We had about 3 Years ago 50 Pieces of Cannon, 18 and 24 Pounders, with 2 Mortars, 10 and 13 inches, with a good Quantity of Shells and Balls for each; but they been allowed to lay on the Grass, where they were first landed ever since, with out Carriages or Beds. Only the 10 inch Mortars we made shift to get ready by the time we were attacked, but neither Shells filled nor Fuses prepared for Mortars or Cohorns, made as well as the rest of little use. Our Grape were eat up by the worms, and in short all our Ammunition of all sorts, such as we had, in the worst Order; not a Gun with a Carriage fit be carried out of the fort for any use, except the two field Pieces, which was sent us from your Settlement. What Powder we had ready, for want of care the greatest part was damp and the Season of the Year improper to dry it.

It's true, on the Receipt of ye Letters by the Delaware, there was orders given to repair the Line of Guns before the fort, and Carriages to be made for those 50 pieces of Cannon to be mounted upon, and likewise to repair the Carriages upon the Bastions; but those things where just began when we received Intelligence of ye Loss of Cossimbazar and Contributed little to prepare us for what we expected. The Military Captains were ordered to attend Council to give their Advice in regard to what was Necessary to be done for the Defence of ye Place, as it was all along proposed to defend the Town as well as ye Fort. An Extensive Line was first form'd for that intent. So Little notion had the People of any Vigorous attack, that it was esteemed sufficient to have a Battery of 1 or 2 Guns in each principal road to defend us from any attack of a Black Enemy; but the Consideration of our small number of Troop determined us to contract our Batteries to the places marked in the Plan. The Militia was formed in to three Companys: One of Europeans to the Number of 60 and the other two Consisted of Arminians and Country Portuguesse to ye Number of 150, exclusive of those 50 of the Companies Servants, and young Gentlemen of the Place entered as Volunteers in the Military Companys and [who] did duty in every Respect as Common Centinals and on every Occasion shewed the greatest Spirit and Resolution. Carpenters and Workmen of all sorts were taken into Pay to make Gun Carriages &c., and every thing else ordered to be got in Readiness that might be necessary for a Seige.

From the 7, when we reced the news of Cossimbazars being lost and the Nabobs intentions to advance to march to Calcutta, to the 16th June was all the time we had to prepare every thing, from the defenceless state we were in to what was Necessary for the Reception of such a numerous Enemy; and such was the Nabobs Rapidity that in 12 days from his getting possession of Cossimbazar he was with us at Calcutta. The 4th, he march'd, with a numerous Army and a large train of Artillery upwards of 100 Miles cross Rivers and swampy Roads, to his first attack of Calcutta. The 16th, Messrs. Holwell, Macket, and Mapletoft were appointed Captains of the 3 Militia Company, Mr. Frankland Lieutenant Colonel, and Mr. Manningham Colonel, with Subalterns in proportion. The Military Volunteers and Militia were disposed of, when the Batteries were finished and Carriages made for the Guns as you see in ye Plan, in which Situation we stood prepared to receive our Enemy; tho to the last scarce any cou'd be persuaded that he would attack us in any other way than by forming a Blockade; till he obtained a Sum of Money and a Compliance with his demands.

On ye 16, he Attacked ye Redoubt at Perrin [? Perrins] with 6 pieces of Cannon; but on the approach of a Reinforcement with 2 field pieces, they withdrew them and inclined to the Southward, where, taking Possession of a Top of a Wood, they fired very briskly from the Opposite side of a Ditch on a part of the Detachment, which was Advanced beyond the Redowbt, kill'd one of ye Gentlemen Volunteers and 4 Europeans Soldiers. On the Enemy's Approaching still more to ye Southward, along ye great Ditch that Surrounded ye Town, and we having Intelligence they had crossed it, and taking Possession of Onychauna Garden and ye great road by it, the Reinforcement was ordered back from Perrins; and Ensain Piccard left in his post, as before. The Enemys Cannon had play'd at ye same time on a Sloop
that lay'd cross to ye Redoubt to recover the Ditch and killed 4 Europeans. We had no
further molestation from [them] that Night, nor any further Intelligence than that they
Occupied the Esterly corner of the Black Town from Onychands Garden to the Bread and
cheese Bunglo, [and] that the Nabob himself had taken possession of Dumdum House for his
Head Quarters.

The 17th, in ye Morning, we planted 2 small pieces of Cannon in ye Goal House to scour
the Different Roads, which terminate at the Place, and which way we expected the Enemy would
advance: likewise sent 12 Military and Militia and 40 Buzeries to take Possession of it, under
the Command of Monsr. Le Beaune, a french Officer who had taken the Protection of our Flag
sometime before, and fortified the house with Loopholes [loop holes]. The enemy did not
appear in sight of any of our Batteries this Day; but the Plunderers ravaged all ye Black
town. We had numbers of Prisoners brought in by our Buzeries; but their Accounts of the
Nabobs situation and Strength varied so much, that we could not lay any stress upon it. Our
own Intelligence all along from our Spies was Equally so. These Prisoners in General told us
that he had all the Cossinbuzars Cannon, and 10 or 15 pieces, which he brought from
Muscadabad of a Larger Size, besides numbers of Swivels and Wallpieces mounted on Camels
and Elephants; that his Troops Consisted from 20 to 20000 Horse and foot. This night our
Peons and Buzeries, to the Number of 500, deserted us, as did our Lascars and Cooleys some
days before; that we had not a Black Fellow to draw or worke a Gun, not even to carry a
Cottin Bale or Sand bag on ye Ramports; and what work of that kind had been done was
by the Military and Militia. This want of Workmen at Last, and Scarcity at ye Beginning,
harra's'd us Prodigeously and prevented our doing several Works that could have been
necessary.

The 18th, pretty early the Enemy began to make their appearance in all quarters of
ye Town; but did not seem as if they would advance Openly against our Batteries, rather as if
they were resolved to make their approaches by taking possession of the Intervening Houses.
We accordingly fortified such houses as we thought commanded our Batteries with as many
men as could possibly be spared. They first advanced towards the Goal by the road that leads
to perrins through the black town, and brought 2 pieces of Cannon against it; one of them by
the Size of the Ball not less than an 18 Pounder. We were likewise advised by our Spies and
Prisoners that the Nabobs Artillery was Commanded by a French Renegado, who had been an
Officer at Pondicherry and gave him self the Title of Marquis De St. Jaque, and had under
his Command 25 Europeans and 80 Chittygan Fringees.

On their Advancing their Cannon against the Goal, we detached from the Battery H an
Officier, 20 men and ye 2 field pieces, to reinforce Mr. Le Beaumes Fort, who maintained it
from 11 to 2 in ye afternoon, exposed to every warm fire from 2 pieces of Cannon and a
Quantity of Musquetry. The Enemy having lodg'd themselves in all ye Houses that Surrounded
the place, [ and ] Monsr. Le Beaune and Ensign Curstains, the Officer who was advanced to
support him, being both wounded, and several of their Men killed, they had Orders to retire
with their 2 field Pieces. The Enemy took immediate Possession of ye Place, as soon as we
abandoned it; as they did off [ == of ] Mr. Dumbleton, Alsops, ye Play House and the Houses
behind ye St., Lady Russels; from which Places, and every hole the[y] could creep into,
under any sort of cover, they kept a very close fire on the battery and houses, whenever they
saw any of our men Lodg'd. By firing our Cannon on such Houses as they could bear upon,
We obliged them often to quit them; but fresh Supplies came up to relieve them. We must
in this manner have destroyed Numbers, tho all we could do, from ye Cannon of the Batteries
and Forts, and our small Arms from the Tops and Windows of the different Houses we Occupied,
was of no Effect in Retarding their progress. Had our Shells been properly serv'd, they must
have been of greater Use for this purpose than all our Artillery; but such as we tried either
burst as they quitted the Mortars or before they got half way.
They had now possessed the Houses in all Quarters of the Town in Multitudes, and by their Superiory obliged most of our Men to quit their houses they Occupied. The first place they broke in upon our Lines was through Mr. Nixons House and the breast work close to Mr. Puthams, the Sergeant of that place having retreated and left some of the Gentlemen Volunteers to free their way through the Enemy from Capt Minchins House, where 2 of them were left a Sacrifice to their Mercy. They poured into the Square in Swarms, planted their Colours at the Corner of ye Tank, and took immediate Possession of all ye Houses in that Square. We had only 2 Guns from ye flank of ye N. E. Bastion that could bear on that part of ye town. Their footing was now too firm, by being in Possession of so many Houses within our Lines, that it was impossible to think of Dispossessing them from so many strong Houses, which seemed as Fortresses against our small Numbers. They brought up their cannon soon after to play upon ye passages to and from our Batteries.

This Situation of ye Enemy within our Lines made it necessary to Order Capt. Bur- 
cham to retire with his Canon from ye Battery B to D, as his Communication with the Fort might have been cut off by ye Enemies advancing in his rear, through the Lane that Leads to my house and betwixt Capt. Claytons Battery at H; where on my arrival, I was 
supprized by finding the Guns of ye Battery Spiked and Orders given them to retire with 
only the 2 field pieces into the fort. I requested their patience, as I found no necessity for so precipitate a retreat, till I had spoke to ye Govour. He told me the post [was] rep- 
resented to him as no longer tenable by the Enemy’s getting Possession of all ye Houses around 
them, and numbers of their Men killed and Wounded; [and] That if ye Guns were already 
Spiked, it would be in vain to think of keeping it Long. I return’d towards ye Battery and 
found Capt. Clayton half way to ye fort with only the field Pieces. I prevailed on him 
to return with his Men, that if Possible we might withdraw the Guns of ye Battery, especially an 
18 Pounder Carried about noon to play on the [?] houses which the Enemy possess’d, and 
[might] prevent the Shame of leaving them to convince the Enemy of ye Panic that must have 
seiz’d us to be Obliged to make such a retreat. I desired one half to defend ye Batteries, while the other Lay’d down their Arms to draw off the Cannon; but not a man would be prevailed on to touch a Rope. I then left them to march off in the most regular manner they could. The Abandoning this battery was of ye utmost Consequence to us, as it necessarily occasioned the withdrawing the other two and Confining our defences to ye walls of ye Fort. It therefore 
ought not to have been done till after every mature deliberation.

The other two Batteries C and D were soon after ordered to be withdrawn, and all their 
Troops were ordered to return to ye Fort Gate by 6 in the Evening. By retiring into ye Fort 
we must expect that before next morning the Enemy would take Possession of all ye houses 
close to our walls, and from each of them greatly command our Bastions and Ramparts. 
This determined us, as ye only thing farther to be done to retard their Progress, to dispose of 
ye Troops returned from ye Batteries in ye Houses of Mr. Cruttendon, Eyre, the Company 
and ye Church; which was accordingly done before 8 at night.

The detachment in ye Company’s house, on ye Enemy’s Approach and their getting 
possession of Capt. Benny’s house, Thought their Situation too dangerous to be maintain’d 
on ye Approach of Day, and that their Communication was liable to be cut off from ye fort 
by ye Lane that leads to ye Water side by ye new Godowns. [They] therefore applied to ye 
Govour and obtained leave to retire into ye fort. The withdrawing this fort gave gen. al 
discontent and discouragement, as ye Enemies getting possession of it would not only expose 
the Southerly Bastions and Godowns to a very warm fire, but likewise the Gout, were the boats 
lay, to be so flanked that it could be almost impossible to keep any there. And as many 
people at this time (by ye Vigorous attack of ye Enemy, and withdrawing our Batteries so very 
suddenly, and leaving the Company’s House to be taken Possession of by them in ye night, 
attended with many other Circumstances of Confusion and Disorder which then could not be remedied) begun to think that a retreat on board our Ships would be the only means,
by which we could Escape the hands of ye Enemy. Therefore with ye utmost concern we saw this our only means of safety indangered by our forsaking that Post.

We had lay'd in a sufficient store of Provisions, but ye Irregularity of not appointing proper persons for ye Management of this, as well as other particular duties, a fatal neglect all along, [and] the Desertion of our Cocks, amongst ye rest of ye black fellows, left us to starve in the midst of Plenty. Our out Ports had no refreshments all the proceeding day and there was nothing but constant Complaints and murmuring from all quarters for want of water and provisions, and but little prospect for a Possibility of supplying them. There was not even people to carry them to ye out ports, had they been ready dressed, as every one in ye fort had been so harass'd and fatigued for want of rest by constant duty for 2 days before, that it was impossible to rouse them, even if the Enemy had been scaling ye Walls. Three different times did ye Drums beat to Arms but in Vain, not a man could be got to stand to their Arms, tho' we had frequent Alarms of ye Enemy's preparing Ladders under our Walls to scale them.

We had by this time thousands of Portuguese Women within the Fort, which caused the utmost Confusion and Noise by filling up ye Passages in all parts, and crowding the back Gate to force their way on board ye Ships. Such was the Consternation that prevailed in general at a Council of War that was held at 9 o Clock, [that] the Europeans Women were ordered on board the Ships, and Colonel Manningham and Lieutenant Colonel Frankland permitted to see them there safe. It was at ye same time resolved to clear the fort of ye other Women, and if possible to regulate the Confusion that then prevailed; but little was put into Execution towards it. The men for want of refreshment, rest and by getting in Liquor, became very mutinous and riotous, and being mostly Militia within ye fort subject to no Command. The same Complaints were brought from ye out ports, which could hardly be remedied without supplies of Provisions and men to relieve them from their hunger and fatigue bore for several days past.

In this Situation of Affairs a second Council of War was called about one in ye Morning to Consider of what was possible to be done, and how long under such Circumstances the place was defensible against such Vigorous attacks as the Enemy made the proceeding Day. You will be surpriz'd to hear that all this time neither the Governor nor Commandants orders could obtain a return of the Stores and Ammunition from Capn Witherington. I often represented to ye Governor the necessity of such a return, as likewise to have a strict obedience paid to whatever Orders he issued out, but all to no purpose. He had a good Opinion of the man, and did not chuse to carry things to extremity. There was likewise a great Animosity, subsisted [subsisted] between the Governor and Commandant, as well as between the Commandant and Capt Witherington, which did not contribute to the Advantage of the Service. The first thing done then in this Council of War was to know the State of our Ammunition, and Capt Witherington, being ask'd for what time what was then in Store could be sufficient at the Rate of ye Consumption of the proceeding day, He answered it would hardly be enough for three days, and that he was afraid a great part that was esteem'd good might prove damp, and that neither the weather nor our Conveniency won'd admit of its being dry'd. This unexpected shock alarm'd every body and [it] was thought very extraordinary that this state of our ammunition was not known before. We had no medium left, but either must Retire on board our Ships before that time expire or Surrender at direction [discretion] to the mercy of an Enemy, from whom we had reason to expect no Quarters. It was therefore unanimously agreed, [upon] in the most expeditious and regular manner and taking every Circumstance under consideration the majority were of Opinion, that it ought to be done that night, as next such consequences as [next night circumstances] would either make it impracticable or liable to ye greatest risque and precipitation. For instance should the enemy get possession of the Company's house, as we made no doubt of it before morning, and Mr. Cruttendon's, they might with out much difficulty force the way thro' the Barriers that leads to ye back gate from
those two Houses, or from the windows and top of them so flank and scour ye° gaut with small Arms that it would be morally impossible for a boat to lay at ye° Gaut, or any were else before the fort. Either of these Circumstances would have effectually made a retreat impossible. This Opinion was strenuously maintain’d by Mr. Holwell in particular; and as a Retreat had been already determined, to defer it till next night cou’d have been attended with no Advantages. On the Contrary, had it been put in execution then, According to Mr. Holwells and several others Opinions, the Company’s whole treasures and ye° Lives of more than 150 Europeans would have been saved; but it so happen’d that we dally’d away the time till almost Day light, and nothing soled or positive determined. It was proposed to send Onychaund to treat with ye° Nabob, but he absolutely refused to go, and our Persian Writer with the rest of Blacks left us, which disabled us from writing to him. In this state of Confusion, uncertainty and Suspence did we remain till the Approach of Day.

The 19th, in ye° morning finding that the Enemy had neglected to take Possession of the Company’s house, Ensign Piccard, who had been ordered in the night back from Perrins, Offered himself voluntary on that service with 20 Men, which was permitted. The day produced no regularity. The same Complaints of want of Provision, rest and refreshments was heard from all quarters, and little done to remedy it. The Enemy advanced a pace and their fire increased from all Quarters, having in ye° night lodg’d them selves in all the adjacent Houses. Lieutenant Bisshop, who commanded in Mr. Eyres house desired leave to retire about 9 o Clock, the fire from Onychounds House and the other houses round him being so thick that it was impossible to stand it. He was ordered to maintain it till evening, but repeating the necessity of leaving his men killed, he was permitted to retire. Capt° Clayton who commanded in ye° Church was allowed to withdraw on ye° same Account.

He had some heavy Pieces of Cannon, besides small Arms. From ye° Houses to the E. and N. E. of them they play’d constantly from behind the Battery A and Playhouse Compound which did a great deal of Execution amongst his Men. About this time, Ensign Piccard was brought in Wounded from ye° Company’s house, and the Enemy had filled ye° Compound of it, tho our Men kept possession of it above Stairs. The Detachment in Mr. Cruttendings house was soon after withdrawn. Our Bastions were in a very improper state to be maintained against such a close fire of small arms, as was now likely to Command them from so many adjacent houses; all of them the strongest Pecca Work, and all most proof against our Mettal on ye° Bastions. And the Parrapets were not 4 foot high and only 3 in thickness, [and] the Embrasures so wide that they afforded but little shelter to our Men at ye° Guns. These defects might in some measure be supply’d by Cotten Bales and Sand Bags, which we had prepared for that Purpose, had we not been in want of all kind of Labourers to bring them on ye° Ramparts; and both Military and Militia were so harrassed that it was impossible to make them stand to their Arms, far less to carry Bales. This was our Situation twixt 10 and 11 o’ Clock.

About this time the Governour made his retreat on board the Ships. As his Conduct in this Respect, as well as that of those that followed him, will most likely be a good deal Canvass’d, and the affair be represented according to the prejudice and Interest of different Persons, and I myself amongst the rest of those who thought it justifiable to follow the Gove. nour in such a general state of Confusion, when nothing further was to be done, I must beg leave to represent the Affair in as particular a manner as I can recollect about the above hours. We recev’d an Alarm on the S. Est Bastion that the Enemy were forcing their way through the Barrier that leads to the Company’s House. I run down to learn the truth of it and to see the Situation of the Guard placed there. I found the report to be false and the enemy not then advanced from the Company’s Compound. On my return back to the Gate I perceived the Governour standing on the top of the Stairs at the Wharf, and stepped up to him to know if he had any Commands. He was then beckoning to his Servant that stood in a poney above the Gant. At the same time numbers of Budgerows and Boats had been setting of below and
above full of Europeans, and only one Budgerow left where Capta Minchin and Mr. Macket were ready to step into, at the Gant besides the Posey were the Gouvourens Sev't was. He observd to me that as Colonel Manningham [and] Lt Colonel Frankland were on board, not having return'd in the night, [and] as he expected that the Dodly as well as the other Ships and Sloops which were before the Fort were fallen down below ye Town, and finding that every body were preparing for their own Safety, by their crouding off in ye boats as he saw them, he thought it was high time to think of himself. So without given me time to make an Answer, he run down stairs and up to the side of the river to get into the Posey. Every body, who saw him go on board in this Manner, Crowded to the Gant and Stairs to follow. I just had time to represent to him ye Irregularity of such a retreat and earnestly beg'd him, and entreated he would first communicate his Intentions to Mr. Holwell and ye rest of the Garrison; but his answer was he saw things in such a situation as would make it impossible to retreat any other way, [and] That he supposed every person that could find Boats when they saw him go off would follow. I then lookd behind me towards the Gant Stairs and seeing it crouded with multitudes, and Capta Minchin and Mr. Macket setting off in the Budgerow, I concluded the Gouvourens retreat caused a general one, and that those who could lay hold of boats to escape falling into the hands of a Cruel Enemy were the happiest. Therefore with Mr. o Harea got into the same Posey were the Gouvourens was and set off the last boat that left the Gant. The rest that crouded to the water side, finding it impossible then to make their escape for want of boats, returned to the factory and the Gates were immediately shut off [after] them.

We proceeded on board the Dodly, where were Messrs Manningham and Frankland, with more than half the Militia Officers, several of the Volts and Gentlemen of the Militia, with most of the European Women. The rest of the Sloops and Sloops were likewise crouded with men and Women, who had come away from the fort since the Morning, as they could meet with Opportunity. In this manner the Gouvouren made his retreat. How far he is Culpable I will leave you to judge and shall only assure you the Account of it is faithfull as far as my judgement can enable me to give it.

I likewise, on my comming on board, proposed to ye Gouvouren to move up before ye Town with the whole fleet, in order to assist the retreat of those who were necessitated to remain behind for want of Conveyance; but ye Capt of ye Dodly represented such a motion as attended with great Danger, and told him if ye Ships moved up again before the Fort, there was but little Chance of getting them back. The Prince George that remaind there that night never got back again, but was destroyed by ye Enemy. The Gouvouren, on what ye Capt Said, thought no farther of moving up for ye Assistance of those left behind. He ordered a Sloop in the Night to move up to see what could be done; but she was not able to proceed as far up as ye Fort, the Enemy being in Possession of all the Water side. We fell down the River just in sight of the Town, and could Observe numbers of Houses on fire all night.

The following accounts we have from such as escaped after ye place was taken. They informed us that as soon as the Gouvouren retreated, all hopes of a retreat being cut off for want of boats, Mr. Holwell was unanimously declared Gouvouren, and the Gates shut; every person in such a desperate Situation being resolved to die on the ramparts, rather than surrender to ye barbarity they expected from the Enemy. The place held out till ye 20th about 3 in ye Afternoon. The Enemy soon got possession of Mr. Cruttendons house, Mr. Eyres, the Companys and the Church; after which, Especially when they got to the top of ye Church, scarce a man was able to stand [in] the N. E. and S. Est Bastions. Before the place was taken, upwards of 50 Europeans were killed on those Bastions, and they were obliged to abandon that side of the Fort entirely.

The Enemy got Possession in the following manner. About 2 in ye Afternoon of the 20th, They made a Signal for a truce, and some of their Leaders spoke with Mr. Holwell from
some of the Bastions, and told him that the Nabob had given him orders to desist from firing in order to accommodate. This proposal was readily agreed to by Our People, and accordingly ceased firing likewise, and our men were ordered to lay down their Arms and refresh themselves. In the mean time the Enemy made use of this pretended truce, and I suppose they intended it for no other purpose, (was) to crowd in swarms under the Walls of ye Etern Curtain and Bastions, and under the cover of there fire from the Church &c. We having before been obliged to abandon that side, with Ladders and Bamboos scal'd the walls in an instant, and put to the sword such as offered to resist. Every Red coat was destroyed without mercy.

To conclude the scene, such as were taken Prisoners to the Number of about 200 Europeans, Portuguese, and Armenians, were at night shut up in ye Black hole, a place of 1st foot square; where by the heat of ye Place and for want of water, which was absolutely denied them, not above 1st of them survived till morning. And amongst the dead there were near 100 Europeans, Company's Servt's, Officers &c. Mr. Holwell amongst the Number that survived and is now Prisoner with the Nabob, who stay'd but a few days at Calcutta and is return'd to Muschenabad, leaving some thousands of his Troops to keep Possession of our Fort and Town. The Factory and the Church they have destroy'd. [They have destroyed us, hear no other Houses that their being set on fire.]

The French and Dutch have in a manner accommodated matters with him [the Nabob], the first by paying 4 and ye other 5 Lacks of Rupees; Tho each of their settlements are now crowded with Moors, and no Business can be carried on without particular Perwannas for that purpose, so that it is supposed he has not done with them yet. Messrs. Watts and Collet are Prisoners at Large now at the French Factory, who have Orders to send them to ye Court by their first Ships. The rest of the Gentlemen belonging to the Cossinbazar Factory, by the last Account we had, were Prisoners at Muschenabad and in irons. The Decca Factory are safe with ye French at that place. Both ye Luckepoor, and Ballasore factories got off and are now with us. We know to have been killed during ye Siege and dead in ye black hole, 30 Company Servants and 15 Officers. Minchin, Kean, Muir and myself, being all that now remains of Calcutta Settlements, are now heare on board 6 Ships and some Sloops.

Messrs. Drake [the Governour], Manningham Frankland and Macket, with Amyal and Radham whom they lately join'd, from [form] a Council and Order that they think necessary for ye Company's Advantage. The Nabob seems satisfied with what he has already done and I fancy is very well pleased to see us leave his Dominions. Mr. Drake seems inclined to maintain some footing in the Country, especially till Advices from the Coast. After the Receipt of this news, in Consequence of our Letters to you on the taking of Cossinbazar and ye Nabobs intentions to march to Calcutta, We are in expectations, in case french War dont prevent it, of a strong reinforcement to arrive in ye river about ye 18th of August; but I'm afraid such numbers as you will think necessary to send to reinforce the Garrison of Fort William, not expecting it to be taken, will be too few to establish a footing in ye Country now it is lost. For which reason I wish your [our] Govenour and Council had thought proper to dispatch one of their Sloops to advise you sooner; as it might appear before the Embarkation of such Troops, and enable you to send such a force as would not only recestablish Calcutta, but march in our turn to the Nabobs Capitol at Muschenabad; which I think might be done, not withstanding the loss of Calcutta, with 1600 or 1500 Regular Troops, and proper field Artillery. The convenience of ye river that runs through the heart of ye Country, and a most healthy Climate from October to March or April, would afford us every Opportunity we could desire. The resolution our Enemy have shown behind ye Walls and Houses would all Vanish in an instant in ye Open field, and I am sure they are worse Troops than any you have. I need not tell you what hand they would make against Artillery well serv'd. It was first intended to send Mr. Mapletot and myself with these Advices, but they have altered their Minds.

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[This sentence has evidently been mutilated in copying. — En.]
I could wish that if any thing was to be done, for the Resettlement of a Place of such
Consequence to ye Trade of India, that I had an Opportunity personally to Communicate my
Opinion; as my residence so long at Cosinbazar in ye Neighborhood of ye Courtgave me some
Opportunity to know ye State of ye Country and nature of ye People better than I could have
done else were. In case of no Supplies to enable us to resettle, I suppose we shall be able to
sail out of ye river about ye 20 of August for your Settlement. What shall become of us
Afterwards God knows, most having made their escape, Men and Women, only with their
Cloaths on their back, which I believe is all our Fortunes, except such as had resques at
Sea. I hope you will Pardon what may appear tedious in this Narrative, and believe me
with great Respect,

John Debonnaire.
February 22, 1774.

Sir,
Yours &c.
Alexr Grant.

A FOLKTALE FROM CENTRAL INDIA.
BY M. R. PEDLOW.

The Murder of a King.¹

Many, many centuries ago, in a certain country, there lived in the greatest harmony
a king and his minister. The king, one day to enjoy the morning air, ascended the highest
turret of the palace, in company with the ladies of his court.

“Nature is dead! Nature is dead!” cried out the king in a voice louder than that of
the yeomen of the castle.

Those who heard his words, in immense numbers, instantly flocked to the front of the
palace to execute the behests of the king. “There comes the minister,” all cried out together,
as he appeared.

“My lord is in good humour,” thought the minister to himself, when he saw the king
not far from him.

“Minister,” said the king, “I allot a million molars for the construction of a splendid
garden, on the western side of the palace.”

No sooner was the order issued than a few men started for distant countries to procure
beautiful trees; some to collect tinted marble, granite, porphyry; and others to fetch highly
skilled gardeners with all that was needed for the garden. Within a short time the new
garden became as it were a terrestrial paradise. But without the knowledge of the king, a
similar garden was planted by the minister close to his own mansion.

“Nature is smiling,” cried the king in delight. Then he looked to the other side and
saw a garden. On enquiring to whom it belonged, the minister replied that it was his.

“To-morrow, I shall come to see your garden, Minister,” said the king.

About dusk the king on horse-back, with no attendants, entered the garden, where he saw
no one but the minister. Both of them strolled along every road, and finally stopped near the
cistern, where the fountain sparkled in the sun.

Attracted by the beauty of a tiny flower, the king stooped down to pluck it for his
wife, when he beheld the ground open, and at the same time appeared a large metal pot
filled to the brim with costly ornaments and money of every description.

Narrated by C. Anthony, butler, Bandess's Imperial Boarding-house Nagpur.
Surprised and delighted, said he: — "Minister, call my men to carry the pot home."

Hoping to obtain it and to put an end to the king's life, the minister said: — "Why do you distress yourself about a trifle? It will be sent safely home by to-morrow's dawn."

Then drawing his sword behind the king, he murdered his minister. The minister himself buried the corpse in a dirty pool of water, and rode home. Now the king was in the habit of dining at a fixed time but that day the queen waited for her husband much longer than usual, and still he never appeared. Messenger after messenger went in search of him but no trace of him could be found, and every one mourned his loss. Then the nobles met to arrange for the government of the country, because the king had left no heir to the throne, and his wife was not entitled to ascend it, for she was pregnant. In the meantime the leading man in the city was appointed regent, but that traitor by the minister's advice drove the queen into exile.

In due time a son was born to her, and when he was five years old she made him over to a learned man. One day the queen was lamenting her downfall and the boy asked the reason of her grief. She replied that all their stores were exhausted and no food left. The boy consulted his book of magic which directed him to start sword in hand. He came to a robber's home and pushed open the door.

"Who are you?" cried the thief.

"The master thief," replied the boy. "Load a cart with wheat and rice and money, or I'll cut your throat!" He had to do what he was told, and filed the cart.

One evening the lad went to the minister to ask for some vegetables from his garden. In this garden there was a fruit-tree, and the minister had ordered that whoever dared to pluck it should die. A goat by chance ate the fruit, and the gardener struck it dead on the spot. Dragging along the dead goat, the gardener cried out: — "Here is the thief!"

The minister descending the staircase exclaimed: — "Well done!"

"The she-goat would have brought forth a black and a spotted kid, had the gardener not killed her," said the boy.

The minister owed the boy a grudge because he was the son of the late king. "If it is not true," said he, "you must be hanged."

"What matter?" replied the boy.

When he cut open the goat's side, the gardener found a pair of kids as the lad had foretold. Both the gardener and his master were amazed; and the minister calling the gardener into his room, whispered: — "Spill a quantity of the boy's blood in the depth of a forest and bring it to me." Binding him with a thong the gardener led the boy to a forest and told him the order.

"Save me," implored the lad; "I will make you my minister."

Believing his promise, the gardener took compassion on him, said: — "How can I get the blood?"

The boy thought for a while and said: — "There is an old woman, in yonder village, who was once rich, but is now reduced to poverty; she sold all that she had, except a kid, which she cherished. She has determined to sell this one too, and this will answer the purpose."

He bought the kid and slaughtered it and poured the blood into a vessel. The gardener leaving the boy then took the blood to his master who was delighted to see it. Now, since his treachery, evil dreams beset the new king, and he could not sleep.

At day-break he said to his minister: — "Every night an awful giant strikes me and frightens the life out of me. Explain this mystery or within a month your life is forfeit."

The minister in terror consulted all the interpreters of dreams, but none could explain the matter. At last the king remembered the boy and learned his fate from the gardener. So he sent for him. The boy at first refused to follow him, and required a written order from the
king. The king sent him a humble letter, requesting him to come. The boy replied:—"Put a saddle on the back of your minister and send him to me."

So the boy mounted the minister's back, and made him carry him to the king. He expounded the dream and demanded the throne of his father. The nobles expelled the traitor, and acknowledged the boy as their king. A few days afterwards, the new king convened an assembly, and with tears narrated his and his father's fate. All cried out:—"Let the traitor be burnt to death." This the executioners did; and the people lauded the king and the gardener. Till his death the gardener remained a faithful minister to the king.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

A blow from a broom, at the time of sweeping (especially if struck by a woman), makes one as thin as a lamp-post; to avoid this, a twig of the broom is broken and waved three times round the head, after spitting on it.

When a mortar or a pestle is worn out by incessant usage, the owner of it, choosing a lucky morning, pays homage after his ancestral fashion and takes it to a running stream or to a neighbouring well, to get rid of it, by throwing it away. It is notables that, if, by chance, it be burnt as fuel, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, will leave him for ever.

Hindus who are learned in the Vedas, Hindu mythology and other sciences, whilst bathing their feet, look over their persons to see any spot left untouched by water. If they see any spot dry, they again bathe. Kali, the god of misfortune, awaits an opportunity of reducing a person to poverty by entering into any spot untouched by water.

Likewise a man falls into misfortune, when his baby goes and sits on a winnowing pan.

A younger sister of a brother or a younger daughter of a parent, hesitates to erect a hut on elevated ground, against the house of a brother or parent, when she is separated from them by wedlock. Neglect of this caution will result in death in either family.

The following are omens of ill-success to a person in search of a vacant post, a loan from a rich man, and other attempts of a similar kind:

A cat, a man dressed in black raiment, a washerman with a bundle of dirty clothes, a bald-headed woman, a Brahman widow, an oil-wonger, a crying man, and a person with a stick on his shoulders.

Some Hindus object to eating garlic and a sort of pulse called tur, and chewing tobacco, and the cause of abstinence is suggested by the following tale:

Once upon a time, a king was invited by an ascetic, who having prepared food by the power of his prayers and sanctity, served it in a leaf-vessel; and facing towards his hut he made a prayer to all the gods for a milk-cow, which they immediately supplied. He milked two bowls of milk and brought it to the king to use instead of water.

The king remarked the wonderful proceedings of the ascetic; and, after finishing dinner, with joined hands said:—"Ascetic, an invitation without sentiment to the heart is to no purpose."

"Contentment!" replied the ascetic smiling.

The king flying into a rage answered:—"Yes, contentment."

"My lord," said the sage, "my eyes discern passion in thy face but not thy desires."

"That's true, but if you want to know and fulfil my desire, I can explain it," said the king in a low tone, and began thus:—"Lend an ear to me, Holy Father, your wondrous acts greatly surprised me, and that led me to ask you for the milk-cow, for by your power you can procure as many as you please."

Hearing this the ascetic ran hastily to loose the cow, that it might fly away to its home high up in the skies.

The king seeing it disappear shot an arrow at it which only made a small wound in one of its legs, but drops of blood fell on the ground and one turned into a garlic plant, and another a tobacco plant, and the third a tur plant.

The ascetic ran away to save his devoted life, running headlong through hill and dale to escape the revenge of the king, and hid himself in the recesses of a forest.

The king in anger returned home and ordered his minister to tell all the Hindus of the origin of the three plants, and also prohibited them to eat them. Whoever eats such things is as great a sinner as an eater of beef.

M. B. Pedlow.
HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

(Founded on the Burhán-i Ma'āgir.)

BY J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 292.)

CHAPTER XIV.

Reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh II.

AFTER the death of the late Sultān, the amirs and ministers and leaders of the army unanimously agreed to the succession of Maḥmūd Shāh, and accordingly seated him on the throne, and tendered their congratulations.

When Sultān Maḥmūd succeeded to the throne, he liberally bestowed presents and conferred favours on all, and spread the wings of mercy and justice over his subjects; and in the early part of his reign all his subjects passed their days in safety and ease.

From the time of the late Sultān up to the present the Turki slaves, who were brave and warlike, had obtained great power, and had brought into their own grasp most of the important affairs of the sovereignty; and in the time of the present Sultān also, in the same manner as formerly, most of the State affairs were in their hands, and they had assumed supreme power.

The amirs and maliks of the Dakhān now made overtures of friendship with the Turks; but among the great men of the age — or even among the human race in general, as long as it exists — friendship has no possibility of permanency or durability. The Dakhans entered into an alliance and made a firm compact with Kawām-ul-Mulk Turk, who was the minister of the principality. The Turk amirs, relying upon the compact of the Dakhans, were careless of [the consequences of] its binding terms.

Some of the Dakhant amirs told Kawām-ul-Mulk that Abd-Ullāh Ādil Khān, Fath-Ullāh Imād-ul-Mulk and all the Dakhant amirs and maliks intended, after doing homage to the Sultān, to take their leave and set out for their own country; but as they were in dread of the Turks, it was necessary that on the following day none of the Turk attendants should show themselves in the city until these had taken their departure. The simple-minded Kawām-ul-Mulk, deceived by his enemies, complied with the request; and on the appointed day, in the manner promised, the Turk amirs, enjoying themselves in their own habitations and assemblies were heedless of the happening of the accidents of fate. But the Dakhant amirs with their troops fully armed entered the fort, and while every one of the Turk amirs, according to instructions, were off their guard in their own houses, the Dakhans fell upon them and slaughtered them. A few only, with great difficulty, managed to escape, and hid themselves in out-of-the-way places.

After the massacre of the Turks, Malik Ḥasan Nişām-ul-Mulk Bāḥrī was distinguished by royal favours and was exalted to the title of Malik Nāšib, and all the affairs of government were placed in his hands. But as for the Dakhans who had massacred the clique of Turks after having made a compact with them: in a short time the consequences of that action recoiled on them, and caused them endless misfortunes. Some of that clique hoisted the standard of revolt, and having collected a large army, had the boldness to march against the Sultān.

Sultān Ahmad Nişām-ul-Mulk, who had been carefully reared under the special superintendence of his father, the Malik Nāšib, and who, notwithstanding his tender age, was adorned with abundance of bravery and generosity, learning, justice and all human qualities; in accordance with the Sultān's orders had had the districts of Junīr and Chākān and that part of the country conferred on him as a feudal tenure and jīdīr — as will hereafter be related in detail in the history of that king. When the news of the revolt of the army of the Dakhān against the king
reached him [Aymad Nişām-ul-Mulk], he marched with his army to the assistance of the Sultan.\textsuperscript{41}

When the rebel army heard of his approach they were much alarmed, and began to waver. The prince with his brave troops attacked the rebels, and in one engagement put them to flight, and pursuing them for several farangs, slaughtered many of them, both great and little. A few only managed with much difficulty to escape. The prince after being greatly distinguished by royal favours, took his leave, and returning to his own country, looked after the welfare of his subjects in Jumir and Chākān.

After that the Sultan marched with his army to make war against the country of Telingānā and on reaching Warangal pitched his camp within sight of the fortress.

At this time a clique of Ḥabshis in the service of the Sultan had the utmost confidence placed in them; and owing to the power they possessed in the affairs of government, used to behave in a very imperious manner; and being at enmity with the Malik Nāīb, were constantly trying to get rid of him by repeating to the Sultan speeches and stories tending to prejudice him against the minister. So many slanders and lies did they concoct against that incomparable minister that the heart of the Sultan was turned against him, and they obtained from the Sultan an order for the minister's execution, but waited for an opportunity of carrying it out. When the Malik Nāīb became aware of their treacherous intentions towards him, he fled from the camp of the Sultan and hastened to the capital, Bīdar. Since the cup of the life of that minister of pure disposition had become full he did not [as he ought to have done] go to Jumir to the prince, Sultan Aymad Nişām-ul-Mulk Bahārī, but instead went to Bīdar in hopes of assistance from Pasand Khān, who was one of his dependents. The unreliable Pasand Khān at first made him solemn promises. Outwardly he showed him obedience and submission, but, secretly he sent a person to the Sultan and gave his promise that when the Sultan should arrive in the neighbourhood of the capital, he would put to death the Malik Nāīb and send his head out from the fortress, on condition that the Sultan should accord him his favour and grant him immunity from his royal displeasure. The Sultan, in accordance with the proposal of the foolish Pasand Khān, sent him a written promise of support, and afterwards himself proceeded to Bīdar.

When the Sultan arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital, Pasand Khān—who after that became notorious for ingratitude—martyred the Malik Nāīb, and having cut off his head, threw it outside the fortress. The Sultan then proceeded to his palace and took his ease.

At this time the power and authority of the people of Ḥabshah and Zangbār in the service of the Sultan had increased a thousand-fold, and the other State officials had no longer any power except in name. The whole country and the offices and political affairs of the kingdom and the government treasuries they divided among themselves, and arrogantly ignoring the sovereign, themselves governed the kingdom. But since the star of their good fortune had now reached its zenith, after continuing for a long time undiminished: as is invariably the rule with fortune as well as the revolving heavens—the star of that clique began to decline. The Turks, who are a war-like and blood-thirsty race, got into their hands most of the affairs of importance and the highest dignities; thus Hasan Khān Khurāsānī became Khwājah Jahān, Jamal-ud-Din Ṣahīb-i Ḥaṛū obtained the title of 'Aīn-ul-Mulk and 'Aīf Turk that of Jahāngīr Khān.

\textsuperscript{41} It was this Aymad Nişām-ul-Mulk who, a few years afterwards, became the founder of the Nişām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Though here called "Sultan" and "Shāhzādah," he of course did not bear either of those titles at this time. I have not translated the numerous ornate phrases prefixed to his name. The reason why the author speaks of him in such flattering terms is obvious when we remember that the Bahmani portion being only an introduction to the rest.

The whole of this paragraph is one long, involved sentence in the text, and I have been obliged to invert the order and split it up in order to make it intelligible in English.
At the same time the Sultan, following the example of his illustrious ancestors on the throne, for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his bed, married his own sister Fatimah, daughter of the late Sultan Muhammad Shâh, to His Highness Habib-Ullah Shâh 'Atiyat-Ullah; and according to the time-honoured custom of the kings of India, gave a great entertainment on this occasion. The fort of Modak, which is situated in the country of Telingana on a piece of solid rock, he gave to them as a wedding present. His other sister he gave in marriage to His Highness Mîraâ Adham, son of Shah Mubabb-Ullah, and settled upon them in feudal tenure the district of Jûkâti.4

Account of the open Rebellion of the Amirs of the Dakhân and their shameful fighting against the Sultan.

It is related that the Sultan made a beautiful flower-garden with a rivulet running through it, the banks of which were lined with trees; and in that garden he spent his time in pleasure and amusement from morning till evening, continually drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine. One night the Sultan proceeded to his royal villa, and his troops having dispersed he indulged in pleasure and conviviality; but in the midst of this great tumult was heard from the streets and bazaars of the city and fortress. The whole of the army had gone to the royal palace with the intention of deposing the Sultan. At that time ten able-bodied and brave young Turks presented themselves before the Sultan, and showing dauntless courage, killed numbers of the rebels with their bows and arrows and swords. The Sultan with those brave warriors stood in the Shâh Burj of the fortress, which was surrounded by countless infantry and cavalry. Of the ten men who fought so valiantly in the service of the Sultan, five were killed. The Sultan calling for bow and arrows himself engaged in battle, and killed many of the rebels. He summoned Hasan Khwâjah Jahân with all the Khurásânîs and ordered them to guard the tower and walls. They went to the palace, but as the evil-doing rebels had barricaded the fortress from inside, they scaled the tower and walls of the fortress by means of ladders, and dispersed the rebels from round the Shâh Burj. When the active Turks and foreigners in attendance on the Sultan were assembled in the Shâh Burj in numbers beyond computation, the Sultan ordered them to extend themselves round the towers and walls of the fortress, and fire on the enemy; and this they did. 'Ali Turk Jahângir Khan with a number of the brave foreigners occupied the streets and cut off the retreat of the rebels, while Hasan Khwâjah Jahân with a few of his men hastened to the gate, and killed numbers of the enemy. When the day dawned the Sultan ordered his troops to mount and prepare for battle. He himself, fully armed, was mounted on a swift horse. Then being joined by Hasan Khwâjah Jahân with the Turki and Khurâsanî troops, all well armed, they attacked their opponents. Since the Sultan in person took part in the fight, by his good fortune and the valour of his troops, the enemy were routed and put to flight. When the sun rose, the rebels from fear of the Royal troops hid themselves. Many of them, in fear of their lives, threw themselves from the towers and battlements, and by the same road went to the dwelling of perdition. A few who were hidden in nooks and corners, the royal troops sought out; and dragging them out from their hiding-places, put them to death.

After this defeat of his enemies the Sultan indulged in pleasure and amusement.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultan ordered his architects to build a lofty and beautiful palace inside the fortress, near the Shâh Burj. The skilful builders, according to orders, laid the foundations, and the Sultan himself for a long time used to watch attentively the progress of the work.

After the completion of the palace, the Sultan used to spend most of his time in it in a continual round of voluptuous amusements.

I have not been able to identify this place.
In the midst of these events the Sultan received intelligence that Kāsim Turk — who had received the title of Khwāsa Khan, and afterwards that of Barid-ul-Mamālik, and had been given the town of Kandhār and its dependencies on feudal tenure — was in a state of rebellion. It was necessary to endeavour to put out the fire of this rebellion as quickly as possible, in order that the injury caused by the sedition might not spread through the whole country, and render the remedying of it not easily practicable. Consequently the Sultan being firmly resolved to suppress it, appointed Dilāwar Khan Ḥabeshī (who, owing to the abundance of his followers, the multitude of his army, his wealth and magnificence, had been selected for the command of the army) to put down the rebellion of Kāsim Turk. Dilāwar Khan, according to orders, with his warriors and well-trained cavalry moved towards Kandhār. When Kāsim Turk became aware of his approach, he prepared for battle and engaged Dilāwar Khan.

As Kāsim Turk had not sufficient strength to oppose the army of Dilāwar Khan, he thought the best thing he could do was to retreat; so he ceased fighting, and taking to flight set out from Kandhār towards Balkhāc. Dilāwar Khan pursued the enemy and wished to separate them and slay them. But suddenly a vicious elephant from the army of Dilāwar Khan getting beyond the control of his driver ran into the midst of the army, and overthrowing the horse of Dilāwar Khan, trampled him to death. Kāsim Barid on hearing of this was much rejoiced, and turning round hurried towards Dilāwar Khan’s camp; and without the trouble of fighting, obtained possession of all Dilāwar Khan’s baggage, elephants and horses. Then binding the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forelock of revolt, he hoisted the standard of rebellion.

At that time most of the amirs and waṣīrs of the different provinces of the dominions having withdrawn their necks from the collar of obedience and subjection, had hoisted the standard of rebellion in their own districts; consequently the Sultan was quite incapable of subduing the rebellion of Kāsim Barid. The only remedy he could see was to enter with him through the door of reconciliation and forgiveness by promising him a share in the government and making a treaty with him to that effect, render him secure. On this account the Sultan sent Kāsim Barid a written treaty; and the latter having hopes of realizing his ambition of obtaining the government of the kingdom of the Dakhān and the rank of Mirī Jumlaḥ, proceeded to the royal court; and taking in his own hands the reins of government, he assumed sovereign authority; so that, except in name, no power remained to the Sultan. And not content even with this, he quarrelled with the amirs and waṣīrs, his object being to make them all subject to him. But the amirs would not submit to the government of Kāsim Barid. They opened the door of opposition and strife, and joining together in opposing Kāsim Barid, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. From all quarters of the dominions armies being assembled marched towards the capital, Bīdar. When this distressing news reached Kāsim Barid in the city of Bīdar he told the Sultan to issue an order for the mobilization of the royal army; and an immense army being assembled, the Sultan marched with it to meet the rebels.

In the midst of these affairs the prince, Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nisām-ul-Mulk, coming from Junnar, joined the royal camp, and after kissing the Sultan’s hand made ready for the undertaking and was treated with kingly courtesy. After that, the Sultan marched towards Udgr; and at the town of Devātī the opposing forces met one another. Although the hostile amirs

42 Kāsim Barid, who shortly afterwards founded the Barid-Shāhī dynasty. Sultan Kull, who afterwards founded the Kūsh-Shāhī dynasty, also had the title of Khwāsa Khan before he acquired that of Kūsh-ul-Mulk. He took a prominent part in the fighting above described, and the latter title was given him in recognition of his services on this occasion. — Vide Briggs, Vol. III. p. 343.

43 Ahmad Bahri does not appear to have shown any resentment on account of the murder of his reputed father, the Malik Nālib.

44 Not identified, but must be somewhere between Bīdar and Udgr.
entered into a correspondence with the Sultan, imploring him to oust Kasim Barid from the government of the dominions of the Dakhân, in order that they might submit themselves loyally to the Sultan, and cease fighting; yet as the Sultan had no longer any control over the affairs of State, he was unable to comply with their request. The amirs were then under the necessity of fighting against the army of Sultan Mahmâd. It is related that when the Dakhân amirs attacked the army of the Sultan, both sides fought so furiously that they made the dust of the battle-field like a tulip garden, and the dead were thrown in heaps on the surface of the ground. Kasim Barid seeing the bravery of the amirs knew there was no use in continuing the battle, so he took to flight. In the midst of this the Sultan, from the charging of the warriors of the army, and the horses and elephants dashing against one another, fell off his horse, and his delicate body became acquainted with the dust of the battle-field. When the amirs saw their king fallen, they were excessively afflicted and ashamed. They dismounted from their horses and kissed the ground before the Sultan; and mounting him on a swift horse, sent him on to the capital. Each of the amirs then turned towards his own country. Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nâgâm-âl-Mulk also, taking his leave of the Sultan, turned towards the district of Junnar. After the amirs had dispersed and gone to their own districts, Kasim Barid again went to court and assumed supreme power. In several histories it is stated that this event occurred in the latter days of the reign of the Sultan, and that he died one year after that: as will hereafter, please God! be related.

In the midst of these events there came to the ears of the Sultan a memorial to the following effect from Malik Yusuf Turk, who had obtained the title of Majlis-i Raft ‘Adil Khan, and was at that period in possession of Bâyachâr, Belgâon, Targal [Naregal?] and other towns:

"Malik Dinâr Dastur-i Mamâlik, an Abyssinian enuch, having placed his foot outside the path of obedience and subjection, has become a traveller on the paths of rebellion and resistance. This slave of the court, in concert with Your Majesty, will bring about the punishment of that perfidious unbeliever by placing the lightning-striking sword in his embrace, and so recompense his ingratitude and rebellion. At this time again, Malik Khûsh Kadam Turk Astul-Mulk, who was formerly a ruler, having become a fellow-traveller with that black-faced, abandoned one, they have scratched the face of fidelity and agreement with the nail of oppression and hypocrisy."

Immediately upon hearing these dreadful words, the fire of the Sultan's world-consuming anger blazed up, and he ordered the royal army of Turks and Khorâsânis to be got ready for battle and assembled at court in order to extirpate these worthless enemies. When the Sultan heard of the assembly of the army he mounted his horse and hoisted the royal standard, Kasim Barid-i Mamâlik — who was the [real] ruler of the kingdom of the Dakhân — with other amirs and nobles set out with the Sultan.

When Majlis-i Raft ‘Adil Khan and Massad-i ‘All Fakhru-ul-Mulk obtained information of the approach of the Sultan, they hastened to join the royal camp and make their obeisance.

The Sultan then paying attention to the arrangement of his army, gave the command of the right wing to Majlis-i Raft ‘Adil Khan and Massad-i ‘Ali Malik Fakhru-ul-Mulk; and that of the left wing to Malik Kasim Barid-i Mamâlik and Kadam Khan and Jahângir Khan; while the Sultan himself with the armed Turks and Afghâns and the warriors of Hind and Khorâsân, with all the flower of the army, hoisted his standard in the centre. The proud rebels too busied themselves in preparing to encounter the royal army. They disposed their forces in perfect readiness, and hoisted the standard of bravery and boldness. After that, the warriors of each of the two forces, like two mountains of iron and steel, getting into motion, rushed on one

46 From this period may be said to date the establishment of the Barid-Shâhî dynasty and the overthrow of the Bahmanî.

47 He was the founder of the ‘Adil-Shâhî dynasty.
another, and drawing the sword of hatred from the scabbard of vengeance, separated the heads of the leaders from their bodies and threw them on the dust of destruction. Malik Fakhr-ul-Mulk charging from the right wing, overthrew many of the cavalry of his opponents. Malik Kāsim Barālī Pāmālik also fought bravely with the left wing and killed numbers of the enemy; and the warriors and active Khorāsānīs, who were posted in the centre, fought with much valour and killed many of the enemy. Sultān Kull Khwāsgh Khan Hamdānī (who afterwards became entitled Kūth-ul-Mulk, and ascended to the highest of the steps of dignity and greatness), with Hasan Turk Sultānī, showed such valour in that battle that he outdid Rastān and Iṣfandiyār. Malik Dīnār Dastārī Pāmālik, who was the leader of the opposing forces, was taken prisoner by Majlis-i Rāfī ‘Ādīl Khan; and the rest of the wretched and contemptible rabble, withdrawing from the field, took to flight; and half of them managed with much difficulty to escape.

After this defeat of his enemies, the Sultān dismounted and gave thanks to God; and the amirs and khāns making their obeisance, congratulated the Sultān on his victory. Majlis-i Rāfī ‘Ādīl Khan in the assembly of maliks, khāns, amirs and nobles, placing his head on the ground of submission, entreated the Sultān to pardon Malik Dīnār. The Sultān lending a favorable ear to the request of ‘Ādīl Khan, pardoned his enemy, and ordered that all his property in money and goods, whatever the troops had carried off, should be restored to him.

After that, the Sultān, with his victorious army, marched towards Kalburgā and Saggar, and, chastising his adversaries there with the sword, freed the subjects and inhabitants of that part of the country from the evils of sedition and injustice. His troops laid siege to the fort of Saggar and took it by force. From that place the Sultān moved towards his capital, Bidar; and, on his arrival there, the shekhs-ul-amān and learned men hurried forth to meet him; and having made their obeisance, each of them, according to his rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

When the Sultān had taken up his abode in the capital, he turned the light of his justice, kindness, benevolence and favour — like the sun at mid-day — on his subjects and all the inhabitants of the country; and tyranny, oppression, ruin and desolation changed into justice, equity, prosperity and cultivation.

In this year, Bahādur Gīlānī, who after Kishwar Khan Khwāja Khān Jalānī, had taken into his own possession the country of the Korkan Dabholī, Goa and all the ports and coast-line of the Dakhān, and had collected a large army. Several ships freighted with valuable property and Arab horses, belonging to Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī and his merchants, had come into ports which were in his possession, and, having tyrannically seized them, he looted the whole of the cargoes of the ships. Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī sent a farman about this to Bahādur Gīlānī, demanding the restitution of the ships and their cargoes. In reply to this Bahādur Gīlānī used.

48 He afterwards founded the Kūth-Shāhī Dynasty of Golkopa. According to the Širvānī Muḥammad Kūth-Shāhī, this victory was chiefly due to the personal exertions of Kull Kūth-ul-Mulk, and his services on this occasion were rewarded by his being appointed governor of the province of Teliqgānī, with the title of Amb-ul-Ummār.

49 The year is not stated, but we see from Firishta taqīta was A.H. 699 (A.D. 1489).

The late minister, Mahbūb Gīlānī Khwāja Khān, was a native of Gīlān — a province of Persia (vide p. 158) — and seems to have surrounded himself by his own countrymen. Bahādur Gīlānī was doubtless one of these countrymen. This Kishwar Khan is not mentioned elsewhere, but one can see from his name that he was a protégé of the late Khwāja Khān’s. He seems to have been governor of the Korkan and that part of the kingdom formerly governed by Khilaf Hasan Malik-ul-Tujjār, and was succeeded in that government by Bahādur Gīlānī. The latter broke into rebellion on hearing of the unjust execution of his patron (see Bayley’s History of Gujarāt, pp. 217-19: where the cause of Bahādur Gīlānī’s hostility to Gujarāt is explained), and bat for this quarrel with Gujarāt, would probably have succeeded in founding a kingdom for himself; as it was, he exercised independent sway, unchecked for thirteen years, over the whole of the Korkan, besides holding several districts and forts of the Dakhān — such as Shīāp, Fīriq, Miraj and Jamkhanī.
intemperate language, and sent back nothing. Having no other resource, Sultan Mahmūd Gujrāṭī sent an ambassador with many presents to the court of Sultan Mahmūd Bahānī, and sent by his hands a letter concerning the high-handed conduct of Bahādur Gīlānī, to the following effect:

"For a long time a strong friendship has existed between our dynasties, and, moreover, the friendship which existed between our ancestors has descended by heritage to their progeny. At this time Bahādur Gīlānī, the servant of Kishwar Khān Khvājah Jahānī— who is seated in the place of Kishwar Khān, and who has shut in his own face the doors of obedience and submission— has taken possession of all the sea ports and fortresses of the coast of the kingdom of the Dakhān from Dabhul, Goa, Bartholomai, Chandan-Wandhan, Sātārā and Panālijī to Miraj, Jamkhandī, etc. In the excess of his presumption he has hoisted the standard of rebellion, and has forcibly taken possession of twenty ships laden with various goods, jewels, cloths and thorough-bred horses, and seized the merchants also. Not content even with this he has sent to the port of Māhīm [Bombay] 200 ships and qurbāns filled with his tyrannical army; levelled that place with the ground; burned several Kurāns and masjids; thrown into the sea most of the merchants of the country, and having made prisoners of two amirs of Gujarāt, who were in the port at the time, has carried them off with him. When I heard this news I wrote and sent to him a fatān on the subject, and he sent an excessively rebellious reply. As he is one of the servants of Your Majesty’s court, it seemed necessary to bring to your hearing the detailed circumstances of his rebellion, in order that you might arrange to drive away that abandoned rebel; for his expulsion is an absolute necessity, from religious as well as from worldly motives. If you do not undertake to repulse him from your direction, then give me leave and I shall chastise him from my side."

When the Sultan had heard the contents of the letter of Sultan Mahmūd of Gujarāt, he said:— "The driving away of that synopsia of the lords of rebellion and sedition is absolutely necessary. For the sake of my own peace of mind that man of evil disposition must, by some means or other, be chastised as an example to others." But it occurred to the royal mind that in the first instance the ears of the understanding of Bahādur Gīlānī should be weighted by the pearls of kingly exhortation and admonition; then if he did not act according to orders, but persisted in opposition, he should be handed over to the executioner. A letter to the following effect was therefore written to Bahādur Gīlānī according to the Sultan’s orders:

"Be it known to you that a letter has arrived from Sultan Mahmūd Gujarāṭī, containing such and such matters, on hearing which the king was much astonished. It is necessary that immediately upon receipt of this royal fāmān, you shall send to the royal court all the goods belonging to Sultan Mahmūd Gujarāṭī and his merchants, and send the ships back by sea. Do not on any account put your foot beyond your own blauket. The prisoners, with the elephants and goods, are to be handed over to the deputy of the court. Show no delay or negligence of any kind; and in future do not open on yourself the door of sedition and trouble, nor set your foot on the road of rebellion and ingratitude."

When the royal mandate had been written and despatched to Bahādur Gīlānī, the Sultan ordered eloquent secretaries to write in elegant language a reply to the letter of Sultan

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46 From this it appears that Kishwar Khān was the legitimate governor of the Kōkkan province, and Bahādur Gīlānī a subordinate under him; but Bahādur Gīlānī ousted Kishwar Khān, and then broke into rebellion. The words of the text are —

دلیزمات بھاکر، کا مکاکر خان خواجہ جہانی کے اچھی کشور خان نشند، اور ابوبکر کی اطاعت اور اخلاق بر روی خود بنا

47 Not identified. Perhaps Bāpuli.

48 I.e., mind your own business.

49 An isolated hill fort a few miles from Kolhāpur.
Maḥmūd Gujārātī. According to orders, the secretaries wrote a letter in exceedingly ornate language; the substance of which was as follows:—

"From the olden days a strong friendship and unanimity has existed between our two dynasties, and the relations were such that the enemies of this State were also the enemies of your dynasty; and on the other hand the same was the case with the friends of each. On this account a farmān has been sent to Bahādur Gilānī: if he obeys it and sends to you the property, elephants, clothes and ships, he will be secure; otherwise the flame of my world-consuming wrath shall burn up the harvest of his life, and he and his followers shall be given to the wind of destruction. What necessity is there for Your Majesty to send an army against him?"

When the answer to Sultān Maḥmūd’s letter was written, the Gujārātī ambassador was given permission to return, taking with him rarities and presents innumerable.

But when Bahādur Gilānī heard of the coming of the Sultān’s farmān to him, he sent a person to stop the messengers on the road, and not to allow them to go on and show the Sultān’s farmān. The messengers then wrote to court an account of what had happened to them, and the rebellious conduct of Bahādur Gilānī. When the Sultān was informed of the open rebellion of Bahādur Gilānī, he issued an order that the royal troops from all quarters should proceed to the court; and in accordance with orders, from every town and fortress, immense numbers of troops marched towards the royal court, and mustered there.

After that the Sultān mounted his horse and marched with his army towards Mangalberah [Mangalveḍhā]. In due time the Sultān arrived at Mangalveḍhā—a fort, the towers and walls of which Bahādur Gilānī had, with much trouble and tyranny, constructed of hard stone, and had committed the defence of the fortress to a numerous force of cavalry and infantry. Notwithstanding the strength of the fortress, immediately upon the arrival of the royal army, the defenders were overpowered with terror. Abandoning the fort they took to flight; and the royal troops without trouble or difficulty took that fort which in strength was like the azure vault. The Sultān assigned the fort on feudal tenure to Masnad-i ‘Ālī Fakhr-ul-Mulk; and from there he marched towards the fort of Jamkhāndī. Bahādur Gilānī at this time was engaged in besieging this fort, but when he obtained information of the arrival of the royal army, he abandoned the siege; and through fear of the royal army, thinking caution necessary, he withdrew into hiding.

Muṣaddām Nālīk, when relieved from the difficult affair of the siege, setting out with followers, dependants, cavalry and retainers, hastened to the royal court and was enrolled among the special servants of the State and distinguished by kingly favours.

At this time Malik Sultān ʿUkull Hamadānī, who was entitled Khawājā Khān, being approved of by the Sultān, was exalted to the title of ʿKūṭb-ul-Mulk,” and the towns of Kotghir and Durghī and several villages were given to him on feudal tenure. Abru Khān, son-in-law of Ulugh Khān Jān Begl, making himself commander of the right wing, took the title of Hazīr Khān, and had the town of Patīr and the Nānder direction, besides other places, conferred on him on feudal tenure. And having given the title of Abru Khān to Malik Muhammad, son of Ulugh Khān, the Sultān marched towards Mubārakābād Mirāj. At that time the wāli of that place was an infidel named Ḭūnah, 46 who had about 1,00,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. In attendance on the royal stirrup, on behalf of Sultān Ahmad Nīgrām-ul-Mulk, were Šarīf-ul-Mulk Afgān and other amirs beside him who were sent for the purpose; and on behalf of Majīs-i ʿĀlī Fath-Ullāh ʿImād-ul-Mulk of exalted dignity was Ṭārīkh Khān— the greatest of the khāns of the time — with 2,000 men. There was also Majīs-i Raft ʿAdil Khān with the whole of his

46 Scott makes a curious and very confusing mistake in calling this place "Mangaleh,"—Scott's Ferishtah, Vol. I. pp. 190 and 192, 4th ed.

45 ینئ - not identified. This Kūṭb-ul-Mulk shortly afterwards founded the Kūṭb-Silāḥ dynasty.

44 This name is variously written Fūnah, Pūnah and بث. I cannot say which is the correct spelling. Briggs writes it Fota.
troops; and the whole of the Habshi, Turkı and Dakhanı amırs and waısts were in attendance on the Sultán. Though several of the Turks and intrepid Dakhans secretly sympathised with the blood-thirsty Bahádur, yet, through fear of the Sultán, they did not hasten to show it.

The royal army surrounded the fort of Miraj, and engagements used to take place daily, till the son of Bůnah Nālık, the governor of Míraj, was killed. Bůnah Nālık and his followers then, becoming terrified at the assaults of the royal army, cried for quarter; and their agreeing to give a reasonable amount of money, Arab horses and elephants was made the condition on which their freedom was granted and their lives spared. Bůnah and his followers went forth from the fortress, and had the honour of kissing the ground before the Sultán, and were made content with kingly favours and courtesies; and through the infinite kindness of the Sultán all the people of Míraj obtained security for their lives and the lives of their families. The troops of Bahádur Gílánı who were in that fort were given the option of accepting pay and service under the Sultán’s government or going to join the misguided Bahádur. Of that band, each one who accepted service under the State was distinguished by rewards and kingly courtesies; and all who elected to join Bahádur were given permission to depart with their horses and arms. In truth never have any of the kings of the world shown such mercy and kindness as he who after defeating his enemies gave permission to depart, and sent on to his opponents 2,000 cavalry of the enemy with their horses and arms.

The tyrant Bahádur after hearing this news was much confounded, and coming forth from Dábbol, hid himself in the uncultivated country and jungle. He then sent to the royal court Khwájah Nı’mat-Ulláh Yásd (who was Malik-ut-Tujjár of that province) to make terms with the Sultán. Khwájah Nı’mat-Ulláh taking with him a written agreement from Bahádur, in which the latter promised to abstain from opposition and rebellion, hastened to the royal presence, where he had the honour of kissing the ground, and was treated with much kindness and courtesy. The Sultán in his infinite mercy and kindness lent a favourable ear to the requests of Khwájah Nı’mat-Ulláh. He consigned to Bahádur the whole of the territory of which he was in possession, and drew the pen of forgiveness through the volumes of his crimes on condition that he restored the property and elephants of the Sultán of Gujárát and the goods of the merchants; also that he should send a reasonable sum of money each year without delay or negligence to the public treasury, and in future not practise tyranny or sedition or become a traveller on the road of rebellion and resistance.

Khwájah Nı’mat-Ulláh, having obtained the completion of his wishes, took his leave of the Sultán and proceeded towards the fortress of Kalhar [Karhād?]. After that, Bahádur Gílánı at the suggestion of the devil got a perverse idea into his head; evil impulses made him proud and threw him off the right track of obedience and subjection; and the agreement he had made through Khwájah Nı’mat-Ulláh he considered as though it did not exist. The fortresses which he held on feudal tenure he garrisoned with experienced veteran troops; and the whole of his army and followers he gratified by increased rewards; then making the jungle his own fortress he took up his abode there. When the Sultán heard of the flight of Bahádur into the jungle and uncultivated country he ordered Dilawár Khán Habshi and Ain-ul-Mulk Turk with 5,000 cavalry armed with spears and 1,00,000 well-armed infantry to lay siege to the fortress of Kalhar and not fail to take it. He sent 7,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry under the command of several celebrated amırs to seize the towns and districts of that province; and he himself with all the amırs and waısts went after Bahádur, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the jungle in which that evil-doer remained and had concealed himself by a hundred artifices. When the Sultán had remained a long time in that place Bahádur’s predestined moment drew near; the jungle became his prison, and the claws of the falcon Ajal27 seized him by the collar and drew him out of that jungle. The eye of his judgment became sightless and unable to discern the advisable course; consequently, with the intention of fighting, he left

27 The period or end of life, the predestined moment, death.
the jungle for the open country. When the spies reported to the Sultan that the base rebel had come out of the jungle, he directed Fakhru-ul-Mulk with his eldest son, Ratan Khan, and Zarif-ul-Mulk Afgan (one of the amirs of Sultan Ahmad Nigar-ul-Mulk, who had come to the assistance of the Sultan) with 3,000 brave spearmen to oppose the ungrateful Bahadur. And he gave strict injunctions to the amirs that if they should catch Bahadur they should refrain from killing him, and bring him alive to the foot of the throne. But since the measure of the life of that unworthy one was brimful, the period of his security had expired, and the orders as to sparing his life were of no avail. According to orders the amirs and brave troops of the Sultan proceeded towards that synopsis of the lords of rebellion, and the two armies, eager for the fray, met in the neighbourhood of that jungle, and an engagement ensued.

The bark of Bahadur's life fell into the whirlpool of destruction and death, and all his valour availed not to prevent it. In the midst of the battle he was engaged in single combat with Ratan Khan, who was the Rustam of the age, and they stained the dust of the battle-field with one another's blood; but the royal good fortune aiding him, Ratan Khan overcame his antagonist, and with his spear he dragged Bahadur from his saddle and threw him to the ground, so that the resigned his soul to its Creator. Ratan Khan then cut off the rebel's head and threw his body on the ground; thus freeing the world from his sedition.

When Ratan Khan cut off the rebel's head and sent it to the royal court, the Sultan exhibited much regret; for Bahadur Ghilani in manliness and bravery was unrivalled. In the presence of the court assembly the Sultan said:—"Would to heaven he had been caught alive! that I might have pardoned his crimes and given him back his government: it is a pity that so brave a man should be killed." After that, in accordance with orders, the head of that tyrant was sent to the capital, Bidar, and despatches announcing the victory were sent in all directions. This event happened on the 5th Safar, A. H. 900 (5th November, A. D. 1494).

After the mind of the Sultan was freed from anxiety regarding Bahadur, he marched with his army towards the fort of Panjab, which is situated on the summit of a hill. In loftiness its towers rivalled the heavens, and the battlements of its portico used to boast of superiority to the seventh heaven.

Notwithstanding its elevation, the fort had a very extensive, beautiful and pleasant open space inside the fortress with abundance of good water, trees and fruits innumerable and much cultivation.

When the victorious standards of the Sultan appeared round that fort, the garrison, being unable to resist the attack of the royal army, asked for quarter and a written treaty of favourable terms. The Sultan gave them hopes of their obtaining favourable terms, and the mukaddam of the fortress delivered the keys to the servants of the court. The Sultan, for the purpose of viewing the fort, ascended the hill and gave thanks to God that such a fortress had been taken without trouble. The Sultan with much booty and countless treasure then descended from the fortress to the foot of the hill, and ordered his army to proceed to Bijapur, whilst he himself with some of his favourite amirs and intimate companions went to see the Port of Mustafa-Abad Dabhol.

When he arrived there he conferred many favours and kindesses on his subjects and the people of that place; and having spent several days in the happiness of viewing the sea-coast and the gardens of that country he bestowed several of Bahadur Ghilani's districts on Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nigar-ul-Mulk, some on Makhdum Khwajah Jahang; and the remainder he gave on feudal tenure to Malik Ilyas Turk; and it was arranged that he should send to the public treasury each year the sum of ten lakes of tankah; and, living in a manner the reverse of Bahadur Ghilani, should not become a traveller on the paths of sedition.
After that, the Sultan proceeded towards his capital, and, stopping in the town of Miraj, divided among his troops the booty which he had collected in that country and in that war. He then returned with his army to the capital; and those amirs who had accompanied him on that occasion, such as Daryā Khān, son of Malik Fath-Ullāh ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, and Dīlawar Khān Ḥabshāl and ‘Arif-ul-Mulk Afghān — one of the amirs of Sultan ‘Alīmad Bāhārī Nigān-ul-Mulk — he distinguished by handsome robes of honour and increased dignities; after which he dismissed them to their own districts.

In the beginning of the year 903 (A.D. 1497) from the abundance of royal favours conferred on him, the power of Sultan Kull Kuṭb-ul-Mulk Hamadānī being much augmented, and he becoming distinguished above all his equals, obtained suzerainty over all the tardatory chiefs of Telingānā — such as Jahāngīr Khān, Sanjar Khān, ‘Alī Khān, Ullugh Khān, Makrāb Khān and others besides, and added to his former possessions the towns of Warangal and Kollakonda with their dependencies. In these days perverse ideas again found their way into the brains of several rebels — such as the young Yusuf, Rāj Khān Kinnārī, Muḥammad ‘Abbās, Kabīr Yaghruḍ Khān and others beside them who had procured the favour of the Sultan — and they entered into a compact with one another for the purpose of exterminating the Turks. Mirzādah Shams-ul-Din Ni‘mat-Ullāh (who of all the members of the assembly was most nearly related to the royal family) became a confidant of theirs in this affair. But before their seditious ideas could be carried into action the Turkī amirs obtained information of the conspiracy; and according to the saying that “A misfortune should be remedied before its occurrence,” they took the initiative by going to the royal court; and the foolish Yaghruḍ Khān with the whole of the other conspirators, who were off their guard in their own houses, were summoned to the court and put to death. Mirzā Shams-ul-Din Ni‘mat-Ullāh was also put to death as an accomplice of those misguided people. As much disturbance arose in the city and fortress the Sultan went up into the Shāh Burj, and shut the doors of entrance and exit. The Turkī amirs sent some one to summon Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh. They brought him into the court of the Sultan; and in his presence they emphatically swore, saying: — “These slaves, with regard to the Sultan, except devotion and obedience, have no thought in their hearts; and have no idea whatever of rebellion against the Sultan. Not like that clique of intrigues who had thoughts of rebellion in their hearts, and who allowed thoughts of deception to enter their minds; on which account we brought them to punishment. We are the same servants of the court of the king as we have always been.”

Shāh Muḥabb-Ullāh then waited on the Sultan, and repeated their speech to him verbatim, and the Sultan extinguished the fire of that sedition and disturbance, but his kingly authority both in the distant and near parts of the dominions died out. Each of the amirs in his own district proclaimed his independence, and shut in his own face the door of obedience and submission. The government of the kingdom of the Dakkan then was devolved on ‘Alī Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk; and the Sultan, as in former days, again treated that intrepid servant with much kindness and graciousness, and now increased his rank above that of all the other amirs and waṣīrs by making him amīr-ul-umārd of the whole of the dominions of Telingānā. At this period he also removed the provinces of Bijāpur and Mangalvedhā and their dependencies from the possession of Malik Khudādā Khwājah Jāhān and consigned them to Majlis-i Rafti ‘Alī Malik Yusuf Turk ‘Aḍil Khān. The parganā of Ausā and Kapūhār, as in former times, was held in jaghir by ‘Alī Malik ‘Abbāśī Barḏ-i Mamālik, and there was much quarrelling and opposition between him and the other amirs of the districts; and now, when Barḏ-i Mamālik was in the fort of Ausā, the amirs, thinking it a good opportunity, represented to the Sultan that he was continually in opposition to this dynasty, and that it would be advisable to crush him before he could raise an insurrection. Although
this was contrary to the good pleasure of the Sultan, yet on account of his affection for the Turk amirs he could not act upon that advice; for at this time the Sultan had not much power in the affairs of the kingdom.

Of necessity, in the latter part of Zil-ul-Hijjah A. H. 906 June, A. D. 1500), the Sultan, with the wazirs of the capital and his brave troops, moved from the capital and laid siege to the fort of Ausa. Some of the amirs who outwardly were on the side of the Sultan, but who were secretly in alliance with Barid-i Mamalik, hastened to make their obeisance to the Sultan. After the expiration of the month of Muharram, the Sultan, with the dissembling amirs, as well as those who were really on his side, mounted with the intention of battle, and surrounded the fortress of Ausa; but in the midst of the fighting the dissembling amirs left the Sultan and joined Barid-i Mamalik. Consequently the greatest slackness found its way into the royal army, and their ranks were broken. Malik Sultan Kull Kuth-ul-Mulk took the road of Telengan, and Adil Khan also turned towards his own province. When Malik Kasim Barid-i Mamalik obtained information of the dispersal of the Sultan's army, thinking it a favourable opportunity, he hastened to do homage to the Sultan, and with him proceeded towards Bidar. By order of the Sultan he then again assumed the government of the capital Bidar.

After the lapse of one year, the amirs again becoming disgusted with the government of Barid-i Mamalik, as on the former occasion, the idea of his extermination became fixed in their minds, so they united together, and, after making great preparations, turned towards the capital, Bidar. Among the greatest of the amirs who at that time went to the capital were Masnad-i 'All 'Adil Khân, Malik Kuth-ul-Mulk and Dastur-i Mamalik and others besides. When the Sultan heard of the approach of the amirs bent upon eradicating Barid-i Mamalik, he sent to them Majlis-i Mukram Khân Khan-i Jahân, Malik-ul-Ulum Shah-i Jahân, Saiyid Khâtib and all the learned men in order that after ascertaining the cause of their coming and the motive of their leaguing together, the affair might be settled amicably. When the above-mentioned company, according to the Sultan's orders arrived in the assembly of the amirs and delivered their message, the amirs heard their words; and after some controversy it was resolved that each of the amirs and maliks should hasten to his own district, and that Barid-i Mamalik also should go to Ausa and Kapdhar, which was his district; and that once in each year the whole of the amirs and wazirs should come to the royal court and join in ajîhâd against the idolaters of Vijayanagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islam, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants. A treaty containing many terms to this effect was then drawn up, and at the request of Masnad-i 'All 'Adil Khân 20,000 horses of the country were added to the jâzîr of Malik Kuth-ul-Mulk. After that, the amirs, having kissed the Sultan's feet and been presented with robes of honour and other distinctions, obtained permission to depart. Masnad-i 'All 'Adil Khan hastened to Bijapur Kânara and made it his capital; while Malik Kuth-ul-Mulk Hamadân took his abode in the town of Golkoânà.

In the middle of the year 908 (A. D. 1502) the Sultan, in accordance with the agreement, being resolved on waging a jîhâd against the infidels, marched out of the capital, Bidar, with the amirs and his victorious army. He had then with him, of Turks, foreigners and Dakhanis, not more than 5,000 horse and 30,000 veteran infantry; but when he pitched his camp at Arki, Malik Kuth-ul-Mulk joined him with 500 Arab cavalry, thirty elephants and 5,000 foot. The Sultan received him with kingly courtesy, and added that town to all his other feudal lands. When the royal army marched from there and encamped at Ankûr, Majlis-i Rafi 'Adil Khân joined the royal camp with 5,000 Turkî, Khurasânî and Dakhanî horse, 6,000 infantry armed with spears, and fifteen elephants. Dastûr-i Mamalik also joined with 3,000 horse, 3,000 foot and forty elephants.

—When the army marched from that place a royal order was issued that Masnad-i 'All 'Ainul-Mulk with his force should go on in advance into the Vijayanagar territory by way of

61 Or Arki. Probably Pargî is meant.
62 Or Angûr. Probably Atakûr is meant.
Kalhar and Kóháshpur, and over-running the territory of the infidels, strike terror into their hearts. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, according to the orders, proceeded with 5,000 horse, 50,000 foot and eighty elephants. The Sultan subsequently marched from that place and encamped within sight of the fortress of Rayáchur. The garrison being terrified at the assaults of the royal army tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute in order to get immunity from plunder. They also agreed to surrender to the servants of the court the revenue of the fort of Mudgal which in former times they had farmed from the agents of the Sultan, but which hitherto they had failed to pay into the public treasury; also some paraganahs of Rayáchur which they had forcibly taken from the royal troops. The Sultan bestowed these paraganahs on Majlis-i Rafl Ádil Khan; and on 'Ain-ul-Mulk and the other amirs and generals he bestowed robes of honour, and gave them leave to depart. The Sultan then returned to the capital.

When the amirs and maliks, according to the Sultan's orders, turned towards their own districts, and the Sultan with his troops and some of the amirs of the foot of the throne returned to the capital, Malik Barid-i Mamalik, thinking it a good opportunity, with the amirs already in alliance with him, had dispersed and routed a body of the royal troops; and then turning towards the capital, entered the city on the 9th of Zil-ul-Hijjah and laid siege to the fortress. After some days the people of the fortress, siding with Barid-i Mamalik, opened the gates; and Barid-i Mamalik then entered the fort and put to death Khan-i Jahan who at that time had superseded him in the government. He then once more without opposition became firmly seated on the throne of government of the capital of the Dakhán.

When the news of Barid-i Mamalik's usurpation of absolute authority reached the amirs and maliks of the different parts of the dominions, they did not assent to this, and took counsel together in order to overthrow the foundations of his sovereignty and eradicate the young plant of his power. In the beginning of the year 909 (A. D. 1503) Majlis-i Rafl 'Adil Khan, Masnad-i 'Ali Malik Kāṭb-ul-Mulk, Masnad-i 'Ali Dastūr-i Mamalik and others beside them formed an alliance with one another and marched towards the capital. When they arrived near the capital the Sultan nolens volens resolved upon war with them, and hoisting his standard endeavoured to repel the hostile amirs. When the two forces met a great battle took place. Finally the hostile army prevailed over that of the king, and Haidar Khan the commander was killed in the action. When Barid-i Mamalik saw the state of affairs he took to flight and went to his own districts. When Majlis-i Rafl 'Adil Khan, Masnad-i 'Ali Malik Kāṭb-ul-Mulk and all the other amirs heard of the flight of Malik Barid, which was their chief object in this war with him, they hastened to wait on the Sultan and were presented with special robes of honour; then taking their leave, each of them after obtaining the completion of his wishes, returned to his own district.

In the middle of this year (909) it occurred to the mind of Majlis-i Rafl 'Adil Khan to arrange a marriage between one of his daughters and one of the royal princes, so as to strengthen his position by the bonds of relationship. Accordingly he rolled up the secret of his mind in a letter which he sent to the Sultan. The latter lent a favourable ear to the request of 'Adil Khan, and in order to make arrangements for the nuptial entertainment marched towards Ahsanábâd Kalburgâ with the principal amirs and his troops. When he arrived at this celebrated place Malik Kāṭb-ul-Mulk hastened to the royal presence. On the third day Majlis-i Rafl 'Adil Khan and Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk paid their respects to the Sultan, and the latter hoisting his standard made preparations for the nuptial entertainment.

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23 Probably Kambah. There must be some mistake in this; for he could not have reached Vijaynagar territory through these places without making an immense detour afterwards.
24 The number of infantry and elephants in 'Ain-ul-Mulk's force must be very much over-stated, for the total strength of the combined forces as given above was 18,500 cavalry, 44,000 infantry and 92 elephants.
25 The year (though not here stated) was 908 = 5th June, A. D. 1503.
In the midst of the royal hospitality and entertainment Malik Barid-i Mamalik and Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân obtained the happiness of kissing the ground before the Sultan in Kalbargâ. As a cordial hatred existed between Majlis-i Rafî ‘Ádîl Khân and Barid-i Mamâlik, Dastûr-i Mamâlik, on account of a grudge which he had against Majlis-i Rafî, allied himself with Barid-i Mamâlik, and with his army joined the camp of the latter and Khwâjah Jahân. Majlis-i Rafî ‘Ádîl Khân and Masnad-i ‘Álî Malik ‘Ain-ul-Mulk then joined together against Malik Barid-i Mamâlik and his adherents. Again the doors of contention among the amirs were opened afresh, and the young plant of enmity sprouted up in the climate of hypocrisy. The Sultan at this time, on account of the relationship by marriage with Majlis-i Rafî ‘Ádîl Khân, took the part of the latter and treated him with favour.

War broke out between the two forces, and the table-cloth of entertainment and hospitality was folded up. For about two or three months the fires of slaughter blazed up between the two armies. At last Malik Ilyás ‘Ain-ul-Mulk was killed by one of the soldiers of Malik Barid, and after that the fire of contention and war became extinguished.

After the death of ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, the Sultan, in order to secure possession of his district, proceeded to Mirâj and Panhâlâ. Malik Barid with his eldest son, Jahângîr Khân, and Khwâjah Jahân with his eldest son, Malik ut-Tujiýâr (who before that was known as liyan Khân), and Dastûr-i Mamâlik Malik Dhnâr marched to Bidar and laid siege to that fortress. When the Sultan after taking possession of the district of ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, returned to the capital, Barid-i Mamâlik and his waqirs obtained information of his approach and hastened out to meet him. Masnad-i ‘Álî Barid-i Mamâlik and the remaining amirs made their obeisance and were received with royal favour, and attended the Sultan to the capital. The Sultan conferred on Malik Barid-i Mamâlik the title of Majlis-i Mukarram Humâyûn Nâ’îb-i Barik, and increased his rank beyond that of Majlis-i Karim Khwâjah Jahân, and again consigned to him the government of the capital.

In the year 916 (A. D. 1510) discord and contention arose between Majlis-i Rafî ‘Ádîl Khân and Dastûr-i Mamâlik on account of an old quarrel; and as Dastûr-i Mamâlik was not strong enough to oppose Majlis-i Rafî, he put his trust in the protection and favour of Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and took refuge at his court. This celebrated prince, thinking it incumbent on him to assist that unfortunate one, took up arms in his cause and marched with his army towards the province of Majlis-i Rafî. When the latter heard of the movement of this army, feeling himself unable to oppose them, he took refuge at the court of the Sultan. He entirely forbade Majlis-i Rafî ‘Ádîl Khân to quarrle with Dastûr-i Mamâlik. Majlis-i Rafî, according to orders made a compact that in future he would become a traveller on the road of friendship and unity with Dastûr-i Mamâlik, and not traverse the valley of perverseness and sedition. After that, the Sultan sent to that prince of men [Sultan Ahmad Bahri] a farmân full of affection, and kindness, together with numerous presents; and told him how he had prohibited Majlis-i Rafî from quarrling with Dastûr-i Mamâlik, and related to him circumstantially the agreement made by Majlis-i Rafî. The prince, conformably with his desire returned to the seat of government.

In the end of the year 912 (A. D. 1506), on account of Majlis-i Rafî ‘Ádîl Khân the dust of vexation settled on the mirror of the mind of the Sultan; for this reason he gave orders for summoning Malik Sultan Kull Kâb-ul-Mulk. When the latter heard the contents of the farmân, he hastened to the court and made his obeisance. By the Sultan’s orders another farmân, to the following effect, was sent to summon Masnad-i ‘Álî Malik ‘Imâd-ul-Mulk:— “In these days the demon of sedition and rebellion has carried ‘Ádîl Khân off the straight road of obedience and submission to this court, and has placed his foot in the desert of ingratitude. It is necessary that immediately upon receipt of this farmân you shall come with all speed, and arrange the affairs of the government and the army and the subjects in accordance with the wishes of the Sultan.”
As Malik 'Imād-ul-Mulk on the whole showed negligence and want of haste in attending at the royal court, having no other resource, the Sultan with Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk and all the celebrated amīrs, hoisted his standard. When the Sultan arrived within sight of Kalam, Malik 'Imād-ul-Mulk made his obeisance to him there. Malik 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all the amīrs becoming the advocates of Majlis-i Rafl, on his behalf made smooth the preliminaries of obedience and submission; then the dust of vexation which had settled on the Sultan's heart was obliterated by the polish of intercession. The Sultan pardoned the offences of Majlis-i Rafl, and rolled up the carpet of war and contention. The amīrs and generals in attendance on the Sultan returned with him to the capital; and on arrival there he turned his attention to the affairs of Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, Malik 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all the other amīrs and maliks; he bestowed on them valuable robes of honour and other presents, and gave them permission to depart to their respective districts.

After that, Malik Fath-Ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk died in Mīchpur, and Majlis-i Rafl, Ādil Khān died within sight of Kovalakondā.66 The Sultan conferred the title of 'Ādil Khān and the province belonging to Majlis-i Rafl Malik Yusuf on Isam'īl, the eldest son of the latter; and also settled on him a quarter of the kingdom of the Dakhan, which had been entrusted to Malik Yusuf. The affairs of the province of Malik Fath-Ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk remained for nearly a year in a state of confusion, for his eldest son, Malik 'Ālī-ud-Dīn Daryā Khān, was a prisoner in the fort of Rāmīrī; but in the year 906 (A. D. 1500)67 by the assistance of the son of Khudawīnd Khān, governor of Māhūr, he escaped from the fort of Rāmīrī and reached Gāwilgadh, and in his father's place took his seat on the throne of government of most of the province of Vārāhā (Bérā). At the entreaty of Isam'īl 'Ādil Khān, the Sultan conferred on Malik 'Ālī-ud-Dīn the title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk with the province which had belonged to Malik Fath-Ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk. In the same year Malik Khudawīnd Khwāja Jahān died in the town of Sandaspūr (Sholapur?), which belonged to him. As his eldest son, Ratan Khān, had died before his father, the Sultan conferred the title of Khwāja Jahān on the younger son, Nūr Khān, and added the town of Pareṇḍā with its dependencies to his other possessions. Sandaspūr (Sholapur?) which previous to that had belonged to Khwāja Jahān, he conferred on Kamāl Khān, Isam'īl 'Ādil Khān's general.

In the year 920 (A. D. 1514) the Sultan, by the advice of Majlis-i Rafl 'Ādil Khān, marched towards Aḥesānābād Kalburgā, and took the fortress of Kalburgā by force, and from the fire of rapine and plunder of the conquering army it became like the dust of the road. From this time in the country of the Dakhan the plunder and devastation of the territory of Islām and the Musalmāns became a regular custom.

Dastūr-i Mamālīk, flying from these perils, took refuge with Barīd-i Mamālīk. The latter met him with the greatest respect, gave him hopes of his assistance; and sending a person to Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, strengthened the bonds of friendship with him. In the year 921 (A. D. 1515)68 Malik Barīd-i Mamālīk, Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk and Malik Dastūr-i Mamālīk Malik Dinār went to the royal capital and laid siege to the fortress of Bīdar. However much the saïyūṣ, shekhs and learned men strove to arrange the matter peaceably it was of no avail, and Ḥamd Khān Habsī, the reputed son of Dastūr-i Mamālīk, who was inside the fortress, was killed in the fighting. At last 'Aqmāh-ul-Mulk — who on behalf of Majlis-i Rafl 'Ādil Khān used to be in attendance on the Sultan — came out and had an interview with Majlis-i Mukram Malik.

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66 There is something palpably wrong in the dates here. Fath-Ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk died in 1504. The date of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh's death is variously given: thus, according to the author of the Zubāšt-i Ādī, he died in 1654; according to Fīrāsīsī in 1510, and according to Mīrzā Rafl-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī and Mīr Ibrahim Anā Khān, in 1519. Our author says the two died at the same time, but omits to mention the date. The last date mentioned is 1506, and here he says, "after that" these two kings died.
67 This date is inconsistent with the previous statements.
68 Our author makes no mention of the death of Khāsim Barīd, and the succession of his son, Amir Barīd, which — according to Fīrāsīsī — occurred in 1504.
Barid-i Mamalik. With the pure water of exhortations and advice he extinguished the fires of killing and fighting in which they had been engaged, and acted as arbitrator of the supplications and claims of the amirs.

In the month of Jamadi I. of the above-mentioned year (921) veneration showed itself between Dastur-i Mamalik and Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barid-i Mamalik, and the latter in the excess of his impiety and anger, marched from Kamtahan and set out for his own province. At this time the Sultan pardoned the offences of Dastur-i Mamalik and treated him with royal favours; and sent to Majlis-i Raft 'Adil Khan a farman about pacifying Dastur-i Mamalik. He then dismissed the latter to his former jaga, which was Kalburga. Majlis-i Raft obeyed the order of the Sultan and made friends with Dastur-i Mamalik.

In the midst of these affairs an ambassador from Shah Isma'il Husaini Safavi—who had succeeded by inheritance as king of the dominions of Khurasan and Iran—and the whole country of Iran—with many valuable presents, jewels fit for kings and fleet Arab horses, arrived at the royal court and had the happiness of kissing the royal vestibule. But as the king and the army were at that time of the Sunnite persuasion, and the religion of Shah Isma'il was that of the Imam Ja'far-i Sadik (on whom be the blessing of God, the Creator!), and the royal crown (tdā) which he had sent was symbolical of the sect of the Twelve (Imams), Sultan Muhmmad paid no attention to that ambassador or his presents, and quickly gave him permission to depart.

After these events it occurred to the mind of Afsamul-Mulk, who as the deputy of Majlis-Raft, was the wazir of government, that as Majlis-i-Sharif Bashir Khudaiwān Khan had placed his foot outside the circle of obedience and used to traverse the valley of rebellion, it was advisable to adopt measures to put a stop to his sedition. He accordingly brought the matter to the notice of the Sultan, who summoned Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barid-i Mamalik in order to take counsel with him. Majlis-i Mukram obeyed the order, and on making his obeisance was distinguished by royal favours. The Sultan asked his advice and assistance in repelling Bashir Khudaiwān Khan. Majlis-i Mukram concurring with the amirs and great men as to the necessity for putting down the rebel, a royal order was issued for the assembly of the army. When the army was assembled pursuant to order, the Sultan, in the mouth of Shaibun in the year 923 (August, A. D. 1517), marched with it to make war against Bashir Khudaiwān Khan, who was the feudatory chief of Muhmmad. When Bashir Khudaiwān Khan heard of the approach of the Sultan with the royal army, finding himself unable to oppose him, he thought the best thing he could do was to go to Maanud-i Allah Malik 'Ala-ud-Din 'Imad-ul-Mulk to ask his assistance and then to engage the royal army. He accordingly took refuge with Malik 'Ala-ud-Din. The latter felt himself bound to assist him now for the sake of the assistance which he had formerly received from Khudaiwān Khan; and therefore told off three or four thousand cavalry to accompany him. Khudaiwān Khan reinforced by this army then unfurled his standard and made haste to encounter the royal army. From both sides the fire of killing and fighting blazed up, and the hunter Death hastened to the chase of the lives of the brave men. The eldest son of Khudaiwān Khan, who was named Ghulib Khan, was killed in this action, and the army of Khudaiwān Khan then took to flight. When he

69 Not identified.
70 There appears to be some confusion here. Dastur Dinhar's quarrel, on this occasion, is stated to have been with his old ally, Barid; yet from this statement it looks as though it were with Isma'il 'Adil Shāh. There was a quarrel of long standing between these two, but it was amicably arranged by the Sultan—vide p. 284.
71 The name of this ambassador was Mirak Barahim Khan (or, according to the Tezkiri-i Aharf, Yaqut Beg Kisibbāsh). He had previously visited the court of Sultan Muṣṭafar II. of Gujrat, where he was well received by the king; but received very rough treatment there at the hands of Shahsānād Shah Isma'il Muhammad of Māw (vide Bayley's Gujrat, pp. 244-7). After leaving the Bahmani court he went to that of Sultan Isma'il 'Adil Shāh, who, being a bigoted Shi'ah, gave him a cordial reception (vide Farishtah). From the wording of this passage it appears that the author of the Barahim-i Maṣūr was himself a Shi'ah.

heard of the death of his son, although he was himself wounded and had left the battle-field, he drew his sword, and turning back, in one attack broke the ranks of the royal army; but at last owing to his many wounds and his want of strength, he fell from his horse and was taken prisoner by the royal troops, who brought him wounded and bound into the presence of the Sultan; and the latter ordered him to be put to death as the requital of his rebellion. After that, the Sultan turned towards his capital; and the town of Mähür with its dependencies he conferred on Mahmüd Khan, the youngest son of Khudâwind Khan.

Historians have related that before the execution of Bashir Khudâwind Khân a royal order was issued to the amîrs and great men in all parts of the dominions to assemble with a large force at the royal court in order to repell the refractory. The amîrs, according to orders, busied themselves in preparing war material and collecting their armies; but before they could make their obeisance at court the heart of the Sultan was freed from anxiety on account of those three rebels. Since the amîrs were thus kept back from attendance at the court, they now hastened to make their obeisance. Greater than them all, Sultan Ahmad Bahrî with his army presented himself, and was exalted by royal favours. After him Nur Khan Kyâvîah Jâhân, coming from Parendâ, paid his respects. The remaining amîrs and grandees, such as Majis-i Raft ‘Adil Khan, Maenad-i ‘Ali Malik Khêt-ul-Mulk, Maenad-i ‘Ali ‘Imâd-ul-Mulk, Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others besides of the amîrs and maliks, when they heard of the arrival of the Sultan at the court, started for the capital with an army in numbers beyond computation, and making their obeisance offered their services.

When the Sultan found such an army assembled beneath the shadow of his standard, he was seized with the desire of obtaining the happiness of waging a jihâd against the worshippers of idols; so, for the purpose of overthrowing the idolaters and tyrants, he raised his standard and started from the capital. When the Sultan arrived at Diwânî, the enemy becoming aware of his approach, prepared for battle and hastened to engage the royal army. A battle then ensued; but suddenly a fatal misfortune occurred to the royal army. The King of Isâmân, from the centre of the army, which was his post, became separated from the rest; and owing to the thronging of the horses and the running to and fro of the troops, fell from his horse; and when the two armies closed they raised so great a dust that friends and opponents were mingled together and could not be distinguished from one another, so no one was aware of what had happened to the Sultan till the blessed head of that leader with his most pure body was broken and wounded in several places. In the midst of this some of the attendants saw the king; and immediately went to him and brought him out from the midst of the horses, and putting him in a pdlîk, took him to the dwelling of Mirzá Lutf-Ullâh, son of Shah Muḥabb-Ullâh.

When the amîrs and grandees became aware of the Sultan’s misfortune, they ceased fighting and repaired to his presence; and seeing the Sultan lamenting and afflicted they shed fountains of blood like the Jaihûn. After that, folding up the carpet of contention and war, they turned towards the capital; and when they arrived in the vicinity of Bîdar each of the amîrs and grandees, according to custom, was distinguished by a special robe of honour, and they then turned towards their own districts. Majlis-i Mukram Malik Bârîd-i Mamâlik did not withdraw from attendance on the Sultan, but accompanied him to the capital; and by the Sultan’s orders he was again invested with the government of Bîdar; and as the Sultan’s wounds were such that for nearly a year he could not tie his turban on the top of his head, Malik Bârîd-i Mamâlik exercised sovereign sway.

The amîrs of the capital, Bîdar, who always resented the government of Majlis-i Mukram looked on the bruises of the Sultan and the supremacy of Malik Bârîd, thinking that something might happen to the Sultan and that Malik Bârîd would then lay hands on the royal treasures and take possession of the capital and its dependencies; consequently in each head melancholy
foreshadowings arose, and in each heart secret desires. Day and night their anxiety was by some stratagem to remove Malik Barīd from the fortress of the capital.

In the midst of this Shujāʿat Khān, who was one of the principal āmirān, ran away, carrying off with him two female elephants of the Sultan's for which the latter had a special liking. A number of those who complained of the government of Malik Barīd represented to the servants of the Sultan that Majlis-i Mukram was the only person who had the power to go in pursuit of Shujāʿat Khān; and another advantage in nominating him for the duty was that expedience demanded it. The Sultan, according to their advice, appointed Barīd-i Mamālīk to go in pursuit of Shujāʿat Khān. Malik Barīd went in haste after Shujāʿat Khān, and over-taking him, put him to death; then carrying off the royal elephants with all the horses, baggage and other property of Shujāʿat Khān, returned with great pomp and magnificence, and had the honour of kissing the royal vestibule. So each affair that the āmirān had arranged turned out exactly opposite to their wishes and intentions. Day by day the power of Malik Barīd in the affairs of State became greater and greater, till he brought into his own hands the whole of the government and the control of the army and the subjects.

In this interval the Sultan died.

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This great misfortune, which was the cause of the ruin of the world and the affliction of human race, occurred on the 24th of Šafal-ul-Ḥijjah, A. H. 924 (20th December, A. D. 1518). His age was forty-seven years and twenty days, and the duration of his reign was thirty-seven years and two months.

Although during his reign, in the dominions of the Dakhan, owing to the opposition and quarrelling of the āmirān and generals, and the numerous plots and the quantity of bloodshed, which were the cause of distress among the people and the desolation of the country; yet as long as this Sultan remained alive, all the āmirān, wāsirān, and mālikān—notwithstanding their contumaciousness among one another—were, nolens volens, loyal to their sovereign, and did not withdraw their heads from the collar of obedience and submission. If now and then one of the āmirān got perverse ideas in his mind, all the other āmirān and mālikān, treading the path of obedience with the Sultan, joined the latter in putting down rebels, and used to strike out the letter of hypocrisy from the page of submission.\(^7\)

Some historians of the annals of this king state that in the latter days of his reign the reins of government entirely left the hands of the Sultan, and that Malik Barīd with the approval of the āmirān of all parts of the dominions seated the Sultan in the corner of retirement and seclusion, and divided the country among themselves; and that the Sultan for a long time after that was a prisoner, till at last he died. But God alone knows the truth of matters!

When the Sultan departed this life, all at once anarchy and confusion found their way into the country of the Dakhan; each one of the āmirān and great men proclaimed his independence and sovereignty in his own place of residence; and the rights of rebellion and confusion became promulgated in that country. The āmirān and mālikān—like the kings of nations—shut on one another the doors of obedience, and hoisted the standards of independent rule. Consequently the infidels of Vijayānagar, seizing the property of the Musalmāns, used each year to make raids into the territory of Islām, and much injury used to be caused by those infidels to the country of the Musalmāns.

Majlis-i Rafīʿ-ūd-Dīn Khān, who after that became entitled "Āḍīl Shāh;" and Masnad-i Ṣ̩āl Malik Kūṭb-ul-Mulk who sat on the Kūṭb-Shāhī throne, since they were in proximity to

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\(^7\) This is an important passage, as it shows how the governors of provinces were justified in declaring their independence on the decline and fall of the Bahmani power. If they had not done so, they would have had to submit to the ignominy of being ruled by Malik Barīd instead of their lawful sovereign. Kūṭb-ul-Mulk's loyalty averted the threat.
the country of the infidels, of course the injury and malice of that tribe of infidels reached in a
greater degree the capital, Ahmadnagar and all the territory of that place; until the time of
Shâh Husain Nâ'âm Shâh who extinguished by the sword the sparks of the sedition and
annoyances caused by the cursed infidels, as will hereafter, please God! be related in detail in
these pages.

End of the Bahmani Dynasty.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE SETTLEMENTS
IN THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS IN THE XVIIIth CENTURY.

Preface by R. C. Temple.

The papers I am now able to publish through the courtesy of the authorities of the India
Office have a two-fold interest. In the first place they throw light on the earliest and unsuccessful
attempts to settle the Andaman Islands, the site of the great Penal Settlement of the
Government of India at the present day, by the celebrated marine surveyor, Archibald Blair.
In the next place they give us part of the story direct from Blair himself.

I now propose to print the papers as they stand and to supplement them with notes by
myself and Mr. E. H. Man, C. I. E., by way of postscript.

The papers consist of —

(1) A letter from Archibald Blair to the Governor-General, dated 19th April, 1789,
from the Andamans.

(2) A letter from Archibald Blair from the Andamans, dated 26th December,
1789, to his brother, Prof. Robert Blair of Edinburgh, and forwarded by him to
Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, and by the latter to W. W. Gren-
ville, afterwards Lord Grenville of the Ministry of "All the Talents."

(3) A Report by Mr. Patrick Stone on the present Port Cornwallis, dated 9th
June, 1791.

(4) An abstract of Major Kyd's Report, dated 4th March, 1795, comparing the
present Port Cornwallis at the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Island, i. e.,
Penang, as sites for Convict Settlements.

(5) Memorandum on the Andaman Settlements, dated 7th January, 1802.

No. I.

Captain Blair to the Right Hon'ble Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G.,
Governor-General etc., in Council; dated 19th April, 1789.

My Lord,—Though there is no immediate Conveyance to Bengal, nor a probability of this
reaching Calcutta before the arrival of the Elizabeth and Viper; but as there is a possibility of
accidents to one or both Vessels, I consider it my duty to leave this Account of my Progress,
with the accompanying sketch of the Survey, to be forwarded by Mr. Light.

We made the land near Port Andaman December 27th when the Viper unfortunately
sprung her main mast, this made it necessary to put in, to repair the damage; and while the
Artificers were employed I had the opportunity of surveying that excellent Harbour. It's
situation being on the west side of the great Andaman, consequently rather difficult of access
in the S. W. Monsoon is the only reason against it's being considered as an Harbour of great
importance. It is well supplied with fresh water which is noticed in the Chart, and Nature
has made it capable of being well defended, from the Eminence on Interview Island; from
whence the two Brooks derive their source. Many parts of this Island are covered with a rich soil, which I have not a doubt will be very productive; it is over grown with a variety of trees, many of which will certainly answer for masts, and probably also for Plank and crooked timber. The Island is inhabited by Caffees which were so timorous, that I could bring about no further Communication with them, than their acceptance of a few Presents, which they would not receive from our hands, but made signs for them to be laid down on the Beach, when they gladly accepted them. Some parts of the Island which were not covered with trees afforded us a supply of excellent grass. There is plenty of clay fit for bricks and the shores are covered with shells and Coral which will answer to make lime.

Having surveyed Port Andaman to the extent of your Lordship's Instructions, the 11th of January, I began the examination of the Coast to the Southward, the Viper tracing the Bank, and the Elizabeth coasting close to the Island; and boats were dispatched to examine such Inlets, which had anything promising in their appearance; but I found none between Port Andaman and Port Campbell which appeared worthy of an investigation. A reference to the Chart will best convey an idea of the indentings of the Coast, and the extent of the Bank, with the very few dangers which extend from the shore. The land is moderately high, very rigdy and everywhere thickly covered with trees.

Port Campbell though a perfect Harbour in the N. E. Monsoon, will be found so difficult of access during the S. W. winds from the narrowness and dangers in its entrance that it will be hazardous if not totally impracticable to enter or quit it in that boisterous season.

The Coast from Port Campbell to the west entrance of McPherson's Strait, bears a near resemblance to that port which has been already noticed. At a small distance, the West Mouth of the Strait is not perceptible, by the assemblage of Islands which is termed in the Chart the Labyrinth, appearing to shut it up.

Ships rounding the south end of the Great Andaman must be cautious not to approach too close; to avoid the dangers extending from the Twins, and that from the South end of the great Island, both which are noticed in the Chart.

The small strait, between the Cinque Islands and the Great Andaman, appears to me the best, as well as the shortest Passage, for ships intending to touch on the S. E. side of the Island; there being tolerable anchoring all through that strait, and being entirely clear of danger. Macpherson Strait considered as an Harbour possesses many advantages; it is abundantly supplied with excellent fresh water from the Rivulet marked in the Chart, it is well sheltered from the force of both monsoons; is open both to eastward and westward; and the stream of the tide which is regular will facilitate the entrance or departure of ships. But with all those advantages it has one very great defect, which is a want of tenacity in the ground which forms the Bottom, which is the major part, Coral, Coral Rock, and Sand, with a very small portion of Clay in some places. Upon the whole it will be considered as bad anchoring Ground, both from it's not holding, and the probability of the Cables being destroyed by the Coral. This Strait is evidently what has been named by Captain Buchanan, McPherson Bay, and the Harbour four leagues northward is termed by him Port Cornwallis.

It is hardly possible to conceive a more secure Harbour, than Port Cornwallis; it is easy of access, and at the same time capable of being made very strong, the Bottom is a soft Clay, and it is perfectly skreened from wind and sea, that a ship might run in without anchors or cables and sustain no damage. It's situation will render it easy of access at all seasons and ships may depart from it in either Monsoon. To supply a large Fleet with water in the latter part of the dry season it might be found necessary to construct Reservoirs to collect and preserve it; for after a very laborious search, only three scanty Brooks were found, where the

[The present Port Blair. — Ed.]
soil was of such a nature as to absorb the whole before it reached the sea; but if Reservoirs or Wells were made one or two hundred yards from the shore, in the beds of the Brooks, I have no doubt but they would be sufficiently productive to supply a large Squadron; by digging a small well about two feet deep the Viper and Elizabeth were supplied with the quantity that was wanted, from one of the Brooks. The face of the country is entirely covered with wood, and the surface is very uneven, being principally composed of high Ridges and Valleys, both covered with a rich soil and the latter seems capable of the highest cultivation. The woods will afford an inexhaustible store of timber which will certainly answer for masts and other purposes in building or repairing ships. I found many trees of Ebbeny, and others which may become valuable articles of trade; a specimen of the latter I shall have the Honour of presenting to your Lordship on my arrival at Calcutta, some of the Plants too were gathered which I am apprehensive will not reach Bengal. While in this Harbour we had regular Land and Sea Breezes, and the Climate, judging from our short stay, appeared to be healthy. The Tides at full and change rise 7 feet but the stream of the tide is hardly perceptible. There is plenty of Fish, but not being provided with nets we caught very few; Pamplut Snappers and Rock Cod abound in the Harbour we also saw turtle but they do not appear to be numerous. The soil in many places will answer for bricks, stones which will answer for building are to be had in plenty, and the reefs will afford a constant supply of shells and coral for lime.

The Natives from their features, colour and hair appear to be descended from Africans and there is an Account in the Annals of Goa that two Portugueze ships with slaves bound to Mallam were lost on their Passage thither about 2 Centuries ago which it is probable may have first peopled the Great Andaman, by being wrecked on that Island. They are probably in the rudest state of any rational animals which are to be found; both sexes go perfectly naked; have no other houses than small huts, or rather sheds, about four feet high; they seem to depend principally on shell fish for their subsistence which they gather on the reefs at low water, and it would appear that they sometimes catch turtle and hogs from their Huts being ornamented with the bones of those animals. Their greatest stretch of ingenuity appears in the construction of their Bows, Arrows, Fish Giggs and small nets. The only appearance of Civilization, is their being formed into small societies and some attention paid to a Chief which, with his family are generally painted red. They seem to have very deep rooted prejudices against strangers, and constantly expressed either fear or resentment when they saw us land, except at Interview Island. We were frequently attacked by them which very much circumscripted our excursions but being constantly prepared, in all our skirmishes with them, when they were invariably the aggressors, we had only one man wounded. By the kindest treatment I could devise when they came on board and dismissing them with presents, I endeavoured in vain to bring about a friendly intercourse with them. Their Behaviour was so excessively wild and contradictory, that I found it impossible to sum it with any degree of certainty or success; their good nature appeared rather predominant, and in one instance I thought I could perceive attachment which inclines me to think, that they, with proper treatment might be made useful to settlers. We could not find the smallest appearance or marks of cultivation in a soil which would be highly productive with moderate labour.

After examining Diligent Strait and the Archipelago I proceeded to Barren Island and found the Volcano in a Violent State of eruption, throwing out showers of red hot stones and immense volumes of smoke. There were two or three eruptions while I was close at the foot of the Cone, several of the stones rolled down and bounded a good way past the foot of it. After a diligent search I could find nothing of sulphur or anything that answered the description of Lava.

From Barren Island I proceeded to explore for a dangerous ledge of Rocks which is only noticed in some of the Charts, but having been seen lately by Captain Hanna I was determined if possible to ascertain its situation. I first struck soundings on a large bank which environs

\[ \text{[Now the Invisible Bank. — Ed.]} \]
the danger which, with proper attention to the Land, will apprise ships of their danger before they approach it too close. The Ledge is situated in Latitude 11° 0’ 7” N. and bears from the South end of the Great Andaman^\textsuperscript{3} E. 16° S. distant 17 Leagues. It is of small extent with high Breakers on it, and some parts are Visible after the Surfs.

Your Lordship's Commands relating to the Andamans being executed, our stock being exhausted and several of the people having disorders (contracted at Calcutta) which required assistance, I determined to proceed immediately for this Island, and arrived here the 3rd Instant. I have now the satisfaction to inform Your Lordship that the Major part of our sick will be fit for duty again in a few days, when I shall proceed directly for Acheen in order to examine Sidoo Harbour, and another a little to the Southward of it, which Mr. Light has informed me of. He is also to give me a Letter to the King of Acheen, which I have no doubt will procure me Permission to make the necessary examination.

By the middle or end of June I expect to quit the Coast of Sumatra and to arrive at Calcutta in July, when I shall have the honour of laying before Your Lordship, a more detailed account of the service with particular Plans of the Harbours and a General Chart of the whole Survey.

I have, etc., (Sd.) Archibald Blair.

No. II.


"Mr. Robert Blair, who writes the enclosed, is professor of practical astronomy in the University of Edinburgh, and perhaps one of the most ingenious men and best philosophers you ever knew. The letter he sends to me is from his brother, the officer who you will recollect to have been employed in the survey of the Andaman harbour, concerning which we entertain such sanguine expectations. The letter is proper for your perusal in every point of view, but I send it on account of what is stated respecting the opinion of Commodore Cornwallis. It is more recent than any thing I have seen. Perhaps there is more recent at the Admiralty or your Office, but nothing official has reached me of so late a date on the subject."

2 Enclosures:—


Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury.

"I should still have delayed writing, if it were not for a letter which I have just received from my brother, and which I use the freedom of enclosing, as it may possibly contain some farther information concerning an object, about whose importance such sanguine hopes are, and I hope justly, entertained. As I know how readily you will overlook any impropriety in giving a hint on a subject of which you are so much better a judge, I shall also venture to mention a thought which occurred to me on reading Archibald's letter.

"I have heard through a friend, who has long corresponded with Lieutenant Mears, that a proposal has been made to Government to send the convicts to one of the Sandwich Islands (which I believe the Lieutenant has purchased from the Natives) instead of sending them to New Holland.

"Might they not be conveyed at much less expence, and turned to much better account, if sent to colonise Chatnam Island? The supply of Europeans which would thus be at hand, to recruit our military and naval armaments in India, seems alone to be an object of great magnitude. The limited extent of the island, its proximity to the seat of Government, and the military force and fortifications necessary, at any rate, to protect the harbour, would effectually prevent their ever becoming troublesome. But I have said more than enough on a subject, which, if worth attending to, must have already occurred to you."

^ In the Genl. Chart the South extreme is named Rutiland Island.
Port Cornwallis, Chatham Island.

"Commodore Cornwallis arrived here the 19th, and seems perfectly satisfied that it is a place of infinite national importance. I have therefore little doubt but the Government of Bengal will instantly take the necessary steps to establish it as our principal naval port in India. He proposes to return here next south-west monsoon, and I have the satisfaction to perceive that he approves of what I have done. He quite this place soon to visit Penang, when I shall be left to execute his commands. The vessel I commanded proceeds to Calcutta with dispatches, and will return with provisions and men.

"The soil is productive, the climate healthy; we are well provided with fish, turtle from Diamond Island in great abundance, and vegetables from the Carnicobar."

No. III.

An Account of the Harbour at the North East end of the Great Andaman Island, by Mr. Patrick Stone, Master of His Majesty's Ship Crown, received per Rodney, 9th June 1781.

Directions for Sailing in, and out of the Harbour. — When you are between the North and South reefs you'll see far up the Harbour at the N. W. Corner, two Points with a small Island between them; keep this Isle in sight and run in, or if you should have the Wind N. E. you may turn in with the above Isle from Point to Point, but do not lose sight of it; to make it better known you'll see a remarkable Tree on the left hand point, or the North end of Long Island, but indeed you may run into this Harbour with the greatest ease without Danger, only give every point a Birth about 2 Cabies length and go the Northward of the little Isle, then haul over to the Southward; be sure you keep the Southernmost point of the Harbours Mouth open with the next, and Anchor on the West side of the little Isle; this is called the Outer Harbour.

Marks for Anchoring. — This is such a good and fine Harbour, there are no particular Marks for Anchoring but I would advise Strangers not to go into any of the Coves, 'till they first Sound with their Boats — without it is the South Cove, which is the first Cove on the South side which is clean and clear of all Rocks; You may Anchor in what Water you please, good holding Ground.

Wooding and Watering. — Wood in great plenty, you may cut it alongside of the boats, there are many Streams of Water from the Mountains and with a little trouble might be made very convenient.

Provisions and Refreshments. — None to be had here at present as there is no Settlement, you may have Fish with the Seine or Hook and Line.

Fortifications and Landing Places. — No Fortifications. You may Land any where here the Water being so smooth, but the Sandy bays are preferable.

Trade and Commerce. — Neither Trade or Commerce. The People are quite Black with Woolly Hair and of a Savage Disposition, and of a Small Stature.

This Harbour lies in the Latitude 13° 24' N. and Longitude 93° 20' E. It flows full and change at 9 o Clock and rises and falls 7 or 8 feet at Spring Tides. If coming from the Southward and bound into this Harbour, the first remarkable thing is the High Hill called Saddle Hill, which is the highest land herabouts or I believe the highest on the Island; at the foot of Saddle Hill is a Small Isle called Craggy Island, but being badly to be seen 'till you run in shore; but what makes it easily known is a remarkable White Rock standing close to it,
which at a Distance you will take for a large White Patch, on or near the Island; by this time you will see the Entrance of the Harbour, which is about 5 miles to the Northward of Craggy Island. The Land between the two is remarkable having two Hummocks and a Flat between; the Northernmost Hummock stands on the South point of the Harbour. On the North side of the Entrance you will see a Hill which makes a Peninsula, and both from this and the South point runs out a reef of Rocks, but no Danger as they are always above Water, or the Sea breaks over them, but Deep Water Close to them. You will see in the Middle of the Harbour a little Isle with a Spit running from it S. W., but run round the Northward of the Isle, and Anchor where you please; This small Island would be a fine place to plant Guns upon to defend the Harbour: There is a Channel on each side, but the North side is the Broadest and of course the best for Working; This Harbour forms a long square; at the East end is a long Isle lying N. and S. which I call Long Island, between the N. end of it and the N. W. point of the Harbour is the Entrance of what is called the Interior Harbour, going in you will see three Islands, the first the largest, the 2d the next (which is the Island above mentioned as a mark to come in or go out by) the 3d the Smallest, from the N. W. point of Long Island to the middle of this 3d Isle runs a flat shoal of Mud which you must take care of, for you may have 8 fathoms, and the next cast only two or 3 fathoms, all the N. and W. of these Islands is nothing but a flat of soft mud; on any of the Three Islands I have mentioned you may erect convenient Wharfs, as you [have] 3 1/2 and 4 fathoms close to the Rocks, here you might have Storehouses and Hospitals. To the Eastward of the First Island you will see a round low flat Island, which I call round Island, between this and the above other Isles makes the Harbour which you may lie in what Water you please from 17 to 3 fathoms, From round Island runs to the Southward a Spit of Mud and Sand about 2 Cables length with only 3 fathoms on it and 5 close to between this Island and the N. W. point of the Harbour, there are several Streams of Fresh Water and one large spring which may be cleared out with very little trouble where you may have Plenty of Good Water. The largest Ship in the Navy may Anchor within a Cables length of this place to Complete their Water. This Harbour is capable of containing a great number of Ships, and I think it may be made one of the best in the known World, it is commodious and roomy, very easily defended as there is no such thing as to attack it on the Land side or back part being surrounded with a large Shoal lake, or piece of Water, and it is surrounded again with a very thick Jungle or Mangrove Trees which grows in the Water and of Course it must be a Swamp, so you have nothing to Guard but the Harbours Mouth.

No. IV.

Abstract of Kyd's Report relative to the Settlements at Prince of Wales' Island and the Andamans; also his Report on the comparative length of the passages between Madras and Bengal and the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Island, 1795.

I. — Major Kyd's first part of a Report relative to the Settlements at Prince of Wales' Island and the Andamans, dated the 4th March,'1795.

P. 2. — One of the principal objects of his visit to Prince of Wales' Island was to enable him to clear up strong doubts that had arisen in his mind respecting the comparative advantages of the Infant Settlement at the Andamans as a Port of refitment and refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain, with those of Prince of Wales Island, [i.e. Penang] which he surveyed and reported upon to Government soon after it was settled in 1787.

P. 3. — Takes a short view of what has hitherto been done by Government for the establishment of a Port of refitment of our Fleets to the Eastward of Cape Comorin, in order to prevent in future that great loss of the most valuable period of the Year for Naval operations, which has heretofore been sustained by the Fleets being obliged to make a long Voyage to Bombay to repair.
P. 4. — Lacam’s Plan of new Harbour proposed in 1774 or 5 proved to be totally impracticable.

P. 5. — Next Plan was that at Prince of Wales’ Island in 1786.

P. 7. — The next was the Andamans in 1788.

P. 8. — Commodore Cornwallis gave a decided preference to the North East Harbour, now Port Cornwallis, and the Settlement was completely effected in 1783.

P. 9. — But Kyd observes that he never at any period found occasion to alter the opinion he had formed of the comparative advantages of the Andamans and Prince of Wales’ Islands, as delivered in his Report of the last place in 1787.

P. 11. — Description of the Andamans.

P. 16. — Only 4 Months fair weather in the Whole Year, from December to March.

P. 17. — About the middle of April the rains begin to fall, till the end of November, attended with constant hard Wind and most violent Squalls.

P. 18. — Generally tempestuous for 7 Months.

P. 19. — Of the immense quantity of Rain — double the quantity that falls in Bengal when the excess is deemed detrimental to cultivation.

P. 20. — Of the richness of the Soil and the quickness of Vegetation.

P. 21. — Have not had sufficient experience to judge of the effect of the Climate on the human Constitution.

P. 25. — Opinions of the Surgeons that there is nothing peculiarly noxious in the Climate of the Andamans more than in all tropical Climates subject to great falls of Rains.

P. 25. — Every reason to believe that the situation will in the end become healthy, as, from the nature of the surface of the ground, Water cannot lay an hour after the most violent Rain.

P. 26. — Have as yet discovered few or no Trees of real Value for Ship building.

P. 26. — Abundance of Timber fit for the construction of Buildings on Shore.

P. 28. — On the small Spot that has been cleared they have found all the variety of Fruit Trees carried from Bengal.

P. 28. — The culinary Vegetable and some small experiments of Sugar Cane, Indigo, Rice and other Grains thrive wonderfully well.

P. 29. — A description of the Natives. — Never yet in any part of the Globe has the human Race been discovered in a more degraded or savage state.

P. 30. — The Harbour of Port Cornwallis is sufficiently capacious for the largest Fleets — easy of ingress and egress, and a safe shelter for Ships at all Seasons.

P. 31. — Comparison between the Andamans and Prince of Wales Island.

P. 32. — Prince of Wales Island — the entrance perfectly safe, having upon it depth enough at low Water spring Tides for the largest Ships of the Royal Navy.

P. 32. — The inner Harbour under Poolajuajah a safe and smooth Basin, where the largest Ships can be transported with the utmost safety in one Tide even with their Guns on board.

P. 32. — On the Island Juajah is space enough for Store Houses and a Marine Yard sufficiently extensive — and Wharfs may be constructed with great ease.
P. 33. — This inner Harbour has the additional advantage of being easily fortified at little Cost.

P. 33. — Since he surveyed it in 1787 the Island has been cleared and cultivated to the extent of at least 25 Square Miles — Abundance of excellent tropical fruits and all the Vegetables common in India.

P. 33. — The Climate temperate and healthy, and entirely free from Gales of Wind and violent weather of every kind.

P. 34. — A considerable population, particularly of industrious Chinese and Natives of the Coast of Coromandel.

P. 34. — A large Town has been built — Shops and Markets filled with every article of refreshment or Supply that a Fleet can be in want of.

P. 34. — A very extensive Commerce is established through the medium of Ships navigating by Europeans, and Prows from the neighboring Countries even as far to the eastward as Calabar — and capable of being increased to a very great extent.

P. 37. — Gives the testimony of Commodore Rainier in his Letter of 31st Decemr 1794, who was at that Island in the Suffolk, in favour of Prince of Wales Island over the Andamans.

P. 38. — Commodore Mitchell's Squadron of 5 Ships remained a Month at Prince of Wales' Island, and received abundance of refreshment.

P. 38. — Captain Pakenham of His Majesty's Ship Resistance says he has never been in any foreign Port where a Ship of War was so well and easily supplied with every desirable Article.

P. 40. — States the defects of Prince of Wales Island. It's great distance from any of the Company's other Possessions, so that it cannot be reinforced Troops or supplied with Ammunition and Stores, &c., &c., &c.

P. 42. — States the advantages and disadvantages of the Andamans.

P. 48. — Has a full conviction that Prince of Wales' Island all circumstances considered, is infinitely preferable to the Andamans, and that it in fact provides every thing that Government can want for a Port of retreat and refreshment for the Navies of Great Britain to the eastward of Cape Comorin.

[Then follows his Report of Prince of Wales' Island in 1787, formerly called Penang, in the Straits of Malacca.]

II. — Kyd's Report on the comparative length of the passages between Madras and Bengal and the Andamans and Prince of Wales Island.

During the South West Monsoon (beginning of April to the middle of October) the Passage from Madras to Port Cornwallis does not exceed 8 Days.

Will be much greater to Prince of Wales Island. But towards the end of October the passage is very quick, not exceeding 20 Days.

The passage from either the Andamans or Prince of Wales' Island to Madras during the South West Monsoon is precarious and difficult and will require nearly equal time.

During the North East Monsoon, particularly during the first part of it, Ships cannot with safety remain on the Coromandel Coast. The Passage, both to the Andamans and Prince of Wales' Island tedious — 3 weeks must be allowed.

During the whole of the North East Monsoon the Passage in returning is quick and certain — 7 Days from the Andamans — 12 from Prince of Wales' Island.

* November, December, January.
In the North East Monsoon the Passage from Bengal to the Andamans is 8 Days — but to Prince of Wales' Island more than double — 24 days the average.

In returning from the Andamans to Bengal 15 Days — from Prince of Wales' Island 25 Days.

During the South West Monsoon, going and coming from the Andamans 8 — Prince of Wales Island 20 Days.

**Memoranda relative to the Settlement at the Andamans, dated 9th January 1802.**

The object in establishing a Settlement at the Andamans was to obtain a refitting Post for Ships in time of War.

The Settlement was begun early in the year 1790 on the Southeastermost part of the Island, where a Harbour had been discovered by Commodore Cornwallis which in his opinion was suitable for the purpose. But in November 1792 the Settlement was removed from this part to the N. E. part of the Island where the Commodore had discovered another Harbour, possessing advantages superior to the former, and which was named Port Cornwallis. A good test of the Security of this Harbour was afforded soon after the removal of the Establishment, to this part of the Island, by a Tempest of uncommon Violence which prevailed at Port Cornwallis by which two of the Vessels were driven on Shore, but got off without any damage to their bottoms and only trivial loss in other respects. The Soil of this part of the Island is excellent and of a rich quality, which when cleared and cultivated will produce the Natural Fruits and grains of Hindostan in great abundance, but from the enormous size and abundance of the Timber the clearing of the Land must be a work of time and great labor. The supplies of Fresh Water are represented also to be so abundant that with little trouble Watering places may be made for supplying the largest Fleets.

The Natives at first appeared extremely jealous of the New Settlers and put to death some Fishermen sent thither from Bengal and for some time continued to shew very little desire of any intercourse, but afterwards became more familiarized.

Till the Year 1793 the Settlers in general appear to have continued healthy when about the Setting in of the S. W. Monsoon, an uncommon sickness prevailed amongst them, which rendered it imprudent to determine on the fitness of the place for a Naval Arsenal till the cause from whence such sickness had arisen could be determined by further experience, but altho' the Rains were succeeded by favourable Weather which greatly contributed to the recovery of the Sick, the Settlement still continued unhealthy, which was attributed to a sufficient space of Land not being cleared, but in the Season following the Settlement was more healthy than on any former one, altho' there had been an unusual quantity of Rain.

In the succeeding Season however namely 1795 the inhospitality of the climate was sufficiently proved, above 80 of the Settlers and Mr. Reddick the Surgeon having died. It was therefore on this ground determined to withdraw the Settlement, but to prevent any Foreign Nation attempting an Establishment there, which it was observed was not probable, a Small Vessel was stationed off Port Cornwallis to keep possession. The Governor General in Council observed to the Court that if it should be thought expedient to prosecute the original plan at the end of the War the Settlement might be reestablished with little disadvantage.

With respect to the advantages and disadvantages of this Settlement compared with those of Prince of Wales Island the Single circumstances of its local Situation being such as to render a communication with all the Company's Settlements so completely easy at all Seasons of the Year was in Major Kyds opinion sufficient to determine in its favor provided the Salubriety of the Climate was ascertained, but that in every other respect Prince of Wales Island had the advantage. [January 9th, 1802.]
NOTES AND QUERIES.

SIR PROBY THOMAS CAUTLEY.

"Among many greater services to India the late Sir Proby Cautley diffused largely in Upper India the delicious fruit of the Bombay mango, previously rare there, by creating and encouraging groves of grafts on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges canals." — Hobson-Jobson, p. 424, ii.

He was son of the Rev. Tho. Cautley, B. D., Rector of Raydon and Stratford S. Mary, Suffolk, by Catherine his wife, daughter of the Rev. Narcissus Charles Proby, M. A., Rector of Stratford and of Toddenham in Gloucestershire.

A pamphlet entitled The Parish Church of Stratford S. Mary, Suffolk, by the Rev. J. G. Brewster, Rector of Stratford, contains the following information:—

"Of mural tablets there are four, all placed in the South Chancel Aisle." . . . "The next commemorates the Rev. N. C. Proby, M. A., Rector of this parish and of Toddenham, who died Dec. 20th, 1804, in his 66th year; and the next the Rev. T. Cautley, B. D., Rector at the same time of Raydon and Stratford, and buried at the former place. He died July 13th, 1817. The death of his widow is recorded on the fourth tablet, June 5th, 1830." — P. 16.

List of the Rectors of Stratford.

Narcissus C. Proby, 1784-1803. (Resigned. Buried Dec. 27th, 1804.)

Thomas Cautley, 1803-1817. (Buried at Raydon.) — Ibid., p. 16.

There are also three monuments in Stratford churchyard:—


III. (Recumbent cross within same rails as "II.";) S. side: Col. Sir Proby Tho. Cautley, K. C. B., Member of H. M. Indian Council, d. 25 Jan., 1871, aged 69.

From the above information the following tabular pedigree is formed:

Capt. John Wel.—Cath. . . b. 1715-16; d. 31 Mar., 1792, aged 76 (m. i. in Stratford ch'yard).

The Rev. Narcissus Cha. = Arabella Wel-ler, b. 1751-2; d. 28 Nov., 1841, aged 89 (m. i. in Stratford ch. and ch'yard; bur. 27 Dec at Stratford).

Cath. Proby; b = The Rev. Tho. Mary Proby; b. 1774-5; d. 3 June, 1890, aged 55 (m. i. in Stratford ch. and ch'yard).

Cautley, B. D., 1775-76; d. 3 R. of Stratford (1803-1817) and of Todden- (1803-1817); Raydon; d. ch'yard).

13 July, 1817, (m. i. in Stratford ch.); bur. at Raydon.

Col. Sir Proby Tho. Cautley, K.C.B., Mem. of H. M. Indian Council; b. 1801-2; d. 25 Jan., 1871, aged 69 (m. i. in Stratford ch'yard).

CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

FIRE-WORKS AT PANJABI MARRIAGES.

When a marriage party goes with the bridegroom to the bride's house, and the former do not let off good fire-works, the girls and women from the bride's house and its neighbourhood sing a song including the following verse:—

Asan galtin hanj gosudtán,
Par hawdán mól na álón.

We cleaned the streets for nothing:
But still no sky-rockets came.

If the bridegroom has really brought no fire-works, the above jocular verses are meant in real earnest, and he is put to much shame.

MAYA DAS in P. N. and Q. 1883.

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1 In White's Suff. Directory for 1844, under Stratford S. Mary: "Proby Mi's Mary" (p. 28).
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