

THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN
ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,

EDITED BY

CHARLES E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.,
FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.,
(HONY.) PH.D., F.A.S.B.,
HONORARY CORRESPONDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

AND

PROF. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.,

VOL. LXI.—1932.

Swati Publications
Delhi
1986

Published by Swati Publications, 34, Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-110052 Ph. 7113395
and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.

CONTENTS.

AIYANGAR, RAO BAHADUR DR. S. K., M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.S., F.A.S.B.— PANCHAVĀRA-VĀRIYAN 81 The Mahābhārata, a critical edition by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and others 118 The Mahābhārata, the Southern Recension critically edited by P. P. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras .. 119 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manu- scripts in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, by P. P. S. Sastri, M.E.S. .. 138	GHOSH, JOGENDRA CHANDRA— THE INITIAL DATE OF THE GĀNGEYA ERA .. 237 GRIERSON, SIR GEORGE A., O.M., K.C.I.E.— ON THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN VERNACU- LARS .. Sup. 57, 65, 73, 81, 87, 95 HALDER, R. R., RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER— THE GHOSŪPI INSCRIPTION OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. 203 H. E. A. C.— Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. III, pts. 1 and 2, Mar. and Sept. 1930 40 HODIVALA, PROF. S. H., M.A.— NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON 31, 91 JAYASWAL, K. P., M.A. (OXON.)— Airikipa and Sāñchi 159 JOHNSTON, E. H.— Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte. Heft 6. Bhāratavarṇa, by W. Kerfel 160 Kumudvatiprakaraṇa. A Query 202 JOSEPH, T. K.— A Query, St. Thomas in Parthia or India ? .. 159 Areca, Leaf-Nut 182 KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.— THE GĀYĀṆṢ FESTIVAL (<i>Association of the Pig with Cattle and Corn</i>) 1 THE GĀYĀṆṢ FESTIVAL: THE CULT OF THE MOTHER GODDESS 231 LONGHURST, A. H.— THE GREAT STŪPA at NĀGAJUNAKONḌA IN SOUTHERN INDIA 186 MORELAND, W. H., C.S.I., C.I.E.— NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS 5, 23 The Credit of Megasthenes. Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij, by Barbara J. C. Timmer 80 NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.— TO THE EAST OF SAMATĀTA 227 NIHAR-RANJAN RAY, M.A.— THE NĀT-HLAUNG TEMPLE AND ITS GODS (PAGAN, BURMA) 175, 197 N. R.— The Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandra- gupta II, G. E. 61 117 OLDHAM, C. E. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)— SIR AUREL STEIN IN GEDROSIA 96 India in Current Literature 17, 77, 137 Recent Discoveries of Edicts of Aśoka .. 39 Sir Aurel Stein's recent Experiences in Chinese Turkestan 59 Important Find of Early Birch-Bark MSS. near Gilgit 60 Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report for the year 1926-27, edited by Sir J. Marshall, C.I.E. 79
AIYAR, L. V. RAMASWAMI, M.A., B.L.— THE INTERROGATIVE BASES OF DRAVIDIAN 3, 25 BHANDARKAR, PROF. D. R., PH.D., F.A.S.B. INDIAN STUDIES. NO. 3. THE NĀGAR BRĀH- MAṆS AND THE BENGAĪ KĀYASTHAS 41, 61 Epigraphic Notes and Questions 101 History of Orissa, vols. I-II 240 BONNERJEA, B., D.LITT.— AN INQUIRY INTO THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HINDU SOCIETY 145 BURKITT, M. C.— Prehistoric Cave Art in India, Memoir Ar- chæological Survey of India, No. 24, Rock Paintings by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh. 238 BURN, SIR RICHARD, C.S.I.— A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, by S. K. Chakraborty, M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan Col- lege, Mymensingh 242 CAMMIADE, L. A.— ANCIENT SOAK-PITS AT CHETPUT, MADRAS .. 21 CARTER, G. E. L., I.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)— OLD SITES ON THE LOWER INDUS 86 CHARPENTIER, PROF. JARL, PH.D.— Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, by Lakshman Sarup 161 Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, by Siddheshwar Varma 201 Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa. Translated into English by A. C. Woolner and Lakshman Sarup, vol. I .. 221 ENTHOVEN, R. E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (<i>Retired</i>)— DEVAKS 106 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar: Nos. 1 to 12 40 Review of Philosophy and Religion, being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, vol. II, No. 1, Mar. 1931 .. 99 Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, Nos. 13, 14, 15 161 GANGULY, D. C.— THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA MAHĀKUMĀ- RĀS 192, 212	

BOOK-NOTICES.

Selections from the Peshwa Daftar ; Nos. 1 to 12 , by R. E. E.	40
Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. III, pts. 1 and 2, Mar. and Sept., 1930, by H. E. A. C.	40
Archaeological Survey of India : Annual Report for the Year 1926-27, edited by Sir J. Marshall, C.I.E., by C. E. A. W. O.	79
The Credit of Megasthenes. Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij, by Barbara J. C. Timmer, by W. H. M.	80
Review of Philosophy and Religion, being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, vol. II, No. 1, Mar. 1931, by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E.	99
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XVI, Pts. III and IV, Sept.-Dec. 1930, by C. E. A. W. O.	100
The Mahābhārata, a critical edition, by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and others, by S. K. Aiyangar	118
The Mahābhārata, the Southern Recension critically edited by P. P. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, by S. K. Aiyangar	119
A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, by P. P. S. Sastri, M.E.S., by S. K. Aiyangar	138
Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G., vol. II, Pt. 2, Archaeological Summary, by A. M. Hocart, Archaeological Commissioner, by C. E. A. W. O.	160
Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte. Heft 6. Bhāratavarṇa, by W. Kirfel, by E. H. Johnston	160
Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, by Lakshman Sarup, by Prof. Jarl Charpentier, Ph.D.	161
Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, Nos. 13, 14, 15, by R. E. E.	161
Travancore Archaeological Department, Administration Report, by R. Vasadeva Poduval, by F. J. R.	162
Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, by C. E. A. W. O.	162
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927-28, by C. E. A. W. O.	180
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India : Nos. 37 and 42, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., by C. E. A. W. O.	180
Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, by Siddheshwar Varma, by Prof. Jarl Charpentier, Ph.D.	201
Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, pt. 1 (Jan. 1929), by C. E. A. W. O.	220
Annual Report, Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, for the year 1928-29, by C. E. A. W. O.	220
The Gavimath and Palkigundu Inscriptions of Aśoka, edited by R. L. Turner, M.C., M.A., Litt.D., by C. E. A. W. O.	220
Thirteen Trivandrum Plays Attributed to Bhāsa. Translated into English by A. C. Woolner and Lakshman Sarup, vol. I, by Prof. Jarl Charpentier, Ph.D.	221
Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1929, by C. E. A. W. O.	221
Zur Indischen Apologetik, by Hanna Oertel, by A. Venkatasubbiah	222
Prehistoric Cave Art in India. Memoir, Archaeological Survey of India, No. 24, Rock Paintings, by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, by M. C. Burkitt	238
Djîwâ, by John de La Valette	239
History of Orissa, vols. I-II, by R. D. Banerji, by D. R. Bhandarkar	240
A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, by S. K. Chakraborty, M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, by Sir Richard Burn	242

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Areca, Leaf-nut, by T. K. Joseph	182
Kumudvatīprakaraṇa. A Query : by E. H. Johnston	202

SUPPLEMENTS.

The Scattergoods and the East India Company, a collection of MSS. by Bernard P. Scattergood, M.A., F.S.A., edited by the late Sir Richard O. Temple, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., and Miss L. M. Anstey	115, 123, 131, 139, 147, 155, 171
On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, by Sir George A. Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E.	57, 65, 72, 81, 87, 95

MAPS AND PLATES.

Plate :	Rough Sketch showing Pallava type of well ring as compared with modern type	to face page	21
Plate :	Sketch Map of Southern India showing sites where Aśokan Inscriptions have been discovered	"	30
Plate I	<div><div>Fig. 1. Sketch Map of Old Sites on Lower Indus .. .. .</div><div>Fig. 2. Sketch Plan of Thambhanwāro Masjid .. .. .</div><div>Fig. 3. Do. do. Kāfir jo Haṭ near Gujo .. .. .</div><div>Fig. 4. Do. do. Andhan ji Māri near Hilaya</div></div>	to face page	86
Plate II :	Views of Remains at above Sites		
Plate I :	Bronze figure of Bodhisattva from Yāsin		
Plate II :	Ancient Jewellery found in Yāsin	"	104
Plate :	Sketch Map showing the Courses of the Panjab Rivers	"	163
Plate :	Figures 1 to 6. Cultural Geography of the Wynad	"	170
Plate I :	Fig. 1. The Nāt-hlaung kyaung, Pagan (East face). Fig. 2. Viṣṇu seated on Garuda. Fig. 3. Buddhāvatāra. Fig. 4. Viṣṇu standing. Fig. 5. Varāhāvatāra.		
Plate II :	Fig. 6. Narasimhāvatāra. Fig. 7. Rāmacandrāvatāra. Fig. 8. Paraśuramāvatara. Fig. 9. Surya standing. Fig. 10. Vamanāvatāra. Fig. 11. Kalki avatāra.	"	175
Plate :	Sketch Map of Alexander's Passage of the Jholum	"	183
Plate I :	Site Plan showing positions of Monuments discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Painād Tāluk, Guntur District.		
Plate II :	Fig. 1. The Great Stūpa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa after excavations. Fig. 2. The Great Stūpa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (restored).		
Plate III :	Fig. 1. Chamber in the Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which contained the relics. Fig. 2. Plan of the Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.	"	186
Plate IV :	Fig. 1. Remains of the broken pot containing the relics found in the Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Fig. 2. The Buddha relics from the Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.		
Plate :	Ghosṇḍī Inscription of Second Century B.C.	"	203
Plates :	Tables 1 to 7 of Indian alphabets and numerals, M.I.A.V. Supplement	"	67

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME LXI—1932

THE GĀYDĀNĀ FESTIVAL.

(Association of the Pig with Cattle and Corn.)

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

WE have already seen (*ante*, vol. LX, pp. 187-190 and 235-238) that in Bihār and Bengal the cattle are made to gore the pig to death in the *gāydanā* festival, in Madras the cattle are driven over, and trample to death, the pig buried up to its neck in the earth, and in Bombay the wild boar is killed and buried as a remedy against cattle-disease. The sacrifice of the pig in all these forms is believed to benefit the cattle in a mysterious way. The belief is not, however, confined to India, but is also prevalent in some parts of Europe. Sir James Frazer relates in his *Golden Bough* that in Esthonia the Christmas Boar is distributed among the cattle on New Year's day. Usually it is a cake in a form that nearly or remotely suggests a pig, or is somehow associated with the pig, e.g., it is "baked of the first rye cut at harvest; it has a conical shape and a cross is impressed on it with a pig's bone." In other parts of the island the Christmas Boar is not a cake, but a little pig born in March, which the housewife secretly fattens, and secretly kills on Christmas Eve, roasts in the oven, and keeps standing on the table on all fours for several days. The Christmas boar is crumbled, mixed with salt and given to cattle, on the New Year's day, or when driven out to pasture the first time in spring, or at the time of barley sowing, "to guard them from magic and harm" or "in the hope of a heavier crop." In some cases the Christmas boar is "partaken of by farm-servants."

It will have been seen, therefore, that there is an undoubted association between the pig, and cattle and corn. Strangely enough there is a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which seems to furnish an explanation of the relation. Certain ceremonies are performed in connection with the coronation of the king. "He (the king) puts on shoes of boar's skin. Now the gods once put a pot of ghee on the fire. Therefrom a boar was produced; hence the boar is fat, for it was produced from ghee. Hence also cows readily take to a boar: it is indeed their own essence (life, sap, blood) they are readily taking to. Thus he firmly establishes himself in the essence of the cattle; therefore he puts on shoes of boar's skin."¹ I cannot say that I have understood the real significance of the passage, but at least verbally "the boar is indeed their (the cows') own essence," etc.

We have seen above that the eating of the Christmas boar by the cattle is supposed to protect them from harm, or promote pasturage, and when partaken also by farm-servants, to yield a heavy crop of barley. This last-mentioned practice has a sacramental air, and resembles the sacramental eating of the pig by the Bihārī Goāḷās. I think that all such practices were primarily of a general beneficent character, viz., as affording protection from magic and harm, disease and death, or removal of obstacles to fecundity and vegetation (of all kinds) before they were regarded as the peculiarities of a specific stage, pastoral or agricultural, benefitting specifically cattle or corn, either when sown or reaped.

I have already mentioned that they cut off the left ear of the pig, took it singing to my *baṭhān* and buried it therein. Although, no specific explanation could be advanced, it is evident that this was done for the benefit of the cattle.

At the rites of Dionysus and other similar rites for quickening vegetation, the live victim was rent to pieces, the flesh eaten as a sacrament, and (Frazer conjectures) some of it "buried in the fields, or otherwise employed so as to convey to the fruits of the earth the quickening influence of the god of vegetation."²

¹ Eggeling—*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, S. B. E., vol. XLI, pp. 102, 103.

² *The Golden Bough*, p. 468.

It is well-known that the Khonds sacrificed the Meriah to the Earth Goddess for securing abundant crops and immunity from all disease and accident. It is needless to describe here the manner of the sacrifice. It will suffice to say that while the neck or the waist of the victim was held between split bamboos or in the cleft of a branch of a tree and squeezed tight, the frenzied crowd rushed at the quivering wretch and hewed the flesh from the bones. The flesh was then carried away and a portion buried in the earth as an offering to the Earth Goddess, and other portions distributed among different heads of houses, who buried them in their favourite fields. The entire proceeding looks like a religious ceremony. Frazer observes: "The story that the fragments of Osiris's body were scattered up and down the land, and buried by Isis on the spots where they lay, may very well be a reminiscence of a custom, like that observed by the Khonds, of dividing the human victim in pieces, and burying the pieces, often at intervals of many miles from each other, in the fields."

Now Dionysus and Osiris were regarded as the Corn-spirit. Human and animal representatives of the Corn-spirit were sacrificed. The Egyptian monuments furnish evidence of the tradition of human sacrifice at the tomb of Osiris. The Meriah victim was also the human representative of the divine Corn-spirit. He dies "that all the world may live," that humanity be free from disease and reap abundant crops. The pig at the *gāyāñṛ* seems to be the animal representative of the Corn-spirit, and though its association with the harvesting of corn has grown dim, yet its sacrifice seems to conduce to the general well-being of man and cattle. It looks paradoxical that the god, in his representative character as man or animal, should be sacrificed; but this is the characteristic of the Vedic *yajña*, as explained by the late Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi in his *Yajña-kathā*, which I will try to unfold later on.

Of all the animals, the pig, goat, ox, horse or others, the pig seems to be specially preferred. The pig was sacred to Demeter, the Corn Goddess, in whose honour it was sacrificed, either to cajole her into giving a bumper crop, or as a thanksgiving for an abundant harvest. Demeter assumed the form of a pig, and her being horse-headed at Phigalia is explained by the legend that "the horse was one of the animal forms assumed in ancient Greece as in modern Europe by the Corn-spirit."³ I have already mentioned that "the wild pig is ceremonially hunted by the Rājapūts as representing Gauri Devi, the Mother-Goddess in her benign form, and the flesh is sacramentally eaten." In India the pig is sacrificed to Goddess Kālī, and other Mother-Goddesses (cf. *Kavikāṇṇa-candī*). Mackenzie says that Demeter was the specialized form of the primitive Goddess Gaia, when associated with the crops. Gaia was an earth goddess, and had an incarnation as the Delphian Snake. The Cretan Rhea had the same attributes as Gaia. Men or animals (including pigs) were slain when foundation stones were laid, or seeds were sown, to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the earth-genius. The pig was sacrificed to Rhea, as to other earth-spirits, but as pork was a taboo in Crete, the pig sacrificed before Rhea was eaten sacrificially only.⁴

So it seems that the pig killed in the *gāyāñṛ*, was originally an animal sacrificed in honour of the Mother-Goddess, probably as a thanksgiving for the harvest of *āṇṣ dhān* (autumn paddy). But this idea has faded and grown dim, and has been mixed up with other ideas such as chasing away of sin, disease, bad luck, and so on, and bringing in of health and good luck on the first day of the New Year—for the festival is held on the first day of a New Year as I will show. It is remarkable that on the previous day the Goddess Kālī, the terrible Mother-Goddess, and along with her Lakṣmī and Alakṣmī (benign and malign aspects of the Mother-Goddess) were worshipped, and the Feast of Light or Lamps, or the *divālī*, was celebrated. I shall show the significance of this.

It seems to me that the original victim was the human animal, and the pig was a later substitute. The custom of burying the pig in Madras and driving the cattle over its head

³ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 471.

⁴ D. A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete*, pp. 174-176.

was probably borrowed from the Lambadis, who, as Abbé Dubois relates in his *Hindu Manners and Customs*, secretly carried off some unfortunate victim to a lonely spot and buried him alive in a hole up to the neck, and danced round him singing and making noise till he expired, or else buried a child up to its shoulders and drove the cattle over it, for good luck. This was a peculiar mode of human sacrifice. The Todas drove buffaloes over female children. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal tells us: "The Brinjāris were similarly wont to place a child in front of the bullocks and to drive them, with the result that the child was trampled over and safety of the cattle secured at least for a year by this ceremony."⁵ Probably men were at one time sacrificed by savages by impaling them alive. In Madras animals are impaled alive in the carts driven in the procession of the Ammas (Mother-Goddesses). Was hook-swinging another form? Men were swung round by means of iron-hooks fastened through the muscles in their back. In Madras sheep are thus swung. In China Kimedi the Meriah victim was fastened to the proboscis of a wooden elephant, which revolved on a stout post, and as it whirled round the crowd cut the flesh from the victim while life remained.⁶

THE INTERROGATIVE BASES OF DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM.)

CALDWELL has observed in the course of his discussion of the Dravidian demonstratives and interrogatives¹ that in Dravidian "probably there was originally only one interrogative base, and if so, it must have been *yā*, and [the other base] *ē* must have been corrupted from it." Caldwell confined his treatment mainly to a consideration of the forms of the major dialects, and contented himself only with passing references to some of the minor dialects. Thus for instance he dismisses the Gōṇḍī interrogative base *bō* and Tulu interrogative *vō* with the cryptic sentence: "The Gōṇḍ interrogative *bō* and *bō* appear to be hardened from *yā*, like the Tulu *vā*."

Now, the view of Caldwell that of the two interrogative bases *yā* is the original and *ē* is secondary, does not appear to have received the approval of some later scholars.

In the second volume of *Dravidic Studies* published by the University of Madras several years ago under the editorship of Prof. Mark Collins, the original base is presumed to be open *ē*.² Similarly, Mr. E. H. Tuttle in his paper on Dravidian Gender-Words³ also appears to regard *ē* as the original base.

A careful comparative analysis of the forms of the minor dialects, especially of Gōṇḍī, Tulu and Kōi would, I think, tend to confirm rather than contradict Caldwell's suggestion of *yā* being the original interrogative base.

Any discussion of Dravidian interrogatives would involve references to Dravidian demonstratives, with which they are intimately connected. A table of the prominent demonstrative adjectives, adverbs and pronouns is appended at the end of the essay, while I give immediately below a table of the interrogative forms in the several dialects of Dravidian.

⁵ *Man in India*, vol. I—"Human sacrifice in Central India." (Italics are mine.)

⁶ Cf. the *charak pāṇḍ* of Bengal.

¹ Page 422 of his *Comparative Grammar* (3rd edn.)

² Page 43.

³ *BSOS*, vol. IV, p. 774.

Table of principal Interrogatives in Dravidian.

PRONOMINALS AND ADJECTIVES.	ADVERBS.				PRONOUNS.
	Place.	Time.	Manner and Measure.	General.	
Tam. <i>ēdu</i> (which ?) <i>enna</i> (what ?) <i>enda</i> (which ?) [old Tam.] <i>e</i> , common	<i>eige</i> , <i>eigu</i>	<i>eppuḍu</i>	<i>eppaḍi</i> (how ?) <i>ettanas</i> (how much ?) [old Tam.] : <i>enānam</i> (how ?) <i>endu</i> (how ?) <i>ettru</i> (how ?)	<i>ēn</i> (why ?) <i>en</i>	<i>yāvan</i> , etc.; <i>ēvan</i> , etc.
Tel. <i>ēmi</i> (what ?) <i>ē</i> (which ?)	<i>ekkapa</i> [old Tel.] <i>endu</i>	<i>eppuḍu</i>	<i>etu</i> (how ?) <i>enta</i> (how much ?)	<i>enduḱu</i>	<i>ēvaḱu</i> , etc.
Kann. <i>ēnu</i> (what ?) [old Kann.] <i>ē</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>yā</i>	<i>elli</i> (where ?) <i>ettatu</i> (which side ?)	<i>endu</i>	<i>ettu</i> (how ?) <i>ēnu</i> (how much ?) <i>entu</i> (how ?)	<i>yāke</i> (why ?) <i>ēnu</i>	[old K.] <i>ēvan</i> , etc. " <i>yāvan</i> , etc. " <i>dāvan</i> , etc.
Tulu <i>ēḍu</i> } (which ?) <i>ēḍu</i> } <i>dāḍ</i> } <i>dāḍa</i> (what ?) <i>yāḍa</i> (what ?)	<i>ēḷu</i> (where ?) <i>ōḍa</i> (whither ?)	(<i>y</i>) <i>ēpa</i>	<i>ēḷa</i> (how ?)	<i>yāye</i> (why ?) <i>dāye</i> (why ?)	<i>yēru</i> (who ?) <i>dāḇa</i> (what ?) <i>yāḇa</i>
Kûi <i>ani</i> (what ?) <i>esi</i> (which ?)	<i>estāva</i>	<i>eseka</i> (when ?)	<i>ese</i> (how much ?) <i>taingi</i> (how ?)	<i>andki</i> (why ?)	<i>anaṇṇu</i> , etc. <i>estaṇṇu</i> , etc. <i>imban</i> (who ?)
Gōṇḍi <i>batti</i> (which ?)	<i>bēga</i>	<i>bappōr</i>	<i>bacnaḷ</i> (how much ?)	<i>bābā</i> (why ?) <i>bāri</i>	<i>bōl</i> . <i>baḱ</i> .
Kur. <i>ekā</i>	<i>ek-aan</i> , etc.	<i>ekā-bāri</i>	<i>ēō</i> (how much ?)	<i>endr</i>	<i>endr</i> (what ?) <i>nē</i> (who ?)
Brāhûi <i>and</i> (what ?) <i>arā</i> (which ?)	<i>arārēk</i>	<i>arā vaḷhi</i>	<i>ama</i> (how ?)	....	<i>ant</i> (what ?) <i>dēr</i> (who ?) <i>ara</i> (which ?)

An examination of the forms listed above would reveal the following facts, which may be noted preliminarily :—

(1) In Tamil and Telugu the bases appear to be mostly *yā* and *ē*. Kannaḍa has alternative forms with initial *ā* also in an ancient stage ; Tamil shows *ā* in *āru* (who) alternating with *yāru*, while modern Telugu shows *ē*-forms throughout, though ancient inscriptions contain a few *yā* forms. Old Kannaḍa has also a base *dā* which will be discussed separately below, along with Tuḷu *dā*- and Brāhūi *dēr* (who).

(2) In Tuḷu there appear the bases *vā*, *vō*, *dā*, and there exist also certain forms with initial *ō*-, besides *ē*-.

(3) In Gōṇḍī the base throughout shows initial *b*- : *-ba* or *bo*.

(4) Kūi shows both *a* and *e* as the interrogative bases of its forms.

Now, to begin with, let us observe that the *yā*-forms are ancient in Tamil and that the initial *y*- does not appear as an isolated phenomenon in the interrogative base alone before *ā*-. There are many instances where words beginning with *ā* do incorporate *y* alternatively with forms without *y*.

Compare the following :—

<i>āḍu</i> (sheep)	<i>yāḍu</i> .
<i>āru</i> (river)	<i>yāru</i> .
<i>āmai</i> (tortoise)	<i>yāmai</i> .

Which among these are we to consider as the originals ? An examination of the cognates and source-bases of these forms would show that those with initial *ā* may be the originals. *Āḍu*, for instance, is connected with the verb *āḍ* (to swing, dance, leap) which appears without initial *y*- in many dialects. *Āru* is related to the base *ar* (to cut) which is represented in all the dialects without any initial or prothetic *y*-. *Āmai* has been related to Tamil *amai* (to merge) by some, and by others to *am* (water) borrowed from Sanskrit. Whichever may be the correct view, there is no need or warrant for us to postulate an original palatal value for the initial *ā* of this form. It would appear therefore that the original character of the initial vowel of these forms need neither have been *ā* nor have been palatal at all.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(Continued from vol. LX, p. 224.)

VI. Jahāngīr's Data.

In approaching the data given in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* it is necessary to remember that (1) Saiyid Ahmad's printed text, the only one known to me, seems, according to Beveridge, "to have been made from a single and defective MS. and is often incorrect"; (2) the extant MSS. have not, so far as I know, been critically studied, and the authority of individual specimens is a matter of opinion; (3) Beveridge relied largely on "the excellent MSS. in the India Office and the British Museum," so that, accepting his judgment of their value, the translation which he edited is in general a better authority than the text; but (4) it is not absolutely literal, while there are occasional misprints. It follows that neither text nor translation can be servilely accepted.

Apart from the maund of his own creation, Jahāngīr mentions two Indian units, Akbarī and Hindūstānī, and four foreign units, those of Irāq, Khurāsān, Wilāyat and Irān; but the equations by which he connects Indian and foreign weights are so contradictory as to make it practically certain that he used the names loosely. It is necessary therefore to examine his successive statements in terms of both the Indian units, the Hindūstānī being assumed to be identical with Bābur's 'maund of Hind,' and being taken as about 15 lb., while the Akbarī is taken as 55 lb.

(1) Translation, i. 7. The Chain of Justice weighed "four maunds of Hindūstān equal to 42 (translation: text, thirty-two) maunds of Irāq." Beveridge usually explained in a footnote when he departed from the text: there is no footnote here, and the text, being confirmed by the British Museum MS. (Add. 26, 218), as well as that in the India Office (Ethé, 2833), must be accepted. The approximate weight would be either 220 lb. (Akbari) or 60 lb. (Hindūstānī). The former figure means a lot of gold, but Beveridge's note suggests that silver was actually used, and perhaps the chain was in fact silver-gilt. It seems probable that here Hindūstān denotes the smaller unit rather than the Akbari, but the passage must be classed as ambiguous.

(2) i. 78. In the first year of his reign Jahāngīr weighed $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, Hindūstānī weight—either 179 lb. or 49 lb. The latter figure is quite impossible, the former reasonable; and here Hindūstānī must mean Akbari, or some unit of about the same size. Subsequent passages indicate that it is in fact Akbari. Thus (i. 183), in the fifth year the Emperor's weight is given in tolas of gold and rupees, which together work out to about 170 lb.; in the eleventh year (i. 332) the figures again work out to about 170 lb.; while in the sixteenth year (ii. 215), we read that "when I was in health I weighed 3 maunds and one or two sers more or less, but this year, as a result of my weakness and leanness, I was only 2 maunds and 27 sers." In Akbari units this gives a normal weight of about 165 lb., reduced through illness to about 147 lb. Prince Parvīz weighed (i. 81) two maunds and 18 sers, either 135 or 37 lb. The latter figure is quite impossible for a lad of 17, and the passage confirms the inference that such weighings were made regularly in Akbari units.

(3) i. 83. Details are given of the weights of three trophies. A mountain goat weighed "2 maunds and 24 sers, equal to 21 maunds of Wilāyat"; a ram weighed "2 maunds and 3 sers Akbari, equivalent to 17 maunds of Wilāyat"; and a wild ass weighed "9 maunds and 16 sers, equal to 76 maunds of Wilāyat." (The word 'Persian' in the translation is not in the text.) The weighings were made at the same time, and it is reasonable to infer that all three were made with the same weights, so that the figures are Akbari, which is mentioned for one of them. This inference is confirmed by the fact, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Keeper of Zoology at the Natural History Museum, that, if the unit is taken as Akbari, the weights are reasonable, while a unit of 15 lb. would make them impossibly low.

(4) i. 93. The saffron crop was "in weight of Hindūstān 500 maunds, equal to 5000 (translation: text, four thousand) maunds of Wilāyat." The discrepancy is not explained by Beveridge; and the text, which is confirmed by both Add. 26, 215, and Ethé 2833, must be accepted. Again (ii. 177), the saffron crop was "400 maunds of current weight equal to 3002 maunds of Khurāsān." Beveridge noted that the MSS. have 3200, and it is safe to infer that the word *sad* has dropped out of the text, which should read *sih hazār wa dū [sad] man bāshad*. In the absence of data regarding area and yield, these passages can throw no light on the question what unit was meant, but the equations in them are important, as explained below.

(5) i. 188. It is noted as remarkable that a specially bred camel carried a load of five *nīlgāī*, weighing 42 Hindūstānī maunds. This would be either 2310 or 630 lb. The former figure must be accepted; I learn from the Natural History Museum that fully-grown *nīlgāī* would weigh from 400 to 500 lb. each, and the average of these five is 462 lb.; the alternative average of 126 lb. is quite impossible. Here, therefore, 'Hindūstānī' must be used for Akbari. The load for a single camel is enormous, 500 lb. being the ordinary standard in North India at this period; and we must take it that, as the text implies, this particular camel was a magnificent animal.

(6) i. 242. The silver used in certain decorations was stated to be "125 maunds in weight of Hindūstān, equal to 880 maunds of Wilāyat." This would be either 6875 or 1875 lb. The former figure—over three tons—is improbably high, the latter is quite high enough for the context; it looks to me as if the precious metals here, as in passage (1), were weighed by the smaller unit, but the data are not conclusive.

(7) i. 308. At one time the weight of spirits which Jahāngīr drank in a day was "6 sers of Hindūstān, equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of Īrān." The spirit was strong, for it is described as doubly-distilled, and it was taken undiluted. Under this régime the Emperor's health suffered very seriously, and the Court doctor said that "in six months matters will come to such a pass that there will be no remedy for it." Jahāngīr then reduced his allowance to a comparatively moderate amount.

If these sers are Akbarī, the daily ration of strong, undiluted spirit was over 8 lb.; such spirit would weigh practically a pound the pint, so the ration would be more than a gallon. The doctors whom I have consulted agree that this is utterly impossible, because alcoholic poisoning must have resulted immediately. If the unit is Hindūstānī, the ration would be a little over two pints, which, I am informed, is within the limits of possibility, though the Court doctor was perhaps sanguine in thinking that his patient could live for as long as six months under such a régime.

(8) ii. 150. In describing the temples in Kashmir, Jahāngīr gave the weight of some of the building-stones as 30 to 40 maunds (denomination not specified). With the Akbarī unit, this would be from 1650 to 2200 lb., or say about a ton. The huge size of the stones in these buildings is notorious, and one of them in the temple of Payech measures 256 cubic feet (*Impl. Gazetteer*, xv. 98), which would weigh from 15 to 20 tons according to the kind of stone. With the smaller unit, the stones would not be much out of the common, and it may be inferred that Jahāngīr was here thinking in terms of the Akbarī maund.

(9) ii. 163. A cannon ball weighed "10 maunds as current in Hindūstān, equal to 80 maunds of Khurāsān." This would be either 550 or 150 lb.; on the data given in the preceding section even the smaller figure is impossible, and it looks to me as if the teller of the story reproduced by Jahāngīr had spoken in terms of the artillery-maund of about 2 lb. (making the ball about 20 lb.); and that Jahāngīr had carelessly treated it as an Indian unit.

These passages may be classed as follows:—No. (4) is quite ambiguous: Nos. (2), (3), (5) and (8) certainly refer to Akbarī units, though in two of them the name Hindūstānī is used: Nos. (7) and (9) certainly do not refer to Akbarī units: Nos. (1) and (6) probably do not refer to Akbarī units. Of the last four, three can be interpreted in terms of a unit about 15 lb., while the other requires the smaller artillery unit.

The only conclusion I can draw is that, while Jahāngīr knew of the 'maund of Hind' of about 15 lb., he used the term Hindūstānī, not in this specific sense, but loosely in the sense of 'Indian' as contrasted with 'foreign,' so that it might denote whatever Indian unit was in fact used,—ordinarily the Akbarī, but the Hindūstānī certainly in the cellar, and probably in the treasury, and the 2 lb. maund in the artillery. This conclusion is supported by the equivalents given in terms of foreign units.

Jahāngīr names successively the maunds of Irāq, Wilāyat, Īrān, and Khurāsān. It is not likely that he was practically familiar with various foreign maunds bearing these distinctive names, and I take the truth to be that he knew of a small foreign maund in the countries lying to the west, to which he gave one name or another according to the fancy of the moment; and further that he converted Indian to foreign weight by the use of a single simple formula, which was sometimes, but not always, correct—in fact that he multiplied by 8 and rounded to the nearest foreign maund.

The ratios, foreign to Indian, given by his equations are as follows:

Passage (1) Irāq to Hindūstān, 32 to 4, or 8 : 1.

„ (3) Wilāyat to Akbarī (i), 21 to $2\frac{1}{2}$; or allowing for rounding, 8 : 1.

(ii), 17 to $2\frac{1}{4}$; or allowing for rounding, 8 : 1.

(iii), 76 to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$; or allowing for rounding, 8 : 1.

„ (4) Wilāyat to Hindūstān (i), 4000 to 500; or 8 : 1.

(ii), 3200 to 400; or 8 : 1.

Passage (6) Wilāyat to Hindūstān, 880 to 125 ; or 7 : 1 nearly.

„ (7) Īrān to Hindūstān, 60 to 6 ; or 10 : 1.

„ (9) Khurāsān to Hindūstān, 80 to 10 ; or 8 : 1.

It is obvious that Jahāngīr usually multiplied by 8, whatever the Indian units might be. In one case (6), he must have multiplied accidentally by 7 instead of 8, for the names of the units are the same as in (4), where the factor 8 is used. The only other abnormality is the factor 10 in (7). This may possibly be intentional, since Īrān is mentioned once only, but one can picture Jahāngīr muttering as he wrote : “ I drank six sers Hindūstānī ; multiplied by 8, that makes more than a maund of Īrān, call it 1½.”

If this factor 8 was properly applicable to the Akbarī maund, then the foreign maunds were just under 7 lb. I know of no such unit prevailing widely over the countries named ; the nearest to it is the local maund of Tabriz, which weighed 6¼ lb. (*Letters Received*, v. 248), and this should be multiplied by 9, not 8. On the other hand, the traditional unit in the countries named was certainly the Arab 2-*rīl* maund, which in this region was slightly less than two pounds. One-eighth of 15 lb., the maund of Hind, is 1½ lb., giving a *rīl* very close to the ordinary value.

Jahāngīr's figures then, when taken together, can be interpreted as follows, but, so far as I can see, in no other way. He wrote down whatever Indian weight was given to him, calling it usually ‘ Indian ’ ; he multiplied by 8 and rounded to get the foreign equivalent (though he once used the factor 7 by mistake), and his name for the foreign equivalent varied at different periods. Even apart from this interpretation, it is certain that he knew of an Indian maund approximately 8 times the weight of the Arab maund, and thus equivalent to Bābur's maund ; and this ‘ maund of Hind ’ was probably used in certain departments of the Palace. If we accept Professor Hodivala's emendation of the text of Gulbadan Begam, we have another reference to the same unit ; but even if we reject that suggestion, the evidence for such a maund seems to be adequate.

Two other references to a ‘ Hindūstānī ’ unit are contained in that portion of the *Āin-i Akbarī* which describes the extreme north of India, and the mountainous country to the north-west. In these regions the commonest unit of weight was not called a maund ; the name used was ‘ donkey-load ’ (*kharvār*), a fact which has a definite bearing on the suggestion made in an earlier section that customary units originated in some feature of packing and transport, for there can be no question that a unit called donkey-load originated in this way. In Kashmir (i. 570), the donkey-load was “ 3 maunds and 8 sers Akbarshāhī ” ; the last word leaves no room for doubt that the compiler here meant the Akbarī maund, so that in this region the unit was 176 lb., a heavy load for a mountain donkey, but not inconsistent with the meaning of the name.

In the district of Qandahār (i. 586) the donkey-load was “ 40 maunds of Qandahār and 10 maunds of Hindūstān.” This latter unit cannot, I think, be the Akbarī, for a donkey-load of anything like 550 lb. is out of the question. We have the fact that one Hindūstānī was equal to 4 Qandahāri maunds. In Garmsir (i. 588), 50 Garmsirī maunds were equal to 20 Qandahāri ; and the ‘ donkey-load ’ was 100 maunds, equal to 10 maunds of Hindūstān. If this Hindūstānī maund is taken at about 15 lb. the donkey-load in both Qandahār and Garmsir was about 150 lb., quite a probable figure for this region : the Qandahār maund was double the 2-*rīl* maund ; and the Garmsir maund was slightly smaller than the usual 2-*rīl* maund. I have found no other passages throwing light on these two Afghan maunds, but it would appear that the compiler of this portion of the *Āin-i Akbarī* understood ‘ Hindūstānī ’ in the sense already deduced ; and the 15 lb. maund must be accepted as a fact—not, so far as I know, recorded in wholesale commerce, but recognised in the Palace and also in administrative circles.

(To be continued.)

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., D.A. (OXON.), F.R.A.I., PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS.

THE folk songs characteristic of North Malabar are the well known *Tachôli Pâttu*,¹ which take their name from the first songs singing the exploits of Tachôli Odënan, the Robin Hood of Malabar, whose adventures are still the favourite theme of the masses, and are sung with much enthusiasm. All popular songs similar in treatment have since been known as *Tachôli Pâttu*.

These songs are also known as *Vadakkan Pâttu* or the Songs of North Kerala. They correspond to the ballads of English literature singing the praises of national heroes, throwing a flood of light on the customs, manners and institutions of the peoples of the time. The song narrated here describes a family dispute in high life, incidentally singing the prowess and valour of Valia Ârômar Chêkavar.

The old *Kaimâl*² of Kurungattidëm³ in Prajâpatinâd in his sixty-fourth year, sick of domestic worries resolves to set out on a pilgrimage. Putting on the robes of a *sannyâsi* he calls his nephew Unikkônâr, and handing over the keys to him, charges him to conduct the household affairs. Similarly he summons his other nephew Unichandrôr and addresses him :—

Onniñdu këlkenam Unichandrôrê⁴
Ninnal Tammilulla mûpilama
Atukondu ninnal pinannarutu
Âmmakkalonnun enikillallo
Penmakkal ranðe enikatullu
Marumakkal ranðu pēr ninnalum
Ninnalku puðavayum muçichittilla
Ninnalku karuti irikunnu ñân
Avaru karivan mutalundallo

Avareninnalum orikkarutu
Mêlûrum kîrûrum ranðuvîdu
Kîrûridattil Unikkônârum
Mêlûridattil Unichandrôrum
Aññine ninnal irunnukollu
Vendum vidhattil kariññukollu
Parayendatokke paraññu ñânnum

Just listen Unichandrôr.
The question of seniority⁵ between you two,
Do not be quarrelling on that account.
Sons have I none ;
Only daughters two have I.
You two are my nephews,
And you have not had *puðamuri*⁶ yet.
I have reserved them for you.
For their livelihood, wealth and property they
have ;
You should not divorce them.
Mêlûr and Kîrûr are my two houses ;
Unikkônâr in Kîrûr house,
And Unichandrôr in Mêlûr.
Thus shall you live.
Make yourself happy.
I have said all I have to say.

¹ Cf. P. Govinda Pillai, *History of the Malayalam Language and Literature*, vol. I, pp. 104 to 109.

² A chief. Duarte Barbosa records (Hak. Soc. edn., vol. II, p. 13) that during the thirteen days following the death of the Zamorin of Calicut, the *Kaimâl* governed the kingdom.

³ Though these places cannot be exactly identified, there is no doubt they are all in Kuzumbranâd taluk in North Malabar.

⁴ For the sake of uniformity and scientific accuracy, Grierson's system of transliteration has been uniformly adopted. The transliteration of certain words will thus be observed to be different from the transliteration ordinarily adopted.

⁵ The question as to who is the elder, and who should succeed the old man as the *Kaimâl*.

⁶ The principal form of marriage among the Nâyars, the essential part of which is the gift of cloth by the bridegroom to the bride. The insight this gives into the matriarchal organization of the Nayar society in these early days is remarkable—society being at once matrilineal and matrilocal.

Leaving his nephews, he calls his sister, who hears of his resolve to lead a *sannyāsi*'s life with eyes suffused with tears. She hands him over some gold *fanams* to serve for emergencies. He sets out as a pilgrim equipped as follows :—

Ērara Kambulla vatiyeduttu	Takes a stout staff of seven joints and a half,
Karimbadam onnu idukkunnundu	Provides himself with a blanket,
Vechunnān chittu tāli onnetuttu	And a brass pot to cook food ;
Channana nāri onnetuttu	Takes a sandalwood measure,
Kāvi vastravum iṭukkunnundu	And a saffron-dyed cloth,
Vellam kuṭippānāyi mōtetuttu	A vessel to drink water from,
Bhānavum tanne ketṭunnundu	And makes up all into a bundle.

After offering prayers to the gods in the central room of the house, the *Kaimāl* walks out with the invocation "Hara, Hara! Śiva, Śiva!", the bundle slung over his shoulders, and umbrella and stick in hand. On the way he pays a visit to his two daughters at their maternal home. Unniamma, seeing her father coming, calls to her mother: "My father is coming, not in his usual attire, but in the garb of a *sannyāsi*." With these words she runs inside and sweeping the floor of the *tekkina* (southern room), lights the silver⁷ *nilavilakku*, and spreads the grass mat. Approaching her father with water in a *kindi*,⁸ she relieves him of the bundle and washes his feet. She brings betel nut, when the father remarks: "When one becomes a *sannyāsi*, one has to eschew betel." At this the daughter prepares *ganja*⁹ and gives him some to smoke. The daughter bemoans their fate at his leaving them, when he consoles her, saying that they have everything to make them happy, excepting that they have not had *pudamuri*, which he has arranged with his two nephews. With strict injunctions not to go against his wishes, he takes leave of them. The daughter presses him to take food, when the following dialogue ensues :—

Tīrtam tirañṇu purāpeṭṭennāl	"When on pilgrimage
Viṭṭilum vechālum unḍukūḍa	"Nothing can be taken that is cooked in a house."
Ṇan kuḷichu vechutarikām achā	"Father, I shall bathe and cook for you."
Peṇṇuñṇālu vechālum unḍukūṭa	"Nor can one take food cooked by women."
Ariyūm uruḷiyum tarikāmachā	"Father, I will fetch you rice and a vessel to cook in."
Appōl parayunnu achanallō	The father replies :
Tīrtam tirañṇu purāpeṭṭuñṇan	"I am a pilgrim
Divasattiloriccalē unḍukūṭu	"And should eat but once,
Innētte ṇṇum kariñṇu mōle	"And, my daughter, this day's meal is over."

Finding it of no avail to persuade her father to take food, she goes inside and presents him with a rosary of 101 beads and a gold-mounted *rudrakṣam*,¹⁰ which the father gladly accepts. She falls at his feet, when he blesses her :—

Nerukayil totṭu varam koṭuttu. Blesses her, touching the crown of her head.

The *Kaimāl*, taking final leave of them, departs, and they stand watching his form receding in the distance until he is quite out of sight. He travels far and wide and roams over distant lands, until his stick of seven joints and a half in length has worn down to three, and the bottom has gone out of his brass cooking-vessel. Physical exhaustion overpowers him, and his limbs refuse to function. Nevertheless he stumbles on his weary way, until he falls prostrate at the gates of the *nāḍuvāri*¹¹ of the place. On making enquiries about his antecedents, the *tamburān* hastens to send word to both his nephews. Unichandra Nāyar, with

⁷ Ceremonial standing lamp.

⁸ Bell metal water vessel with a spout.

⁹ A drug prepared from hemp (*Cannabis sativa*).

¹⁰ Seed of *Elæocarpus lanceolatus*, used as beads for rosaries.

¹¹ In olden days each state was ruled by a *Rāja*. The state was divided into *nāḍe*, corresponding to counties, ruled over by a magnate called *nāḍuvāri*. Each of the *nāḍe* in turn consisted of a number of *dēkams*, under *dēśavāris*.

his characteristic selfishness, remarks that whoever sets out on pilgrimage should not return home to die. Unikkônâr, however, summons his men and hastens to his side with a palanquin and brings him home. Konkiamma, the *Kaimâl's* daughter, prepares the *tekkina*, spreads the grass mat, and makes the bed, placing pillows at head and foot. She prepares a solution of gold and *kasturi* in water and applies the cup to his lips. The drink overcomes all exhaustion. Relieved and refreshed, he makes a sign to Unikkônâr to untie the bundle and measure the *râsipanam*,¹³ which measures five and a half *nâis*. He commands him to reserve it in order to solemnize his funeral ceremonies in a fitting manner, whatever is left being divided equally between the two nephews. Realising these to be his last words, Unikkônâr approaches him with some water to moisten his lips, when he finds that he has already passed away. The rites following the death are described as below :—

Kattinmêl ninnu iakkunnundu
Tekku vatakâyi kiattunnundu
Pattupudayonnu ittalalo
Peññanmar randum muṇavilichchu
Chattôru vidennariyikkunnu
Neññattadichu torichunkondu
Atu tanne kēlkkunnu ayilālarum
Ōtittum maṇḍittum vannitallo
Nāduvâri dēsavâri ettiyaviṭe
Enaṇṇan santukkaḷum ettiyallo
Enaṇṇanre kriyakal karikkunnundu
Viḷakkum naṇayume vekkunnundu
Nālikēram onnu uṭechchu vechchu
Appōl parayunnu nāṭuvâri
Nammude jāti mariyātekku
Oḍalum dehanam karikkavēṇam
Vēṇḍum janaṇṇalum vannittundu
Chotālakku virakum kūtṭikkondu
Enṇayum neyyum orikkunnundu
Ammāṇane tanne eṭukkunnundu
Talayum piṭikkunnu Unikkônârum
Kālum piṭikkunnu Unichandōrum
Purattēkku konḍaṇṇu pōkunnundu
Kattinmêl tanne kiṭattiyallo
Enṇayum tāli iṭuttukondu
Enṇayum tēchu kuḷippikkunnēn

The body is taken down from the cot
And laid in the direction of south to north,
And covered with a new silk cloth.
The two sisters bewail the loss.
Announcing the death at the house,
They lament, beating their breasts.
The neighbouring folk thereupon
Come running from all sides.
The *nāduvâri* and *dēsavâri* arrive there.
Friends and relations all assemble
And attend to the ceremonies of the deceased.
The lamp is lit and a measureful of rice placed ;
A coconut is kept split in two.
The *nāduvâri* then speaks :
" According to the custom of our caste
" Cremation must be done."
The required persons having all assembled
The funeral pyre is made ready,
Spread over with oil.
Both the nephews carry the body,
Unikkônâr holds the head
And Unichandōr the feet,
And the body is taken out
And laid on the cot.
Oil and *tāli* are brought.
Oil is applied all over and the body well bathed
with water.

Channanam kaḷabham dharippichanṇu The customary marks are made with sandal
paste on the body ;

¹³ Gold *fanams* of small value, issued by the Kōlattiri Râjas (N. Malabar) and by the Zamorin of Calicut (S. Malabar). The latter are known as *pudiya*, or new *fanams*. These were long in use as a medium of exchange. Even at present prices of commodities are reckoned in terms of *velli*, in certain outlying parts of Malabar, the common nomenclature for a *panam* or *fanam*. According to the table of values current in North Malabar, 1 *panam* is 40 pies or 3 as. 4 p. at present rates :—

4 pies (*kādu*) = 1 *piea*.
10 *piea* = 1 *panam*.
5 *panams* = 1 rupee.

These *fanams* are highly esteemed by the Malayâlis, and it is the custom to include this among the objects which are grouped together, neatly arranged, on the dawn of the Vishu or the New Year day of Malabar in the form of what is termed a *kani*, literally, a 'sight,' as the inmates of the house have to see the *kani*, which should be the first thing they cast their eyes on, on getting up from bed.

Paninirum tannēyum pōśunnunḍu	Rose water is sprayed over,
Vi:ālippattil potiñṇu ketṭi	And the body is covered with costly silk,
Ammāvane tanne ituttavarum	And carried
Chotalayil tanne vekkunnunḍu	And placed upon the pyre.
Atutāne kānunnū mahājanaññal	All the men assembled witness this
Enṇayum neyyum orichavar	And pour oil and <i>ghī</i> over the pyre,
Chotalayum katti eriñṇupōyi	Which is set on fire and is well burnt.
Annatte karman karichavarum	Thus performing the ceremonies of the day,
Vannajanaññal Mahajanaññal	The men assembled
Okkeyum tanne piriñṇupōyi	All disperse.

Unikkōṇār exhorts Unichandrōr that they must perform the obsequies with befitting pomp, and all friends and relations are accordingly informed of the date of the seventh day ceremony. On that day men assemble from all parts, and the ceremonies begin with the rites at the cremation ground. Unikkōṇār begins to collect the bones, when Unichandrōr claims precedence on grounds of seniority, and a quarrel soon develops. No settlement of the dispute being in sight, the elders decide to consult the mothers, who on being called are unable to solve the question, saying that as they were in the throes of labour they had no recollection as to who was born first. The midwife is then sent for, and she deposes that Unikkōṇār was born at night and Unichandrōr the next morning. The latter not being prepared to accept this verdict, the bitterness increases. A compromise is, however, arrived at to enable the rites to be proceeded with, and the ceremonies of the sixteenth day are also performed peacefully, both exercising equal privileges. The ceremonies, however, by no means ended the strife, which was carried on with great malice by Unichandrōr. As an instance of the ridiculous extent to which Unichandrōr carried the feud, is mentioned his prevailing on a fisherman of the place to send as a gift of fish to Unikkōṇār, the fins, entrails, head and tail of a fish made up into a bundle. Unikkōṇār's mother, glad at the gift of fish, takes a vessel and the fish knife and unties the bundle, when she is shocked to see the contents. She calls her son and rebukes him. The latter at once runs to the fisherman and belabours him for his wanton insult. The wife of the fisherman hastens to Unichandrōr and begs for protection. Unichandrōr rallies his men and goes to fight against Unikkōṇār. Both sides lose heavily, and the matter reaches the ears of the *nāḍuvāri* and *dēśavāri*, who appear on the scene. Unable to effect a reconciliation, the *nāḍuvāri* pronounces that a settlement being impossible, the decision will be left to the judgment of God, and accordingly declares that a packet of gold and a packet of silver will be kept on the threshold of the temple of Trippankkōtappen, and whoever goes blindfold and takes the gold packet will rule as the elder and whoever gets the silver packet will be the younger. When everything is ready, Unichandrōr rushes and takes one of the packets which turns out to be silver. Mortified at this, he ascribes his discomfiture to the partiality of the god, saying that whether he got the silver or the gold packet he is the elder. Failing in this the *nāḍuvāri* awards the final verdict, that the dispute shall be fought out at an *aṅgam*,¹³ and directs each party to collect combatants to fight for their cause:—

Nallaṅga chēkavar: ¹⁴ tēdikko|vin	Be on the look out for competent <i>chēkavars</i> .
Aṅgampitichchu jeyikkunnōṅkku	Whoever wins in the <i>aṅgam</i> or fight
Annette muppāṭum vānirikkām	He shall rule as the elder.

(To be continued.)

¹³ *Aṅgam*, 'fight,' 'battle,' 'duel,' 'challenge.' Duel as the ordeal for Nāyars was a royal privilege for which each combatant had to pay; sometimes fought by hired champions. (Gundert: *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 7.) The fight which is the subject of this story is of the latter type, as it is fought by champions engaged by either party. The *aṅgam* is further described below.

¹⁴ *Chēkavar*.—From Malayalam *chēkam*, *śevam*, *śevakam*, 'service,' chiefly about the king's person (one of the Ilavar caste). [Gundert, p. 388.]

LALLĀ-VĀKYĀNI.

(The Wise Sayings of Lal Dē.)

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

(Continued from vol. LX, p. 193.)

11.

*Lēka ta thuka pēṭh sheri hitsam ;**Nindā sapanim pat bronṭh tāni.**Lal chas kal zāh no tshēnim ;**Ada yēli sapanis vipihey kyāh ?*

I received abuse and spittle on my head ;

I was defamed from past to present.

I am Lallā ; desire never got torn away from me,

When I became [perfect] what could then be contained in me ? (i.e., nothing could then produce any effect on me).

12.

*Lolaki wukhala wālinj pishim ;**Kukal tsajim tah rūzas rasa.**Buzum ta zājim pānas tsashim,**Kava zāna tava sati mara kina lasa ?**Buy nā muyas, ta buy nā mara**Yēli achiv dīshit kanav būzit keñh bhāva.*

I ground my heart in the mortar of love ;

Evil desire left me and I remained calm.

I parched and burned it (i.e., the heart) [and] tasted it myself ;

How can I know whether I shall live or die by it ?

I did not die, and I will not die

When I reveal anything of what I heard by [my] ears and saw with [my] eyes.

Really, Lallā's Words have rendered her immortal !

13.

*Mandachi hāinkal kar tshēnēm ?**Yēli hēḍun, gelun, asun prāva.**'Aruk jāma karsana dazēm ?—**Yēli andrim khāryuk rozēm wāra.**Rut ta krūth soruy pazēm,**Kanan na bozun achin na bhāva.**Oruk dapun yēli wunda wuzēm,**Ratandip prazalēm warzana wāva.*

When will the chain of my bashfulness break ?

When I shall bear reproaches, gibes [and] jeers.

When will the garment of my bashfulness burn ?

When my inner nag (i.e., mind) will remain quiet.

All good and bad may befall me,

The ears not to hear [and] eyes not to see.

When the call of that side (i.e., God) will be heard in my mind,

My lamp will burn by not exposing it to the wind.

14.

Mithyā, kapat; asat trovum—

Manas kurum suy opadesh.

Zanas andar keval zonum ;

Annas khēnas kus chum dīsh.

I gave up falsehood, deceit [and] untruth—

The same doctrine I taught my mind.

Of mankind I knew Him alone ;

What hatred [then] have I in eating the food ? (i.e., none).

15.

Omāy akuy akshar purum,

Suy, ha māli, ruṭum wundaṣ manz ;

Suy, ha māli, kaṭēh pēṭh gurum ta tourum,

Āsas sās ta sapanis sun.

I read one single word, Om,

The same, O father, I grasped in mind ;

The same, O father, I forged and shaped upon a stone,

I was ashes and became gold.

16.

Parum polum ; apuruy purum,

Kesari wana wolum raṭit shāl ;

Paras prunum ta pānas polum,

Ada gom mā'lūm ta zīnim hāl.

I acted up to what I read ; I read (i.e., was revealed to me) what was unread ;

I brought down the lion (i.e., mind) from the forest (i.e., worldly temptations)
subdued [like] a jackal.

I preached to others and practised myself,

Then I became aware and won the polo ball (i.e., achieved success).

17.

Parun sulab pālun durlab.

Sahaz gārun suksm ta krāṭh.

Abhyāsaki ghaniray ; shāstr muṭhum,

Tsetan Ānand niscey gom.

Reading is easy [but] acting up to it is difficult.

To search out the Real and True (i.e., God) is subtle and difficult.

I forgot the scriptures ; by excessive practice,

The Living Bliss (i.e., God) became assured to me.

18.

Sahanaki salī la yudway māḥ kāsak,

Āsak aīna khuta prazlawun shīna khuta prun.

Pānay marak pānay lasak ;

Lāgak un, zor, kol ta run.

Shivas satīn yēli kathan rasak,

Shiv chuk pānay thav prīshun.

If thou dispelleth dirt by the water of suffering,

Thou shalt be more glittering than a mirror [and] fairer than snow.

At thy will thou wilt die ; at thy will thou wilt live ;

Thou wilt pretend to be blind, deaf, dumb and limbless.

When thou wilt revel in talk with Śiva,

Thou art thyself Śiva ; stop inquiring.

19.

Shuṅguk maidān kudum pānas ;

Me Lali rūzam na budh na hosh.

Bhediṅ sapanis pānay pānas ;

Ada kami gili phul Lali pamposh.

I traversed a wilderness of void alone ;

I, Lallā, had neither intellect nor sense,

I myself became acquainted with Self ;

Then from what a clay did the lotus bloom for Lallā (i.e., then what a transformation for the best occurred to Lallā).

20.

Shishiras wath kus raṭey ?

Kus bokey raṭey wāw ?

Yus pānts yindrey tsilit tsēy,

Suy raṭey ghaṭey rav.

Who can catch water dripping from the roof during a hard frost ?

Who can catch wind with the hand ?

One who can pound hard the five senses (i.e., subdue them),

That one can catch the sun in darkness (i.e., can realize God).

21.

Shiv chuy thali thali rozān ;

Mo zān Hindu ta Musalmān.

Truk ay chuk ta pān panun parzandā,

Sōy chay Sāhibas sati zāniy zān.

Śiva pervades every place ;

Do not differentiate between Hindu and Musalmān (i.e., be not a bigot).

If thou art intelligent, recognise thine own self,

That is the true acquaintance with God.

22.

Shiva, Shiva, karān Shiv no toshey ;

Gēv kandi zalak manas Suh āsey.

Gēv diū dēhas, dēh dur āsey ;

Gēv nay dēhas dik, di wari kaisey.

Śiva will not be pleased by thy muttering " Śiva, Śiva ! " ;

Like clarified butter thou shalt glisten if He be in thy mind.

Give clarified butter to thine own body, [then] thy body will become strong ;

If thou wilt not give clarified butter to thine own body, better give it to some one else.

23.

Tala chuy zyus lay pēṭha chuk natsān ;

Wanta māli man kyetha patsān chuy.

Soruy sumbrith yāi chuy mulsān ;

Wanta māli ann kyetha ratsān chuy.

Beneath thee is a pit over which thou art dancing ;

Tell me, O father, how thy mind trusts it.

Everything amassed remains behind here ;

Tell me, O father, how food agreeth with thee.

24.

Tana mana gayēs bu tas kuny ;
Būzum satīc ghaṇṭa wazān ;
Tat jāyī dhāranāy dhāran raṭam ;
Ākāśh ta prakāśh kurum sarah.
 I turned towards Him with body and mind ;
 I heard the bell of truth ringing ;
 I held meditation with firmness on that spot ;
 I realized the sky and the light.⁴

25.

Tēmbara pēyas kava no tsājīn ?
Mas ras kava ohonājīn gos ?
Shāntēn hanz kriy tola mola wājīn
Andrim gwāh yēli nēbar pyos.
 A spark fell on him ; why could he not bear it ?
 Why did wine-juice go down his throat ?
 He depreciated the weight and value of the practice of the saints
 Since his inner radiance gleamed forth.⁵

26.

Tim chi na manash, tim chiy Rishiy,
Yiman dēh manah nishi gav.
Baḍit ta buḍit byāk kyāh rachiy ?
Phuṭimalis bānas piyi gēv.
 They are not human beings, they are saints,
 By whose mind the body has been forgotten.
 What ! will a stranger support thee after growing up and getting old ?
 Clarified butter shall spill out from thy broken pot.

27.

Tyāh mudur tay myāḍh zahr :
Yas yuth tshanuk jātanbhav ;
Yami yath karay kal ta qahr,
Suh tath shahr wātīt pēv.
 Bitter (i.e., control of senses) is sweet ; sweet (i.e., gratification of senses) is poison :
 Exertion of whatsoever nature fell to one's lot (i.e., it fell to one's choice to
 decide between the two) ;
 Whoever desired and persevered [to reach a certain city],
 He did reach that city.

⁴ A Yogi hears a sound in the interior of his body when the exercise of *prāṇdyāma* has loosened the *brahma-granthi*, or knot of Brahma, in the *andhata* circle, and then he, through the void of his own internal universe, obtains a glimpse of the Supreme Light.

⁵ Saints walking in higher spheres remain in communion with God. In their eyes every action tending to personal worldly aggrandizement sullies the true love of God. They, therefore, look with disfavour towards those who work miracles. This Saying was regretfully quoted by Rūpa Bhawāni in her childhood when she saw the saint Rishi Pīr performing miracles.

MISCELLANEOUS.

INDIA IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique.—In the July-September 1930 issue of this journal (tome CCXVII, pp. 135-36) there is an interesting note by M. Robert Fazy on 'An Eclipse in the Time of Aśoka.' In the *Si-yu-ki* Hsüan-tsang has told us that Aśoka expressed to Upagupta his desire that the relics of the Buddha should be deposited in the 84,000 *stūpas* throughout Jambudvīpa at the same moment. According to Beal's translation, Upagupta said: "Command the genii to go each to his appointed place and regard the sun. When the sun becomes obscured and its shape as if a hand covered it, then is the time: drop the relics into the *stūpas*. The king having received these instructions, gave orders accordingly to the genii to expect the appointed day." M. Fazy points out that, according to Oppolzer's *Kanon der Finsternisse* (1887), there was an eclipse of the sun on 4 May 248 B.C., which, according to information supplied him by M. Raoul Gautier, Director of the Observatory, Geneva, would be visible as a total eclipse in the valley of the Ganges from 3 to 4 p.m. that day. M. Fazy remarks that Hsüan-tsang's story might have been based on oral tradition current in Magadha, or possibly on recorded tradition, which may yet be rediscovered from Hindu or, more probably, Chinese sources. He adds that there is no *a priori* ground for holding that it was impossible for a learned Hindu of the third century B.C. to predict an eclipse. If this be admitted, the tradition recorded by Hsüan-tsang may have been founded on fact. The correspondence between the tradition narrated by the Chinese pilgrim and the fact of an eclipse, visible at Pāṭaliputra, having taken place in the year 248 B.C. may, as M. Fazy notes, not only furnish confirmation of the tradition, but also help to determine the approximate date of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism and his solemn pilgrimage to the spots most sacred to the memory of the great teacher, which must have taken place before the erection of the *stūpas* and the deposit of the relics. It will be remembered that Vincent Smith assigns the pilgrimage to the year 249 B.C. (*E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 167.)

Rivista degli Studi Orientali.—In vol. XII (1930) fasc. IV, pp. 408-27, will be found two interesting notes by Prof. Giuseppe Tucci on Indian subjects, viz. (1) the *Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*, and (2) Traces of Lunar Cult in India.

In (1) the author emphasizes the importance of having critically edited editions prepared of the individual *Purāṇas* before we can hope to have a critical and definite text of the *pāñcalakṣaṇa* or of any other part of the *Purāṇas*. The discussion leads him on to certain related topics, e.g., the correspondence between the names in lists of countries and kings in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Buddhist literature

with those found in the *Purāṇas* and epics, which he deals with at some length, and the meaning of the term *pratisarga*, which recurs as one of the subjects treated of in the *Purāṇa*. Pargiter (*Anc. In. Historical Tradition*, p. 36) expressed the sense of *pratisarga* by 'dissolution and re-creation.' Prof. Tucci gives reasons for rejecting the sense of 'dissolution' and understanding it to mean 'further creation' or 're-creation.'

(2) While sun worship was widely spread in India, it does not appear that the moon was ever raised to the rank of an independent divinity, or that it ever had its own temples and its own devotees. Prof. Tucci points out that there is, however, a slight trace of connexion between the moon and female divinities, e.g., in the case of Devī in her forms of Durgā, Kālī, etc., and especially in that of Tripurasundarī. He adduces some interesting arguments that go to show that in one of her aspects the cult of Devī had continued and assimilated ancient lunar cults, for example, in the regulation of the different forms of, and times for, the *pūjā* strictly according to the *tithi*, or lunar days. According to the *Saṁhita* of Bhāskara Rāya, the *pūjā* to Tripura must commence with the first day of the new moon and last throughout the fifteen days of the *śukla pakṣa*, ending on the full-moon day. It requires the presence of 16 Brāhmanas, each of whom represents a *tithi* or one of the *kālds* or 16 aspects of the goddess in her form of Nityāśodasī (= Tripurasundarī), and each of whom is invoked with a *mantra* that varies according to the *tithi* he is supposed to represent, in other words each receives a name equivalent to that of the goddess corresponding to a certain *tithi*. This particular form of Tripurasundarī *pūjā* performed with Brāhmanas, Prof. Tucci suggests, probably does not represent the most ancient form of the cult, being due perhaps to the ever increasing importance which the Brāhmanas arrogated; possibly also it was devised to evade accusations made by followers of other schools against a different, but certainly older, ceremonial in the cult of the goddess. It cannot, therefore, be asserted that the *pūjā* with Brāhmanas excluded or supplanted the original *Kumārī-pūjā*, the existence of which is well documented. Signor Tucci next draws attention to the *Rudrayāmala* and *Brhannila tantras*, wherein is described the *Kumārī-pūjā*, that is, *pūjā* to a girl supposed to symbolize the goddess, which plays so large a part in the Tāntric ceremonial of the Śākta school. This *pūjā* should be spread uniformly over the 15 days of the *śukla pakṣa*, beginning on the new-moon day and ending with the full-moon. Instead of the 16 Brāhmanas enjoined in the ritual described by Bhāskara Rāya, there are 16 *kumārīs*, who represent the 16 *tithis* and the 16 aspects of the goddess. Moreover, the 16 *kumārīs* must be

worshipped *vṛddhibhedana*, i.e., in order of their age ('growth,' or 'augmentation'), or, in other words, in the order of the *kalās* of the crescent moon: and so on. This *pājā* with the 16 Brāhmanas and the 16 maidens, occupying the period of the *śukla pakṣa* or crescent moon, is the more important in that it has its counterpart in the well known ceremonies connected with divinities representing periodic forces and destined to promote increase and development.

Prof. Tucci goes on to discuss the system of computation by fours and multiples of four, of which so many examples are to be found in the ritualistic and mystic literature of the *Tantras*, and whether 4 or 16 is the basic number underlying the system. If computation by 16 be connected with lunar elements, then the basic number cannot be 4. He points out that classification by fours is widely attested in the literature of the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, and that it seems to have been the more common in the beginning. Considering that a base number is generally derived from some concrete object or objects which visibly present it, he hazards the suggestion that a base of 4 might have been adopted from the four feet of the cow or ox. While agreeing that the basic number is more likely to have been 4 than 16, we feel that its use goes farther back than the times when the cow or ox assumed such importance. We might draw attention perhaps in this connexion to the combinations of four so frequently noticeable on the seals and inscriptions found at ancient sites in the Indus basin and in Elam, and in the ornamentation of some of the oldest pottery. It is remarkable, it may be added, to what an extent counting by four (the *gaṇḍā*) is still followed among the rural and illiterate folk of northern India.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1931. —This number starts with a paper by Pandit B. N. Reu on a *sanad* granted by Shāh 'Alam II to Mahārāja Bijay Singh of Mārwar, from which it would appear that the village of Rāṣaīnā, where New Delhi has now been built, was for long in the possession of the Mahārājas of Jodhpur as *jāgīr*. Mr. E. H. Johnston contributes a series of useful and suggestive notes on a number of Pāli words, the meanings of which have been regarded as doubtful, or which have been misunderstood hitherto. M. Fabri of Leyden, in two brief 'Notes on Indian Head-dress,' emphasizes the importance of studying costume and fashions in head-dress, etc., and indicates by certain examples how an examination of these details may assist in dating sculpture. He proposes to pursue this subject in a subsequent discussion of the coiffures represented on some frescoes at Ajanta.

M. Jean Przyluski, in one of his fascinating etymological papers entitled 'Varuṇa, god of the sea and the sky,' proposes to derive the name Varuṇa from a Paleo-Asiatic root *bar*, enlarged in the Austro-Asiatic languages to *baru*, capable

of meaning 'sea,' etc., with the addition of a suffix *-na* (as in the case of *paṇana*, 'city,' dealt with by him in a previous paper in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, V, 174 f.). He further shows how the word may be equated with the Hittite *aruna*, 'sea,' and the god Aruna, who, in the treaty between the Hittite and Mitanni kings found at Boghazkoi, occupies the place of Varuṇa. Incidentally M. Przyluski regards the first part of the name Bharukaccha, one of the ancient names of Broach, as having the same origin. If this be so, perhaps the legend associating it with Bhṛgu may merit further investigation. (Did the Bhārgavas, who are so widely associated with this region, come from over sea?)

Dr. C. O. Blagden presents a translation of a valuable little grammatical sketch of the Fle-Témér dialect of Sakai, spoken in the interior of the Malay peninsula; and Mr. Raghu Vira discusses the lost phonetic *sūtras* of Pāṇini, seeking to establish, by a comparison of the *Śikṣā* discovered by Svāmī Dayānanda in 1879 with Candragomin's *Varṇa-sūtras*, that the latter were based upon the *Śikṣā*.

Readers of the *I.A.* will perhaps be most interested at the present time in perusing two other short notes, the one by Prof. S. Langdon on 'A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins,' and the other by Prof. Pran Nath of the Hindu University, Benares, on 'The Script of the Indus Valley Seals.' Prof. Langdon prints a photograph of a seal recently found at Hursagkalamma, Kish, dating from about 2800 B.C., in all respects similar to the seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, and raises the questions whether the Sumerians are not really the Indus Valley people themselves, or whether the painted ware civilization came from India and found the Sumerian people in the land. Prof. Pran Nath, who has been making a close study of the seals found in the Panjāb and Sind, has been led to the conclusion that what have hitherto been regarded as pictographs or ideographs are in fact letters or characters (*akṣaras*) closely connected with the Brāhmī characters, which were probably evolved from them. He publishes a very tentative 'Key' to the script on the seals, and some selected inscriptions with his proposed decipherment in Devanāgarī characters beneath. We understand that he proposes, in view of further researches, to publish shortly an amended and amplified table, which will be awaited with the greatest interest. He was induced to publish his suggestions at this early stage of his work, he tells us, "by the hope that they may stimulate other scholars to follow up the clues offered and so lead eventually to the complete decipherment of the seals." We hope that a ready response will be given to this appeal. Dr. Pran Nath's suggestions open up a wide vista, and if he has caught the right trail, and this can be followed up by experts in Sumerian, Iranian and Sanskrit lore,

a new epoch may be started in the history of Oriental research.

Archiv Orientalni (Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague), vol. II (1930-31).—In continuation of his shorter Sinhalese studies on demon worship and the seven-step ritual in Ceylon, which appeared in vol. I, Dr. O. Pertold publishes in parts 1, 2 and 3 of this volume a monograph on 'The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese: an Inquiry into the Sinhalese Folk-Religion,' illustrated by numerous plates and figures in the text, mostly showing the different forms of masks used at these ceremonies. The paper is the result not only of personal inquiry during visits to Ceylon, but also of research in libraries where relevant literature could be found. Dr. Pertold has collected and classified all the material he could find, and has attempted to reconstruct the form of such ceremonies as have

become obsolete. The subject has been treated in four parts, viz. (1) the non-masked dancing ceremonies (including those of the Vaddas; (2) the masks, their fabric, types and use; (3) the *kōlam-nāṭṭina*, festive dance, or mask ceremony; and (4) the *yakun-nāṭṭina*, ceremonial demon dance, now generally performed with the object of curing diseases supposed to be caused by *yakds*. Then follow the author's conclusions. The details are too many to be even summarized here; suffice it to say that this valuable contribution to our understanding of observances rooted in the dim past will appeal not only to students of Sinhalese and Vadda folklore, but also to a wider circle of readers; and the Indian student in particular will be struck by many parallels to practices and ceremonies followed in India and Tibet.

C. E. A. W. O.

MISCELLANEA.

KAPILENDRA AND KAPILEŚVARA OF ORISSA.

(A note of criticism on the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's article entitled "The Empire of Orissa," published *supra*, vol. LVII, p. 235 f., and vol. LVIII, pp. 28 f. and 61 f.)

By SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB, Raja Bahadur of Tekkali.

Some historians take the Orissa kings Kapilendra and Kapileśvara to be one and the same; but this is a mistake; they were two different kings, Kapiledeva, who reigned in 1435 A.D., is Kapileśvara, but not Kapilendra. Up to date about twenty inscriptions of Kapileśvara have been discovered, of which thirteen are at Mukhalīgām (Ganjam dist.) and the rest are at Puri, Simhachallam (Vizagapatam dist.) and other places. In all these inscriptions we find the name of Kapileśvara. If I were to go into the details of all the inscriptions this note would be unnecessarily lengthened; so I shall deal with them as briefly as possible. The following *aṅka* and *śāka* years are mentioned:—

१११२ १११३ १११४ १११५ १११६ १११७ १११८ १११९ ११२०
११२१ ११२२ ११२३ ११२४ etc.¹

The above figures are the reigning *aṅka* and *śāka* years found in the inscriptions, of which

the numerators are *aṅka* and the denominators are *śāka* years. To show that we find Kapileśvara named in the inscriptions, I give below quotations from some of the inscriptions found at different places.

श्री शैलशिखि "श्रीराजधिरामाभितथचण्डनेरुण्ड परमोक्ताराजराजेवर परमेश्वर गजपतिमहेश्वर नवकोटी कर्णादेवर श्रीकलवर्गेवर श्री वीरभी गजपति कपिलेश्वर देवमहाराजाङ्कुर"—इत्यादि.²

मरवलिङ्ग लिपि "श्री श्री श्री तिरुसङ्ख तत्तरसमति विने शाजिवाहन शक ११०६ संवत्सरे वीरभी गजपति महेश्वरप्रताप कपिलेश्वर महाराजाङ्कुर विजयराज्ये समस्त २४ आर्ह"—इत्यादि.³

अनन्तवर लिपि "ततीय वंशे तत्तुप्रतापाधिरस्य राजा कपिलेश्वराब्जः"—इत्यादि.⁴

पेक्षापुर लिपि बहुभान्बसम्बर उद्येह व ११ कपिलेश्वर महाजल राजवान"—इत्यादि.⁵

....."स्वस्तिभी शकवर्षमुत्तु.....आगुनेष्टशो-मकृत संवत्सरे कार्तिक शु ६ गौड कपिलेश्वर महाराजल राजवान"—इत्यादि.⁶

¹ १११२ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, No. 101.

१११३ *Ibid.*, vol. V, R. A., No. 317.

१११४ *Mukur Magazine*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.

१११५ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. III, parts 2, 3 and 4.

१११७ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, R. A., No. 313.

१११७ Sri Kurman Rock Inscription, as read by me.

१११८ *Mukur*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.

१११९ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, R. A., No. 284.

११२०, ११२१ *Mukur*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.

११२२ *Mukur*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.

² Srisaillam inscription.

³ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. III, parts 2, 3 and 4.

⁴ Anantavarma copper-plate grant published in the *Andhra Patrika Sanchika*.

⁵ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, No. 100.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 101.

पुरीमन्दिर लिपि " श्री श्रीप्रताप कपिलेश्वर नवकोटी-
कणादीत्यकनवर गजपति श्रीदेवेश्वर देव महाराजाङ्ग-
इत्यादि.⁷

" विरभी प्रताप कपिलेश्वरदेव महाराजाङ्गरविजय-
राज्येसमस्त १४ आङ्क "—इत्यादि.⁸

वीरभी गजपति गजेश्वर प्रताप कपिलेश्वरदेव महा-
राजाङ्गर विजयशुभराज्ये १९ आङ्क " इत्यादि.⁹

पालकाभाये " पञ्चमिश्रवेसाक्षे ४५३५ गते कलि-
युगस्य च उददेशेन विख्यातो नृपाङ्कुरकपिलेश्वरः " ¹⁰

In many inscriptions, Kapiladeva of the solar race is named Kapileśvara. We do not find the name Kapilendra in any of the corresponding inscriptions.

In such case I cannot understand how the learned Professor R. D. Banerji, in his article on the Empire of Orissa, took Kapilendra and Kapileśvara to be one and the same. Can evidence be cited from contemporary inscriptions to prove that Kapiladeva of the solar race is also called Kapilendra?

About 120 years previous to the reign of Kapileśvara of the solar race, there was a king of the Gaṅga dynasty by name Kapilendra. He was the eldest son of the Orissan king Laṅgula Narasimhadeva. As to this many quotations and facts have been supplied by my friend Mr. Gopabandhu Bidyabhushan, who has dealt with the subject minutely in the Oriya Journal, *Samavayaprabha*, vol. II, part 4. So I refrain from going into details. I have given a detailed history of Kapileśwar in my Andhra University Extension lecture on " Kapileśwar Deb," which is published in the Oriya Magazine, *Sahakar*, vol. XI, Parts 7, 8, 9 and 10. Can it be justifiable to disbelieve these numerous historical facts? The learned professor says that Kapileśvaradeva reigned in 1436-1470 A.D. A famous scholar, Servajya Jagannath Narayan Deb, says in his *Palakādhya* (an authoritative work) :—

" शाके गजादिविद्योतः समा गजपतेस्तथा
शाकेवद्वर्षादयः चन्द्रानः प्रतापस्य च वत्सराः "

From the above quotation, it is clear that the Orissa king Purushottamadeva reigned from 1388 to 1425 S.S., or 1466 to 1503 A.D. This shows that the reign of Kapileśvara had come to an end by 1466 A.D. This may also be inferred from the inscriptions of the reign of Purushottamadeva,

son of Kapileśvara, in which the following *aṅka* and *śaka* years are found. १३८८, १३९२, १४०२, १४१२, १४१७ ¹¹ (numerators represent the *aṅka* years and the denominators the *śaka* years). How could both Kapileśvara and his son Purushottamadeva reign together in the same years? If we fix 1388 S.S. as the first year of Purushottamadeva's reign, the *aṅka* years of Purushottamadeva will be found to fit in. I have gone through many of the ancient inscriptions in order to ascertain the ruling years of Kapileśvara and his son Purushottamadeva, and I am confident of the result.

In Utkal, after the close of the Gaṅga dynasty, the Solar dynasty reigned. It is true that all the legitimate sons of Kapilendradeva (also called Kapileśvaradeva), who reigned as emperor of Orissa from 1383 to 1386 A.D., were expelled by their father. These sons, who were driven away, settled in distant places. If they had been the descendants of Kapileśvara of the solar race, they, too, would have belonged to the Solar dynasty. Since, however, they were the sons of the Gaṅga emperor Kapilendradeva (also called Kapileśvaradeva) they were known as of the Gaṅga dynasty. There is an era known as Kapilābda, which started from the time of the reign of Kapileśvara of the solar race. At the current time, the Kapilābda year is reckoned to be 494. This means that Kapileśvara of the solar race ascended the throne 494 years ago, i.e., in 1436-37 A.D. If we cannot rely upon the *madalapanji* and the inscriptions and upon the early writers of our own country, it is not understood why we should regard the contents of the *Burhān-i-ma'asir* as infallible.

Kapilendra had a son named Purushottamadeva; Kapileśvara also had a son named Purushottamadeva. As both had sons bearing the same name, as both sat upon the throne of Orissa, and as Kapila is common to both names, many historians have mistaken them for one and the same person. But Kapilendra was a monarch of the Gaṅga dynasty, while Kapileśvara was a king of the solar race, and there was, moreover, an interval of some hundred years between their reigns. They must, therefore, have been quite distinct.

⁷ Vide *Three Temples* (in Bengali), by Gurudas Sirkar, M.A., B.C.S.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

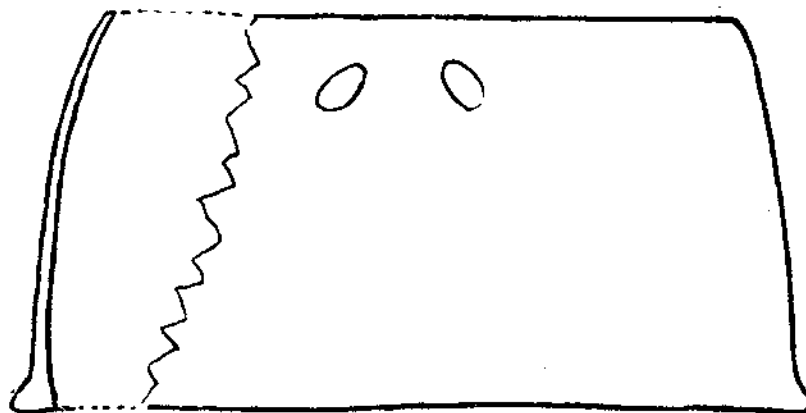
¹⁰ Palm leaf manuscript.

¹¹ १३८८. See Peddapur inscription published in *Three Temples*, by Gurudas Sirkar.

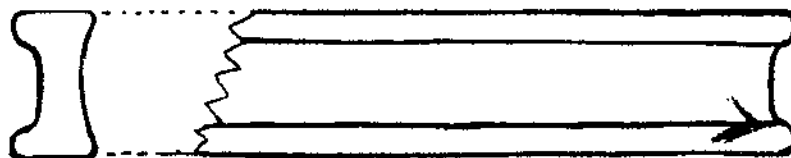
१३९२. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. V, text.

१४१२. See Peddapur inscription, *loc. cit.*

१४१७. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. V, text.



(a) PALLAVA TYPE OF WELL RING.



(b) MODERN TYPE OF WELL RING.

ROUGH SKETCH SHOWING PALLAVA TYPE OF WELL RING
AS COMPARED WITH MODERN TYPE.

ANCIENT SOAK-PITS AT CHETPUT, MADRAS.

By L. A. CAMMIADE.*

ON visiting the old and now exhausted brick fields at Chetput in the town of Madras, I noticed amidst broken tiles, rejected bricks and other refuse of the kilns, a few fragments of pottery of urn-burial types. A search showed that these fragments were to be found over an area of about ten acres, scattered at the bottom of the clay pits at a depth of about 15 to 20 feet below the present ground level. The occurrence of ancient pottery at such a depth was rather puzzling until further search showed that the fragments were derived from the bottom of silted-up wells. About twenty or thirty of these wells seem to have existed within the excavated area. Many of them had been completely destroyed, their sites being traceable only by the scattered fragments of pottery. In about twelve cases, however, the last three or four feet of the well-shaft had escaped destruction.

These wells were 24 to 30 inches in diameter. Their walls were of pottery $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick, built up in sections about sixteen inches in height, flanged at the base and curved slightly inward at the upper end. Wells of this type are not made nowadays in Southern India. Pottery rings are still occasionally used for wells, but these are more massive, being two inches thick and only six inches high, with wide flanges at top and bottom. In modern ring-wells the sections rest one over the other, while in the older pottery wells the sections are loosely socketed. The segments of the old wells differ moreover from the rings of modern pottery wells in having two opposite pairs of eyelets, which seem to have been intended for ropes to lower the segments into position.

The old well segments were made of coarse clay mixed with chaff, the outer sides being plastered thickly with straw while the clay was still soft. The wells were sunk through the bed of brick clay into a subjacent bed of water-bearing sand. It was, therefore, not possible to clear them out completely owing to the inrush of water. In both the wells I was able to examine in detail there was about four feet of broken pottery mixed with bones. Among the pottery were fragments of large broad-mouthed pots of the usual urn types, and fragments of shallow oval or coffin-shaped troughs, about 24 to 30 inches in length,¹ besides quantities of lesser pottery and numerous fragments of broken well-rings. The fragments of the larger pottery recovered from the wells showed that they were derived from at least twelve different vessels having a mouth diameter ranging from 11 to 19 inches. There were also fragments of eight or ten still larger and more massive vessels with a rim diameter ranging from 22 to 32 inches, and also fragments of a large necked pot of unusual type about thirty inches in diameter, square-shouldered and with a vertical neck. Of the trough-shaped pottery, an almost complete specimen 24" x 10" x 5" was found in one of the wells resting above the other pottery. Most of the smaller pots had globose bodies with narrow, vertical rimless necks. Pots of this type could not have been used for drawing water and must have been thrown in. Some of the vessels have six holes pierced at the base of their necks for suspension. Rimless bowl types were also frequent as well as fragments of shallow saucer-shaped vessels of the kind commonly found in the ancient burials. The latter were of somewhat larger size than is usual in the graves, having a diameter of fourteen inches. These small vessels were all of highly finished, polished black ware. Finally, there were fragments of polished red ring-stands about ten inches in diameter.

With regard to the relation of this domestic pottery to the funeral pottery it is to be noted that (1) I found no fragments of the small vessels, polished red outside and black inside, that is so characteristic of the urn burials of Southern India dating from Adichanallur upwards, although it is to be found abundantly on other village sites; (2) the large ring-stands of red ware were highly polished and differed from the large unpolished ring-stands from certain

* Incorporating notes by K. de B. Codrington.

¹ Perambair, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1908-09, Pl. xxxiii, fig. 2.

of the Deccan large stone-cist sites ; and (3) although all the well pottery consisted of types, the upper part of which had been wheel-thrown, while the lower parts were hand-fashioned (as with the bulk of the funeral pottery), certain fragments of types from the village site were completely wheel-thrown, having flat bottoms. Flat-bottomed pots from graves occur occasionally ; but they are always hand-finished. Hence the suggestion that the village site is slightly later than the soak-pits. Being some distance from them, it may have taken the place of a slightly earlier village in the immediate vicinity of the soak-pits. Indeed, about 150 yards to the east of the well area where the ground is full of *kankar* nodules, I found a few fragments including a typical pot-lid of the polished red-outside, black-inside ware mentioned above as being entirely absent from the village site.

The number and closely packed situation of the wells, their slight fabric and the pottery types found in them, show that they cannot have been draw-wells, but were undoubtedly soak-pits. The importance of these wares and pottery types is that they represent domestic pots of the urn and cist-burial period, a study of which has never been made. It is evident that the burial pottery contains a large number of domestic types.

It is obvious that these soak-pits must have been located very near the centre of the inhabited area. I examined carefully all the area in the immediate neighbourhood of the wells, especially the face of the cuttings for any trace of past human habitation, but found none. I discovered, however, that there was an ancient village site extending from the north-eastern corner of the brick-field across the Poonamalee road into a part of the property known as Landon's Garden. The site of the village was marked by a layer of broken pottery, which in places was three feet thick. Judging by the pottery, the village may have been contemporaneous with the wells or probably a little later. In this village area I found only one well, probably a draw-well. The site covered by the village has since been thickly built over. A comparison of the contents of the wells with the refuse in the village sites shows certain differences. On the village site the pottery is almost wholly of the commoner domestic kind, hardly any fragments of the larger and heavier types of vessels being found. It is interesting to note that the wells and the area as a whole contained quantities of buffalo, goat and chicken bones.

The existence of a cemetery was indicated by the occurrence *in situ* of a large, pyriform funeral urn of the Adichanallur and Wynad type and by the conical leg of an earthenware legged cist of the Perambair type. [A large cemetery of this type exists about half a mile away from the brick-field and only a short distance beyond Landon's Garden.]

In searching the immediate neighbourhood of the soak-pits I found :—

1. A small button-like ornament of gold about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter with a bridge or strap behind, showing that it must have been worn strung on a tape or sewn on to a garment.
2. A small earthenware bead similar to types found at Adichanallur, Tangal, etc.
3. A fragment of a semi-translucent apple-green bead.
4. A small spherical bead of opaque red glass of a type common at Tangal and throughout the ancient sites of Tinnevely.
5. A fragment of a semi-opaque blue glass bi-cone bead, also a common type.
6. I also found in the face of the gravel-pits a small neatly ground celt of quartzite measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and also a very clumsily flaked quartzite hand-axe.
7. During a second visit I found three fragments of pottery figurines in the area north-west of the settling-tanks in the heap of debris washed out of the clay. The first of these represented the left shoulder and the breast of a figurine showing a jewelled necklace, which consists of a double row of beads. The second represents the lower part of a very crudely made sitting figure. The third is too fragmentary to identify. The fabric of these fragments is very coarse and of a yellow-red colour.

To the east of the settling tanks the earth had been excavated to the depth of about twenty feet. At ground level the foundations of a demolished European bungalow could be seen; beneath which was a quantity of pottery fragments. The most important of these represents a seated figure, probably Śiva, in which case the missing right leg must have been pendant. The head had been broken off, but was found a few feet away from the torso. The fabric is of medium texture and yellow-red in colour. The figure has been moulded, and may be classed as Pallava, and dated about the eighth century A.D. It has since been acquired by the India Museum, South Kensington, and is now exhibited there. Very few Pallava terracottas of fine workmanship are known to exist; this figure therefore is of the greatest importance as a standard of comparison with the copper and bronze castings.²

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(Continued from page 8.)

VII. Bengal and Bihar Maunds.

I have failed to obtain any early data for the country between Agra and Bengal. The records of the English factory which was established at Patna in 1620 (*English Factories*, i, 191-283) show that silk was dealt in there by the ser of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pice, which is contrasted with the ser of 30 pice (i.e., the Akbari) prevailing at Agra. This would give a maund of just under 64 lb., almost identical with the Bengal unit mentioned below; and it will be remembered that the silk came from Bengal, so that this may be the Bengal unit, used in Patna as a special maund for silk. In two places (pp. 205, 213) the figure is given as $33\frac{1}{2}$; this may be a slip, or it may indicate a trade-allowance of one pice in the ser (compare the allowance of two pice in five sers mentioned by Pelsaert in the indigo-market of Bayāna). At the same time and place lignum aloes was sold by the ser of 33 pice (pp. 200, 258); this would give a maund of just 61 lb. The Jahāngiri was, however, already known in the market, for (p. 199) cartage was arranged in terms of it; and later records indicate that, so far as wholesale commerce was concerned, the local units gave way to the official maunds. Thus Peter Mundy²⁰ found that the ser was 37 pice, which must, I think, be the Jahāngiri of 36 pice with an allowance of one pice; while the Dutch records of somewhat later date use the Shāhjahāni.

The earliest information I have found regarding Bengal is in Nunez' *Book of Weights*. In the Porto Grande, that is to say, Chittagong and the Meghnā estuary, the maund, of 40 sers, there given works out at just under $46\frac{1}{2}$ lb. A maund of approximately this size (42 Holland pounds, or nearly 46 lb.) was the unit regularly employed in the next century in the Dutch factory at Arakan, which traded principally at Chittagong, and this unit may be accepted for the Meghnā.

For the Porto Piqueno, that is Sātgaon and the Hūgli estuary, Nunez gives a figure which works out to 64.6 lb. We meet a maund of approximately this size at Balasore in 1642 (*English Factories*, vii, 72), when the freight on cloth was charged per maund of 64 lb.; on the same occasion, freight on sugar was charged per maund of 128 lb., obviously a double unit. Thus a maund of about 64 lb. is established for the Hūgli estuary in the sixteenth, and up to the middle of the seventeenth century. A little later we find the Shāhjahāni in use in this region (e.g., *Dagh Register*, 24th Feby. 1682).

A change, of which I have failed to trace a record, occurred subsequently. At the end of the eighteenth century, two units were current in Calcutta, the 'factory,' and the 'bazaar.' According to *Useful Tables* (i, 69), the bazaar maund was based on the Murshidābād rupee of

² A description of this figure will be published separately.

²⁰ *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hakluyt Society), ii, 156; there is an error of calculation in the footnote which makes the maund equal to 60 lb. Writing of the year 1671, John Marshall (ed. Shafast Ahmad Khan, Oxford, 1927) recorded a Patna maund of 80 lb., which I have not met elsewhere.

179·666 gr., 80 of which made a ser; the maund was thus 82 lb., and the standardisation effected in 1833 made only a trifling difference. The same authority says that the factory maund "would appear to have been adopted in 1787 to save calculation on the home remittances of produce, 3 factory maunds being almost exactly equal to 2 cwt."; the factory maund was thus 74½ lb. Information is wanting as to the origin of the bazaar maund. As to the factory maund, I think it may reasonably be taken as an adaptation of the Shāhjahānī, which, as has been said above, had come into use on the Hūgli; the slight increase of about 10 ounces would be a natural measure to simplify calculations, as suggested in *Useful Tables*.

While, however, the old 64 lb. maund had been superseded in Calcutta, it would appear to have survived in the mofassil. The Silberrad Committee reported (p. 37) that a ser of 60 standard tolas was currently used in retail trade in 16 districts of Bengal; this gives a maund of 62 lb., which may be explained conjecturally as a survival of the old unit, slightly modified so as to make use of a round number of the new rupee or tola-weights. I cannot, however, write with any confidence regarding retail maunds, each of which would have to be worked out on the spot; and I will merely suggest that some of them, though not all, are probably survivals of old units which have been superseded in wholesale trade as the result of official action. Apart from the 60-tola ser of Bengal, I may instance two retail maunds with which I was familiar twenty years ago in the central parts of the United Provinces, one containing 16, the other 20, standard sers. The first is almost exactly 33 lb., the second is 41 lb.; and if these are not survivals of the two Agra maunds recorded in the *Āin-i Akbarī*, the coincidence is very remarkable. It will be noticed that in some cases of recorded standardisation the size of the maund was substantially increased, and probably the resulting sers were felt to be inconveniently large for ordinary retail transactions, so that mere inertia may not be the only reason for the survival of the older and smaller units.

VIII. Summary.

When we go behind the official maunds, we find the following units prevalent, though not necessarily to the exclusion of others, in wholesale commerce in different regions of India.

Region.	lb. (rounded).
South India (excluding the pepper ports)	23 to 27
Delhi	28 to 29
Gujarāt	33
Agra and Central India	33 and 40
Bengal, near the Hūgli	64
East of the Meghna	46

Most, but by no means all, of the relevant passages found in the literature from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century can be interpreted satisfactorily in terms of these units.

Some passages, where the weights given seem to be fantastically high, can be read as probable, or possible, on the hypothesis that the Arab maund of about 2 lb. survived in certain administrative departments in northern India.

Other passages indicate that a maund of about 15 lb. was known to the Mogul administration, though not recorded in wholesale commerce.

This enumeration practically exhausts the sources to which I have access; but they do not cover the whole of India, and it is not suggested that the enumeration is complete. Additions to it would be welcome, notably for Sindh, the Panjāb, Bihār and Rājputānā.

I have hazarded the guess that the southern maund may originally have represented half a porter's load. This suggestion may be extended to the Delhi maund, and possibly to the Gujarāt and the smaller Agra maund; while it might also be applied to Bengal as representing a whole load, for Bengal in many ways thought differently from the rest of India. Anything

over 60 lb. would however make a heavy load for a porter, and the suggestion could not be extended to the larger Agra maund, or to that found east of the Meghna.

For these maunds of 40 lb. and upwards, there is a possibility that what we are dealing with was originally the contents of a donkey's pannier. We have seen above that in the mountainous country the commonest units of weight were called 'donkey-loads,' and a pannier, or half-load, would there be somewhere about 80 lb. The hill-donkeys are however a larger and stronger breed than those usually found in the plains, and ought to be able to carry substantially more. I can hear of no case of donkeys now being used for regular transport in the plains; in brick-fields, and for short journeys in northern India, they are expected to carry as much as a maund in each pannier, but this is certainly gross overloading, and nothing like so much could be carried for long marches on successive days, when a total load of round about 100 lb. would be reasonable. It may be noted that Dr. Pran Nath in the work already quoted mentions (p. 77) a unit named *kharuār* in Sanskrit; but I have been unable to find out when, or where, this unit was used, and the possibility that it may be the Persian *kharuār* in Sanskrit guise cannot be excluded.

These guesses would carry us back to a very early period, before the ox and the camel had become the principal carriers of India, and when the usual agents were porters, supplemented in some localities by donkeys. My object in offering them is merely to ask if such a period has left any traces in literature, and if there is anything to show that donkeys were in fact used for transport in regions where the maunds were comparatively large. For all I know, the donkey may have been important before the arrival of the Aryans, and the existing contempt for a most serviceable animal may be a survival of the Aryan disdain of unfamiliar institutions: at any rate, his history may deserve more attention than it has hitherto received.

THE INTERROGATIVE BASES OF DRAVIDIAN.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM.)

(Continued from p. 4.)

The fact that Telugu and some of the central Dravidian dialects show *ē* in cases where Tamil and Kannada show *ā* need not be held to prove that the latter was not original. The true and the only test in such instances would be to consider what, after an analysis of the cognates of the words given above, would emerge as the reconstructed bases, and if these latter show *ā* instead of *ē*, there can be little doubt about the original character of *ā*. In the parallel cases cited above, the fact that the source-bases show *ā* would tend to demonstrate that in all these *ā* should be considered to be original.

The question now arises, why and how these forms took on *y* before them; for, there is little doubt that as Dravidian does not tolerate original initial *y*, this *y* should be considered secondary.

It will already have been noted that in the above instances the correspondence between Telugu *ē* and Tamil *ā* exists only where the latter alternates with *yā*. This taken along with the fact already demonstrated above, that *a* should have been original, would furnish us with the clue to the origin of *y* before *a*.

ā in these instances probably developed a palatal tonality at a particular stage of Dravidian when the palatal glide became incorporated; and this glide became permanently written and uttered in Tamil as a fricative, while in Telugu and in some instances in Kūi and in Tamil, *yā* changed into *ē*.

That the palatal tonality was not developed in all dialects and in all instances of forms with *ā*- in Tamil itself, is shown by

(a) the occurrence in ancient Tamil of alternative forms for *yādu*, etc., containing an initial *ā* with a distinct non-palatal tonality (as attested by the actual sound-value now given to them) and

(b) by instances like the following from different dialects, where an original \tilde{a} appears to have changed into \tilde{o} :

- Kûi $\delta\tilde{a}$ (sheep) —cf. Tam., Kann. $\delta\tilde{a}$, Tuḷu $\delta\tilde{a}$.
 Kûi $\tilde{o}li$, $\tilde{o}ḍi$ (bear), $\tilde{o}ḍri$ (rat)—cf. Gôṇḍi $\tilde{a}li$ (rat), Tam. $\tilde{e}li$, Tel. $\tilde{e}luka$.
 „ $\tilde{o}ra$ (channel, furrow) —cf. Tam. $\tilde{y}\tilde{a}ru$, $\tilde{a}ru$, Tel. $\tilde{e}ru$.
 Malto \tilde{o} (cow, cattle) } —cf. Tam. \tilde{a} (cow, etc.), Kann., Tel. $\tilde{a}vu$ (cow).
 Kurukh $\tilde{o}y$ („) }
 Kurukh $\tilde{o}l-$ (to be on fire) —cf. Tam. $\tilde{a}l-$, Tuḷu $\tilde{a}r-$; Tam., Kann., Tuḷu, Tel. $\tilde{e}ri$ (to burn), Kann. $\tilde{u}ri$ (to burn), Tuḷu $\tilde{a}rata$ (burning).
 „ $\tilde{o}lox-$ (to bewail) —cf. Tam. $\tilde{a}l-$ (to grieve), Kann. $\tilde{a}l-$, Tuḷu $\tilde{a}r-$ (to weep), Tel. $\tilde{e}ḍu-$ (to weep).

The following facts directly suggest that \tilde{a} and \tilde{o} are intimately related deictic particles in Dravidian:

(a) The primary demonstrative particles (in most of the Dravidian dialects) are \tilde{t} denoting proximity, \tilde{a} denoting remoteness and a less common $\tilde{ñ}$ (found as such in ancient Tamil) signifying something intermediate between proximity and remoteness. Words have been formed on all these deictic bases in Dravidian.

The idea of remoteness is usually denoted in all dialects (except Brâhûi and Kûi) by the particle \tilde{a} ; but at the same time a particle \tilde{o} appears to have been developed in certain contexts to denote the conception of greater remoteness than is signified by \tilde{a} . This \tilde{o} is found occurring in the following contexts:—

(i) Kûi demonstrative adjective \tilde{o} (that over there).

(ii) A set of words prominent in the southern dialects, but possessing cognates in the northern Dravidian tongues also, all of which are formed on an \tilde{o} -basis, as the basic deictic significations implying extreme remoteness attest, e.g.,

Tamil $\tilde{o}y$ (to fling off)—cf. Gôṇḍi $\tilde{o}i-$ (to carry off), Kur. $\tilde{u}i-$, Kûi \tilde{o} .
 $\tilde{o}ṅgu$ (to rise high, i.e., farther off).
 $\tilde{o}li$ (to flow away), etc.

(iii) Side by side with an interrogative particle \tilde{a} (apparently derived from the corresponding demonstrative) there occurs in Tamil another interrogative particle \tilde{o} which implies greater doubt than \tilde{a} in contexts like the following:

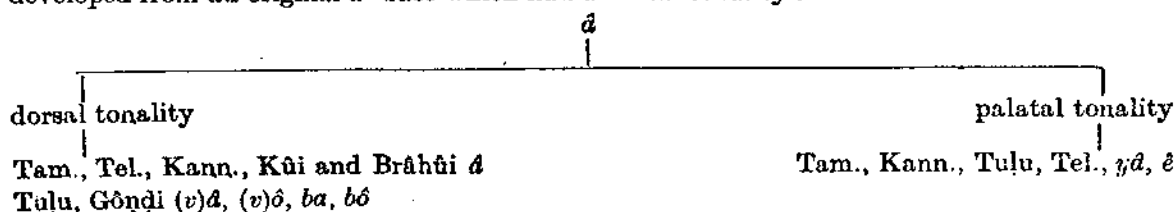
cf. $\tilde{v}and\tilde{a}n-\tilde{a}$ (did he come?) with $\tilde{v}and\tilde{a}n-\tilde{o}$ (did he indeed come?)
 cf. $\tilde{a}r-\tilde{a}$ $\tilde{e}ḷḷ-\tilde{a}$ (six or eight, which?) with $\tilde{a}r-\tilde{o}$ $\tilde{e}ḷḷ-\tilde{o}$ (six or eight, which indeed?)

(b) The fact that \tilde{o} and \tilde{a} are intimately related in meaning, in conjunction with the other fact that \tilde{o} by itself does not appear in its bare adjectival state as a common demonstrative in any of the dialects except Kûi (where secondary demonstratives abound) would point to the two particles having been as intimately connected in form as in meaning.

This relationship in form cannot be explained in any other way than by the postulate that \tilde{a} developed a dorsal tonality and changed into \tilde{o} through the intermediate stage [o].

The position then would be this: The original \tilde{a} of the interrogatives cited above need not have had in the primitive stage a palatal tonality; but, on the other hand, it may have developed at a later stage a palatal tonality in some instances in some dialects, while in other dialects it may have tended to become dorsal. The existence of $\tilde{y}\tilde{a}$ forms in Tamil and Kannaḍa on the one hand, and on the other our discussion of certain Tuḷu and Gôṇḍi interrogatives

would bear out this position. It could be shown that these bases in Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi were developed from an original *ā*-base which had a dorsal tonality :—



We have now to analyse the formation of these interrogative forms of Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi.

- I. Tuḷu. $\begin{array}{l} (v)\text{ā} \\ (v)\text{ōvu} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} (v)\text{ā} \\ (v)\text{ōvu} \end{array}} \right\} \text{(which ?)}$
 $\begin{array}{l} (v)\text{ō}/u \\ (v)\text{ō}/e \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} (v)\text{ō}/u \\ (v)\text{ō}/e \end{array}} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(where ?)} \\ \text{(whither ?)} \end{array}$

If we examine the list of Tuḷu demonstratives given at the end, we find the following forms, all of which are the resultants of the operation of aphæresis of initial syllables consequent on accent-displacement :—

mā!/u (here) < *vū!/u* < *ivū!/u* < *i*, the proximate demonstrative + *u!* (place). This is suggested directly by the word *avū!/u* (there), which appears in its full form probably on account of the fact that the remote demonstrative carried greater accent on the first syllable and escaped aphæresis.⁴

A similar explanation will have to be given for *mō!/u* (she), *mēru* (they), etc., and also for *mālu* (here).

The question is whether such an explanation could be given for Tuḷu *vā*, etc. Can we consider that *vā* (which ?) is < *yā* (v)*a* or *yē* (v)*a*, and *vōvu* (which ?) is < *yā* (v)*avu* ? We cannot, for two reasons :—

(a) In some instances where *yā* has been active, aphæresis has failed to operate, e.g., *yēru* (who ?), *yēpa* (when ?), *yēṇca* (why ?) ; and there seems to be little reason why it should have operated in the presumed hypothetical forms *yēva*, etc.

(b) Further, *vā* and *vōvu* possess the most elementary and generalized of meanings ; in no circumstances can we conceive of the supposed older form of *vā* (which ?), viz., *ya* (v)*a*, giving this generalized meaning implied in the actual modern signification of *vā*, *vō*.

The fact that in Tuḷu these forms with initial *v*- possess only the most elementary of interrogative significations (uncombined with ideas of gender, direction, time, place or manner) would, I think, point to this change having occurred at a very ancient stage. The existence of Tuḷu *ō!/u* (where ?), *ō!/u* (whither ?) would corroborate the fact of the dorsal tonality having characterized *ā* at a particular stage.

- II. Gōṇḍi. $\begin{array}{ll} bōl \text{ (who ?)} & bappōr \text{ (when ?)} \\ bōr & bēga \text{ (where ?)} \\ bād \text{ (which ?)} & bāba \text{ (why ?)} \\ & bah \text{ (what ?)} \end{array}$

One might suggest here too that aphæresis of initial syllables may have occurred, if we were to limit our observations to *bōl* (who). The change would then be something like the following :—

yā+ol (he) > *yā(v)ol* > *yabōl* > *bōl*, etc.

Aphæresis of initial syllables, it may be said, is also found though very rarely, in Gōṇḍi, as the following instances would show :—

reng (to be open)—cf. south Dravidian *tira*, *tura* (to open).

ragg (to descend)—cf. south Dravidian *iṭaṅg* (to descend).

⁴ Compare proximate *mō!/u* (she) with remote *ā!/u* (she) and proximate masculine plural *mēru* (they) with the remote form *āru*.

Instances of aphæresis, however, are extremely rare in Gôṇḍi, and possibly are traceable only in a few forms with initial *l-* or *r-*. No instance of aphæresis can be postulated for any among the large number of Gôṇḍi *b-* forms given in Trench's lists. On the other hand, almost all those that are native could be connected with forms of other dialects with initial *p*.

Apart from this, there is another reason why we cannot postulate aphæresis as accounting for the initial *b-* of the Gôṇḍi interrogatives. Granting that *bôl*, *bôr*, *bad* may respectively be traced through aphæresis to *yâbol*, etc., how could we, on the same principle, account for *bappôr* (when ?), *bêga* (where ?), *baba* (why ?) and *bah* (what ?) The theory of aphæresis would fail to explain the formation of these words. The only plausible explanation for the derivation of these forms is to trace them ultimately to an interrogative *ba-* which combined with the time-suffix in *bappôr*, with the place-suffix in *bêga*, and was retained as such in *bah* while it was reduplicated in *baba* (why ?)

On the whole, then, the Gôṇḍi and the Tulu forms only tend to justify the view that a certain number of interrogative bases should have been directly produced from *â* with a dorsal tonality.

That Dravidian dorsal initial vowels of words do incorporate a dorsal glide *ǃ*, which may or may not fully develop into a bilabial fricative *v*, has been dealt with by me already in my *Dravidic Miscellany* published in this Journal.

Further confirmatory evidence that *a* with dorsal tonality should have existed in Dravidian as an interrogative base, is supplied by the existence in Kannaḍa and in Kûi of a series of interrogatives with *â* as their base :—

Kannaḍa *âvan*, *âval*, *âvar*, etc.

Kûi *anañju*, etc.

Brâhûi *a-*

If, finally, the question is posed why from among the demonstrative bases *ĩ*, *ũ* and *ã*, the last-mentioned should have been chosen to serve as the interrogative base, one might answer that as the interrogative always implies doubt, the idea of a certain degree of uncertainty⁵ contained in the remote demonstrative particle would more appropriately serve the function of the interrogative, the difference between the demonstrative and the interrogative in such a case consisting only in the degree of accent carried by the particle.

III. It now remains for us only to discuss some of the peculiar secondary interrogative bases [Kann. *dâ-*, Tulu *dâ-*, *jâ-*, Brâhûi *dê-*, Malto *nê-*] occurring in some of the dialects and to find out if they may or may not be connected with the base *â* underlying the interrogative forms discussed immediately above.

These forms are peculiar and so far have not been satisfactorily explained. Caldwell noted some of them, but offered no suggestion regarding the origin of the initial *d-* of these forms, which, except for this initial sound, correspond exactly to the interrogatives beginning with *y* and those with *â*. Caldwell in this connection states only that "in these instances the analogy of the other dialects leads me to conclude *yâ* to be the older and more correct form of the Interrogative base."

On page 777 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IV, Mr. E. H. Tuttle suggests that "the forms with initial *y* (of Kannaḍa and Tulu) have variants with initial *d*, apparently developed from *ad(u)* in the question *ad evan* (who is that ?) ; the neuter is combined with a masculine in Dravidian as in German *wer ist das ?*" For initial *d-* of Brâhûi *dêr* also, he would suggest a similar origin, while he would relate the Brâhûi proximate demonstrative *dâ* (this) to Afghân *da*.

Mr. Tuttle's explanation might be considered to be quite plausible if the peculiar dental initial appeared in the interrogatives only, as a variant of forms with initial *a-*. As a matter of fact, there are a few other words with initial and medial *d*, which may be considered to

⁵ Cf. The Tamil interrogative particle *-d* in phrases like *vandn-d ?* (did he come ?), etc.

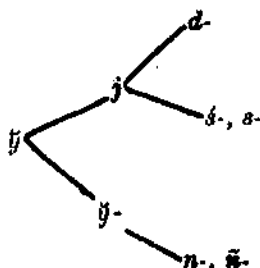
be the variants of originals with palatal vowels, and which cannot in any circumstances be explained on the basis of the principle suggested by Mr. Tuttle.

Compare the following :—

Tamil.		Kann.		Tulu.		Kûi.		Brâhûi.
îr	(wetness) ..	....		....		sîr	(water) ..	dîr (water).
nîr	(water)							
....		nettar (blood)		....		....		dîtar (blood).
		! [< * ⁽ⁿ⁾ etar < *yîtar						
		< *yîrat. < IA rakta]?						
ñdyîr	(sun) ..	nesar	..	nesar	..	....		de (sun).
yîl	(not) ..	yîl	..	(y)ijji	..	sîl, sîd	(not) ..	....
yêr	(plough) ..	dr	..			sêru	(team of oxen for ploughing).	....

These instances, few as they are, raise a problem which (in my view) cannot be dissociated from the question of *d*-, *j*-, and *n*- of the interrogatives in question. The explanation does not appear to be easy. I have tried to show elsewhere [*QJMS.*, vol. XX ; *IA.*, vol. LX] that initial *n*-, *ñ*- of some Dravidian words could be traced back to be the full development of a nasalised prothetic front on-glide in certain circumstances.

Is it possible that *j*- and *d*- in the above instances may also have been similarly connected with a front on-glide ? If so, we shall have to postulate a scheme like the following :—



So far as *j*- > *j*- > *d*- or *s*-, *s*- is concerned, it has to be noted that, as we have no continuous evidence of the intermediate stages of any of the words in question, our postulate remains without satisfactory proof.

However this be, so long as we lack a convincing explanation for the initial sounds of these forms, so long would suggestions regarding the history of the interrogatives with *d*-, *j*-, also remain tentative.

We may sum up our conclusions thus :—

- (i) The original interrogative base of Dravidian was *d*, the remote demonstrative particle having been chosen as the most appropriate for expressing the interrogative idea.
- (ii) This interrogative base in some dialects and in some instances developed a palatal tonality, while in others it showed a dorsal tonality.
- (iii) *yâ*-, *yê*-, of Tamil, Telugu, are the developments of the interrogative base *d* with a palatal tonality.
- (iv) *ed*-, *ed*- of Tulu and *bâ*- of Gôndî are the developments of the interrogative base *d* with a dorsal tonality.
- (v) The original interrogative base *d* appears as such without undergoing change either in the palatal or in the dorsal direction, in Kûi, Kannaḍa and in Brâhûi.

Table of Significant Demonstratives referred to in this essay.

	ADJECTIVES.			ADVERBS.			PRONOUNS.		
	Proxi- mate.	Intermediate.	Remote.	Proxi- mate.	Intermediate.	Remote.	Proxi- mate.	Intermediate.	Remote.
TAMIL	i	u	a	i	u	a	i	u	a
TELUGU	i	..	a	i	..	a	i	..	a
KANNADA	i	u	a	i	..	a	i	u	a
MALAYĀLAM	i, i	..	a, ā	i	..	a	i	..	a
TŪLŪ	i	u [rare]	a	i- mālu (here)	..	a- avulu (there)	i- mōlu (she) mēru (they)	u- [rare] only in <i>andu</i> (this) which has coalesced in meaning with <i>indu</i> (this).	a
KŌI	i	..	ā, ā, ē [rare]	i	..	ā, ā- ē- [rare]	i	..	ā, ā-
GŌṇḍi	i, e	..	a, ā	i	..	a	i, e	..	a, ā-
KŪBŪK	i, i	(h)u, (h)ā	a, ā	i	..	a	i	(h)u-	a
BRĀHṢI	(d)ā	o	ē	(d)ā	o-	ē	..	..	..

Bork postulates Elamitic affinities for the remote Dem. particle *ē* of Brāhṣi (vide "Reallexicon für Vorgeschichte," Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.).

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROFESSOR S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. LX, page 214.)

Pescaria.—Yule gives no illustrative quotation from an English author, so the following example may bear citation :—

[c. 1585.] “The best pearles come from the iland of Baharim in the Persian Sea, the woorser from the *Piscaria* neere the isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam [Hainan], a great iland on the southernmost coast of China.”—R. Fitch, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 47.

Peshkhana.—Bernier is the earliest writer quoted in illustration of this word. The following is an earlier use of the term.

[c. 1590.] “The King [Akbar] ordered the camp to be made in the traditional Mongol style. The ancient custom is that the royal pavilion (which they call the *Pescqhannae* or ‘chief house’) should be placed in a pleasant open place if such can be found.”—Monserrate, *Commentary*, trans. Hoyland, p. 75.

Pie.—[c. 1380.] “When the Sultān [Firūz Tughlaq] had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benignant mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market, and a half or a quarter *jītal* might be due to him in change, but if the shopkeeper had no *dāngs* (quarters), no change could be given, and the purchaser would incur a loss The Sultān accordingly gave directions for the issuing of a half *jītal*, called *ādhdā*, and a quarter *jītal*, called *bīkh*, so that the requirements of the indigent might be supplied.”—*Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 358. The name of this quarter *jītal* is written as بیکه *bīkh*, in the printed text, and Thomas has, in his *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, tried to make some meaning out of it by saying that it signifies a coin to be given away in charity to beggars (Hind. *bhikh*); but this is obviously far-fetched, and I venture to suggest with some confidence that بیکه is a copyist’s error for پیکه *paika*, one-fourth, i.e., the ‘quarter’ or ‘fourth part,’ just as *ādhdā* signifies the ‘moiety’ or ‘half.’

The earliest example of the use of ‘pie’ (*pāi*) itself that I have come across is to be found in the *Dābistān*, trans. Shea and Troyer, II, 216.

Pieces-goods.—This entry contains a long and most interesting catalogue of the more or less obsolete names of various kinds of fabrics made in India in olden times, and the authors have been obliged to leave many of them unexplained.

‘Anna batchies’ seems to be a miswriting of Anna Katchies, cf. ‘Aunne Katchies,’ a few lines lower down; also ‘Catta Katchies,’ ‘Putton Katchies.’ In all these names ‘Katchies’ stands for Hamilton’s ‘Catchā,’ ‘a kind of coarse cloth.’ [See also Foster, *English Factories* (1642-5), p. 252; (1646-50), pp. 13, 100, 106.] The different varieties are perhaps so called from the names of the towns where they were made or from which they came, viz., Aunne, i.e., Unā, near Diu in Kāthiāwār, Cuttack in Orissa, and Pattan, about 60 miles north-west of Aḥmadābād now in the Gāikwād’s territory,—the Anhilwād-Pātan of the historians, which is in Gujarāt (not Cutch, as Yule says).

‘Chundraconaes.’ Yule conjecturally derives from *Chandrakhāna*, ‘moonchecks,’ but this name also, like ‘Arrahs,’ ‘Nunsarees,’ ‘Chinechuras,’ etc., more probably owes its origin to a town, viz., Chandrakona, a well-known weaving centre in Midnapur, Bengal.

So ‘Callawapores’ are probably from Kalūpur, the name of an old but still existing suburb of Aḥmadābād, and ‘Chittābullies’ from some town called Chitāpur or Jaitāpur or Chintapalli—common Indian toponyms. In ‘Dysucksoys,’ ‘Kissorsoys,’ ‘Sickterssoys,’ ‘soys’ seems to be a corrupt form of *sāhi* or *sāi*, ‘in the style of,’ ‘in the manner or fashion of.’ These textiles were so called after persons named Dysuck (Dalsukh or Dilsukh?), Kishor, Sickter, Sickber (Sukhbīr or Sukhvīr?). Cf. Zafarkhānī, Farḥatkhānī, Kāimkhānī, etc. Yule connects ‘Nunsarees’ with a place named Nansāri in Bhandāra district (C. P.), but there can be little doubt that these fabrics were made at Navsāri about eighteen miles south of Sūrat, which was long famous as a weaving-centre—the ‘Nassaria’ of Jourdain, who says that it

made "greate store of baftas" (*Journal*, p. 128). See also Foster, *English Factories* (1618-21), pp. 89, 92, 95, also the 1634-36 Volume, pp. 118, 146, 164.

Similarly, 'Laccowries' appear to have been made at Lakkhaur (the Lukhwar of the Indian Atlas), about thirty miles south of Patna. See Foster, *English Factories* (1618-21), pp. 192, 197; Mundy, *Travels*, II, 154, 155, 362, 363.

'Nicanecs,' which appear to have been 'striped calicos,' might be *nishānis*, from *nishān* 'mark,' 'sign.'

Pollock-saug.—Yule says it is called 'Country Spinach' also. According to Fallon, *pālak* is derived from Sanskrit *pālanka*, a potherb, while Abul Fazl gives the following description of *sāg*: "It is made of spinach and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes."—*Āin*, trans. Blochmann, I, 59. But this seems to be a secondary meaning of the Hindi *sāg*, for it is really the Sans. *śāka*, 'green potherbs of all sorts, greens' and *śāka* is the ordinary Gujarātī word for 'vegetables.'⁵

It would seem as if Abul Fazl's recipe is for making 'Pollock sāg,' and that his *sāg* is an abbreviated form of that word.

Pommelo, Pampelmoose.—[1679.] See quotation from Bombay under *Combalingua*.

Yule says that this fruit "probably did not come to India till the seventeenth century; it is not mentioned in the *Āin*." The botanical name of the Pummelo is given by him as *Citrus decumana*. But the *Citrus decumana* is mentioned in the *Bāburnāma*, if Erskine's and Mrs. Beveridge's interpretation of that emperor's description of the *sadāphal* is to be relied on.

"The *sadāphal*," he writes, "is another orange-like fruit. This is pear-shaped, colours like the quince, ripens sweet, but not to the sickly-sweetness of the orange (*nāranj*)."—Trans. A. S. Beveridge, p. 512.

This learned lady further points out that "Firminger (p. 223) has *Citrus decumana pyramiformis*, suiting Bābur's 'pear-shaped.'"—*Ibid.*, note.

Now the *sadāphal* is mentioned in the *Āin* also. Only Yule was unable to recognise it because he relied on the translation of Blochmann, who has rendered *sadāphal* by 'custard apples,' trans. p. 66.—(See *Āin*, *Bibl. Ind.*, text, I, p. 70.) There can be no doubt that Bābur's *sadāphal* is not the custard apple. It was a fruit of the orange kind. Abul Fazl does not describe the *sadāphal*, but he says explicitly that those fruits "are to be had throughout the whole year"; and as this did not suit his interpretation of it as 'custard apple,' Blochmann suggested that it was "a mistake of the MSS!"

I may add that the *sadāphal*—whatever it may be, and the word *does* seem to be applied to more than one kind of fruit—is mentioned also in Sirāj's *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, text, 128, l. 2, as growing in the gardens planted by Sultān Firūz Tughlaq in his new city of Ḥiṣār Firūza about 1360 A.D. In short, if the *sadāphal* of Bābur was the *Citrus decumana*, the fruit must have been known in India long before the seventeenth century.

Punch.—[1632.] "Is glad that Colley has such good company as Cartwright; hopes they will keep a good house together and 'drinke punch by no allowance.'" Robert Adams at Armagon to Thomas Colley at Pettapoli, 28 September, 1632, in *English Factories in India* (1630-1633), p. 229. Sir William Foster notes that "this appears to be the earliest known mention of this famous drink."

Peter Mundy describes a somewhat similar drink called 'Charebockhra':

[1629-30.] "Our stronge Drinck is Racke, like stronge water, next a kinde of beer made of Course Sugar and other ingredients . . . There is sometimes used a composition of Racke, water, sugar and Juice of Limes called Charebockhra."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II, 28. The word must be the Persian *chihār bahra* (چهار بهرا)—'four portions or parts.'⁶

⁵ In Hindi, *sāg* (Sans. शकः) is the generic term for pot-herb; *pālak* is a particular kind of pot-herb, viz., garden spinach, *Spinacia oleracea*, Linn.—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

⁶ Or rather the Hind. *chār bahrā* (var. *bakhrā*).—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

Punkah.—The earliest reference to the use in India of the 'portable fan' which the authors have cited is from the Journal of Finch (1610). But 'Abdu'r-razzâq mentions the article in his *Maṭla'u 's-sa'dain*. In a very interesting account of his interview with the Râja of Vijayanagar in 1443, he writes :

"As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan or *khaṭāi* [Cathay] which he held in his hand."—Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, IV, 113.

Sir Henry rightly points out that the Indian fans made of the Palmyra leaf "are not formed, as Chinese fans are, like those of our ladies," but it would appear from the above that "Chinese fans" were in actual use at the Court of Vijayanagar in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The earliest *clear* description of 'the large, fixed and swinging fan'—the modern Anglo-Indian 'Punkha' in the specific application of the term—is to be found, as Sir Richard Temple has pointed out, in *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 191 (1632). The passage is cited above (Vol. LX, p. 148) in the note on 'Cuscuss.'

Punsaree.—The earliest use quoted by Yule is of 1830, but this word will be found in Mundy. [1632.] "In fine, hee brought with him some fewe *Pasaares* or shopkeepers, whose amongst them all would not take above 4 or 5 maunds."—*Travels*, ed. Temple, II, 147.

Purdesee.—The occurrence of this vocable in Barbosa shows how early the Portuguese learnt to use words belonging to the language of the country. Describing the 'Land of Malabar,' he writes :

"There are many other foreign Moors as well in the town of Calecut, who are called *Pardesis*, natives of divers lands."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Dames, II, 75-6.

Roundel.—The following may be quoted as early examples of the use of this interesting word.

[1626.] "The Dutch hearing of their arrival, in all haste sent their scrivani a *Branman*, with his pallankine, '*Kimdeleeroes*' and attendants compleat to carry a present to the Nâyak and prevent the success of English."—*English Factories in India* (1624-29), p. 121. Sir William Foster is undoubtedly right in saying that this is the copyist's misreading of '*Rundeleeroes*.'

[1639.] "After him followed pallankeens, by whose side went *rondelleeroes* [i.e., Roundel boys] carryeing of broad things like targetts to keepe away the sunne or rayne."—Affidavit of Ralph Cartwright, quoted in *English Factories in India*, ed. Sir W. Foster (1637-41), p. 48, note.

[1639.] "You bringe the Dutch in for example, saying they keepe two *rundelleres*, three torcheres [i.e., torch bearers] and 60 peownes, with two horses and one *pallankeene*."—*Ibid.*, p. 48.

Sarbatane.—Yule does not seem to have noticed the use of this word by Varthema :—

[c. 1508.] "These carry bows and the greater part darts of cane. Some also use *Zarabottane* (blow-pipes) with which they throw poisoned darts and they throw them with the mouth and, however little they draw blood, the [wounded] person dies."—*Travels of L. Varthema*, tr. Badger, p. 254.

Scrivan.—Sir Thomas Roe (1616) is the earliest English author quoted by Yule.

[c. 1609.] "Which the Governour perceivinge, and this beinge required by them of him in a publique audience, the Governor cawsed notice to bee taken of it by the Caia and a *scrivano* before the Cadée of the town."—*Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 101.

Seemul.—There is a very early reference to this tree by a Musulman author of the fourteenth century :—

[c. 1398.] "Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the *Sembal* (silk-cotton-tree). Quantities of this silk-cotton were placed round the column [*scil.* the *Asoka* pillar] and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees."—*Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, in Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, III,

351; also Text, 309, l. 5, where the spelling is *شابل*. The tree is said to be mentioned in the Rigveda in what is known as 'Vishvāmitra's Curse.'

Shahbāsh.—The following is an early use of this term in English :—

[1622.] "Yesterday the time fixed by Ji Rām Shāh expired, but he has only delivered a few more goods, 'hee still feedinge us with *Shabāsh* according to the base and wicked custome of this cuntrye.'"—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 177.

Shameesana, Semianna.—Sir Henry has quoted the passage found on p. 54, Vol. I, of Blochmann's Translation of the *Āin*, but there is another at *ibid.*, I, 46, which seems to me to give a clue to the derivation of this word. There the awning is called *namgīrah* by Abul Fazl. This latter word would mean 'dew-catcher' or 'dew-receiver,' i.e., protector from dew. Now *shām* signifies 'evening,' and so *shāmiāna* might have been so called because it would afford protection against the 'evening dews.'

Mr. Crooke says that "in the early records, the word is used for a kind of striped calico." But this 'Semianna,' 'Semianno,' is an entirely different word, which never occurs in the Persian histories. It is the Indian name of a textile fabric, which was so called because it was made at Samāna in the Panjāb. Of this, again, there seem, as usual, to have been several varieties, coarse as well as fine.—Sir W. Foster's note in *English Factories* (1618-21), p. xxi; also *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II, 140 n., 156.

[1608-13.] "This tent is curiously wrought and hath many *seminans* joyning round about it of most curious wrought velvet, embroidered with gold, and many of them are of cloath of gold and silver."—William Hawkins in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 117. See also Finch (*ibid.*), pp. 163, 184, 187.

It is clear that Hawkins' 'seminans' were *shāmiyānas*, and not the cotton cloths made at Samāna, as the former are explicitly said to have been of 'wrought velvet.'

(To be continued.)

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt., O.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A..

Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.

(Continued from vol. LX, page 218.)

Teressa.—Thinly populated and possessing much jungle land of fertile quality, and grass land suited for rearing cattle.

Bompoka.—Small and fairly well populated. Land, therefore, not available for an alien settlement.

Trinkat.—Although a large portion of this low-lying island is covered with primeval forest and uncultivated land which could with little labour be rendered capable of bearing a variety of valuable products, it possesses, at the same time, so many plantations of cocoanut, betel-nut and pandanus trees, which comprise the chief wealth of the people living in the small, scattered villages on the east coasts of Nancowry and Camorta, that the establishment of a colony on any portion of the island would be regarded by the natives with extreme disfavour. Considerable as are the present returns of cocoanuts and other products of this island, it is very certain that they are capable of enormous increase in the hands of skilled cultivators.

Nancowry and Camorta.—Thinly populated. Jungle soil of sufficient excellence to pay the labour of cultivation. Grass land admirably adapted for rearing cattle.

Katchall and the Southern Group of Islands.—Are very thinly populated and contain abundance of very rich soil, presenting, therefore, the most promising field for agricultural colonists.

As the Nicobar Islands apparently lie directly in the local line of greatest weakness, severe earthquakes are to be expected and have occurred at least three times in the last 60

years. Earthquakes of great violence were recorded in 1847 (31st October to 5th December), 1881 with tidal wave (31st December), and milder shocks in 1899 (December). The tidal waves caused by the eruption of Krakatoa in the Straits of Sunda in August 1883 were severely felt.

The vexed questions of the presence of coal and tin in the Nicobars have so far received no decided scientific support. The white clay marls of Camorta and Nancowry have become famous, as being true polyistinaris, like those of Barbadoes.

There has been considerable activity in the collection of both land and sea shells all over the Nicobars by members of the two expeditions above mentioned, officers of the Penal Settlement, scientific visitors, and some of the missionaries, but there does not appear to be anything of special note in the sea shells. The presence of *argonauta argo*, *scalaria preciosa*, and of a huge *tridacna*, measuring 3 feet and more, may, however, be noted. The land shells are of more interest, as supporting the geological evidence regarding the connections of the islands north and south.

The marine and land fauna of the Nicobars take generally the character of that of the Andamans, though while the Andamans' fauna is closely allied to Arakan and Burma, the Nicobars' displays more affinities with Sumatra and Java. The land fauna, owing to greater ease in communications, has been better explored than the Andamans.

The economic zoology of the Nicobars is also mainly that of the Andamans. Coral, trepang, cuttle-bones, sea-shells, oysters, pearls, pearl-oysters, turtle and tortoise-shell, edible birds' nests are equally found in both groups of islands. And in the Nicobars a somewhat inferior quality of bath sponge is obtainable.

Although the vegetation of the Nicobars has received much desultory attention from scientific observers, it has not been subjected to a systematic examination by the Indian Forest Department like that of the Andamans. In economic value the forests of the Nicobars are quite inferior to the Andaman forests, and so far as known the commercially valuable trees, besides the fruit trees such as the cocoanut (*Cocos nucifera*), the betel-nut (*Areca Catechu*) the mellori (*Pandanus leucom*), are a thatching-palm (*Nipa fruticans*), and the timber trees *Myristica Irya*, *Mimusops littoralis*, *Hopea odorata*, *Artocarpus Lakoocha*, *Calophyllum inophyllum*, *Calophyllum spectabile*, *Podocarpus neriifolia*, *Artocarpus Chaplasha*. Of these only the first would at the Andamans be classed as a first class timber, the last would be a third class timber and the rest second class. The minor forest products are limited to dammer (obtained from *Dipterocarpus* sp.) and rattans. The palms of the Nicobars are exceedingly graceful, especially the beautiful *Ptychoraphis angusta*. The large clumps of *Casuarina equisetifolia* and great tree-ferns (*Alsophila albo-setacea*) are also striking features of the landscape in places.

In the old missionary records are frequently mentioned instances of the introduction of foreign economic plants. In this matter the people have been apt pupils indeed, and nowadays a number of familiar Asiatic fruit-trees are carefully and successfully cultivated: pumelos (the largest variety of the orange family), lemons, limes, oranges, shaddocks, papayas, bael-fruit (wood-apple), custard apples, bullock's-hearts, tamarinds, jacks, and plantains: besides sugarcane, yams, edible colocasias, pine-apples, capsicum, and so on. A diminutive orange, said to come from China and to have been introduced by the Moravian missionaries, is now acclimatized (and at the Andamans). It is quite possible also that with the missionaries came the peculiar zigzag garden fence of the Northern Islands. With the long commerce of the people a number of Indian weeds (*Malvaceae* and *Compositae*) have been introduced, *Datura*, *Solanum*, *Flemmingia mallotus*, *Mimosa*, and so on.

IV. METEOROLOGY.

It has always been held to be of importance to maintain a meteorological station at the Nicobars for supplementing the information to be obtained from the Andamans as to the

direction and intensity of cyclonic storms in the Bay of Bengal. A subsidiary station was therefore set up at Nancowry Harbour on the British assumption of possession in 1869 and properly maintained while the penal settlement lasted there till 1888, and after a fashion thereafter till 1897, when it was removed to Mus in Car Nicobar.

The climate generally is that of the islands of similar latitude ; very hot except when raining, damp, rain throughout the year, generally in sharp heavy showers, unwholesome for Europeans, in places dangerously subject to malaria. The weather is generally unsettled, especially in the south. The islanders are exposed to both monsoons with easterly and north-easterly gales from November to January, and south-westerly gales from May to September ; smooth weather only from February to April and in October ; occasionally visited by cyclones (recorded instances, May 1885, March 1892). The normal barometric readings (five years in Nancowry Harbour) vary between 29·960 and 29·797, being highest in January and lowest in June.

The rainfall varies much from year to year as will be seen from the following table and diagram :—

Rainfall in inches annually at Nancowry, 1874 to 1888.

1873-74	..	..	..	..	..	94·24
1874	..	..	..	..	..	108·14
1875	..	..	..	..	..	99·97
1876	..	..	..	..	..	136·55
1877	..	..	..	..	..	108·55
1878	..	..	..	..	..	Not given.
1879	..	..	..	..	..	109·72
1880	..	..	..	..	..	101·96
1881	..	..	..	..	..	127·61
1882	..	..	..	..	..	143·24
1883	..	..	..	..	..	122·35
1884	..	..	..	..	..	109·62
1885	..	..	..	..	..	93·04
1886	..	..	..	..	..	143·91
1887	..	..	..	..	..	165·44
1888	..	..	..	..	..	128·29

The chief meteorological statistics for five years at the Penal Settlement in Nancowry Harbour are given below :—

	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
TEMPERATURE.					
Mean highest in shade	.. May 91·3	April 91·6	April 91·9	July 86·5	April 91·2
Mean lowest in shade	.. Dec. 74·5	Dec. 73·3	Dec. 71·8	Feby. 72·2	Jany. 72·2
Highest in shade	.. May 92·2	May 95·4	Aug. 98·2	April 90·6	May 97·4
Lowest in shade	.. July 70·3	Sept. 71·0	Dec. 64·0	Mar. 66·4	Jany. 68·8
Dry bulb mean	.. 83·3	84·4	84·0	82·7	83·9
Wet bulb mean	.. 77·5	78·1	76·6	77·2	77·8
RAINFALL.					
Most wet days in a month.	May 21	July 23	Novr. 23	May 27	Sept. 22
Heaviest fall in a month.	May 21·75	Dec. 17·90	Novr. 25·23	Novr. 20·41	Oct. 27·63
Total fall in year	.. 106	91	128	133	123
Total wet days	.. 148	157	170	222	148

	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
	WIND.				
N. E.	April, Decr.	January	Jany., Feb., March.	Jany., Feby.	Jany., Feby., Mar., Novr., December.
E. S. E.	April	April	March	....	....
S. S. W. .. ..	....	May to Aug.	....	....	....
S. W.	May to Octr.	May to Octr.	Sept. Octr.	Apl. to Sept.	Apl. to Octr.
S. E. .. ..	....	November..	November..	....	....
E. .. ..	....	Feby., Mar., December.	December..	Octr., Novr., Decr.	....
W. S. W.	November..	....	....	..	....

CLOUDS.

Clouds usually are	.. P. K. ¹	.. K. & P. K. ¹	P. K.	P. K.	P. K.
--------------------	-----------------------	----------------------------	-------	-------	-------

With these can be partially compared Meteorological Statistics for Car-Nicobar since the establishment of the station there.

	1898. ²	1899.	1900.	1901. ³
	TEMPERATURE.			
Mean highest in shade	.. Sept. 84.4	May 88.7	July 88.6	Apl. 91.6
Mean lowest in shade	.. .. 76.7	April 77.3	Feby. 77.6	Octr. 74.6
Highest in shade	.. .. 88.0	March 92.2	April 93.5	April 92.3
Lowest in shade	.. .. Novr. 70.7	Feby. 66.0	March 66.8	Jany. 71.6
Dry bulb mean	.. .. 79.3	.. 83.2	.. 83.8	.. 84.2
Wet bulb mean	.. .. 77.2	.. 73.6	.. 73.0	.. 74.0
	RAINFALL.			
Most wet days in a month	.. Octr. 18	June 26	May 20	Sept. 22
Heaviest fall in a month	.. Sept. 11.38	.. 20.96	.. 16.79	.. 19.77
Total fall in year	.. .. 44	.. 104	.. 106	.. 78.
Total wet days	.. .. 51	.. 178	.. 131	.. 99.

V. HISTORY.

The situation of the Nicobars along the line of a very ancient trade has caused them to be reported by traders and seafarers through all historical times. Gerini has fixed on Maniola for Car-Nicobar and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar as the right ascription of Ptolemy's island names for this region. This ascription agrees generally with the mediæval editions of Ptolemy. Yule's guess that Ptolemy's Barusæ is the Nicobars is corrected by Gerini's statement that it refers to Nias. In the 1490 edition of Ptolemy the Satyrorum Insulæ, placed to the south-east of the Malay Peninsula, where the Anamba Islands east of Singapore, also on the line of the old route to China, really are, have opposite them the remark:—*qui has inhabitant caudas habere dicuntur*—no doubt in confusion with the Nicobars. They are without doubt the Lankhabalus of the *Arab Relations* (851 A.D.), which term may be safely taken as a misapprehension or mistranscription of some form of Nicobar (through Nakkavar, Nankhabar), thus affording the earliest reference to the modern term. But there is an earlier mention of them by I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in his travels (672 A.D.) under the name of the Land of the Naked People (Lo-jen-kuo) and this seems to have been the recognised name for them in China at that time. "Land of the Naked" translates Nakkavaram, the name by which the islands appear in the great Tanjore inscription of 1050. This name reappears in Marco Polo's *Necuveran* (1292), in Rashidu'd-din's *Nakwaram* (1300), and in Friar Odoric's *Nicoveran* (1322), which are the lineal ancestors of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Portuguese *Nacabar* and *Nicubar* and the modern

¹ P. K. = Pallio-Cumulus; K. = Cumulus.

² The observations in 1898 are only given from the 1st September to 31st December 1898.

³ In 1901 the observations are only up to 31st October 1901.

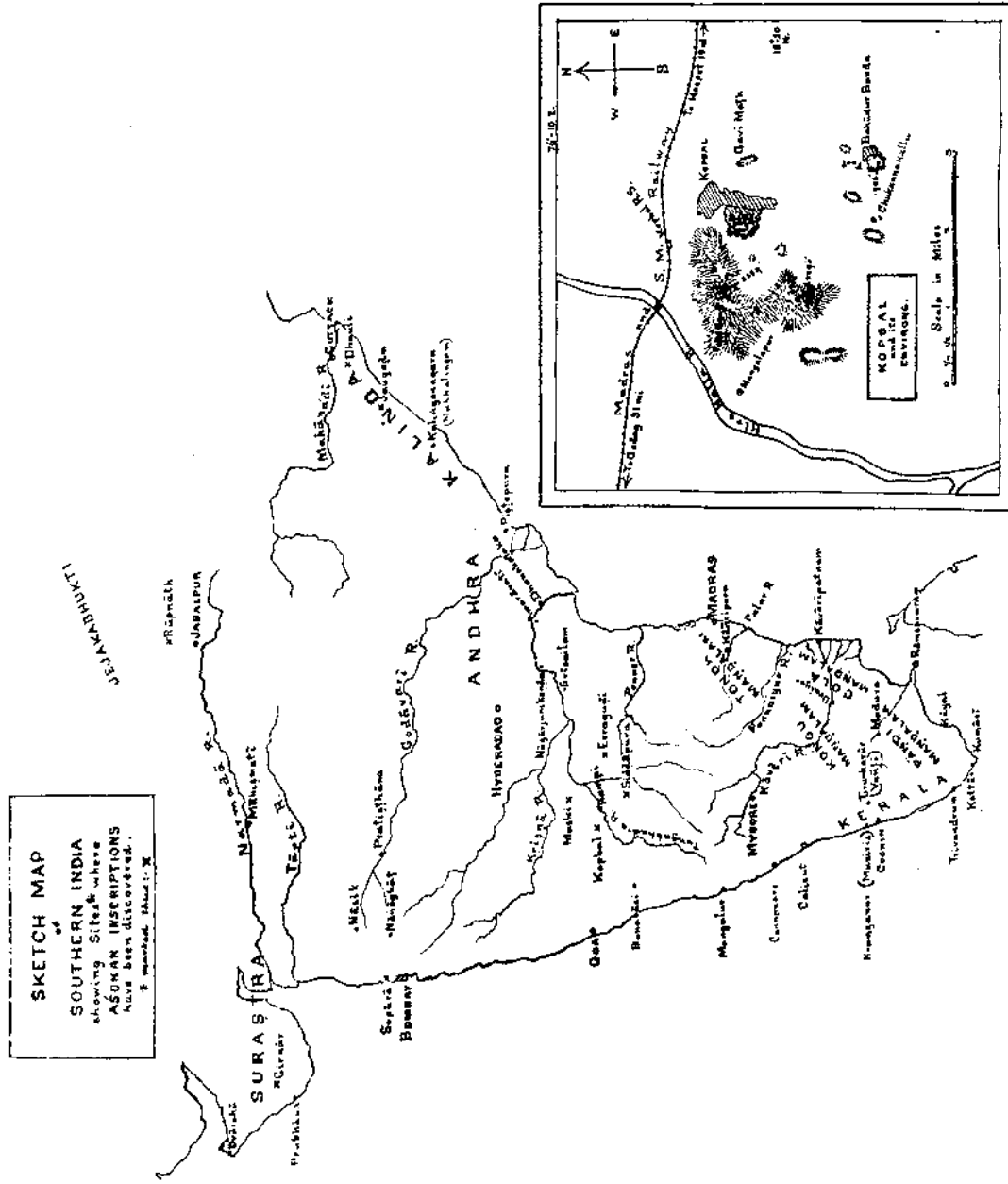
Nicobar. The name has been Nicobar since at least 1560. The fanciful story of the tails is repeated by the Swede Kjoeping as late as 1647.

In the seventeenth century at least, and probably much earlier, as Haensel speaks of *pater* = sorcerer, and Pere Barbe of *deos* and *reos* = God as survivals of Portuguese missionaries, the Nicobars began to attract the attention of a variety of missionaries. As early as 1688 Dampier mentions that two (probably Jesuit) "fryers" had previously been there "to convert the Indians." Next we have the letters (in *Lettres Édifiantes*) of the French Jesuits, Faure and Taillandier, in 1711. And then in 1756 the Danes took possession of the islands to colonise, the previous possession being a shadowy French one, but employed the wrong class of men sent by the Danish East India Company. The colony, affiliated to Tranquebar, had perished miserably by 1759. The Danes then in 1759 invited the Moravian Brethren to try their hands at conversion and colonisation, and thus in due time commenced the Moravian (Herrnhuter) Mission which lasted from 1768 to 1787. It did not flourish and the Danish East India Company losing heart, withdrew in 1773 and left the missionaries to a miserable fate. In 1778, by persuasion of an adventurous Dutchman, William Bolts, the Austrians appeared, but their attempt failed in three years. This offended the Danes, and from 1784 till 1807 they kept up a truly wretched little guard in Nancowry Harbour. In 1790 and 1804 fresh attempts by isolated Moravian missionaries were made. From 1807 to 1814 the islands were in English possession during the Napoleonic wars, and were then handed back by treaty to the Danes. During this time an Italian Jesuit arrived from Rangoon, but soon returned. In 1831 the Danish pastor Rosen from Tranquebar again tried to colonise, but failed for want of support and left in 1834, and by 1837 his colony had disappeared, the Danes officially giving up their rights in the place. In 1835 French Jesuits arrived in Car-Nicobar (where the Order claim to have succeeded 200 years previously) and remained on in great privation in Teressa, Chowra and elsewhere till 1846, when they too disappeared. In 1845 the Danes sent Busch in an English ship from Calcutta to resume possession, who left a good journal behind him, and in 1846 the scientific expedition in the *Galathea* with a new and unhappy settlement scheme. In 1848 they formally relinquished sovereignty and finally removed all remains of their settlement. In 1858 the Austrians again arrived scientifically in the *Novara* with a scheme for settlement which came to nothing. In 1867 Franz Maurer, an officer, strongly advised the Prussian Government to take up the islands, but in 1869 the British Government, after an amicable conversation with the Danish Government, took formal possession, and established in Nancowry Harbour, under that at the Andamans, a Penal Settlement which was withdrawn in 1888. In 1886, the Austrian corvette *Aurora* visited Nancowry and produced a *Report* and also a series of well-illustrated articles by its surgeon, Dr. W. Svoboda. At present there are maintained native agencies at Nancowry Harbour and on Car-Nicobar, both of which places are gazetted ports. At Car-Nicobar is a Church of England mission station under a native Indian catechist attached to the Diocese of Rangoon; the only one that has not led a miserable existence. The islands since 1871 have been included in the Chief Commissionership of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

The long story of the European attempts to colonise and evangelise such a place as the Nicobars is a record of the extreme of useless suffering that merely well-intentioned enthusiasm and heroism can inflict, if they be not combined with practical knowledge and a proper equipment. Nevertheless, the various missions have left behind them valuable records of all kinds about the country and its people: especially those of Haensel (1779-1787, but written in 1812), Rosen (1831-1834), Chopard (1844), Barbe (1846). Scattered English accounts of the islands are also to be found in many books of travel almost continuously from the sixteenth century onwards.

(To be continued.)

Plate



C. E. A. W. O. del.

MISCELLANEA.

RECENT DISCOVERIES OF EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

Through the courtesy of the Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions, we are able to refer to the discovery of two new Rock Edicts in the Brāhmī script at Kopbal (the Koppal of the India Survey sheets) in the extreme south-west corner of the Nizām's territory.

The town of Kopbal, or Koppal, the ancient name of which appears from a Kanarese inscription on the Candra Bandi rock within the outer fort walls to have been Kopananagara, lies about 21 miles west of the ruins of Vijayanagara and rather more than a mile from the east bank of the Hire Halla river, one of the northern tributaries of the Tungabhadra. The town nestles beneath a towering mass of granitic rock of irregular quadrilateral shape, which rises abruptly to a height of some 400 feet above it (or 2,219 ft. above sea-level). This mass of rock with precipitous cliffs all round formed a natural fortress, which was further strengthened by massive walls and battlements guarding every possible line of assault and rendering it well nigh impregnable before the use of heavy artillery. In fact, in 1790 it withstood for six months a siege by the British and their allies operating against Tipū Sulṭān, when Sir John Malcolm, then a subaltern in the besieging army, described it as the strongest place he had till then seen. Adjoining this fortress hill on the west and south-west is a range of hills, the highest point of which, just a mile due west of the town, is known as Pālki Gund (the 'palanquin boulder') from its shape. About half a mile to the east of the Kopbal fort is a small rocky hill rising some 150 feet above the surrounding level, known as the Gavi Maṭh hill, containing four caves; while about 1½ miles south-east of the fort is another isolated rocky hill, which had also been strongly fortified, called Bahādur Banda (the Bahadurabanda of the Survey sheet). Good views of the Kopbal and Bahādur Banda forts will be found in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, Jan. 1916, p. 94 (Plates XXVIII and XXIX).

On the rock beneath a large boulder over a natural cavern that had been adapted as a cave on the Gavi Maṭh hill a Rock Edict of 8 lines of Brāhmī characters has now been found. The existence of this inscription had been known to the local Lingāyats, by whom the site is held sacred, for some time, but it was not till January 1931 that the Guru of the maṭh drew to it the attention of Mr. N. R. Sastri, a resident of Kopbal who is interested in the ancient history of the locality, suggesting that it was a Tamil record. Mr. Sastri sent a communication to the Archaeological Department, adding that two other Brāhmī inscriptions had also been found. Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, at once took steps to have all the local inscriptions examined, and he himself proceeded to Kopbal in June last,

spending eight days in a thorough examination of the area. One of the other inscriptions referred to by Mr. Sastri turned out to be a Kanarese record, but the second, incised on the bare rock on the highest point of the Pālki Gund hill (2,339 ft. above s.l.) proved to be an Aśokan minor rock edict, of which only five lines remained traceable, the remainder having been worn away by weathering of the rock. Excellent photographic records were made of this inscription and of the longer one on the Gavi Maṭh hill; and these have been submitted to an expert for decipherment and publication¹ in due course. The local evidence indicates that both these sites were originally Buddhist, but later on passed into the possession of the Jains, Kanarese records showing that Jain anchorites had settled there for contemplation.

In this connexion it should be noted that some two years earlier a very important discovery had been made of a complete recension of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka near Yerragudi (the Erragudi of the Survey sheet) about 8 miles north by west from Gooty in the Karnūl district, and about 95 miles in a direct line to the east of Kopbal. These edicts have not yet been published, but it is understood that a fairly detailed and illustrated account of them will appear later in the *Annual Report, A. S. I.* Besides these more recent discoveries, it will be remembered, a rock inscription was discovered by Mr. Beadon in 1915 at Maski in the Raichūr district of the Nizām's Dominions, which lies about 45 miles north-east of Kopbal, and three rock inscriptions were found by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892 at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara in the Molḱālmuru tāluq of the Chitaldurg district in the Mysore State, about the same distance to the south-east of Kopbal. Thus there have been found up to date Aśokan inscriptions at no less than seven sites within a circle of less than fifty miles in radius, six of which lie in the central basin of the Tungabhadra, and one (Erragudi) just outside that basin. This cluster, if it may be so described, of Aśoka's edicts is remarkable, inasmuch as the only other records of the great Mauryan emperor hitherto found to the south of the Vindhya are those at Gūnār, Sopārā (fragmentary), Rūpnāth, Dhauri and Jaugada, hundreds of miles away. I have drawn a rough sketch map showing all these sites, as well as a sketch of Kopbal and its vicinity showing the Pālki Gund and Gavi Maṭh hills, where the latest finds have been made.

Though it be quite possible, if not probable, that other records in intermediate localities still await discovery, the occurrence of seven rock inscriptions in this comparatively small area seems to indicate that special attention had been given to it, whether as a stronghold of Buddhism at the time or, which seems more probable, as a frontier area of particular

¹ As a *Memoir*, Arch. Dept., H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions, shortly to appear.

importance. If the Suvarnagiri and Isila of the Brahmagiri and Siddapura records could only be satisfactorily identified, some further light might be thrown upon the contemporary conditions of this

outlying portion of the empire. It is to be hoped that further discovery or research may supply the clue required.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: Nos. 1 to 12. Government Central Press, Bombay, 1930.

Some twenty-five years ago, proposals were put forward by the Bombay Government for the publication of selected papers from the valuable records at Poona known as the Peshwa's Daftar. The work was to have been entrusted to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, in whose capable hands it would have been admirably placed. Unfortunately the Secretary of State, the late Lord Morley, from mistaken motives of economy, would only agree to a cheaper agent of his own suggestion, who would have been quite incapable of doing justice to the materials. The proposal was then dropped; and the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik shortly afterwards rendered its revival later impossible.

We here have a selection of papers in the original Marāṭhī, with short English summaries, apparently issued under the orders of the Government of Bombay, though we are informed that they accept no responsibility for the comments and views of the Editor, who remains anonymous.

It may at once be admitted that the materials will be of great value to all students of the history of the Marāṭhās, that powerful combination of Kunbi, Dhanger and Koli, which in reaction against the penetration of Musalman conquerors into the Deccan, replaced the fallen Hindu domination of Vijayanagar by a new and more powerful Hindu confederacy.

These papers deal with the following events:—

1. The Battle of Panipat.
2. The Battle of Udgir.
3. Shāhu's Campaign against the Sīdīs.
4. Reports on Anandibāi.
5. The League of the Barbhās.
6. Rāmājā's Struggle for Power.
7. Early Activities of Shāhu and Bālājī Vishvanāth.
8. Shāhu in his Private Life.
9. Bājirāo and his Family.
10. Strife between Bājirāo and the Nizām.
11. Shāhu's Relations with Sambhaji of Kolhāpur.
12. The Dabhadse and the Conquest of Gujarāt.

The text of the volumes is in *De indgarī*, but interesting examples of the *Modī* originals, including the actual handwriting of Shāhu and other well known characters are given. The Editor holds that the new materials now published tend "to fix the chief responsibility for the disastrous events at Panipat on the Peshwa himself, who was either fast losing health or over confident of his power, or too much addicted to the pursuit of pleasure to spare his attention for graver concerns at a distance."

Few will be found to quarrel with this verdict, though some allowance must be made for the doubtful loyalty of many influential supporters among the Marāṭhā chiefs, after the wonderful personality of Śivaji had been removed from supreme control. The Marāṭhā power really owed its downfall to intrigue and dissensions from within.

It is related, in part II, how the Musalman Power in the South of India, after the victory of Udgir, was saved only by the disastrous course of events in the North. Particularly instructive are the papers dealing with the attempts to subdue the Sīdī of Janjira. We are told that "one thing that stands out prominently in reading these papers is the utter confusion and mismanagement on the part of the Marāṭhās, due to lack of organization," Shāhu stinted his forces in supplies and munitions, and placed no confidence in his commanders. In these conditions, failure was inevitable.

Part 8, with some new and very interesting details of Shāhu's private life, will repay careful study. We read picturesque details of his love of horses, dogs and rare birds. He writes to the Peshwa, away on a Mission in Northern India, to keep his eyes open "for Arab horses, musk deer and yaks," is eloquent for good-looking dancing girls, and keenly devoted to the manly sport of tiger shooting, as was his famous grandfather.

Here we must leave these papers for want of space to illustrate them further.

The work of editing appears to be well done, and the subsequent issues will be awaited with much interest.

R. E. E.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, vol. III, pts. 1 and 2, Mar. and Sept., 1930.

The Journal of the Bombay Historical Society continues, under the guidance of Fr. H. Heres, to do useful work. In the issue for March 1930 Fr. G. Schurhammer, S.J., writes on Iniquitribim and Betuperumal, Chera and Pāndya kings in southern India in 1544, quoting from the letters of St. Francis Xavier, and Mr. M. K. Trilokekar discusses the career of the French adventurer, St. Lubin. In the number for September, we notice a comprehensive bibliography of Indian history for the year 1928, and articles on Shivaji's visit to Benares by Prof. A. S. Altekar, and a Marmuri copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya Satyāśraya by Prof. K. G. Kandanger. The series of extracts from the Dutch diaries of the Castle of Batavia (*Monumenta Historica Indica*) is continued in both issues.

H. E. A. C.

INDIAN STUDIES.

No. 3.

THE NĀGAR BRĀHMAN AND THE BENGAL KĀYASTHAS.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, Ph.D., F.A.S.B.

TWENTY years ago I published an article in this *Journal*, Vol. XL. p. 32 ff., showing that there was a racial identity or rather affinity between the Kāyasthas of Bengal and the Nāgar Brāhman of Bombay Gujarāt. There were no less than thirteen Sarmans or 'name-endings' which were in vogue among the Nāgar Brāhman nearly 700 years ago. They are also called Āmushyāyanas,¹ which means 'clan names.' Some of these Sarmans or Āmushyāyanas were Datta, Ghosha, Varman, Nāga, Mitra and so forth. These are now to be found as surnames amongst the Kāyasthas of Bengal. But that they were in use amongst the Nāgar Brāhman 700 years ago and even much earlier was shown by me by reference to some of the Valabhi inscriptions which go back to the sixth century A.D. It was pointed out that such Āmushyāyanas as Mitra, Trāta and Datta were found attached to the personal names of many Brāhman grantees of these epigraphs who hailed from Ānandapura (Vadnagar) and who consequently could be no other than the Nāgar Brāhman. The conclusion was thus irresistible that there was some sort of racial affinity, if not identity, between the Nāgar Brāhman of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and the Kāyasthas of Bengal.

The chain of evidence was not, however, regarded as complete at that time, as it was not proved, in the first place, that the surnames now used by the Bengali Kāyasthas were in vogue in Bengal as early as the Valabhi inscriptions and, secondly, that they were prevalent also amongst the Brāhman of ancient Bengal and Orissa, as they doubtless were among the Nāgar Brāhman of ancient Gujarāt. No epigraphic evidence of irrefragable character was available when my article was published. Epigraphy has, however, made considerable progress during the last twenty years, and we are now in a position to say something definite on each point. As regards the first question, a careful study of the inscriptions clearly shows that the Kāyastha surnames were in existence long long before the Muhammadan invasion of Bengal. Thus in the copper-plate grants of the Sena kings Vijayasena, Ballālasena and Lakshmanasena, we trace such names as Śālādā-Nāga, Hari-Ghosha, and Nārāyaṇa-Datta² among those of the Officers specified at the end. But it is no wonder if these Kāyastha surnames are found in these and other Bengal records of the eleventh and twelfth century A.D., because this period is contiguous with the Muhammadan invasion, with which begins the medieval and modern history of India. What we are principally concerned with here is to ascertain to what earliest age the Bengali Kāyastha surnames can be traced. And in this connection it is not at all necessary to take note of every inscription which contains such a name or names. Let us pass over at least five or six centuries and see whether we can detect any Kāyastha surnames earlier. One such group of inscriptions was found more than twenty years ago in the Faridpur district of Bengal. They were four copper-plate grants pertaining to the sixth century A.D. Two of these were issued by Dharmāditya, one by Gopachandra and one by Samāchāradeva.³ The first three were edited by F. E. Pargiter and the last by Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali. All these records specify the names of officials belonging to manifold ranks, from the provincial governor right down to petty village officials. And here it is not at all difficult to perceive that their names end in what are known at present as Kāyastha surnames. Thus among the provincial governors we have to notice Sthānu-Datta, Nāga-Deva and Jiva-Datta. Some of the minor officials named are Naya-Sena, Kula-Chandra, Satya-Chandra, Gupta-Chandra, Soma-Ghosha and so forth. It will be seen that the name endings here, such as Datta, Deva, Chandra and

¹ They are called both Sarmans and Āmushyāyanas in the *Nāgara-puṣhpāñjali*, Part III. p. 65 ff. and p. 78 ff. Nāgarotpatti by Gaṅgāśaṅkar Pañcholi, however, speaks of them as Āmushyāyanas only (pp. 24 and 30). The term *āmushyāyana* is explained as eponymous clans in the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, Chap. 107, v. 73 ff.

² *Inscr. of Bengal* (Varendra Res. Soc.), Vol. III. pp. 64, 75, 88, 97 and 103.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, pp. 195-6, pp. 200-1, and pp. 204-5; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 76-7.

Ghosha are the same as the Kāyastha surnames of Bengal. But perhaps the earliest records where such surnames are traceable are the five celebrated copper-plate charters⁴ of the early Gupta kings found at Dāmodarpur in the Dinājpur district of Bengal. The earliest of these again is dated G. E. 124 = 442 A.D., and the latest G. E. 214 = 532 A.D. These charters throw a flood of light on the system of administration prevalent under the Imperial Guptas. The provinces were ruled by governors appointed by the king, but the districts comprised in them were held by *vishayapatis* selected by the provincial governors. And further the district towns themselves were administered by the *vishayapati* helped by a council of *Nagara-śreshṭhin*, *Sārthavāha*, *Prathama-Kulika* and *Prathama-Kāyastha*. One minor but not insignificant official of the district was the *Pustapāla*. Now in these Dāmodarpur copper-plates when the names of these different officials are specified, we find them also ending in Kāyastha surnames. Thus the provincial governors whose names are therein mentioned are Chirāta-Datta, Brahma-Datta and Jaya-Datta. The *vishayapatis* are Vetra-Varman and Svayambhū-Deva. The officers who formed their councils are Dhṛiti-Pāla, Bandhu-Mitra, Dhṛiti-Mitra, Śāmba-Pāla, Ribhu-Pāla, Vasu-Mitra, Vara-Datta, Vipra-Pāla, Sthānu-Datta, Mati-Datta and Skanda-Pāla. The *pustapālas* named in these grants are Rīsi-Datta, Jaya-Nandin, Vibhu-Datta, Patra-Dāsa, Viṣṇu-Datta, Vijaya-Nandin, Sthānu-Nandin, Nara-Nandin, Gopa-Datta and Bhaṭa-Nandin.

We have thus before us two lists of the names of officers, namely, those specified in the Faridpur and those in the Dāmodarpur grants. And it will be noticed that most of them terminate in *Chandra*, *Datta*, *Dāsa*, *Deva*, *Ghosha*, *Mitra*, *Nandin* and *Varman*, which correspond to the Kāyastha surnames of Bengal. The Sanskrit language is, however, so elastic that it is possible to contend that these name-endings need not be taken as surnames at all, but considered as integral parts of the whole individual names. Thus Skandapāla need not necessarily denote a person called Skanda and surnamed Pāla, but rather an individual who was named Skandapāla in the sense of "protected by the god Skanda." It is quite possible to explain most of these names in this manner, but this cannot explain them all. For what explanation can be forthcoming of such names as Soma-Ghosha, Chirāta-Datta, Bandhu-Mitra, Patra-Dāsa, Nara-Nandin, Bhaṭa-Nandin and so forth? What philological ingenuity can interpret Chirāta-Datta and Patra-Dāsa, for instance? Again, what we have to bear in mind is that we have here a large number of names, and there is hardly any one among them which does not end in a Kāyastha surname. Even if we take such names as Vetra-Varman and Patra-Dāsa, which to a non-Bengali look like ordinary names, we know that the name-endings here also correspond to the Kāyastha surnames Barman and Dās, though they are commonly regarded as the name suffixes of the Kshatriya and Śūdra communities. What again can better explain the two names—Dhṛiti-Mitra and Dhṛiti-Pāla, where Dhṛiti forms the first component? Philology, of course, can explain the former by *dhṛiter=mitraṃ* (*Dhṛitimitraḥ*) and the latter by *dhṛitiṃ pālayat=īti* (*Dhṛitipālah*). Mitra and Pāla are well-known surnames, but Dhṛiti is not. Common sense, therefore, dictates that Dhṛiti is the individual name of both and that whereas Mitra is the family name of one Dhṛiti, Pāla is that of the other Dhṛiti. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that all these names of officers are full names, each consisting of the individual and the family name, the last of these, that is, the family names, being identical with the Kāyastha surnames. And as the earliest of these inscriptions is dated 442 A.D., it is incontrovertible that the Kāyastha surnames are traceable as early as the fifth century A.D. It must not however be thought that the officers who bore these names were all of the Kāyastha caste, because Kāyastha at this early period was an office designation and had not crystallised into a caste. We have already seen that the Dāmodarpur copper-plates themselves speak of a Prathama-Kāyastha side by side with Nagara-Śreshṭhin, Sārthavāha and Prathama-Kulika, who together formed the administrative board of a district town. This itself shows that like Nagara-Śreshṭhin

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV. p. 113 ff.

and others, Prathama-Kāyastha was an office designation. Corresponding to Prathama-Kāyastha was the term Jyeshtha-Kāyastha which occurs as an office designation in two of the Faridpur copper-plates adverted to above. In fact, the earliest mention of Kāyastha that we meet with is in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 336),⁵ the compilation of which is generally referred to 350 A.D. There it seems to be used in the sense of 'an officer.'⁶ At any rate, there is nothing in the text to show that it denotes any particular caste. And, in fact, Kāyastha as a caste does not seem to have sprung into existence before the ninth century A.D. When, therefore, we trace Kāyastha surnames in the names of officers in the charters mentioned above, it does not follow that they were borne by those who were Kāyastha by caste.

It is clear from the above evidence that the Kāyastha surnames in Bengal can be traced as early as the fifth century A.D., even earlier than the time of the Valabhi plates which contain the names of the Nāgar Brāhmanś. The question that now arises is whether there are any inscriptions in Eastern India which show that there were Brāhmanś in Bengal and Orissa who, like the Nāgar Brāhmanś, bore name-endings identical with Kāyastha surnames. The records in point were no doubt published after I wrote the article, but though they have now been before scholars for a good many years, the evidence furnished by them has somehow escaped them. And it was a Bengal Kāyastha, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, who saw it sometime ago and brought it to the prominent attention of historians, in the shape of an article entitled "Grant of Bhāskar Varman of Kāmarūpa and the Nāgar Brāhmanś." The article was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 60 ff., and is so important that no serious student of the ancient history of India can afford to ignore it. The records bearing on the point are three in number. One of these is the inscription published by MM. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya Vidyavinoda in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII. p. 65 ff. Epigraphists need not be told that in 1912 three copper-plates were discovered at Nidhanpur in Pañchakhaṇḍa, Sylhet, connected with a grant of Bhāskaravarman, pertaining to the Pushyavarman family of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam). These plates were three in number, and when the Mahāmahopādhyāya edited them, he rightly remarked that they did not complete the original grant and that some plates were missing. Three of these last have now been discovered and published by the learned Paṇḍit in the same *Journal*, Vol. XIX. p. 118 ff. and p. 246 ff. They are of extreme importance, because they enumerate many Brāhman grantees of many *gotras* and surnames. This importance somehow escaped the notice of the lynx-eyed editor, but not of Mr. J. C. Ghosh, who, in the article referred to above, pointed out that these grantees, though they were Brāhmanś, bore name-endings which were Kāyastha surnames. Fortunately the Mahāmahopādhyāya has set forth a list of these donees with their Veda, *gotra* and name, who are no less than 205 in number. If we carefully examine this list, we notice the following Kāyastha *padavīs* assumed by them, namely Bhūti (Nos. 18, 28, 74), Dāma (Nos. 16, 17, 105), Dāsa (Nos. 79, 112, 113), Datta (Nos. 14, 15, 41, 62, 83, 108), Deva (Nos. 11-13, 39, 55-9), Ghosha (Nos. 9, 10, 93, 99), Kirtti (No. 95), Kuṇḍa (Nos. 44-50), Pāla (No. 77), Pālita (Nos. 33-37), Sena (No. 30), Soma (Nos. 31, 32, 94), V(B)asu (Nos. 2, 7), and so forth. The conclusion is irresistible that there was a time when even the Brāhmanś in Bengal adopted surnames which are now thought to be the conspicuous feature of the Kāyastha community.

It is true that the Nidhanpur plates which contain the above names were found in the Sylhet district, which falls under Assam. But linguistically and culturally Sylhet forms an integral part of Bengal, though for the purposes of administration it is now attached to Assam. So the Brāhman donees who bear Kāyastha surnames must be taken as settled in Bengal, though in the easternmost part of the province. Now the question that we have to consider is: to what period have these donees to be assigned? The Nidhanpur charter, as stated above, was issued by Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyotiṣa, who was a contemporary and ally

⁵ For a full interpretation of this verse, see p. 47 below.

⁶ See also *Viṣṇu-smṛiti*, VII. 3.

of Harsha of Kanauj. It does not however register the original grant, which was made, not by him but by Bhūti-varman (=Mahābhūti-varman), his great-great-grandfather. Owing to some mishap, we are told, the plates were burnt, and the grant was renewed by Bhāskaravarman in favour of those to whom it was originally issued. The Brāhmaṇ donees specified in this epigraph belong therefore to the time, not of Bhāskaravarman but of Bhūti-varman, not to the first half of the seventh century A.D. but to at least the beginning of the sixth. The second question that here engages our mind is to determine where the land granted was situated. According to the Mahāmahopādhyāya it was somewhere in North Bengal, not far from Karnasuvarṇa, from where the grant was renewed. He however felt that all was not right as the land donated was far distant from the place where the plates were actually exhumed. But Mr. Ghosh in his article has adduced some cogent reasons to show that the land could be located in Pañchakhanda itself from where the plates came and where the Sāṃpradāyika Brāhmaṇs of Sylhet are settled. Mr. Ghosh's identification seems more acceptable as the place granted is thus not far removed from where the plates were unearthed and as the Sāṃpradāyika Brāhmaṇs can thus be naturally looked for as the descendants of the Brāhmaṇs who, from the Nidhanpur inscription, seem to have been settled there in a colony. We thus see that as early as 500 A.D., there was a settlement of Brāhmaṇs in the easternmost part of Bengal who bore name-endings which are now thought to be the characteristic surnames of the Bengal Kāyastha community.

When we find a colony of Brāhmaṇs established in a part of old Bengal, it is not to be expected that there were not further settlements of the same Brāhmaṇ community in other parts of East India. And, as a matter of fact, we have found not one but two more inscriptions in this region which mention Brāhmaṇs with Kāyastha surnames. Here, too, we are indebted to the same Mr. Ghosh for having first drawn our attention to them. One of these inscriptions is the copper-plate charter of Lokanātha⁷ discovered in the Tippera district of Bengal. It registers grants of lands to a settlement of a hundred Brāhmaṇs in the forest district of Survuṅga. Here too we find that the names of the Brāhmaṇ donees end in Kāyastha *padavīs*, such as Bhūti, Chandra, Dāma, Dāsa, Datta, Deva, Ghosha, Mitra, Nandin, Śarman and Soma. In line 29 the record is dated *dhike chatuṣchatvāriṃśat-samvatsare Phālguna-māse* The letters *dhike*, with which these words commence, show that the date was at least 144, and not 44 as supposed by Mr. Radhagovinda Basak who has edited the grant. If we refer it to the Harsha era, as seems most likely from the palæography of the record, we obtain 750 A.D. as its English equivalent. It is thus clear that about the middle of the eighth century the same community of Brāhmaṇs as are referred to in the Nidhanpur plates are found two centuries later in the Tippera grant of Lokanātha also. The second inscription which associates Kāyastha surnames with Brāhmaṇs is the copper-plate charter of Śubhakara⁸ found at Neulpur in the Cuttack District of Orissa. Some of the name-endings of the Brāhmaṇ grantees specified in this epigraph are Bhūti, Chandra, Datta, Deva, Ghosha, Kara, Kuṇḍa, Nāga, Rakshita, Śarman, and Vardhana. Now we know that Dr. Sylvain Lévi has assigned the date 795 A.D. to Śubhakara from a Chinese source,⁹ so that we find that in the second half of the eighth century these Brāhmaṇs had migrated southward from Pañchakhanda near Sylhet first to the Tippera district and afterwards to Orissa.

One thing that is worthy of note about this Neulpur charter is that three of the officers mentioned at its close have names ending in Datta, namely, Samudra-Datta, Brahma-Datta, and Eḍa-Datta. Another noteworthy thing about it and other records of Śubhakara's family is that all its male members bear names terminating in Kara; and, as if to leave no doubt on this point, we have two inscriptions¹⁰ of these rulers where their family has actually been called Kara, a surname which is found, not only among the Brāhmaṇ donees of the Neulpur

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV. p. 306 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV. p. 3 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 363-4.

¹⁰ *JBORS.*, Vol. II. p. 421 ff.; Vol. V. p. 571 ff.

grant but also among the Bengal Kāyasthas of modern days. What is further noticeable about these inscriptions is that among the officers mentioned towards the end we can trace such surnames as Bhadra, Deva, Vardhana, Nāga and Sena. We have thus not only Brāhmanas, but also rulers and officers bearing Kāyastha surnames.

Now the first point we have to discuss here is about the race or extraction of the Brāhman grantees who, as we have seen in detail, bore names ending in Kāyastha *padavis*. A similar thing was noticeable about the Nāgar Brāhmanas of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, who, as I have remarked above, bore 700 years ago such Śarmas as Datta, Ghosha, Varman, Nāga and Mitra. Is it possible that these Brāhman donees also could be Nāgar Brāhmanas? Is there any evidence in favour of this supposition? Here, too, Mr. Ghosh has given some indications which enable us to answer this question in the affirmative, so far at any rate as the Pañchakhanda (Sylhet) Brāhmanas are concerned. In the first place, it is well-known that the tutelary deity of the Nāgar caste is Hātakesvara. In fact, it may be laid down as a general rule that wherever there is a *linga* called Hātakesvara, there must be some sort of settlement of the Nāgar Brāhmanas or Banias. Now there is a *linga* of precisely this name existing in the Pañchakhanda.¹¹ This *linga* is not a thing of yesterday, but must have been established centuries ago. It seems to have been referred to even in the Tejpur plates of the *Mahārājā-dhirāja* Vanamālavarmadeva of Prāgyyotisha, ruling apparently at Haruppeśvara. The king is represented in this inscription to have rebuilt a temple of Hātakesvara and made endowments to it. The record was first read by F. Jenkins with the help of a Paṇḍit,¹² long ago, when the study of Indian epigraphy was in its infancy. He thus wrongly read *Hetuka-sūline* as the name of the god, which was correctly restored to *Hātaka-sūline* by MM. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya,¹³ who revised the whole transcript of the inscription. There can be no doubt that the deity is to be identified with Hātakesvara Mahādeva so celebrated at present in Pañchakhanda. Vanamālavarmadeva did not build, but rather he rebuilt, the temple to this god. This king lived circa 830-865 A.D. The temple must thus have been in existence at least one century earlier. We thus find not only that there was a settlement of Brāhmanas at Pañchakhanda who, like the Nāgar Brāhmanas of the Valabhi charters, assumed surnames corresponding to the Bengal Kāyastha *padavis*, but also that they were, like the latter, worshippers of Hātakesvara. Secondly, it is well-known that the author of the *Advaita-prakāśa* was a Sylhet Brāhman. He was a pupil of Advaitāchārya and a contemporary of Chaitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaishnavism. But it is worthy of note that he calls himself, not simply Śāna, but Śāna-Nāgara. Here then we have a clear instance of a Sylhet Brāhman styling himself a Nāgar.¹⁴ The reasonable conclusion is that he was a Nāgar Brāhman, that is, one out of the many of that caste who were established there.

Thirdly, the attention of scholars may be drawn to a passage which occurs in the Pārādārika section of the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana. The section is concerned with zenana women and their protection. That many wanton practices prevailed in the palaces in early ages as now is too well known to dwell upon. This section tells us how in different countries palace women came in contact with male outsiders. It speaks of how this criminal commerce takes place among the Aparāntikas, Ābhirakas, Vatsagulmakas, Vaidharbhakas, Strirājyakas, Saindhavas, Himālayas and Gaudas. And it then informs us that in Vāṅga, Aṅga and Kalinga, the *Nāgara-Brāhmanas*¹⁵ enter the zenana with the object of offering dowers and with the knowledge of the king. They talk to the women behind the *pardah*, and this leads to illicit union. The questions arise: what does the expression *Nāgara-Brāhmanāḥ* mean?

¹¹ *Sylhet Gazetteer*.

¹² *JASB.*, Vol. IX. p. 767.

¹³ *Rangpur-Sāhitya-parishat-patrikā*, Vol. IX. Pt. I, p. 23 ff.

¹⁴ The descendants of Śāna Nāgar are now Rādhī Brāhmanas, living near Goālundo, Farīdpur district. Similarly, one Nāgar Purushottama is reported in a Kulāchārya MS. of Sāñchādāṅgā to have come from Vraja and got merged into the Māschaṭak gāṇi of the Rādhī Brāhmanas [N.N. Vasu's *Vaṅger jāttya-iitāda* (2nd Ed.), *Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa*, Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 299, n.].

¹⁵ *Kāmasūtra*, V. 6, 41 (p. 301 of Bombay Ed.)

Does it mean simply "the Brāhman of the town"? If so, what is the force of the word 'town' here? Is it implied that the Brāhman of the villages are innocent, but not of the towns? Besides, palaces must always be situated in the capital towns. Hence the Brāhman who are most likely to come in contact with the palace damsels must be the Brāhman of the *nagara* or town. Hence there was no need of using the word *nagara* to qualify *Brāhmaṇāḥ*. As a matter of fact, the Brāhman of Gauda also were notorious for their carnal practices, and are mentioned in connection with the palace ladies of Gauda. But they are there called simply *Brāhmaṇas* and not *Nagara-Brāhmaṇas*, though they surely belonged to the capital town of Gauda. If we thus impartially consider the expression *Nagara-Brāhmaṇāḥ*, it seems that here the Nāgar Brāhman are intended. And if this interpretation of ours is entitled to any weight, we have further to infer that they were in the time of Vātsyāyana settled in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, and not in Gauda, which is distinguished from these countries. This also throws light on the name *Nāgarakāḥ* which occurs twice in the *Kāmasūtra*.¹⁶ In both places the term is explained by the commentator to mean *Pātali-putrakāḥ*. But this interpretation does not appear plausible, because at the place where it occurs first, it is distinguished from Gauda, and where it is mentioned next it is distinguished from Prāchya. Both Gauda and Prāchya included Pātali-putra and the surrounding districts. On the other hand, if *Nāgaraka* is taken to denote Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, where the Nāgar Brāhman were settled, this sense will suit in both the places just referred to, because these countries have already been distinguished from Gauda and Prāchya in the *Kāmasūtra*.

I have elsewhere shown that the Nāgar Brāhman were called Nāgar, because they originally came from Nagar or Nagarkoṭ, the old name of Kāṅgā, which is situated in the Panjāb in the Sawālakh or Sapādalaksha hills.¹⁷ There can be no doubt that they were Sapādalaksha Brāhman. Now, if we turn to the *Karatoyā-māhātmya*, which describes the holy sites of Mahāsthāna or old Pundravardhana, which is in the Bogra District of Bengal and which stands on the west bank of the river, we find that, curiously enough, there is a reference, not once, but twice to these Sapādalaksha Brāhman.¹⁸ The first of these is in connection with the *sabhā* of Rāma, locally identifiable with *Parasurāmer Sabhābāṭi*. The second reference consists in showing that the special holiness of Pundravardhana consists in being presided over as much by the Sapādalaksha Brāhman as by the gods, Skanda, Vishṇu, Balabhadra, Śiva and so forth. This is an unmistakable indication that these Sapādalaksha Brāhman, who can be no other than the Nāgar Brāhman, held a position in the estimation of the people which was as prominent and sacred as the gods themselves. It is not necessary to assume that these Brāhman came to Bengal direct from the Sawālakh hills. Even when the Chāhamānas were settled in the heart of Rājputānā, they were known as Sapādalakshiyas centuries later.¹⁹ The same thing may have happened in regard to the Nāgar Brāhman also.

It is a well-known practice of a people or tribe to name the places, provinces or rivers of their new settlement after the old one from where they have migrated. It will be shown later on that Ānandapura (=Vadnagar), e.g., was known as Nagara, after the Nāgar were settled there. They had more than one such settlement named Nagara. So far as Bengal is concerned, there is one village called Nagar in the Dacca district and another in Sylhet. There are, again, two rivers of that name in North Bengal,—one running from Purnea to Dinājpur and the other from Bogrā to Rājshāhi.²⁰ All these places are not far removed from the Māldah district, where the Khālimpur copper-plate was discovered.

There is yet another piece of evidence which we have to consider in this connection. It is supplied by the charter of Dharmapāla found at Khālimpur in the Māldah District of

¹⁶ II. 5-30 (p. 131) and II. 9, 27 (p. 172).

¹⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, 1911, p. 34.

¹⁸ *Mahasthan and its Environs* (Varen. Res. Society's Monograph No. 2), p. 11 and p. 26, vs. 22 and 24; also *Kāyastha-Samāj* (Māsik), B.S. 1336, pp. 496-7.

¹⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, 1911, p. 26.

²⁰ *JASB.*, Vol. LXV. Pt. I, p. 117.

Bengal. It says that Nārāyanavarman, a feudatory chieftain of this Pāla sovereign, had installed a god called Nanna-Nārāyaṇa who was, we are further told, placed principally in the charge of the Lāṭa Brāhman (dvijas).²¹ Four villages were granted by Dharmapāla to this god and his priests. And the question arises: who could be these Lāṭa Brāhman? They are obviously the Nāgar Brāhman alluded to above. Nāgar Brāhman, we know, hail from Ānandapura or Vāḍnagar, which is situated in Gujarāt. And Lāṭa was one of the ancient names for Gujarāt. When all these pieces of evidence are brought to a focus, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Nāgar Brāhman were settled in Bengal and Orissa. In fact, these Brāhman were not the only caste from Lāṭa that was settled in Bengal about this time. It deserves to be noticed that all the Pāla copper-plates, except that of Dharmapāla, speak of *Chāṭas*, *Bhāṭas* and menials from Karmāṭa and Lāṭa as being settled in Bengal in the Pāla period. The *Kulikas*, or cultivators, were of four different nationalities, such as Gauḍa, Mālava, Khaśa and Hūna. The population of Bengal was thus, in the Pāla period, of a composite character.

Let us now proceed one step further and see whether or how the Kāyasthas of Bengal were connected with the Nāgar Brāhman who had immigrated into Bengal. Before we can come to any conclusion it is desirable that we should know (1) what the term *Kāyastha* meant originally, (2) when it became a caste name, and, above all, (3) what the term signified in Bengal before it denoted a caste of that name. It has been pointed out above that the earliest mention of *Kāyastha* is found in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 336). The verse in question runs thus:—

Chāṭa-taskara-durvṛtta-mahāsāhasik-ādibhiḥ |
pūḍyamānāḥ prajā rakshet Kāyasthaiḥ=cha viśeshataḥ ||

“(A king) should protect (his) subjects, when oppressed by deceits, thieves, wicked people, great adventurers and others, especially by the Kāyasthas.”

What does Kāyastha mean here? Vijñāneśvara understands by it the scribes (*lekhaḥ*) and accountants (*gaṇaka*). But how can mere scribes and accountants be a menace to the people, a menace even more serious than deceits, thieves and desperados? In the verse v. 338) following it, Yājñavalkya advises the king to ascertain from his spies how the officers appointed for the governance of his kingdom are demeaning themselves, to honour those who are well-behaved and destroy those who are otherwise. Both these verses may be compared to the following lines from Manu (VII. 123).

Rājñe hi raksh-ādhipatīḥ parasv-ādayinaḥ śathāḥ |
bhṛitya bhavanti prāyeṇa tebhyo rakshed=imāḥ prajāḥ ||

“For the servants of the king, who are appointed to protect (the people), generally become knaves and seize the property of others; let him protect these subjects against them.”

It will be seen from the above that both Manu and Yājñavalkya warn a king against the oppression of his people by the officers appointed to protect them, especially those officers who are *śathā* and *parasv-ādayin* and who are thus on the same plane as the *chāṭa*, *taskara* etc., of Yājñavalkya. It may therefore not be unreasonable to infer that the Kāyasthas referred to by the latter stand for officers appointed for the protection of the subjects.

The next reference to Kāyastha that we have to note is contained in the *Vishnu-smṛiti* (VII. 3), which runs thus: *rāj-ādhiparāṇe tan-niyukta-Kāyastha-kṛtāṃ tad-adhyakṣa-kara-chikṣitāṃ rājasākṣikam*, “(A document) is (said to be) attested by the king, when it has been executed by a Kāyastha appointed by him in a government department and signed with his hand by its head (the judge).” Evidently Kāyastha here means

²¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, ll. 50-1. It is also worthy of note that Keshabchandra Bhattacharya's *Vaṅge Dākṣhiṇīya-Vaidika* (p. 46) speaks of a village called Gujarāt in the District of Howrah from where came a Dākṣhiṇīya Vaidik family of Vātsya gotra and surnamed Vaidya. Vaidya, as a family name, is found among the Nāgar Brāhman, but not in any higher caste of Bengal except the Dākṣhiṇīya Vaidiks.

a joint assessor or commissioner with the judge of a court, such as we find in Act IX of the *Mrichchhakatika*.

Let us now see what light inscriptions throw on the Kāyastha problem. In the first place, they teach that the Kāyastha caste had been formed only as early as the ninth century A.D. Two instances will suffice. The Sañjān copper-plate charter of the Rāshṭra-kūṭa sovereign Amoghavarsha I, dated Saka-samvat 793=871 A.D., we know, was drawn up by Gunadhavala, son of Vatsarāja, who was born in the Vālabha Kāyastha²² lineage and was a *Senabhogika*,²³ or clerk, in the *Dharmādhikarāṇa*, or Court of Judicature. We thus see that there was a Kāyastha caste of the name of Vālabha to which Gunadhavala belonged, and the occupation of this caste seems to have been that of a clerk in a court of law, corresponding no doubt to the function of a Kāyastha described in the *Viṣṇu-smṛiti* and the *Mrichchhakatika*. The second evidence of the rise of the Kāyastha caste in the ninth century is supplied by the Gurmha plate of Jayādityadeva (II) of the Malayaketu family. The plate is dated V.S. 927=870 A.D., and registers the grant of a village to Kāyastha Keśava, son of Kāyastha Dhemuka and grandson of Kāyastha Rudra.²⁴ As the grantee, his father and grandfather are all called Kāyastha, it means that they pertained to the Kāyastha caste, which was thus in existence in North India in the second half of the ninth century. And what is curious in this connection is that this family, we are told, had the surname (*paddhati*) of Siṅgha, which is still found as a *padavi* among the Bengal Kāyasthas. Although we have thus clear proof about the Kāyastha caste being formed in the ninth century, there is nothing to show that the Kāyasthas were confined to the sole occupation of a *karāṇa*, or clerk, as is thought at present. This is indicated by the Gurmha epigraph itself, because, although in l. 23 the Kāyastha donee Keśava is styled Karanika, another Kāyastha is mentioned as the writer of this record, namely, Valadduka, who, though he was a Kāyastha, is styled *mahākshapaṭalika*, whose office was of course distinct from that of a *karāṇika*.

The two inscriptions noted above belong to the ninth century, and it may be contended that things were different three hundred years later and that Kāyastha had come to be identical with Karanika. To take one instance, Jalhana, who wrote the grants of the Gāhādavāla king Govindachandra dated V.S. 1171 and 1172, is described in the first record as *Karanik-odgata* and *Chitragupt-opama* and in the second as *śrī-Vāstavyakul-odbhūta-Kāyastha-ṭhakkura*.²⁵ This shows that Kāyastha had become synonymous with Karanika in the twelfth century. If a further instance is required, it is supplied by the Ajayagadh rock inscription of the Chandella king Bhojavarman, which sets forth the exploits of a Vāstavya Kāyastha family. In the very second verse of this epigraph²⁶ we are informed that there were thirty-six towns occupied by men devoted to the function of the *karāṇa* and that the most excellent of these was Ṭakkārikā, to which this Kāyastha family belonged. This also indicates, it may be argued, that Karanika was but another term for Kāyastha. It is not, however, possible to accept this view as perfectly logical. All that we can legitimately infer from the above evidence is that one Kāyastha sub-caste, namely, Vāstavya, had adopted the function of the Karanika as its principal occupation, but it does not follow that all Kāyasthas had become identified with the Karanikas, or that the term *Kāyastha* did not continue as an office designation. We have thus at least one instance of the writer of a

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251, ll. 76-7. Soddhala, author of the *Udayasundari Kathā* (Gaek. Or. Series. No. XI. p. 11) was a Vālabha Kāyastha. He derives Vālabha from Valabhi and traces his descent from Kalāditya, brother of Śīlāditya of the Valabhi family. Vālamya mentioned in a Bhirmal inscr. (*B. G.*, Vol. V. Pt. I, p. 47, l. 5) seems to be a mistake for Vālabhya.

²³ For *Senabhogika*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI. p. 285, n. 7, and p. 294, l. 81; also Vol. V. pp. 231, 233 and 234.

²⁴ *JASB.*, 1900, Pt. I, p. 92, ll. 13-14.

²⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII. p. 153, l. 21, and Vol. IV. p. 104, ll. 26-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 333 ff.

charter of the twelfth century styling himself, not simply as Kāyastha but as Karaṇa-Kāyastha.²⁷ The term Karaṇa-Kāyastha is met with also in two Chamba copper-plates as the designation of the writers of those documents.²⁸ This may also be compared with *sadbuddha-karaṇakāyastha-ṭhakkura śrī-Amitābhēna likhitam=idam Venugrāme Vikramāditya-dēva-saṃ, 1192 Phālguna-sudi 4 Kuṣe* occurring in Bengali characters in the colophon of a MS. of *Bodhi-charyāvatāra*.²⁹ But what can Karaṇa-Kāyastha mean? As Kāyastha is here conjoined with Karaṇa, it is obvious that Kāyastha must denote a mere officer, in this particular case, an officer who is in charge of *karaṇa*. This shows that there were Kāyasthas who were in charge of different departments; in other words, there were Kāyasthas also entrusted with duties other than those of a Karaṇika. This is clear also from a critical study of the concluding portions of the Gāhaḍavāla charters where are specified the names of officers connected with the grant. Whereas we have thus some who are Karaṇika-Ṭhakkura (*List Inscr. North Ind.*, Nos. 195, 202, 207, etc.), we have some who are Kāyastha-Ṭhakkura (*ibid.*, Nos. 188, 216, 249) and some who are Akshapaṭalika-Ṭhakkura (*ibid.*, Nos. 368, 369, 433) as the officers who wrote the grant. It will be seen that there were some Kāyasthas who were neither Karaṇikas nor Akshapaṭalikas. We have also evidence to show that the office of the Karaṇika was not the monopoly of the Kāyastha communities, but was held sometimes even by the Brāhmanas. We have thus an inscription dated V.S. 1228=1171 A.D. and found at Dhod in the Udaipur State, Rājputānā, which records a benefaction of the Karaṇika Brāhmaṇ Chāhaḍa to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva (*ibid.*, No. 350). Then again a South-Indian grant mentions two of the Brāhmaṇ grantees as Karaṇika Timmarasa and Karaṇika Daṃvaṇa.³⁰ Nay, the Nidhanpur charter of Bhāskaravarman referred to above also speaks of a Brāhmaṇ donee, called Janārdanasvāmī, as Nyāya-karaṇika. It is thus evident that all Karaṇikas were not Kāyasthas, but that there were some who were Brāhmanas.

Let us now turn for a while to the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, which bristles with references to the Kāyasthas. Let us cull together a few passages from it and find out what they teach us. Thus one passage from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (IV. 621) has the following: "Being besought by the Kāyasthas: 'what is the good of hardships such as the conquest of the quarters and so on? Let wealth be obtained from your own land,' he (Jayāpīḍa) oppressed his own kingdom." The king relished the idea, and only eight verses thereafter, we are told that "with his mind eclipsed by greed, he considered the Kāyasthas as his benefactors,—Kāyasthas who gave small fractions of wealth (to the king) though they snatched away all the property (of the people). The big fishes of the sea and the kings are alike. The former consider the clouds to be donors when they let go (some drops from the water just seized from them (from the sea). The latter, alas, believe in the secret services of the wicked tribe of the Kāyasthas who deliver a few bits after openly plundering everybody"—(vs. 629-30).³¹ In both the passages, the word *Kāyastha* has rightly been taken to mean "officials" by Sir Aurel Stein. That this was the state of things in Kashmīr as described by Kalhana may be proved in another way. The author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* was Somadeva, who was also a paṇḍit of Kashmīr. In his work (XLII. 91) we find the following line: *Samdhivigraha-Kāyasthenā sārtha-samchayaiḥ*. It has been translated by C. H. Tawney as "secretary for foreign affairs." This shows that in Kashmīr the term Kāyastha was used to denote any official, especially of the higher rank. It is no use quoting further passages to show that in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* Kāyastha was used in the sense of 'officials in general.' One

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII. p. 97, l. 38.

²⁸ *Antiquities of Chamba State* by J. Ph. Vogel, Pt. I. p. 194, l. 28; and p. 199, l. 21.

²⁹ Haraprasad Sastri's *A Descrip. Cat. of Sk. MSS. in the Govt. Col.* under the care of the As. Soc. Beng., Vol. I. p. 21 (MS. 19/8067).

³⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII. p. 167.

³¹ See also Kalhana's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (text), VII. 86-7.

may however be quoted in this connection, as it shows what sort of officers they were. There was a king of Kashmir, Harsha by name, who flourished in 1089-1101 A.D. About him Kalhana says as follows: "He tormented the people through the Kāyasthas by the settlement of heavy fines and nowhere let alone even a lump of clay in towns, villages and so forth"—VII. 1226. This verse shows that the Kāyasthas here referred to were district officials who realised taxes and fines from the people. This entirely agrees with the view of Aparārka, who explains the term Kāyastha occurring in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 336) referred to above by saying *Kāyasthāḥ kar-ādhyakṛitāḥ*.³³ Whether the Kāyasthas of Kashmir had developed into a caste it is difficult to say. Most probably no such caste had been formed up to the time of Kalhana. In this connection may be quoted the following verse from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (VIII. 2383):

*Tad-antare Śivaratho dvijaḥ prachura-chakrikaḥ |
Kāyastha-pāśaḥ pāśena galaṃ baddhvā vyapadyata. ||*

"In the meanwhile there died by strangulation that rogue (*pāśa*) of a Kāyastha, the Brāhmaṇ Śivaratha, who had been a mighty intriguer."

This passage unmistakably shows that some of the Kāyasthas of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* were Brāhmaṇs. Well may Sir Aurel Stein say:—"That Kalhana, though probably drawn by descent and position towards the official class, was by no means partial to the latter, is shown by many a hard hit he makes at the vices of the 'Kāyasthas.' The great mass of them was undoubtedly Brāhmaṇ by caste . . ."³³

We will now revert to Bengal and see what light the records throw on the origin of the Kāyastha caste in this province. The first question that arises is whether the Kāyastha caste had arisen in Bengal by the end of the Sena period. Not a single inscription is known from Bengal where any officer or private individual is specified as belonging to that caste. A copper-plate grant has no doubt been recently published which speaks of the officer who drew it up as Saṃdhivigrahādhikaraṇa-Kāyastha.³⁴ It is difficult, however, to determine definitively whether the term *Kāyastha* here means 'a clerk attached to,' or 'an officer in charge of,' 'the Department of Peace and War.' Anyhow there is no definite indication here that the Kāyastha caste had been formed. On the other hand, we have to note that there is a work called *Nyāyakandali* by Śrīdhara, which is a commentary on Prasastapāda's *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*.³⁵ There he tells us that he composed the work at a place named Bhūriśiṣṭi in Dakṣiṇa-Rādhā in Śaka 913=991 A.D. at the request of one Pāṇḍu-dāsa, who was "the head-mark of the Kāyastha community (*kula*)."³⁵ This no doubt shows that the Kāyastha caste had been formed in Bengal by at least the tenth century. But it may be asked, what was the primary occupation of this caste when it sprung up in Bengal? Was it that of the writer or of the accountant? It seems it was neither. A copper-plate was discovered some time ago at Rāmganj in the Dinājpur district, containing a grant issued by Śivaraghosha, who belonged to the Ghosha family. In the list of officials set forth therein mention is made of Mahākāyastha who, be it noted, has been specified along with Mahākaraṇādhyaṅksha and Mahākṣapatalika.³⁶ It will thus be seen that up till the twelfth century the function of a Kāyastha in Bengal was different from that of Karaṇika, that is, the writer, or an Akṣapatalika, that is, the accountant. What the exact duty of the Kāyastha was in Bengal at this early period is not certain. But some rays of light are shed on this point by the Khālimpur charter of Dharmapāla. There, in the list of officials

³³ Anand. Sk. Series, No. 46, p. 584.

³³ *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (Trans.) by M. A. Stein, Vol. I. Intro., p. 19. It is worthy of note that in Act IX. of the *Mṛicchhakaṭika* Chārudatta wishes *kuśala* to the Śreṣṭhin and Kāyastha. But *kuśala* can be wished only to a Brāhmaṇ according to Manu (II. 127), who is himself quoted by the Adhikaraṇika in the same Act. It seems that both these Śreṣṭhin and Kāyastha were Brāhmaṇs.

³⁴ *Ind. His. Quart.*, 1930, p. 55, li. 17-18.

³⁵ This was first pointed out by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda in *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 198.

³⁶ *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III. p. 153, li. 13 and 15.

Jyeshtha-Kāyastha is mentioned and associated with Mahāmahattara, Mahattara, Dāsagrāmika and their respective Karāṇas.³⁷ While they are thus distinguished from the Karāṇas, they are all mentioned expressly as forming the staff of the Vishaya-vyavahārins. The term *vishaya-vyavahārīn* reminds us of the preamble of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates where the Vishayapati and Prathama-Kāyastha are mentioned as two members of the Board of Five who administered the district (*vishaya*) in the Gupta period. It appears that in the Pāla period the lowest unit for the governance of a district was a cluster of ten villages in charge of an official who was therefore styled Dāsagrāmika, that above him was placed a Mahattara and above the latter a Mahāmahattara, and that above every one of them was appointed a Jyeshtha-Kāyastha, who was thus immediately below the Vishayapati or the head of a district mentioned in the same list of officials.³⁸ Practically the same was the case in the sixth century A.D., as appears from the Faridpur plates adverted to above. There, too, Jyeshtha-Kāyastha is mentioned as *pramukha* with Mahattaras under him. There can therefore be no doubt as to all these officers being connected with the administration of a district. The word *Jyeshtha-Kāyastha*, like *Prathama-Kāyastha* of the Dāmodarpur plates, indicates that there were many subordinate officers under him called simply Kāyasthas. And the Mahāmahattaras, Mahattaras and Dāsagrāmikas are apparently these Kāyasthas. It thus seems that the district officers connected principally with the collection of revenue were designated Kāyasthas in ancient Bengal, as they were in the Kashmir of Kaḥaṇa's time.

The above conclusion receives remarkable confirmation from the medieval history of Bengal. After the Muhammadan conquest this province was ruled by twelve semi-independent chiefs and is described as *bārabhuiñār muluk*. Of those the Hindu Bhūiñās who held sway up till the sixteenth century were all Kāyasthas. "The struggle carried on by the Bhūiñās of Bengal against the Mughul Emperors," says Rai Bahadur Chanda,³⁹ "was no less obstinate than that of the Rājputs of Rājputānā, though, unfortunately, there were no bards in Bengal to enshrine the stirring events of this struggle in heroic ballads." "Had not these Kāyastha Bhūiñās of Bengal," rightly remarks the Rai Bahadur in continuation, "been inspired by a tradition of long independent rule, they could hardly have maintained this unequal struggle for so long. Not only the Bhūiñās, but also the minor zamīndārs of those days, were mostly Kāyasthas."⁴⁰ The question that here arises is: how did Bengal about the beginning of the Muhammadan rule come to be dominated by the Kāyastha Bhūiñās and Kāyastha zamīndārs? The question is not difficult to answer. If the district officers in charge of revenue were designated Kāyasthas up till the twelfth century A.D., and if the Kāyasthas had already been formed into a caste, it is natural that after the overthrow of the central Hindu power, namely, that of the Senas, they should seize the various districts and turn themselves into semi-independent rulers called Bhūiñās.

Let us now proceed to the main question about the Bengal Kāyasthas, namely, their origin. We have already seen that the Kāyasthas came to be known as a caste for the first time in the ninth century A.D., and that before that time the term *Kāyastha* had been used merely as an office designation and that neither Vishṇu nor Yājñavalkya has mentioned it as the name of a caste. The question thus naturally arises: who were the Bengal Kāyasthas originally, before they crystallised into the present caste, that is, were they Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras? The Kāyasthas of Bengal, like those of Bombay, claim to be Kshatriyas. The Brāhmanas of Bengal, however, look upon them as Śūdras. It has been commonly held by the Nibandhakāras of a late period that after the Nandas the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas vanished out of the Hindu social system and that only two classes remained, namely, the Brāhmanas and Śūdras, so that any particular caste of the modern day must

³⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, ll. 47-8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249, l. 44.

³⁹ *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 201.

⁴⁰ Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 129, may also be read in this connection.

be either Brāhmaṇ or Śūdra. I am afraid this belief is not only not supported but even controverted by epigraphic evidence. Leaving aside the Rājputa of Northern India, who have always been styled Kshatriyas in the old inscriptions, we find that even in Bengal most of the old ruling families such as the Pālas and the Senas have been designated Kshatriyas. Thus the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena speaks of his grandfather, Sāmantasena, as "an ornament of the Kshatriyas."⁴¹ Nay, the same Sāmantasena is mentioned in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena as being the foremost of the Brahmakshatriyas.⁴² The term *Brahmakshatriya* clearly shows that the Senas were originally Brāhmans but were considered to be Kshatriyas in the eleventh century. They were thus superior to any Kshatriya family of the day who were mere Kshatriyas. In fact, the Senas even when they were Kshatriyas were so proud of their Brāhmaṇ origin that Lakshmanasena styles himself *parama-Brahmakshatriya* in his Mādhiānagar charter.⁴³

Nor does there seem to be any force in the argument of the Bengal Kāyasthas that they are Kshatriyas. Their argument like that of the Bombay Kāyasthas is based upon a mere legend about Chitrugupta or Chandrasena and not upon any epigraphic or ethnological evidence. We may therefore ignore it and start our enquiry afresh. Who could these Kāyasthas be originally? It was pointed out by me long ago that the Nāgar Brāhmans had Śarmans, otherwise called Āmushyāyanas, which were identical with the *padavis* of the Bengal Kāyasthas, and it was surmised that this was an indication of their racial affinity, if not of identity. The only thing wanting was the evidence to prove that there were Brāhmans in ancient Bengal bearing Kāyastha surnames. That evidence, as we have now seen, has been supplied by no less than two inscriptions. Nay, we have the further evidence of an almost incontestible character that there were Nāgar Brāhmans in ancient Bengal. It thus seems natural to hold that the Bengal Kāyasthas were originally none but these Nāgar Brāhmans. This inference is supported by the fact that the Kāyasthas have still preserved their Brāhmanical *gotras* and *pravaras*. I am not unaware that objections can be raised to their Brāhmaṇ origin. It may be argued in the first place that the Śarmans of the Nāgar Brāhmans are found not only among the Kāyasthas and Vaidyas but also among the Navaśākhās and Sadgopas, and that the latter castes also bear Brāhmanical *gotras*. Nothing, however, can be more fallacious. Let us take the case of Kumāras, who are Sadgopas. There are two classes among them: (1) the Paśchima *kul* or the *kulins* on the west of the Ganges, and (2) the Pūrba *kul* or the *kulins* on the east of the Ganges. There are three Brāhmanical *gotras* amongst them, namely, Kaśyapa, Madhukulya and Bhāradvāja. The *kulins* of the Paśchima *kul* are mostly of the Kaśyapa *gotra*, and to maintain their kulinism they marry in the same *gotra*.⁴⁴ But to marry in the same *gotra* is inconceivable among Kāyasthas and Vaidyas as among the Brāhmans. Or let us take again the case of Modaks who form the confectioner caste and are one of the Navaśākhās. They, too, have Brāhmanical *gotras*, such as Maudgalya, Śaṇḍilya and Gautama. But two persons of the same *padavi* cannot marry amongst them though their *gotras* be different. On the contrary, persons of different *padavis* can marry even though they belong to the same *gotra*.⁴⁵ It will thus be seen that it is not enough for a caste to have Brāhmanical *gotras*. What is really required is that persons of the same *gotra* shall not marry as is the case with the Brāhmans. But such a custom is

⁴¹ *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 62, l. 9; also p. 110, l. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 46, l. 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 111, l. 31.

⁴⁴ Information about this caste was supplied to me by Mr. Amritlal Kumar of the Imperial Records Department, Calcutta.

⁴⁵ *Modaka-hitaishini*, B.S. 1337, Bhadra, p. 407 ff.

prevalent only among the Kāyasthas and the Vaidyas.⁴⁶ To say therefore that the Kāyasthas are on a par with the Navaśākhas and Sadgopas so far as the Brāhmanical *gotras* are concerned is to confound the whole question. For, exactly like the Brāhmanas, they have never married in the same *gotra* though their *padavis* were different.

The second objection that may be raised to the Brāhman origin of the Bengal Kāyasthas is that they must have borrowed their Brāhmanical *gotras* and *pravaras* from their priests. The authority generally relied upon in such matters is the remark which Vijñāneśvara makes while commenting on a verse from the *vivāha-prakaraṇa* of the *Āchārādhyāya* of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 53). The remark is *yady=api rājanya-viśām prātisvika-gotr-ābhāvāt pravara-ābhāvas=tath=āpi purohita-gotr-a pravaraṇaṁ veditavyam*, "although the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have no *pravaras* as they have no *gotras* of their own, yet (in their case) the *gotras* and *pravaras* of (their) priests are to be understood." On this ground it may therefore be argued that the possession of Brāhmanical *gotras* and *pravaras* by a modern caste does not necessarily prove it to be a Brāhman caste, that the Bengal Kāyasthas may be a Kshatriya or Vaiśya caste for aught we know to the contrary, and that they may have borrowed their *gotras* and *pravaras* from their priests. We have thus to consider the full significance of the verse from the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* and also of the remark which Vijñāneśvara passes in his gloss on it.

Now, what is the authority of Vijñāneśvara when he asserts that the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have no Brāhmanical *gotras* and *pravaras* of their own except those of their priests? Fortunately, he gives Āśvalāyana as his authority and cites the following passages: *tathā cha "yajamānasy=ārsheyān pravṛiṇīte" ity-uktvā "purohityān rājanya-viśām pravṛiṇīte."* These are really quotations from the *Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra* and occur at the beginning of the third Part (*khaṇḍa*) of the first Chapter (*adhyāya*). The first of these in full is *yajamānasy=ārsheyān pravṛiṇīte ydyantaḥ syuh*, "he chooses as many as there are of the ancestral Rishis of the sacrificer." The second quotation runs somewhat differently in the published edition (*Anand. Sk. Series*) of the work, namely, *purohityān rāja-viśām*. It will be seen that we have here *rāja-viśām* instead of *rājanya-viśām* of Vijñāneśvara. About the conclusion of this work we meet with the *sūtra*: *purohita-pravare rājnam*. This occurs not only in the edition of the *Anand. Sk. Series* (p. 463), but also in the *Āśvalāyana-pravara-khaṇḍa* published in the *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam* (p. 299) of the *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* (Mysore Govt. Or. Lib. Series). It therefore appears that *rāja-viśām* is the correct reading, and not *rājanya-viśām* as cited by Vijñāneśvara. The same reading is adopted by the *Pravara-mañjarī*,⁴⁷ which explains the word *rāja* by saying that even Brāhmanas, if they are kings, have to adopt the *pravaras* of their priests. We thus see that it was not the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas only, but also the Brāhman kings who were compelled to borrow the *pravaras* of their priests.

Even supposing that the reading adopted by Vijñāneśvara is correct, what Āśvalāyana says is that the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas should borrow only the *pravaras* of their priests, nothing being said by him about the *gotras*. Vijñāneśvara, however, affirms that they should adopt not only the *pravaras* but also the *gotras* of the priests. He is certainly wrong in quoting in support of his assertion the two *sūtras* from Āśvalāyana which speak of the adoption of the *pravaras* only, and not of the *gotras*, of the priest. The only authority in favour of his assertion is the line from the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* on which he is commenting and which

⁴⁶ Originally the Vaidyas and the Kāyasthas must have formed one community. Even now there are intermarriages between the two castes, especially in some parts of the Tippera and Dacca districts. And as a matter of fact, such a marriage between Vaidya and Kāyastha has been held valid by the Calcutta High Court (see "Ram Lal Shookool vs. Akhoy Charan Mitter," reported in *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Vol. VII [1902-03], p. 619 ff.). Much useful information on this point has been collected by Prāchyavidyā-mahārāja Nagendra Nath Vasu in *Vidyakōśa* under *Vaidyājāti*, and the subject has been discussed by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in *Kāyastha-samāj (Māsik)*, Vol. IX, p. 288 ff., and *Kāyastha-pairikā*, B.S. 1337, p. 297. It seems that those of the Bengal Kāyasthas who adopted the Vaidya profession came to be called Vaidyas and are being gradually separated from the Kāyasthas though they have not yet been so on the east side of the Brahmaputrá. A similar case may be found in Rājputānā, where we meet with a caste which calls itself Baid-Kāyasthas. These are the Bhātnagrā Kāyasthas who have become Vaidyas and have now for that reason formed a separate Kāyastha subcaste (*Marwar Census Report*, p. 404).

⁴⁷ *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, pp. 127-8.

runs thus : *aroginīm bhrātrimatīm=asamān-ārsha-gotrajam*. What Yājñavalkya lays down is that a man should marry only that girl who does not pertain to his *ārsha*, i.e., *pravara*, and also to his *gotra*. If, however, we study any *Śrautasūtra* or *Dharmasūtra* carefully, we find that they prohibit only *samāna-pravara* marriages. Thus the *Baudhāyana*⁴⁸ and *Āśvalāyana*⁴⁹ *Śrautasūtras* lay down the dictum *asamāna-pravarair=vivāhaḥ*, namely, that marriage shall be among unlike *pravaras*. The *Gautama-dharmasūtra* also has *asamāna-pravarair=vivāhaḥ* (IV. 2), and the *Vāsisṭha*, *asamān-ārsheyām.....sadṛśīm bhāryām vindeta* (VIII. 1). It will be observed that these *Śrautasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* are unanimous in laying stress on *asamān-ārsheya* or *asamāna-pravara*, but that they make no mention of *gotra* in this connection. On the other hand, Yājñavalkya ordains that the girl to be married shall be not only of a different *ārsha* or *pravara* but also of a different *gotra*. The question that we have to consider is why the necessity of avoiding the same *gotra* over and above the same *pravara* arose in the time of Yājñavalkya.

When the *Baudhāyana* and *Āśvalāyana* *Śrautasūtras* lay down the dictum *asamāna-pravarair=vivāhaḥ*, they make their sense clear by quoting the following verses :—

eka=eva rishir=yāvat pravareṣu=anuvartate |
tāvat samāna-gotratvam=anyatra Bhrigu-Āngirasām gaṇāt ||
pañcānām triṣu sāmānyād=avivāhas=triṣu dvayoḥ |
Bhrigu-Āngiro-gaṇeṣu=eva śeṣeṣu=eko=pi vdrayet ||

"So long as even one Rishi persists in the *pravaras*, there is the sameness of *gotra* excepting in the *gaṇas* of the Bhrigus and the Āngirasas."

"There can be no marriage among the Bhrigu and Āngiras *gaṇas*, if from among the five (Rishis) three are common and from among the three two are common. As to the rest, if there is even one (Rishi) common, (one) should avoid (marriage)."

It will be seen from the above that the *pravaras* were enough to determine the *gotra* of a man. We may go into somewhat greater detail to make this point quite clear. According to the *Śrautasūtras*, the Seven Sages, or Saptarishis, and Agastī were the eight founders of the *gotras* in the extensive sense of the term. These are (1) the Bhrigus, (2) Gautamas, (3) Bhāradvājas, (4) Atris, (5) Viśvāmitras, (6) Kāśyapas, (7) Vasishṭhas, and (8) Agastis.⁵⁰ Of these, the Gautamas and Bhāradvājas form the bigger class known as the Āngiras *gaṇa*. Each of these eight *gotras* is divided into a number of smaller groups called *pakṣas*. Thus the Bhrigu *gotra* is divided into the following *pakṣas* : (1) Vatsas, (2) Vidas, (3) Ārshtisheṇas, (4) Yaskas, (5) Mitrayus, (6) Vainyas and (7) Śunakas. Each of these *pakṣas* is subdivided into a number of septs called *gotra* in its contracted sense. Thus the Vatsa *pakṣa* is divided into no less than seventy-two smaller *gotras*, such as Mārkaṇḍeyas, Māṇḍūkas and so forth. In the case of every one of the *pakṣas* are cited Ārshas or Ārsheyas, so called because they were its ancestral Rishi or Mantradrashtā. Another word for *ārsheya* is *pravara*, as mentioned above. It is these *ārshayas* or *pravaras* which determine the *gotra* in its comprehensive sense. If any two smaller *gotras* or families have any Rishi in common in the *pravaras* of their respective *pakṣas*, they are automatically taken as belonging to the same stock, that is, to the same *gotra*, the term *gotra* being employed in its extensive sense. Marriage is accordingly prohibited among these families. When therefore the *Śrauta*- and *Dharma-sūtras* referred to above, lay down the dictum *asamāna-pravarair=vivāhaḥ*, it is exactly equivalent to *asamāna-gotrair=vivāhaḥ*, the word *gotra* being here understood as the bigger and not the smaller *gotra*. By avoiding the sameness of *pravaras* when even one Rishi is found common, the sameness of *gotras* is automatically avoided. The *Sūtrakāras* were thus perfectly correct in pivoting on *asamāna-pravara*, which presupposed *asamāna-gotra*. But Yājñavalkya, we have seen, lays stress not only upon *asamān-ārsha* but also upon

⁴⁸ (*Bibl. Ind. Ed.*), pp. 415.

⁴⁹ *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, p. 301.

⁵⁰ See Appendix A.

asamāna-gotra. Are we therefore to suppose that *asamāna-gotra* is a needless repetition in the Smṛiti text? This would be charging Yājñavalkya with the fault of tautology. Surely the author of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* must have been conversant with the *Śrauta*- and the *Dharma-sūtras* prior to his period. When, therefore, he insists not only upon *asamān-ārsha* but also upon *asamāna-gotra*, we have to assume that the latter expression in his time must have been as essential as the former. We know that different Smṛitis came into existence to meet different environments in different periods and in different provinces. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* is generally assigned to the fourth century A.D. It thus seems that Hindu society had changed about the beginning of the Christian era, at any rate so far as matrimonial custom went and that to suit these new changes Yājñavalkya must have laid stress not only upon *asamāna-pravaratva* but also upon *asamāna-gotratva*. If we reflect upon this matter a little, we find that both these conditions fit admirably in the case of society represented by the Rājput and Vaiśya classes of Northern India. Being Kshatriyas, the Rājputs have to adopt the *pravaras* of their priests. But it is not enough for them to avoid these *pravaras* as it seems it was in the case of the Kshatriyas of the pre-Christian period. Over and above the *pravaras* of their priests, they have to avoid marriage in the same *khāmp* or clan. Let us take two of these *khāmps*, namely Chohān and Guhilot. The Chohān *khāmp* is divided into a number of branches, such as Chohān, Hādā, Khichī, Songirā, Devdā and so forth. They cannot marry among themselves. The Guhilot *khāmp* is similarly divided into a number of septs, such as Guhilot, Sisodiyā, Āhādā, Pipādā, Māngaliyā and so forth. These also cannot marry with one another. But any sept of the Guhilot can contract matrimonial alliance with any sept of the Chohān, because the Guhilot and the Chohān are two different *khāmps*. It will thus be perceived that amongst the Rājputs they have to avoid not only the *pravaras* of their priests, but above all, the *khāmp* to which they belong and which is the most important thing they have to bear in mind at the time of marriage. In the case of the Rājputs, the dictum *asamāna-pravarair=vivāhaḥ* cannot hold good, but on the contrary they have to abide by the injunction of Yājñavalkya, namely that they must shun marriage not only in the same *ārsha* or *pravara* which they adopt from their priests, but also in the same *gotra* which in their case is the *khāmp*.

It will be noted from the above discussion that the avoidance, not only of the same *pravara* but also of the same *gotra*, as insisted upon for the first time by Yājñavalkya is applicable only to a state of society such as is represented by the marriage customs of the Rājputs. The sameness of the *gotra* over and above that of the *pravaras* is certainly superfluous in the case of genuine Brāhmans⁵¹ even at the present day. It appears similarly to have been superfluous in the case of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas anterior to the time of Yājñavalkya, otherwise the stress laid upon *gotra* as well as *ārsha* by the latter would have been laid also by the Śrauta- and Dharma- Sūtrakāras adverted to above. But social life seems to have been considerably altered about the commencement of the Christian era, which necessitated the avoidance of not only the same *pravaras* but also the same *gotra* for the validity of marriage. This line of reasoning alone can explain why Yājñavalkya has insisted upon both. It must not however be supposed that this new state of things was confined to the Rājputs, who are regarded as the modern Kshatriyas. The same thing is noticeable among the classes who go to form the Vaiśyas. If we take the Osvāls, e.g., we find that they too have a number of *khāmps* or *gotras* and that they invariably shun marriage in the *khāmp* to which they pertain, whether or not they adopt the *pravaras* of their Brāhmaṇ priests. Such is the case with the Porvāds, Agarvāls and so on, who are the prominent castes of the Vaiśya community.

(To be continued.)

⁵¹ See p. 54 and Appendix A.

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,

*Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.**(Continued from page 38.)*

Despite the nominal occupation of the country by Europeans for so long, the inhabitants, even of Nancowry Harbour, have been systematic pirates, and there is a very long list of authentic cases in which traders and others of all nationalities have been murdered, wrecked and plundered by them even to quite recent times. The immediate object of the British occupation was to put a final stop to this. The nineteen years of the British Penal Settlement succeeded effectually, and there is now no fear of a recrudescence.

Complaints of piracy and murder of crews made in the records left behind by missionaries and seamen occur up to 1848, and in 1852 there commenced formal official complaints and correspondence on the subject, which continued at intervals, until in 1867 the question already mooted of annexation of the islands to stop piracy, some cases of which had been especially atrocious, was formally taken up, and in 1869 they were annexed to the British Crown and attached to the Andamans for administration and the establishment of a Penal Settlement.

The Penal Settlement in Nancowry Harbour consisted on the average of about 350 persons: 2 European and 2 other Officers; garrison, 58; police, 22; other free residents, 35; convicts, 235. They were employed on public works similar to those of the Andamans. The health was never good, but sickness was kept within limits by constant transfer to the Andamans. Individual health, however, steadily increased with length of time and there is no doubt that in time sanitary skill and effort would have made the sick rate approach without special efforts that of the Andamans. The first year of residence was always the most sickly, partial acclimatisation being quickly acquired. Some officers stayed two to three years. Mr. E. H. Man was in actual residence on and off six and a half years. Some of the free people remained on several years: convicts usually three, and sometimes voluntarily from five to fifteen without change.

As a matter of fact, as the following table will show, with the precautions taken, the sick rate at the Nicobar Penal Settlement did not on the whole compare unfavourably with that at the Andamans.

Statement showing the sick rate of the Settlements at Port Blair and Nicobars from 1869 to 1888, inclusive, i.e., for the 19 years that the Nicobar Settlement lasted.

						PORT BLAIR.	NICOBARS.
						Rate per cent.	Rate per cent.
1869	..	..	..	..	..	5.45	12.31
1870	..	..	..	..	..	5.34	..
1871	..	..	..	..	..	6.36	10.87
1872	..	..	..	..	..	5.91	8.98
1873	..	..	..	..	..	5.53	8.66
1874	..	..	..	..	..	7.60	14.89
1875	..	..	..	..	..	9.62	16.68
1876	..	..	..	..	..	10.35	8.66
1877	..	..	..	..	..	7.71	9.76
1878	..	..	..	..	..	Not recorded.	Not recorded.
1879	..	..	..	..	..	8.92	6.66
1880	..	..	..	..	..	10.00	6.83
1881	..	..	..	..	..	11.09	6.98
1882	..	..	..	..	..	9.77	7.01
1883	..	..	..	..	..	7.42	7.08

						PORT BLAIR.	NICOBARS.
						Rate per cent.	Rate per cent.
1884	..	..	..	..	..	6.72	6.48
1885	..	..	..	..	..	6.00	7.95
1886	..	..	..	..	..	4.99	7.23
1887	..	..	..	..	..	5.81	8.34
1888	..	..	..	..	..	5.00	8.55

Like all the other Governments who had had an interest in the islands, the British tried a colony, Chinese, in 1884, which failed. But the attempt drew from the most experienced officer there, Mr. Man, the following advice of value, considering the perennial interest in these islands betrayed by European speculators and would be colonisers :—

“To colonise the Nicobars employ Chinese; send them to Great Nicobar: employ agriculturists who are not opium users: maintain quick and frequent communication with the Straits Settlements: assist the colonists in transporting their families: provide them with ready means of procuring food, clothing, medicines, tools and implements.”

A large capital and much perseverance would always be necessary for exploiting the Nicobars with any hope of success.

The story of the Settlement was well told by Mr. E. H. Man in a final Report on its being broken up in 1888, as the extracts therefrom which follow will show.

Mr. E. H. Man's Report on the Penal Settlement in Nancowry Harbour.

The Government of India having determined to discontinue the maintenance of the penal settlement at the Nicobar Islands, orders were received, in July 1888, to take early measures for the transfer of the entire establishment and live stock, and the dismantling of all public buildings at Nancowry, with the view to their shipment to Port Blair.

These orders were duly carried into effect by means of the ordinary monthly trips of the contract mail steamer, and the last consignment was shipped on the 21st December, when, as a temporary measure, a Chinese interpreter in Government employ was left behind with authority to register ships' arrivals and departures, grant permits to trade and port clearances, and to hoist the British flag daily at the old station flagstaff. A few free cocoanut-traders, who had been resident for some years at the station, were at the same time permitted to remain there, and arrangements made for affording them all necessary assistance on the occasions of our periodical visits in the Government steamer from Port Blair.

The important step thus taken in seemingly abandoning our position at the Nicobars in no way, however, implied a desire or intention on the part of the Government to forfeit or impair its sovereignty by relinquishing any of the rights or responsibilities which it had incurred by its annexation of the islands twenty years ago. The primary objects which had led to the establishment of the Government colony in the centre of the group immediately after the annexation were held to have been at length fully attained, and, as it was at the same time clearly shown that, owing to the exceptional circumstances and conditions of the colony in incurring continued expenditure, no adequate return, even prospective, was possible, there remained neither inducement nor justification for maintaining an establishment any longer in such a remote and malarious locality.

Under the above circumstances this is considered a good opportunity to place on record a brief history of the settlement, whose period of existence corresponded somewhat singularly with that of the Moravian Mission in the same harbour a century ago; both were maintained for nineteen years, the latter from 1768 to 1787 and the former from 1869 to 1888.

For upwards of a century before the islands were added to the possessions of British India they had been regarded as belonging to the Danish Crown, which had exercised some

sort of sovereignty over them. The endeavours made by the Danes to colonise the group were, however, mainly of a missionary character. The chief attempts made were by 25 Moravian brethren during the period above mentioned and by Pastor Rosen between 1831-37. The ill-success which attended these efforts was attributable to many causes, the chief being their lack of sufficient means and often of the barest necessities of life and their ignorance, not only of the prophylactics discovered since their day, but also of the most elementary rules of hygiene, as evidenced in the case of the Moravians by the wretched site selected by them for occupation, especially in a locality so notorious for malaria, and by their mode of living as described by the only one of their number who survived to tell the tale of their sufferings and fruitless self-sacrifice.

It is scarcely surprising if the Nicobarese saw nothing in these ill-conducted missions to their islands to lead them to form a high estimate of the intelligence, power and resources of Western races; and this may, to some extent, explain the temerity many of these timid islanders are shown to have displayed in certain encounters with Europeans not long after the departure of Pastor Rosen's mission in 1837, which, in spite of the subsequent brief visit of the Danish corvette *Galathea* (1845-46), may be regarded as the date of the virtual abandonment by the Danes of their weak hold on the islands.

During the subsequent period of some thirty years (1837 to 1869) that the Nicobars were left as it were derelict, the natives of the Central, and less frequently of the Southern, Group committed numerous murderous outrages on the crews of vessels visiting their islands, ostensibly for trading purposes, the majority under the British flag. With our present knowledge of the Nicobarese and of some of those who have been in the habit of trading with them, there can be no doubt that the former must frequently have received considerable provocation from the latter. During the period referred to some 26 vessels are believed to have been scuttled by the natives.

In consequence of the impunity with which these crimes were committed they at length (in 1866) culminated in a bold attack on a brig (the *Futteh Islam*) at Great Nicobar, when 21 of the crew are believed to have been massacred, the survivors (3 in number) escaping with the vessel to Penang.

The action then taken by the Indian Government resulted, with the consent of the Danish Crown, in the islands being formally annexed to British India, and, for purposes of administration, they were at once placed in charge of the Superintendent of the Andaman Islands. While thus providing the most effectual means for suppressing the piratical tendencies of the inhabitants and affording protection to trading vessels visiting the islands, it was also felt to be advantageous in serving to avoid the risk of such inconvenience as would be caused by the possible establishment of a rival foreign naval station in such proximity to our settlements in the Indian seas.

The British annexation dates from 16th April 1869, since which a settlement has been established at Camorta and maintained on the northern side of Nancowry Harbour, opposite the site of the old Moravian Mission. The selection of this site was chiefly determined by the fact that the majority of the outrages above referred to had occurred within a small radius of the harbour, which, moreover, was well known to afford a commanding position and an excellent and commodious haven at all seasons of the year. The only drawback was the malaria, and this, it was hoped, might in time be removed by dealing with its causes after the same methods as had been successfully employed under like circumstances at Port Blair.

Although the site selected for occupation was on the northern side of the harbour, and therefore on Camorta Island, the new settlement was, by Home Department Resolution No. 2016, dated 25th April 1871, directed to be called after the better known island (Nancowry) facing it, which had, moreover, given its name to the harbour formed by the two islands.

A glance at the map of the three islands of Camorta, Nancowry, and Trinkat shows that the settlement was planted in the south-east corner of the first-named island, and that it embraced an area of about 500 acres.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SIR AUREL STEIN'S RECENT EXPERIENCES IN CHINESE TURKESTAN.

When concluding his introduction to the detailed record of his third expedition of exploration in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran (1913-16), Sir Aurel Stein added that his thoughts had ever since turned longingly to those far-off deserts and mountains which had seen the most cherished portion of his life's work. The preparation, however, of his monumental works, *Serindia* and *Innermost Asia*, and other activities, including exploration in Waziristan, and N. Baluchistan, Upper Swat and Buner, and in Makran, Jhalawan and Khairan, so pregnant of important results, not to speak of adverse political conditions, prevented the completion of the further investigations he had set before himself. When, with the support of Harvard University and the British Museum, and the sanction of the Chinese Government, he once more crossed the Pamir passes in August 1930, his delight at the prospect of resuming his inquiries will be realized by all who know his character. A sense of personal regret and sympathy with him in the poignant disappointment he had sustained was felt by all Oriental scholars when the telegraphic news arrived that he had been compelled by the attitude of the Chinese Government to return to India. Readers of this Journal will be interested to know the circumstances leading up to this decision and the nature of the work he succeeded in accomplishing pending the abortive negotiations that were carried on. Information now received from Sir Aurel himself enables us to state the facts briefly.

With a view to expediting the grant of the necessary authority for the work in Hsin-chiang and Inner Mongolia, Sir Aurel visited Nanking, and in May 1930, at the recommendation of the British Minister, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs sanctioned the issue to him of a passport authorizing him to trace and closely to investigate ancient remains in those areas, the object and scope of the work being set forth in a memorandum submitted through our Minister and explained in some detail at an interview. The passport was understood to authorize also such survey work as might be found necessary for the task. Sir

Aurel had distinctly expressed a desire to have associated with him a Chinese scholar and a topographer if competent men could be found. He then returned to his base in Kashmir to complete his own arrangements. The Government of India gave him the usual cordial support, deputing tried assistants, including his old and trusted companion Khan Sahib Afrāzgul Khan. Though fully realizing that his ultimate success would depend upon the attitude of the local administration, he wrote at the end of June 1930, full of hopeful anticipation, that the start was planned for early in August. Before, however, he was quite half way to the Chinese frontier he received information that entry into Hsin-chiang had been forbidden by the Chinese Government. To meet the ostensible ground for an agitation carried on by a section of the Chinese Press, he had meanwhile offered to give a formal undertaking not to remove any ancient objects from Chinese territory without the previous consent of the Government. On arrival in October at Kāshgar, where arrangements were to be made for his work, he was held up. Repeated telegraphic applications to the provincial headquarters elicited an invitation to proceed personally to Urumchi to discuss arrangements. This meant a caravan journey of at least six weeks, and the loss practically of a whole working season. Further negotiation ensued, and ultimately sanction was obtained to follow a route round the southern edge of the Taklamakan, which would enable certain ancient sites to be visited on the way to Urumchi: but it was not till the end of November that he was able to start for Khotan. A definite official assurance had been received that he would be allowed to "work" on the way, but a subordinate Chinese official was to accompany and assist him. By the time he reached the small oasis of Domoko (previously visited by him in 1901, 1906, 1908 and 1913), which lies about 70 miles east of Khotan, on the way to Keriya, overt obstruction commenced, and the magistrate of Keriya intimated that he had received instructions to prohibit digging or making of plans at ruined sites. At Keriya Sir Aurel was laid up for a fortnight by an attack of bronchitis, and it was not till February that he

reached Charchan, some 250 miles farther east, only to receive the mortifying news that the Nanking Government had cancelled his passport and insisted on his return to India, the official communication reproducing what he describes as a series of unjustified allegations. Forced to return to Kāshgar, he determined to take the longer route, skirting the Lop desert, and so round by the northern caravan route along the southern skirts of the T'ianshan. In this way he was able to collect useful data bearing upon the hydrographic changes that have resulted in most of the water of the Tārīm river joining the Konche-daryā, and so flowing into the Lop desert in the vicinity of the ancient Lou-lan site. Moreover, he was able to carry a chain of exact longitudes, determined by astronomical observations and time signals, all round the Tārīm basin, a work of great geographical value, which will enable corrections to be made in many of the atlas sheets previously prepared by him and printed by the Survey of India. By the close of April, by dint of dogged perseverance in the face of the obstacles placed in his way, he had succeeded in completing a tour of some 2,000 miles round the Taklamakān, and in supplementing his earlier researches by useful surveys and finds on the southern edge of the desert beyond Niya.

Undaunted by what must have been a grievous disappointment, Sir Aurel writes cheerfully on his return to Kashmīr, and he is already planning further tours of exploration and research in other directions. He also tells of an important find, two miles west of Gilgit cantonments, of ancient Sanskrit texts written mostly on birch-bark, a separate note on which is printed. He further records the discovery of some interesting antiques in Yāsin, within what appears to have been one of a number of Buddhist burial cairns, and of which we hope to publish an account later.

C. E. A. W. O.

IMPORTANT FIND OF EARLY BIRCH-BARK MSS. NEAR GILGIT.

An important archaeological discovery in the Hindūkush region is reported by Sir Aurel Stein, who has been able, on returning from his travels in Chinese Turkestan, to inspect the site and the relics so far recovered. In the last days of May boys watching flocks about Naupūr village, some two miles west of Gilgit cantonment, accidentally cleared a piece of timber sticking out from the top of a small stonier covered mound. Further digging done by villagers laid bare a circular chamber within what was a Buddhist *stūpa* or memorial tower filled with hundreds of small votive *stūpas* and relief plaques common at Buddhist ruins of Central Asia. In the course of this "irresponsible excavation" a mass of ancient MSS. was laid bare, closely

packed in what appears to have been a wooden box. At this stage the digging was fortunately stopped by the local authorities and the MSS., as yet undisturbed, removed to the office of the Wazīr of Gilgit.

Rapid examination by Sir Aurel Stein has shown the bulk of the manuscripts to consist of Sanskrit texts written on oblong leaves of birch-bark of the Indian *pôthī* type. Most of these bundles of duly paginated folia are likely to contain Buddhist canonical texts and the like. In many of them the writing is of a type of Brāhmī script familiar from manuscript remains excavated at ruined Buddhist sites of Chinese Turkestan. Others show an early form of the Brāhmī writing known in Kashmīr as Śāradā and once prevailing all through the hill tracts in the extreme northwest of India. Palaeographic indications in the case of the former manuscripts suggest that some may date back to the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. Careful examination by competent specialists may help to settle the approximate dating of later manuscripts, and thus the time when the deposit was made.

Of special interest is a *pôthī* written in Central Asian Brāhmī on paper. The use of this material distinctly indicates that the manuscript was written in Eastern Turkestan. The manufacture of paper, first invented in China at the very beginning of the second century A.D., was introduced there by the fourth century, if not before.

The structural character of the *stūpa* and the filling up of a domed chamber within with masses of clay model *stūpas*, etc., exactly corresponds to what is shown by Buddhist ruins of the same type dating from early mediæval times in Turkestan and westernmost China. The practice of placing large deposits of sacred manuscripts and other votive offerings in the interior of *stūpas* is curiously illustrated by one of the fine Buddhist paintings on silk recovered by Sir Aurel Stein on his second Central Asian expedition from the cave shrines of the Thousand Buddhas of Tun-huang.

The large number of ancient manuscripts discovered and their remarkably good preservation, due largely to the dryness of the climate and perhaps also to lingering respect among the Hindūkush hill people for relics of their pre-Islamic past, make this find at Gilgit one of exceptional interest. The complete clearing of the *stūpa*, and of three smaller ones immediately adjoining and as yet unopened, awaits arrangements by the Kashmīr Darbār. It must be hoped that its Research and Archaeological Department will be able to have the task carried out with systematic care and that the reproduction and editing of the valuable materials recovered will be entrusted to fully competent scholars. The publication of similar but far less abundant manuscript materials from Chinese Turkestan, and in a single case from the Peshawar district, which the late Dr. Hoernle edited under the orders of the Government of India, provides an admirable model.

INDIAN STUDIES.

No. 3.

THE NĀGAR BRĀHMAṆS AND THE BENGAL KĀYASTHAS.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, PH.D., F.A.S.B.

(Continued from page 55.)

There is another point, though a small one, which is worth noticing in connection with the verse quoted above from the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*. *Yājñavalkya* in this line conjoins *gotra* with *ārsha*. *Ārsha*, of course, is synonymous with *pravara*. But it is called *ārsha* because the word denotes the ancestral Rishis who are *mantra-drashṭārah*. The founders of the *gotras*, using the word *gotra* in its narrow sense, need not necessarily be the Seers of the Hymns. This is applicable even to most of the Brāhmaṇ *gotras*, and particularly so to the *gotras* or *khāmps* of the Rājapūts and the Vaiśyas of North India. The contrast between an *ārsha* and a *gotra* is thus worthy of note. An *ārsha* must always be *ārsha*, but a *gotra* need not be. Hence where *gotra* has been mentioned side by side with *ārsha* by *Yājñavalkya*, the natural inference is that he had in view the *anārsha gotras* of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas of his period, which are now technically known as *khāmps* and where they were particularly careful in abstaining from marrying.

Coming now back to the Kāyasthas of Bengal, we observe that they have no *gotras* which correspond to the *khāmps* of the Rājapūts or the Vaiśya castes of North India. It is true that they have some family names such as Ghosha, Basu, Mitra and so forth, but they are not exogamous groups, because one Ghosha can marry another if their *gotras* are different. And as their *gotras* are Brāhmanical, it is impossible to escape the inference that they were originally looked upon as Brāhmaṇs. And further, as we have strong grounds to hold that there were Nāgar Brāhmaṇs in Ancient Bengal and that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs even now, as in the Valabhi period, possess Śarmans or Āmushyāyanas identical with the Kāyastha *padavī*, it is difficult to avoid the inference that the Kāyasthas of Bengal were originally Nāgar Brāhmaṇs.

There is a passage in Raghunandana's *Udvāha-tattva* which is very interesting in this connection. He quotes a verse from Manu (V. 140), which says that "Śūdras who live according to the law shall shave each month (or shall offer the monthly *śrāddha*), and their mode of purification (shall be) the same as that of the Vaiśyas....." As no *śrāddha* can be performed without the utterance of the *gotra*, this he contends shows that by analogy the Śūdra partakes of the characteristic right of the Vaiśya to adopt the *gotra* of his ancestor's priest. What then becomes of the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* (XXIV. 9) injunction: *na samāna-gotrāṃ na samāna-pravarāṃ bhāryāṃ vindeta*, 'he shall secure a wife who is of neither the same *gotra* nor of the same *pravara*'? Why is this prohibition not made applicable to the Śūdra also? Raghunandana replies that the prohibition indicated in this text applies only to the *gotras* specified (*upadishṭa*) of the Brāhmaṇs or extended (*atidishṭa*) by analogy to the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, and not to the *gotras* of the Śūdras, which are superimposed upon them by an *atideśa* upon an *atideśa*. In the first place, the argument involving an *atideśa* upon an *atideśa* is always most repugnant to a Hindu jurist. It has thus been condemned, e.g., by the author of the *Dattaka-mīmāṃsā* and by no less an illustrious modern High Court Judge than the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.⁵² Secondly, no *gotras* or *pravaras* have been specified for the Śūdras by the Śrauta- or Dharma-sūtras. And if they possess any, this singular fact is to be explained historically or ethnologically, and not by *atideśa* upon *atideśa*. Whatever the explanation given by Raghunandana may be, the passage from his book adverted to above is of great importance, because it shows that there were in his time in Bengal some Śūdras who possessed Brāhmanical *gotras* which they uttered at the time of the monthly *śrāddhas*, but which they did not consider for the purpose of matrimonial alliances. This certainly holds good in the case of the Navaśākhās and Sadgopas, as we have seen above but cannot possibly be made applicable to the Kāyasthas, who shun marriages in the same Brāhmanical *gotra* but not in the families bearing the same *padavī*. It thus seems that in

⁵² Calcutta Weekly Notes, Vol. XX, p. 500.

the time of Raghunandana the Kāyasthas could not have been looked upon as Śūdras. To say that in his time the Kāyasthas married in the same Brāhmanical *gotra* but with different *padavis*, as the Navaśākhās and the Sadgopas do at present, and that their marriage in the same *padavi* though with different *gotras* is the result of their imitation of Brāhmanical customs and practices, is a gratuitous supposition unwarranted by any scrap of evidence.⁵³

The evidence set forth above thus points to the conclusion that the Bengal Kāyasthas of the present day were originally the Nāgar Brāhmanas that seem to have been settled in this province in the sixth century A.D. There is no evidence to show that they were ever in touch with their caste fellows in the western part of India. We cannot therefore expect any extreme similarity in the social structure of the Kāyastha caste of Bengal and the Nāgar Brāhmanas of Gujārāt and Kāthiāwār. Still, sufficient similarity has been preserved between the two communities, which indicates that they pertained originally to the same stock. According to their tradition the Nāgars had, to begin with, seventy-two families, of whom sixty-eight accepted gifts from the Queen of Chamatkāra, and four went away to avert the necessity of begging. Of the sixty-eight, four ran away in fear of the Nāgas, so that only sixty-four remained at Chamatkārapura (Vadnagar). Thereafter Śakra had occasion to perform a sacrifice and imported eight families from the Himālayas, who were styled *Ashtakulina Nāgar*, some of whom were Madhyagas. The others were styled Sāmānya in contradistinction to them. Thus the Nāgars are distinguished into two classes—(1) eight Kulinas and (2) sixty-four Sāmānyas, making up the total of seventy-two *gotras*. Now, in regard to the Bengal Kāyasthas there are two traditions about the original number of the Kāyastha families designated Achalā, corresponding to the Sāmānyas among the Nāgar Brāhmanas. It is true that according to one tradition there were seventy-two such families, but there is another tradition which says that there were sixty-four Achalā families⁵⁴ and that some more Kāyastha families were brought from outside, namely, four Kulinas, four Madhyalas and nineteen Mahāpātras. If we exclude the Mahāpātras who probably represent the latest accretion to the Kāyastha community, there is a pretty good similarity in the caste configuration of the Nāgar Brāhmanas and the Bengal Kāyasthas, namely, sixty-four families which were Achalā or Sāmānya and eight which were not so. The only slight difference here is that the latter class is called *Ashtakulin* by the Nāgars, of whom some were Madhyagas, but is divided by the Kāyasthas into two sections, namely four Kulinas and four Madhyalas. Even the terms Kulin and Madhyala are worthy of note as they correspond to the Kulina and Madhyaga of the Nāgars. It will be seen that the configuration of the Nāgar caste has been better preserved among the Vaṅgaja Kāyasthas than perhaps in any other Kāyastha section of Bengal. Another similarity between the two communities is also worthy of note. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Nāgar Brāhmanas have thirteen Āmushyāyanas which are now the *padavis* of the present Kāyasthas of Bengal. I have elsewhere pointed out that though these Āmushyāyanas have practically remained unused, the Nāgar Brāhmanas are particularly careful in pronouncing them when they perform their religious ceremonies. Such is the case with the Bengal Kāyasthas. They too never fail to utter their *padavis* along with their Brāhmanical *gotras* at the time of all religious ceremonies. But perhaps the most curious similarity preserved is the fact that in the case of both these communities marriage is allowed in some cases so long as the *gotra* names are different, though the *pravaras* are exactly or almost exactly the same.⁵⁵ This is a most noteworthy thing, not known to any other castes in India, the people of which not only bear Brāhmanical *gotras* but also must marry in different *gotras*. It cannot thus be denied even by a casual observer that the Kāyasthas of Bengal even now bear a fairly close similarity to the Nāgars in point of caste structure.

⁵³ For an explanation of the present fallen status of the Kāyasthas of Bengal, see Appendix B.

⁵⁴ This occurs in a palm-leaf MS. of *Vaṅgaja-Kāyastha-kārikā* of Lakshmikanta Sarma Ghatak of Edilpur, quoted by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in *Kāyastha-samāj* (Māsik), B. S. 1336, p. 416, n.

⁵⁵ *Nāgara-pushpāñjali*, Pt. III. p. 78.

It is not merely social, but also physical anthropology that comes to our support in this connection, and it is interesting here to note the views of Dr. B. S. Guha based upon anthropometric data furnished principally by H. H. Risley.⁵⁶ The characteristic Bengali type consists of the association of round head with slender nose and may be described as brachyleptorhiny, to use an anthropometric term. This type is found in the central or deltaic region and especially among the upper classes, such as the Brāhman and Kāyasthas, and gradually thins away as we descend to the lower strata. This Bengali type differs from that of the eastern neighbours—on the one hand, from the Mongoloids of the Brahmaputra valley, who strongly incline towards the dolichoplatyrrhine, and on the other from the Sino-Burmese peoples among whom the brachyplatyrrhine element is predominant. They also vary from their western neighbours, the pre-Aryan Santāls and other tribes and also from the north-western peoples, such as those found in the United Provinces, Panjāb and Kashmir. In fact, the brachyleptorhine element which is so typical of Bengal gradually decreases as we proceed from Bihār to Benares, to the north-west of which place the dolicholeptorhine characteristics of North India are in increasing evidence. The Bengali type represented by the Bengal Kāyasthas and Brāhman thus stands isolated in a surrounding medley of races. The only peoples with whom they can be linked up anthropometrically are the round-headed castes of Western India, the most pre-eminent of whom are the Nāgar Brāhman of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and the Prabhu Kāyasthas of Mahārāshtra. The following table, prepared by my pupil, Mr. Atul Krishna Sur, will show at a glance how the case stands. It is scarcely necessary to add that the average cephalic index beyond or below 75 is an indication of brachycephaly and dolichocephaly respectively.

The following Table illustrates the racial affinity of the Bengali Kāyasthas and Brāhman with the Nāgar Brāhman and the Vāṇiās of Gujarāt, and their difference from the Brāhman and the Kāyasthas of the United Provinces and Bihār. Compiled from the anthropometrical appendices in Risley's *People of India* :—

Number of Persons measured.	Name of Caste.	Locality.	Av. C. I.	Av. N. I.	Av. St.
100	..Nāgar Brāhman.	Ahmadābād ..	79.7	73.1	1643
127	..Vāṇiās	.. ..	79.3	75.7	1612
100	..Prabhu	..Sātārā, Poona, Bombay. Thānā.	79.9	75.8	1627
100	..Kāyasthas	..Bengal ..	78.2	70.3	1636
32	..Brāhman	..W. Bengal ..	78.2	71.9	1670
68	..Brāhman	..E. Bengal ..	79.0	70.3	1659
100	..Brāhman	..U. P. ..	73.1	74.6	1659
100	..Kāyasthas	.. ..	72.6	74.8	1648
67	..Brāhman	..Bihār ..	74.9	73.2	1661

The various surnames of the grantees we have culled from the various inscriptions are as follows : (1) Bhūti, (2) Chandra, (3) Dāma, (4) Dāsa, (5) Datta, (6) Deva, (7) Dhara, (8) Ghosha, (9) Gupta, (10) Kara, (11) Kirtti, (12) Kunda, (13) Mitra, (14) Nāga, (15) Nandin, (16) Pāla, (17) Pālita, (18) Rakshita, (19) Śarman, (20) Sena, (21) Soma, (22) Vardhana, (23) Varman and (24) Vasu. These are all found as *padavīs* among the Bengal Kāyasthas to the present day. But what is strange is that they were found as surnames among the Brāhman of Bengal from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D. Another noteworthy fact is that most of them are found as the names of the ruling or Kshatriya families of Northern India in the pre-Muhammadan period. That the Pālas and Senas were the Kshatriya families ruling over Bihār and Bengal is well-known. That the Chandras, Ghoshas and Varmans also held

⁵⁶ See his Presidential Address for the Section of Anthropology published in the Proceedings of the Fifteenth Indian Science Congress (issued 27th February 1929), p. 308 ff.

parts of Bengal is not unknown. The Varmans in particular deserve further consideration in this connection, because it may be argued that *varman* is but an honorific suffix of Kshatriyas, and that the fact that the names of the members of a ruling family end in *varman* is not enough to show that they were named Varmans. This argument is refuted by verse 5 of the Belâvâ (Bengal) copper-plate of Bhojavarman, which is of the twelfth century A.D. and which distinctly tells us that he belonged to the Varman family who were the kinsmen of Kṛishṇa (Yadu) and came originally from Simhapura.⁵⁷ This reminds us of the inscription on the Lakkhâ Mandâl Temple,⁵⁸ which is of the seventh century and sets forth the genealogy of twelve princes whose names also terminate in *varman* and who, we are expressly told, were Yâdus and belonged to the royal race of Singhapura. There can hardly be a doubt that this was the original Varman family of Simhapura referred to in the Belâvâ Plate. Bühler, who edited the epigraph, has identified this Singhapura with *Seng-ha-pu-lo* mentioned by Yuan Chwang⁵⁹ as a dependency of Kashmîr, and Cunningham⁶⁰ has rightly identified the place with Ketâs, situated on the north side of the Salt Range and about 85 miles from Taxila. As the epigraph is taken to have been incised about 700 A.D. and as it mentions eleven princes ruling Simhapura in a direct line of succession, it seems that the first of them, namely Senavarman, has to be placed in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. These Yâdava Varmans of Simhapura appear to have migrated about the twelfth century to the easternmost parts of India and settled not only in East Bengal, as we know from the Belâvâ Plate, but also in Kalinga, as appears from the Komarti and Brihatprosthâ grants.⁶¹ Of practically the same period as the Varmans of Simhapura is the royal family which ruled from Thanesar and Kanauj and to which the celebrated Harshavardhana belonged. Harshavardhana was the last prince of this family, and as the names of them all, who are no less than six, terminate in *vardhana*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the family must have been known as *Vardhana* which is one of the twenty-four surnames referred to above. Proceeding backwards to an earlier period, we light upon the Guptas and the Nâgas who held sway in Northern India in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. They are too well-known to require any elucidation. But what we have to note about them here is that Gupta and Nâga also are to be found among these surnames. Two more of these surnames are traceable, not however in inscriptions, but on coins. They are Mitra and Datta. Thus coins have been found in Pañchâla and Kosala ranging in age from 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. and issued by no less than seven kings whose names end in *mitra*, such as Bhânumitra, Bhûmimitra, and so on.⁶² Similarly, coins of practically the same period have been picked up from Ayodhyâ of at least four princes whose names also end in *mitra*.⁶³ Again, there were four kings of ancient Mathurâ of about the second century B.C. known to us from their coins only. They are Purushadatta, Bhavadatta, Uttamadatta and Râmadatta.⁶⁴ As their names terminate in *datta*, the inference is permissible that they pertained to the Datta family.

It will be seen that no less than twenty-four of the present Bengal Kâyastha surnames were prevalent among the Brâhmanas of Bengal in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Of these, at least ten surnames are traceable as the names of the ruling or Kshatriya families going back to the second century B.C. When such surnames are shared both by Brâhmanas and Kshatriyas, the presumption arises that they belonged to one race. What could this race

⁵⁷ *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III. p. 19.

⁵⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 12 ff. For the same reason Bhâskaravarman of Kâmarûpa, a contemporary of Harshavardhana, seems to have belonged to the Varman family. And, further, it is worthy of note that Yuan Chwang informs us that this king was a Brâhman by caste (Watters' ed., Vol. II. p. 186). This shows that up till the seventh century Varman was a Brâhman surname also.

⁵⁹ Thomas Watters' ed., Vol. I. pp. 248-9.

⁶⁰ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S. N. Majumdar, p. 142.

⁶¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 143; Vol. XII. p. 4.

⁶² V. A. Smith's *Cat. Coins Ind. Museum*, p. 186 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192 f.

be? The clue is afforded by the fact that no less than ten of these were in use nearly 700 years ago as Śarmans or Āmushyāyanas amongst the Nāgar Brāhman of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. Mr. N. B. Divatia⁶⁵ has rightly remarked that whereas these Śarmans have been reduced to the position of family names in Bengal, they were replaced among the Nāgars by *avastānikas*, or surnames, and are now remembered "only as ornamental mementos of a social state long gone by, just like the *gotra*." It seems that originally they were clan names; because even now among the Nāgars these Śarmans are known as Āmushyāyana.⁶⁶ This inference may appear strange to some, and it may be urged against it that two of these names are Śarman and Varman which are the well-known honorific suffixes of the Brāhman and Kshatriyas respectively, and it may be pertinently asked whether there is any evidence to show they were ever in ancient times used as the names of any families or clans. In reply, we may draw attention to *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparvan*, chap. 30, v. 13, and *Śāntiparvan*, chap. 49, v. 83, where Śarmakas, Varmakas⁶⁷ and Rakshitas are mentioned as different Kshatriya tribes or clans. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that the surnames mentioned above, at any rate most of them, originally represented the clans of some race called Nagar or Nāgar. It may reasonably be asked why we should suppose that there was such a race as Nagar or Nāgar. In the first place, we have to note that the Nāgar Brāhman are not the only Nāgars known to Gujarāt. There are Nāgar Vāṇiās, or traders, also. This itself tends to show that Nāgar was the name of a tribe or race. It is possible to urge against this conclusion that the term Nāgar is derived from Nagara which was the name of Vaḍnagar according to the inscription⁶⁸ of the Chaulukya ruler Kumārapala found there, and that both the Nāgar Brāhman and the Nāgar Vāṇiās claim Vaḍnagar as their original seat. As they thus hail from Vaḍnagar or Nagara, it is intelligible that both the Brāhman and the Vāṇiās should be named Nāgar after it. It may thus be contended that after all there is nothing to show definitely that Nagar or Nāgar was a racial or tribal name. Now, the same inscription that gives Nagara as the old name of Vaḍnagar tells us that its older name was Ānandapura. And I have shown elsewhere⁶⁹ that Ānandapura was known as early as the sixth century, as it is mentioned in the Valabhi grants, and that it is specified there as the place from where the grantees hailed who on other grounds also have been proved to be no other than the Nāgar Brāhman. The earlier name of Vaḍnagar was thus undoubtedly Ānandapura and its later name was Nagara. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to hold that in the course of time as the Nāgars dominated Gujarāt, the place of their settlement which was originally Ānandapura came to be called Nagara after them. The conclusion thus stands unrefuted that Nagar or Nāgar is the name of some race or tribe. Secondly, it is not quite correct to say that all the Nāgar Brāhman of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār claim Vaḍnagar to be their original seat. There is a division of the Nāgar Brāhman called Prashnorās who style themselves Ahichchhatrās or Ahichchhatrajñātiyas, showing that they at least were not connected with Vaḍnagar.⁷⁰ Thirdly, as the late Sir James Campbell has pointed out, there are Nāgars not only among the Gujarāt Vāṇiās, but also among the Gurjaras of Bulandshahr in the U. P. and among the Jāts of Sialkot in the Panjāb.⁷¹ It may further be noted that there were also Nagair Rājput originally in Kāthiāwār, after whom a tract of land called Nagher in Sorath was named. This agrees with the fact that Nagaraka has been mentioned in a Valabhi grant of G. 206 as being apparently situated in Surāshtra.⁷² Nay, the *Jangnāmā* of Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndar Shāh, by a Hindu

⁶⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 35.

⁶⁶ See footnote 1 above.

⁶⁷ Up till the seventh century A.D. Varman seems to have been the name of the Brāhman family to which Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa pertained (see n. 58 above).

⁶⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 299, v. 19.

⁶⁹ *JPASB.*, Vol. V, p. 181 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 32.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷² *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII (Kathiawar), p. 6, n. 1; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 109.

poet, Śrīdhara (Murlidhara) of Prāga, includes Nāgars among the tribes from which the soldiers of the Mughal army were recruited and makes mention also of Nagar leaders, such as Benī Rām Nagar and so forth.⁷³ This also clearly proves that there was such a tribe or race as Nagar or Nāgar, and that it was in existence even prior to the Gurjaras and Jāts. Ethnologists need not be told that when a new tribe penetrates a country and dominates an old tribe there, the latter often accept the conqueror's tribal name and reduce their own name to a surname or a subdivision. To take one instance, the Mauryas, who were one of the earliest clans of India, became merged among the Rājapūts as a Paramāra subdivision called Moris and among the Marāṭhās as a surname known as More. We have also to remember that amongst the Brāhmanas the term Nāgar and its derivatives are not confined simply to the Nāgar Brāhmanas of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. We have thus Nagariyās among the Kanaujīās, Nagarīs among the Kāshmirī Brāhmanas, and Nagara Brāhmanas after whom a district of the Mysore State is named Nagar.⁷⁴ This points to the Nagar or Nāgar race having spread as far south as the northern part of Mysore and as far north as Kashmir.

There are two more points to be considered about the Nāgars which still more clearly indicate that originally they formed a tribe or race. Both these points have been set forth by Prāchya-vidyā-mahārāja Nagendra Nath Vasu in his informing article on *Nāgars and the Nāgarī Alphabet*.⁷⁵ My attention to it was drawn by Sir George Grierson (*supra*, Vol. XL, p. 152), and I regret that it was not known to me when I wrote my article on *The Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*. The Nāgars have left their mark in a twofold manner by creating not only a dialect but also a script. Thus Śeṣha Kṛishṇa, who flourished about 1150 A.D., says in his *Prākṛita-chandrikā* that there were six main Prākṛits and twenty-seven Apabhraṃśas. Two of these latter are Upanāgara and Nāgara;⁷⁶ and as these have been distinguished from Lāṭa and Gaurjara, it is plain that wherever the Nāgars were in the twelfth century A.D., that is to say, whether they were in Lāṭa, Gujarāt or outside, they had two dialects of their own, Nāgara and Upanāgara, which they had preserved in spite of the different surroundings in which they were placed. In the same period lived Hemachandra, the well-known Jaina monk and scholar, who was the preceptor of the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla. He not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates, the Nāgara Apabhraṃśa which "was most closely connected with that form of Prākṛit known as Śaurasenī, or the Prākṛit of the central Gangetic Doab."⁷⁷ The case is not unlike the Ābhīra dialect referred to by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa*. The Ābhīras were a well-known tribe and developed a dialect of their own to such an extent as to arrest the attention of the rhetorician Daṇḍin.⁷⁸ Nay, this Ābhīra dialect has still survived in the Ahirāṇī spoken by the greater part of the population in the Khandesh Districts of the Bombay Presidency. And it may be asked whether this Nāgara Apabhraṃśa also is preserved in any of the modern dialects. The Nāgar Brāhmanas have always formed an important part of the Gujarāt community. The language which they write, it is true, is "ordinary Gujarātī, with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarātī of other castes." Nevertheless, "they are said to have a dialect of their own, called Nāgarī Gujarātī."⁷⁹ Again, there were many

⁷³ *JASB.*, 1900, Pt. I, pp. 50, 58, etc.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34 and n. 46. It may be asked why no trace of the Nāgars is found in the region intervening between Gujarāt and Mysore. I have already given a table of anthropometric measurements showing that the Prābhū-Kāyasthas of Mahārāṣṭra, i.e., of this intervening region, have the same physical characteristics as the Nāgars of Gujarāt and the Brāhmanas and Kāyasthas of Bengal. A trace of the Nāgar migration is also noticeable in Nagar, the name of a division of the Ahmadnagar district, and the temple of Hāṭakeśvar and the river Sarasvatī at Shrigonda not far from it (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 739-40). It seems that originally the Nāgar Taluk included this place and that the Nāgars who settled down at Shrigonda came from Vadnagar with their traditions about Hāṭakeśvara and the Sarasvatī.

⁷⁵ *JASB.*, Vol. LXV, Pt. I, p. 114 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁷⁷ Grierson's *Ling. Surv. of Ind.*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 327.

⁷⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 17.

⁷⁹ *Ling. Surv. of Ind.*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 378.

places and districts named after Nāgars, as they migrated in different directions. One such district is Nāgarchāl which forms the south-east part of the Jaipur State. Its principal town is Nagar or Karkoṭ Nagar. Now, Sir George Grierson informs us that in this province is spoken a dialect called Nāgarchālī which is a variety of Jaipuri.⁸⁰ This shows that it was not in Bombay Gujarāt alone but also in the south-east part of Jaipur that the Nāgars by their number have created a dialect of their own. The existence of a Nāgar dialect both in ancient and modern India is enough to indicate that the Nāgars, like the Ābhīras, were an ancient tribe or race which settled in some provinces in such numbers as to develop a dialect of their own. But this is not all. The Nāgars were also noted for their culture and erudition. We find that there was not simply a Nāgar Apabhraṃśa but also a Nāgar script. It is true that the Buddhist work *Lalitā-vistara*, which is believed to have been composed in the second or third century A.D., enumerates no less than sixty-four scripts which were learnt by Buddha, but makes no mention of a Nāgar alphabet.⁸¹ Things were different by the middle of the fifth century A.D., when the Jaina religious book *Nandī-sūtra* was put together. Here the author gives a list of eighteen scripts which Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthamkara, mastered, and we find *Nāgarī-lipi* mentioned among them. The question now arises: what is meant by *Nāgarī-lipi*? We have got a Marāṭhī-English Dictionary compiled by J. T. Molesworth in 1857 with the help of the Paṇḍits of Mahārāshṭra. If we refer to the word *Nāgarī* in this lexicon, we find the following: "relating to the Nāgar Brāhmaṇ-language, character of writing, etc." As a matter of fact, the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs to this day use the Nāgarī script though they live in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār surrounded by people who employ nothing but the Gujarātī character for their vernacular. This is a most noteworthy fact, because wherever the Nāgars have migrated, they have developed their script, if not dialect also. As we have just seen, the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs have spread as far south as the north-west part of Mysore. Being domiciled in this province, they naturally speak Kanarese, but their books are in Nāgarī or Bālabodha, though the books of all other castes there are in the Kanarese character.⁸² This is in regard to the extremesouth. The same remark holds good in respect of the extreme east, the Sylhet district (Assam), up to which, as we have seen above, their movement has been traced. It is curious that in the Sylhet and Bānkurā districts, which constitute the eastern and western extremities of Bengal, a form of Nāgarī script is employed by the orthodox Muhammadan community. This is known as 'Sylhet Nāgarī' in East Bengal and 'Musalman Nāgarī' in West Bengal. Several manuscripts of scriptures written by the Muhammadans in this script are known. Though the character used is Nāgarī, their language is Bengali, and the metrical form, *payār*. Hundreds of manuscripts written in Bengali and Persian characters have been collected in Bengal. And the question arises why in Sylhet and Bānkurā alone, the script used for writing these books in the Baṅgālī language should be Nāgarī, instead of the popular Baṅgālī or Persian. "It is on record that many Brāhmaṇ families of Sylhet embraced Islam." And we have perceived that in ancient times there was a regular colony of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs in this district. The conclusion is incontrovertible that the religious books written in Nāgarī by the Bengal Muhammadans were "the contributions of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs who had now been converted to Islam." Attention to this point was first drawn by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,⁸³ and Mr. N. N. Vasu gave us further information on this subject in his address as President of the Bengali Section of the All-India Oriental Conference held in 1930 at Patna. Fuller information is still a keen-felt desideratum, and it is hoped that one of these scholars or both will try to supply it before long. We thus see that the Nāgars had not only a dialect but also a script of their own called Nāgarī after them. It is thus impossible to doubt that the Nāgars originally denoted some cultured tribe or race, which spread over the different parts of India, maintaining their dialect and script.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 191.⁸² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III. p. 230.⁸¹ *JASB.*, Vol. LXV. Pt. I. pp. 125-8.⁸³ *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. VI. pp. 69-70.

I have already adverted to the view of Dr. Guha based on anthropometrical data that the brachyleptorhiny represented by the Bengal Brāhman and Kāyasthas is found not only among the Nāgar Brāhman of Gujarāt and the Prabhu Kāyasthas of Bombay, but along the whole western littoral right down to Coorg. This explains why Nāgara Brāhman should be found in the north-west part of Mysore. This also explains why we should find Nāgarakhanda as a division of the Banavāsī province mentioned in inscriptions ranging between the seventh and eleventh centuries A.D.⁸⁴ Epigraphy and ethnology thus go hand in hand towards the inference that the Nagar or Nāgar race had spread as far south on the west coast as Coorg. It may now be asked: what could be the significance of Nagarīs found as a class of Brāhman in Kashmir? I have elsewhere pointed out that a very early settlement of the Nāgars, a settlement earlier than Nāgara or Ānandapura in North Gujarāt, is represented by Nagar or Nagarkoṭ, the old name of Kāngdā in the Panjāb, situated in the Sawālakh hills.⁸⁵ Was it, however, the earliest seat of the Nāgar race? Could there be any other settlement of theirs which was even earlier than Nagarkoṭ in the Sapādalaksha range?

It is well-known that Hātakesvara is the tutelary deity of the Nāgars. The deity is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*⁸⁶ as residing in Vitala, part of Pātala, which, according to the Amarakośa, is another name for Nāgaloka. *Hātaka* is also a synonym for *suvarṇa* or gold, and is specified as a variety of that metal by Kauṭilya.⁸⁷ The commentator Bhaṭṭa-svāmin⁸⁸ explains the word by saying that "*hātaka* is that (gold) which is extracted from the mines of Hātaka." It therefore seems that there was a country called Hātaka where gold was found and which was part of that region where the Nāgas were worshipped. Is there any country answering to this description? Now, *Saṁhāra-parvan*, chap. 28, vs. 3-5, of the *Mahā-bhārata* actually speaks of a country named Hātaka, guarded by the Guhyakas, which Arjuna subjugated in his expedition of conquest in the Himālayas. The position of this country can be ascertained better by the fact that Arjuna is represented to have repaired to the Mānasa lake immediately after conquering the Hātakas. If we now turn to "A Map of Tibet showing Dr. Sven Hedin's Routes," which is placed at the end of Volume II of his celebrated work, *Trans-Himālaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, we find that the two districts which border upon the Mānasa lake are Hundes and Ngari-Korsum. Hundes must be, of course, Hūṇa-deśa and seems to be a comparatively modern name. But Ngari-Korsum is a composite name, the first part of which, viz., Ngari, appears to be the same as Nagari and connected with the Nāgars, just as the former is with the Hūṇas. It therefore seems very tempting to identify Hātaka with this Ngari-Korsum. This inference is supported by the fact that not far from it is Tok-jalung, which, according to Sven Hedin, is still a gold-field of importance.⁸⁹ How prevalent Nāga worship was and is in Kashmir is very well known to those who have read the *Nīlamata* or the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. "From early times," says Sir Aurel Stein,⁹⁰ "considerable importance must have been attached to their worship, as is proved by the long account given of them in the *Nīlamata*, by the numerous temples erected near the more famous springs and the popularity and undoubtedly ancient origin of the pilgrimages directed to the latter. The belief in Nāgas is fully alive also in the Muhammadan population of the Valley, which in many places has not ceased to pay a kind of superstitious respect and ill-disguised worship to these deities." Hundes and

⁸⁴ *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 281, n. 3. For another identification see *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 297. Nāgarakhanda is also mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VII, 194; the significance of which was not grasped by Sir Aurel Stein in his translation of the work. There is obviously a pun upon the word which at one time signifies 'ginger' or 'betel plant' and at another the province called Nāgarakhanda, which may be identified with the second of the two chiefships denoted by Hunzā-Nāgar, referred to further on in the text.

⁸⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. p. 34.

⁸⁶ V. 24, 17.

⁸⁷ *Prakarana* 31 (p. 85).

⁸⁸ *JBORS.* ed., p. 62.

⁸⁹ *Trans-Himalaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, Vol. III, p. 5.

⁹⁰ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Trans.), Vol. I. p. 6, n. 30.

Nagri-Korsum touch Kāngrā and Kashmīr on the west. Nāga folklore and Nāga worship in the former provinces must have been practically the same as in the latter.⁹¹ All these data converge to the conclusion that the original place from which the Nāgars hailed was Hātaka, more probably the same as Nagri-Korsum, and situated in close proximity to the Mānasa lake. It is from this region that the Nāgars migrated southward to Nagar or Nagarkoṭ and westward to Kashmīr, where evidence of their movement is preserved not only in the Nagari class of Brāhmanś but also in the province called Hunza-Nagar,⁹² which is really two small chiefships to the extreme north-west of Kashmīr. They seem to have proceeded further (south-)westward and settled at a place called Nagar or Na-ka-lo-ho as Yuan Chwang⁹³ calls it. The same place appears to have been referred to as Nagara in a Kharoshthī inscription on the celebrated Mathurā Lion-Capital, which Prof. Sten Konow,⁹⁴ following Cunningham, identified with Nagar on the Kābul river. Similarly, we have to take note of a place and a river both called Nugor (Nagar) in the southernmost part of Baluchistān. The Nugor, like its neighbour the Dasht river, falls in the Gwattar Bay of the Arabian Sea.

If we once admit that there was such a tribe or race as Nagar or Nāgar, the twenty-four surnames pointed out above seem to have originally been clans of that race. One may perhaps wonder how Śarman, Varman, Gupta, Dāsa and so forth can at all be considered to be clan names, as they are taken to be the name endings of the different classes of Hindu Society. Thus Deva and Śarman are taken as affixes to be added to the names of the Brāhmanś, Varman and Trāta of the Kshatriyas, Gupta, Bhūti and Datta of the Vaiśyas, and Dāsa of the Śūdras. We have already shown that Śarmaka and Varmaka, which are the same as Śarman and Varman, have been actually specified as two clans or peoples in the *Mahābhārata*. Secondly, that Gupta was not a name-suffix, but was a family name, is known from the many inscriptions of the Gupta princes that have been found. These Guptas again were not Vaiśyas, but were a ruling Kshatriya family. Thirdly, who can dispute the holiness of the Nāgar Brāhmanś as Brāhmanś? But they have not only Gotras and Avataṅkas (surnames) but Āmushyāyanas which indicate clan-names. And, curiously enough, these Āmushyāyanas include not only Śarman and Deva, but also Varman and Trāta, Gupta, Bhūti and Datta and, above all, Dāsa. The so-called name-affixes of not only the Brāhmanś, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas but also the Śūdras are thus found as the Āmushyāyanas or clan names of the Nāgar Brāhmanś, the holiest of the holy Brāhmanś of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. Again, it may be urged that it seems strange that such terms as Pāla, Pālita, Rakshita, Ghosha, Vardhana and so forth can ever become family names. Pāla and Pālita come from the same root; and if Pāla is a family name, it is curious that Pālita also should become a family name. Pāla again means 'protection' and Pālita 'protected.' How can 'protection' or 'protected' come to be looked upon as family names. Similarly, Vardhana also means 'increase,' and it is inexplicable how a word which has this significance can serve to denote the name of a family. This objection may however be answered on the supposition that most of the twenty-two surnames mentioned above denote totem groups which later on became family names. These can be divided roughly

⁹¹ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I. p. 34.

⁹² *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 225; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I. p. 7 ff. In the composite name Hunzā-Nāgar, while Nāgar stands for the Nāgar people, Hunzā seems to be so called after the Hūnas. It is curious that the Hūnas should associate with the Nāgars in Kashmīr as they do in Hātaka near the Mānasa Lake. The people of Hātaka were Guhyakas as we have seen from the *Sabdhāparvan* above. And it is also curious that the language of the Nāgars of Hunzā-Nāgar is *Yashkun* = *Yaksha* which is another name for Guhyaka (Griereson's *Ling. Surv. of India*, Vol. VIII. Pt. II. p. 551). Again, I am informed by Dr. Guha that Prof. R. B. Dixon of Harvard measured a large number of Hunzā-Nāgars and found them distinctly brachycephalic, a conclusion which agrees with the anthropometrical data for the Nāgars of Gujarāt.

⁹³ Watters' ed., Vol. I. p. 182 ff.

⁹⁴ *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. II. Pt. I, pp. 45 and 48 (F). Compare also Nagarahāra in Utterāpatha mentioned in the Ghosrāwā inscription of the time of Devapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII. p. 309).

into four classes, namely (1) those which are connected with Śiva, (2) those which bear the names of demi-gods, (3) those which are derived from plant names and (4) those connected with weapons. As Hātakeśvara is the tutelary deity of the Nāgars, it is natural that there should be some totems connected with Śiva. There can be no doubt about Nandin, and Guha, as they are the vehicle and a son of that god respectively. Vardhana also is a name not only of Śiva but also of one of Skanda's attendants. Bhūti also denotes the ashes with which Śiva and his followers besmear their bodies. These four may therefore be reasonably taken as totem groups connected with Śiva. Then, again, some of the surnames seem to be the names of certain minor deities or demi-gods. That Chandra denotes 'the moon' and Mitra 'the sun' need scarcely be pointed out. That Vasu is the name of a class of deities, eight in number, and that Soma and Dhara are two of them is also well-known. Deva can also be recognised as the name of Indra, which itself is a surname among Bengal Kāyasthas. Similarly, that Nāgas are serpent-demons with Vāsuki as one of their kings and that Pāla is the name of a snake demon of Vāsuki race hardly requires to be mentioned. Perhaps with these may be associated Datta, which according to the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa* (XXV. 15, 3) is the name of an ascetic who was a snake-priest. The third class of these surnames seems to be connected with plants. Thus Ghosha⁹⁵ denotes *Luffa foetida*, or a similar plant, and Dāma the *Artemisia* flower. Similarly, Pālita denotes *Trophis aspera*. This explains two other names, namely, Rakshita and Gupta, which are synonyms of Pālita. The fourth class appears to be related to armoury. Thus Deva and Dhara, if they do not stand for Indra and one of the eight Vasus respectively, may be taken to denote 'sword.' To sum up, most of the surnames specified above can be explained as the names of the totems after which the different clans of the Nāgar race were named.

It will be seen that there was a tribe or race called Nagar or Nāgar whose original seat was the country of Hāṭaka situated near the Mānasa Lake. It gradually migrated westward and southward. Its westward movement is indicated by such place names as Hunza-Nagar in Kashmir and Nagar on the Kābul river. Their first settlement southward was Nagar or Nagarkoṭ, from where different clans such as the Mitras and Dattas occupied such provinces as Pañchāla, Kosala and Mathurā from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. These were followed by the Nāgas, Guptas and Varmans, who similarly held different parts of North India. Then came the Vardhanas, Pālas and Senas who spread as far east as Bengal, whereas the Maitrakas, who were related to the old Mitras, as the Kādambas to the Kadambas or the Chaulukyas to the Chalukyas, conquered Gujārāt and Kāthiāwār. Of course, these Nāgars spread as far south as Nāgarakhaṇḍa in Banavāsī, but it is not clear whether they went on conquering or simply migrating. The spread of the Nāgars along the western coast as far as Coorg can easily be noted, but how they migrated to Bengal is far from clear. Anyhow, it is pretty clear that the Nāgars are an ancient and erudite race indigenous to India and not of late foreign, barbarous origin as was thought twenty years ago.*

APPENDIX A.

The configuration of the Gotra system as depicted in the Śrautasūtra has not been properly studied. The idea that the Gotras were founded by the Eight Rishis is a later invention. The Gotras called Gautamas and Bharadvājas were, according to the Śrautasūtra, originated by Gautama and Bharadvāja, who were two of these Eight Sages. But instead of their being mentioned separately they have been clustered together under the comprehensive Āṅgiras Gaṇa along with some nondescript Gotras such as Vishnuvṛiddhas, Kaṇvas and so forth. If the Eight Rishis are the founders of the eight separate Gotras, why are the Gautamas not separated from the Bharadvājas? On the contrary, why are they placed under the Āṅgiras Gaṇa? Again, why are such Gotras as Vishnuvṛiddhas and Kaṇvas

⁹⁵ Ghosha is also mentioned as a deity in *Sukla-Yajurvedasamhitā* (XXX, 19).

* I have to thank Mr. J. C. Ghosh for the great help he gave me in the arduous work of gathering materials for this paper.

placed under this Gana along with the Gautamas and Bharadvājas? If the Gotras founded by the Eight Sages can alone be called Gotras, then Vishṇuvṛddhas and Kaṇvas cease to be Gotras, because Vishṇuvṛddha and Kaṇva are not included among the Eight Sages. Nor is Aṅgiras mentioned as one of these Sages. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the idea that all the Gotras were derived from the Eight Rishis was a later introduction and that the Gotra system was originally of an entirely different formation. It seems that just as we find Gana, Kula and Śākhās in the Jaina brotherhood, so the Brāhmanas were in ancient times divided into Gana, Paksha and Gotra in the descending order. Of these the term Gana has survived only in the case of the Bhrigus and the Aṅgirasas, and we shall not be very wrong if we suppose that all the other Gotras, such as the Atris, the Viśvāmitras and so forth were originally taken to be Ganas.

Again, the Gotra system in the earlier period had different exogamous rules. All the Ganas or the comprehensive Gotras, except the Bhrigus and the Aṅgirasas, had one common custom in regard to marriage, namely, if there were even one Pravara common to any two families they were looked upon as of the same Gotra. This, however, was not so in regard to the other two Ganas. In their case, as we have noticed above, if among five Pravaras there were three common, then alone the sameness of Gotra was established and marriage prohibited. Similarly, in the case of families with three Pravaras, marriage was forbidden between two families if they had two Pravaras in common. What is strange, however, is that among the *Tryārsheya* Pravaras of both these Ganas, no two Pravaras are found common in the lists set forth by the Śrautasūtras. Why the rule was laid down, namely, that in the case of the *Tryārsheyas* two Pravaras constituted the sameness of Gotra, is inexplicable. Probably *Tryārsheyas* of this description were forgotten even in the time of the Śrautasūtras.

APPENDIX B.

It may be asked why the Kāyasthas of Bengal have come to observe *āśauca* for a period of one month like ordinary Śūdras if they were originally Brāhmanas. How social tyranny was practised by one caste upon another is too well-known to require any elucidation. How the Prabhu-Kāyasthas of Mahārāshtra were being compelled by the Peshwas to give up their right to the *upanayana* ceremony and how the Sārasvatas of Mahārāshtra were being declared non-Brāhmanas by some other Brāhmaṇ castes of the province simply because they ate fish are matters of history. The Prabhu-Kāyasthas and the Sārasvatas successfully withstood the opposition, but the Kāyasthas of Bengal seemed to have succumbed to it. Again, do the Bengal Brāhmanas themselves observe *āchāra* in strict conformity with the Śrauta- or Dharma- sūtras? If we carefully scan the Pravaras of these Brāhmanas, we notice many interlopers. One has only to consult the *Gotra-pravara-viveka* chapter of Dhan-añjaya's *Dharmapradīpa*. Thus Viśvāmitra Gotra has the following Pravaras: Viśvāmitra, Marichi and Kaushika, whereas the Śrautasūtras enumerate Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa and Daivatarasa. How Marichi and Kaushika were imported into this Gotra is far from clear. Similarly, the Atri Gotra in Bengal has the following Pravaras: Atri, Ātreya and Śatātapa, as against Ātreya, Ārchanānasa and Śyāvāśva of the Śrautasūtras; and the Agastī has the Pravaras: Agastī, Dadhīchi and Jaimini as against Āgastya, Dārdhachyuta and Aidhmavāha of the Śrautasūtras. How these insertions arose in the Pravaras of Bengal is inexplicable. But this much cannot be doubted, that the Bengal Brāhmanas have Pravaras quite unknown to and unsanctioned by the Śrautasūtras. It may however be contended that these Gotras pertain to the Vaidiks and not to the Rādhīs, who are therefore purer in *āchāra*. It is true that there are no interpolations in the Pravaras of the latter, but there is something objectionable in one or two of their marriage customs. It is scarcely necessary to add that what is called *svajan-ākshēpa* or marriage within prohibited degrees was prevalent, until very recently, among the Rādhī Brāhmanas (*Vaṅger jātiyāitihāsa*, 2nd ed., Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 189). Secondly, it is perfectly intelligible if a Gāṅguli does

not marry a Ghoshâl, because Ghoshâl's Gotra is Vatsa, and Gânguli, being of Sâvarṇi Gotra, is also a Vatsa. Both thus belong to the bigger Vatsa Gotra, and we can therefore understand why a Gânguli cannot marry a Ghoshâl. But what about the Banerjis and Chatterjis? It may be argued that their Pravaras are entirely different. Thus Chatterji is of the Kâsyapa Gotra and has the Pravaras: Kâsyapa, Âvatsâra and Naidhruva. Banerji is Śāṇḍila in Gotra and has the Pravaras: Śāṇḍila, Âsita and Daivala. These Pravaras, being entirely different, the Gotras also must be entirely different. It may be contended that there can therefore be no objection at all to a Banerji marrying a Chatterji. But are Kâsyapa and Śāṇḍila radically different Gotras? Because it is worthy of note that the Śāṇḍila Gotra has four alternative sets of Pravaras, each consisting of three. One of these four forms the Pravaras of the Banerji family and has been just mentioned. But the other three sets have two Pravaras in common, namely, Kâsyapa and Âvatsâra. This clearly shows that Śāṇḍila is, after all, a division of Kâsyapa, and that the Banerjis and the Chatterjis are therefore of identical Gotra. They should not thus marry; but as a matter of fact, they do marry, though a *sagotra* marriage is opposed to all Hindu usage.

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

By M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., F.R.A.I., D.A. (OXON.), PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS.

(Continued from page 12.)

Unichandrôṅ calls his Nâyars and asks them to go at once and engage the services of Ariṇṇôṭeṅ, a renowned warrior of Kôlôstrinâḍ,¹⁵ who accepts the championship. The latter engages his carpenter to erect the *angattappu* or wooden platform, standing on which the duel is fought, and intrigues with him to do foul work. Unikkônâr hears of the preparations made by his adversary and hastens to find a combatant to fight his cause. He assumes the dignity and title of *Vârunnôṅ*, or he who rules, and starts with his twenty-one Nayar attendants. After several days' fruitless wandering, they come to a strange and distant land, and, resting under the shade of a friendly banyan tree, they hold consultation as to which side to turn :—

Chêkavar pulappulla nâṭum viṭum
 Ârum paraṇṇittu kêtittilla
 Ârânṅre nâṭtilum vannu nammal
 Sakhiyâyittârum illayallo.
 Appôl paṇayunnu Nâyanmârum
 Nêrchapalatume nêrnukollu
 Atutâne kêlkunnu vârunnôrum
 Nêrcha palavidham nêrunnuṇḍu.

Places and houses well known for *chêkavar*
 We have not heard anybody tell.
 We have reached a strange land
 And friends have we none.
 The Nâyars then say,
 Do not neglect to make vows,
 The *Vârunnôṅ* at this
 Makes vows to various shrines.

That very instant they espy a Pâṇan¹⁶ boy coming that way. The *Vârunnôṅ* accosts him and asks him whence he comes and whither he goes. The boy replies :

Karuttênâr¹⁷ nâṭtinu viṭakollunnu
 Evitêkâyi pôkunnu Pâṇa niyyu

" I come from Karuttênâr country."
 " Where do you go, Pâṇan ? "

¹⁵ Kôlôstrinâḍ or Kolattunâḍ, the kingdom of the Kôlattiris, who once ruled over practically the whole of N. Malabar, with their capital in the vicinity of modern Cannanore, where a descendant of the family known as the *chirakkal tamburam*, now resides.

¹⁶ Pâṇan. A caste of musicians, actors and players. It is stated that they were minstrels under the ancient Tamil kings, and that with the extinction of the latter in S. India their profession as bards ceased to exist, most of them finding their way to Kerala, the Land of Charity, for a livelihood. The descendants of these emigrants are now found in Malabar and Kanara as devil dancers and basket-makers. (Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 84.) The Malayâlam Pâṇans are a caste of exorcists and devil dancers, also called Malayâns in certain parts, particularly in N. Malabar, where the name Pâṇan is not ordinarily mentioned. A description of the caste appears on pages 29-42 of Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vol. VI.

¹⁷ Karuttênâr is the modern Kadattanad, in Kurumbranâḍ taluk of North Malabar.

Ūrilirakkānum pōṇatiyan
 Ūrilirannālo endu kiṭṭum
 Unṇumbōl chennālō chōṟu kiṭṭum
 Tēykkumbōl chennālō enṇa kiṭṭum
 Chettumbōl chennālō kaḷḷu kiṭṭum
 Attāra chōṟrinṇu ariyum kiṭṭum
 Sandhya¹⁸ vilakkinnu enṇa kiṭṭum

"I am going to beg."
 "What will you get by begging?"
 "Meals, if I go at meal time,
 "Oil, at bathing time,
 "Toddy, at tapping time,
 "Rice for a meal
 "And oil for the sunset light."

Unichandṛōṟ makes a present of a piece of cloth and prevails on him to give detailed information about securing a suitable *chēkavar*. This he gives :—

Karutēnāṟ¹⁹ nātum kirakke aṟṟam
 Puttūram pāṭam paḍiñṇaṟ aṟṟam
 Eḷavannūr nātalloru nātallāne
 Aṇiṭe irikkunṇu mūvaṟ chēkōn
 Achanum chēkōn makanum chēkōn
 Marumakanennoru chēkōnuṇḍu
 Eṟaṅgam veṭṭi jeyichatachchan
 Achchanu vayassume kālamāṇu
 Makan Chēkavare kiṭṭiyēṅil
 Niñṇalku aṅgam jayikkumallo

"Bounded on the east by Karutēnāḍ
 "And on the west by the Puttūram fields
 "Is the place known as Eḷavannūr.
 "There live three *chēkōṟs*.
 "Both the father and the son are *chēkōṟs*,
 "And there is a nephew, also a *chēkōṟ*.
 "Seven combats has the father won ;
 "He is in his old age.
 "If the son *chēkōṟ* is secured
 "Your victory is assured."

He gives full directions as to how to get to the place. Guided by these directions, the party proceeds and reaches the place by evening. They spend the night at a neighbouring house and are awakened the next morning by the sound of the *pūjā* bell from the *chēkavar's* house.

Vēgam eṟuṇṇu vārunnōrum
 Kei vāyi mukhavum chitam varutti
 Vēṟṟila muṟukkum kaṟikkunṇuṇḍu
 Eṭa paṟaṇṇu puṟappetunṇu
 Paṭiyum paṭippura kaṭannavarum
 Puttūram viṭṭil paṭikkal chennu
 Maṇḍaka murrattum chenniraṇṇi
 Mullattara chuṟṟum chavaḷam chāri

The Vārunnōṟ wakes up and quickly
 Washes face, hands and mouth,
 Has *pānsupāṟi*
 And starts, taking leave,
 And crossing the gate and the gate house,
 Reaches the front of the Puttūram house,
 Enters the front courtyard and
 Observes the spears resting against the
 jasmine beds.

Pularuvān ēṟara rāvullappōl
 Pūṅgōṟi chāttanṟekūval kēṭṭu
 Murrmatikkunna Mānipenṇum
 ṇēṭṭi eṟuṇṇu penṇavaḷum
 Āṭakal nannāyi kuṭaṇṇuṭuttu
 Kārkūntal nannāyi kuṭeṇṇu kēṭṭi

Before daybreak,
 Hearing the cock crow,
 The girl Māṇi who sweeps the courtyard²⁰
 Gets up, awakened by the cock's crow,
 And dressing herself with care,
 Arranges her locks

¹⁸ *Sandhya vilakku* is the circular bell-metal hanging lamp which it is still the practice to light at sunset all over Kerala in Hindu households. Twisted strands of cotton rags form the wicks, which are placed uniformly all around a circular groove which is fed with coconut oil.

¹⁹ Kaḍattanāḍ in Kurumbranāḍ *tāluk* of N. Malabar.

²⁰ This gives an insight into the habits of an ordinary Malayāli household. The first thing done before sunrise, which should be finished before the rest of the household wakes up, is to sweep the courtyards all around the house. This is done with care and thoroughness, after which a thin solution of cowdung in water is sprinkled over the entire area.

Patakāli murrattum chenniṇāṇṇi	And, coming to the courtyard,
Bhūmiyum tottu nerukil vechchu	Reverently touches the earth
Suryabhagavāne kei torutu	And, after worshipping the sun god,
Nāṭakaśalayil kaṭannu chennu	Proceeds to the theatre hall
Tiyūtidipam koḷutti vechchu	And blowing the embers lights the lamp, ²¹
Vilakku niṇayōlam eṇṇorichchu	Filling it with oil,
Vatakke purattēkku iṇāṇṇi peṇṇu	And going over to the northern side
Murramatikunna chūletuttu	Takes the broom
Maṇḍaka murrattum chennaṇḍu	And proceeds to the principal courtyard.

Startled by the number of Nāyars assembled there, she runs to her father and, waking him up, announces that twenty-two Nāyars are waiting outside, one of them distinguished by his golden headwear. The father, hastily performing his morning prayers, goes to meet the Nāyars. The *Vārunnōṭṭi*, seeing the old man coming, takes no notice of him nor does he even get up on seeing him. The *chēkavar*, advancing, makes enquiries as to the object of their visit :—

Nellinō vittinō vannu niṇṇal	" For paddy or for seeds are you come ?
Kanninō kālakko vannu niṇṇal	" Or for cow or for bulls,
Aṅgam piṭippānō vannu niṇṇal	" Or for combat have you come ? "
The <i>Vārunnōṭṭi</i> answers that they have come in quest of a proper <i>chēkōṭṭi</i> . The old man replies that he himself is the <i>chēkōṭṭi</i> , and learns that the antagonist is Arinṇōṭṭi.	
Ānaye mayakkunna chēkōṭṭi	" He is a <i>chēkōṭṭi</i> who can charm even elephants
Kalla chati ēṇṇu Arinṇōṭṭi	" And is an adept in foul play.
Atinētum vēṇḍilla vārunnōṭṭi	" That matters not, <i>Vārunnōṭṭi</i> ;
Mutu oṇṇu chuliṇṇatam kūṭṭakkēṇḍa	" It recks not that one of my shoulders is rather sore ;
Paṭṭu nara kaṇḍatam kūṭṭakkēṇḍa	" It recks not that I am grey ;
Kayyonnu chuliṇṇatam kūṭṭakkēṇḍa	" It recks not that one of my arms is rather infirm ;
Kālonnu viṇṇiyatam kūṭṭakkēṇḍa	" It recks not that one of my legs is a little inflamed ;
Pallonnu pōyatam kūṭṭakkēṇḍa	" It recks not that I have lost a tooth :
Iniyoru aṅgattinam vāyamunḍu	" I am young enough for another fight."

The *Vārunnōṭṭi*, amazed at the spirit of the old man, enquires of Ārōmaṇ. The father replies that his son Ārōmaṇ is yet a boy. The latter, overhearing the conversation, calls the girl Kuttimāṇi, who tells him that they showed scant courtesy to his father and that they are come for a champion combatant. At this Ārōmaṇ soon finishes his morning prayers and proceeds to the inner apartments of the house. Opening the strong room, he pulls out the box of jewels and adorns himself as described below.

Nāḍuvāri koṭuttoru ponnunttoppi	Wears the golden cap presented by the <i>nāḍuvāri</i> ,
Kōvil koṭuttoru kottuṇḍa	The bracelets presented by the ruling king,
Nāgāri koṭuttoru ponkuppāyam	The coat of gold presented by <i>nāgāri</i> ,
Śiṣhyakal koṭuttoru ponchūrakkōl	The gold-mounted walking stick, the gift of his disciples,

²¹ This shows that the kitchen fire is kept just sufficiently alive for the hot embers to be blown by the mouth into fire—a practice which still persists.

Deśavāri koṭuttoru nāgamāla Eṭampiri nalla valampiriyum	The <i>nāga</i> chain presented by the <i>dēśavāri</i> , Bracelets with left hand and right hand twists,
Chakkamullan vaḷa kottuvaḷa Tāntanne tīrpicheḥa ponmōtiram Chamayañṇaḷokkayum chērttañṇiñṇu Ponnum metiyāḍi ēṭikkonḍu Ponchūral kōlāle ūnni ūnni Āna naḍayum naḍannu chēkōn	And bracelets of jack-fruit rind pattern, And the golden ring which he himself got made. Thus adorned with all his decorations, And putting on gold-bedecked sandals, and Leaning on a golden staff, Walks with the measured and majestic gait of an elephant, and
Nāḷkōṭṭakattu kaṭannu chennu Nātakāḷalayil chennirañṇi Atutāne kānunnu peṭṭoramma Chamayañṇaḷ sūshicheḥu nōkkunnunḍu	Proceeds to the enclosure of the <i>nāḷukaṭ</i> house And reaches the theatre hall, Where his mother catches sight of him, And, carefully scanning his decorations, remarks :
Chamayam koṭaykunṇi ponmakane	"Adorn yourself less pompously, my darling son ;
Nāvoṟu ²² tanneyum taṭṭippōkum Nāḍuvāri kaṇḍāl naḍuñṇippōkum Kōyma kaṇḍal viṭaykumallo	"Beware of the evil tongue. "Even the <i>nāḍuvāri</i> will start on seeing you, "And the Rāja, should he see you, will be shocked."
Entikuṟavāṇḍo peṭṭoramme Aviṭennu vēgam naṭannu chēkōr Mannabha muṟṟattum chennirañṇi Mullattaṟakkalum Chennu chēkōn Paṭakāḷi muṟṟattirañṇikkonḍu Paṭippura nērayum chellunnunḍu Iruṭṭaṭṭiḍivālu minnum pōle Muṟṟattu konna pūṭṭapōle	"Mother, why should I lessen my glory ?" The <i>chēkōr</i> advancing thence soon Comes to the courtyard And reaches the jasmine bed And the fighting arena, and Thence the gate-house. As the lightning flashing in the dark, As <i>konna</i> ²³ flowers blossoming in the front yard,
Elamāvu tayyu taḷaṭṭa pōle	Bright as the tender shoots of the mango sapling
Appōre kānunnu vārunnōrum Ṇeṭṭi eṟunṇiṟṟu vārunnōrum Kāṭe eṟunṇiṟṟu Nāyanmārum	The <i>Vārunnōr</i> catches sight of him And gets up startled, And together stand the Nāyars likewise startled.
Keikonḍu vilakkunnu Ārōmerum Irikkēḍo Irikkēḍo Nāyanmāre Ennakkaṇḍu niñṇaḷ eṇikkavēṇḍa Aechane kaṇḍappōḷ eṇiṟṟillallō	Ārōmaṟ signs to them to sit down : "Sit ye down, ye Nāyars, "Stand ye not on seeing me, "Ye, who did not [stand] on seeing my father."
Atu tāne kēlkkunnu Nāyanmārum Vākkōḍe kaiyum paṭichu ninṇu Āchārattoḍavar nilkunnunḍu	At this the Nāyars Remain silenced, with hands on their lips ; And thus they stand with reverence.

²² This refers to the belief in the evil eye, which is widely prevalent.²³ *Cassia fistula*. The flowers grow in clusters of golden yellow.

The son makes the same enquiries as the father, whether they have come for cattle or calf, for seeds or for paddy. The *Vārūnnōṭṭ* explains his cause, and the dissensions in detail, summing up with the following orders of the *Kōyma* :—

Paḍavettu tammil tudanñiyālō	" If you wage battle ²⁴
Ēṇiyajanannāl naśichchupōkum	" Many a man will die,
Nallaṅga chēkavare tēdikōḷin	" Look for champion <i>aṅgam</i> fighters.
Āṅgampiṭichu jayikkunnōṭṭku	" Whoever wins in the <i>aṅgam</i> ,
Avarkkumē tannēyum mūppuvārka	" He will rule as the elder.
Ā mori totṭuḷḷoraṅgamāne	" Thus has arisen this <i>aṅgam</i> ."
Atutāne kēlkkunnu chēkavarum	The <i>chēkōṭṭ</i> , hearing all,
Ā morikkaṅgam piṭikkavēṇam	Agrees that it is a cause worth fighting for.

When, however, *Ārōmaṭṭ* learns that the opposite party is championed by *Arinnōṭṭ*, he hesitates remarking that he cannot fight *Arinnōṭṭ*, who can charm even elephants, and he is but young. He accordingly tells them that they may return the way they came. Despairing of success, the *Nāyars* exhort the *Vārūnnōṭṭ* to make vows, and he accordingly makes offerings at various shrines. The vows soon take effect, and *Ārōmaṭṭ* again emerging gives his consent. He accordingly asks the *Vārūnnōṭṭ* to deposit the *aṅgakiṛippaṇam* or the requisite payments for fighting the *aṅgam*. The *Vārūnnōṭṭ* hastens to deposit the fees, which however being not to the standard fixed by *Ārōmaṭṭ*, the latter instructs him to place the fees in a hundred and one lots, with a thousand and one *fanams* in each lot. The *Vārūnnōṭṭ* acts accordingly. *Ārōmaṭṭ* then intimates his resolve to his father and mother, who are distracted at the idea of their only son going to fight, perhaps to certain death, and a long dialogue ensues :—

Enne chatichcheta ponmakanē	" You have deceived me, my dear son.
Niyōḍi ḍḍi kaḷikkumkālam	" When you were running about as a child,
Annu ninandallo ponmakane	" Then, my son, I feared that
Ni yūṭṭiṭṭuṇmān vidhiillennu	" I was not destined to eat your bread.
Putṭa rillāte irunnakālam	" When I was childless and was yearning for a son,
Kānmān kotichcha makanallō nī	" Were you born, my son.
Kuḷam kaṇḍēḍam kuḷichchu ṇāne	" Bathing wherever a tank was seen
Kallu kaṇḍēḍam torutu ṇāne	" And worshipping wherever a stone was seen,
Enniṇṇuṇḍāya makanallō nī	" Thus was I blessed with a son in you.

²⁴ This explains the *raison d'être* of the form of single combat known as *aṅgam* of the earlier days, so clearly portrayed in this song, which is in this respect unique. Open warfare between two contending parties would lead to heavy loss of men, without however affording a solution of the matter in dispute which thus remained a fruitful source of mischief and fresh outbreaks. The *aṅgam* was therefore an institution devised in the interests of the public in an age of martial spirit, when the air was rife with feuds of diverse kinds. Armed retainers were the order of the day, and men carried their lives in their hands, ready to lay them down for any cause. In such an age the institution of the *aṅgam* was a boon in that it helped to preserve the man-power of the country, and as every feud came under the cognizance of the *nāḍuvāri* of the place, the ultimate authority for the settlement of all disputes, the latter adjudicated as to what disputes should be referred to decision by an *aṅgam*, and asked the contending parties to chose their own champions, who fought the battle for them. They were no doubt very well paid for their services, as one of the two was bound to be defeated and slain. Those who took to *aṅgam* fighting as a profession formed a separate community distinguished by the name of *chēkōṭṭ*. Intimately connected with the institution of the *aṅgam*, were the *kalaris* presided over by these *chēkōṭṭ*, who were the *śāsāns* or *gurukkals* of the *kalarie*.

Ninne virru panam kettavēnda
 Mānibhakēdu paṇayallachcha
 Entu vidya paṭhippicchenne
 Atu tāne kēṭṭello achan chēkōn
 Neññattu kayyum patichukonḍu
 Ālasyattōḍeyakattu pēyi

"I don't want to sell you for money."
 "Don't speak such cowardly words, father."
 "Did you not train me to fight?"
 The father, hearing these words,
 Is overpowered with grief
 And goes inside broken-hearted.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, Pt. 2 (1931).—This is a Volume of Indian Studies presented to Prof. E. J. Rapson, comprising a collection of short papers on Oriental subjects by many of the leading Orientalists of the day, which is commended to the attention of our readers. Among the 32 articles printed a few may perhaps be selected for mention. Jules Bloch writes on "Asoka et la Magadhi." W. Caland publishes a fairly long list of corrections of Eggeling's translation of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. J. Charpentier, in a paper entitled "Antiochus, King of the Yavanas," adduces many grounds for holding that the Antiochus named in two of Asoka's inscriptions was Antiochus I (281-262/1 B.C.), and not Antiochus II (262/1-246 B.C.) G. Coedès cites inscriptions from Cambodia, Champa and Java that attest the use of numerals with position value, and including a sign for zero, at least as early as the seventh century A.D. A. Foucher writes a very interesting little note, illustrated by a sketch map, on changes in the highway from Baktria to the Panjāb, showing how the route was changed first from between Dakka and Taxila, and later between Kāpiśi and Jalālābād, following and in consequence of the changes in the capitals of Gandhāra and Kapiśa, from Pushkarāvati to Purushapura and from Kāpiśi to Kābul, respectively. Sir George Grierson contributes a paper on "Conjunct Consonants in Dardic"; E. W. Hopkins, a delightful note on "Hindu Salutations"; A. B. Keith, on "The Doctrine of the Buddha"; while S. Lévi describes a new document discovered by him in Nepal relating to the Tantric cult of Vajrayoginī. Sten Konow, in a "Note on a Kharoṣṭhi Akṣara," suggests that from the view-point of Saka it seems as if the Brāhmī *ts* is an adaptation of Kharoṣṭhi *ts*, and that this *akṣara* cannot well have been a *ts*, but rather, as the shape of the *akṣara* would seem to imply, *ṣ*. P. S. Noble and F. W. Thomas write on Kharoṣṭhi documents from Turkestan; while R. L. Turner presents a linguistic study on the future stem appearing in the language of the Asoka inscriptions. Sir Aurel Stein, in a valuable note on "The Ephedra, the Hūm Plant, and the Soma," puts forward the suggestion that the plant from which the *soma* of early Vedic times and the *haoma* sung in the Yasna was obtained was probably the wild rhubarb in one or other of its closely allied species.

He emphasises the fact that both the Rig Veda and Avesta uniformly refer to the mountains as the home of the plant, and proceeds to identify the localities named in Yasna X, 11, where the distribution of the plant is described, with mountainous areas in Afghānistān from north of the Hindukush to the Safēd-kōh and Tirāh. He refers to the conclusions suggested in the record of a tour through Waziristān and N. Balūchistān in 1927-28, that the Vedic tribes probably occupied the hilly territories between the Indus valley and eastern Irān for some length of time before descending into the Panjāb plains. In the course of inquiries made during the same tour he was informed that from the juice of the succulent stalks of the wild rhubarb, which is found widely in the hills, a kind of sweet sherbet is prepared, which is said to be on sale in the bazars of Qandahār and Quetta during most of the year. If this identification can be accepted, it would explain, as he says, how the cherished drink would be available to the Vedic folk in their early settlements on the plains. It is interesting to note in this connexion that Dr. Albert Regel, the botanist employed by the Russian government to explore the area between the Oxus and the Jaxartes in 1882-84, had reported in a letter to Prof. von Roth of Tübingen that he was convinced that the *soma* plant was not to be found in those tracts, adding that "the plant which comes nearest to the description is the *Rhubarb*" (*Papers relating to the Soma Plant*, Govt. of L. Rev. and Agric. Dept., 1884; and *ZDMG*, 1884, p. 134).

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, Pt. I (1931).—The wide and valuable linguistic researches carried out by Dr. G. Morgenstierne in northern Afghānistān and adjacent regions are too little known. In this issue he publishes two popular songs in Pashai, a language of which, prior to the publication of the *L.S.I.*, only some short lists of words collected by Burnes and Leech were available. Even during the Linguistic Survey, the boundaries of the language were thought to be the Laghmān river on the west and the Kunar on the east, but Dr. Morgenstierne has traced its use as far west as the Panjshir river up to Gulbahar (nearly 50 miles north of Kābul), and has found it to be split up into "a number of widely differing dialects, many of them mutually unintelligible."

In a carefully reasoned article entitled "Where was the Sakalanguage reduced to writing," Dr. Sten Konow puts forward arguments for thinking that it was in the Khotan region that the first attempts were made to write the language. He indicates the linguistic evidence tending to show that, besides Sanskrit, the North-western Prakrit must have been known to and utilized by those Sakas who reduced the language to writing: "We cannot, therefore," he adds, "think of the country of the Western Ksatrapas." In the course of this paper the linguistic features of Saka, and particularly those which he is able to observe in document No. 661 of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Turkestan, have been discussed in a very suggestive manner. Dr. Konow argues from the evidence available that the Brāhmi characters were in use in Khotan as early as the end of the second century A.D. and suggests that their introduction may have coincided roughly with that of Buddhism in the latter part of the first century B.C. It will be noticed that these views differ from those of Dr. F. W. Thomas (as expressed in *Asia Major*, II, 251 ff.).

T'oung Pao, vol. XXVIII, Pts. 1-2 (1931).—Indian students will be interested to read the first paper in this issue by N. D. Mironov on the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Dignāga, the Sanskrit text of which he essays to edit and reconstruct from two manuscripts in the Deccan College, Poona, which contain Haribhadra's continuous commentary but only about one-fifth of the *mūla*. The task of reconstructing the text from the *pratīkas* of the commentary has been performed with the assistance of the Tibetan and Chinese versions, which have been compared word by word through the collaboration of Prof. S. Yamaguchi. The result of this collation has been, we are told, that "the overwhelming majority of instances clearly showed the identity of the work"; yet not a few passages are different, and it may be assumed that the Sanskrit text used by Haribhadra differed in some respects from that used by Hsüan-tsang and from that used by the Tibetan translators. As regards the identity of the author, specific reasons are noted for holding that Haribhadra at any rate regarded Dignāga as the author, thus supporting the Tibetan tradition.

Le Monde Oriental, vol. XXV, Fasc. 1-3 (1931).—This *festschrift* volume (dedicated to Prof. K. V. Zetterstéen) opens with an article in German, by Prof. Jarl Charpentier entitled "Indra: ein Versuch der Aufklärung," in which he deals with the origin of the name Indra. The etymology of this name seems to have exercised the minds of scholars from very early times, as Yāska gives some eleven derivations. Max Müller took Indra to be the Indian rain-god, and connected the name with the Sanskrit *indū*, a 'drop'; and other Sanskritists have accepted that view. Bergaigne thought it was most likely derived from the root *indh*, to 'burn,' as the bright, burning drop of the *soma*. Jacobi, on the other hand, made the novel and interesting suggestion

that the conjunct *ndr* appearing at times in later Sanskrit was formed from an earlier *nr*; and so Indra might possibly be explained as from an older *in-ra*. Kretschmer has pointed out that in the treaty between the Hittite king Subbiliauma and the Mitani ruler Mattiasa names of gods are mentioned which have been identified with the Indian gods Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and the Nāsatyas, the first of which was called Aruna by the Mitani, and Uruwana by the Hittite. Kretschmer took this to be the god of the sea (*arunas* being the Hittite for 'sea'), and the Hittite god Inar (Inaras, etc.) to be Indra. After an exhaustive survey of the suggestions made by a number of scholars, Prof. Charpentier comes to the conclusion that the gods of Boghaz-Köi are neither Indian, as Jacobi and Konow have thought, nor Indo-Iranian, as Edward Meyer believed, but simply ancient Iranian. In agreement with Dr. L. D. Barnett, he considers that Indra was originally a human being, who became deified as the great protagonist of the warrior (*rājanya*) class. He throws out a suggestion that Indra might be explained as from a *enro*, which would represent a thematic evolution from an athematic **ner*, **nr*. In Greek (*ἄνῆρ*, *ἄνδρῶς*), and in Armenian (*air*, *ar*) we find such forms with a prothetic vocal, *a*; and that in *indra* we have the same stem with a prothetic *i* cannot be described as difficult from the phonetic point of view. The suggestion is made with every reserve, and the Professor even adds that "the riddle of Indra is unsolved." Perhaps it is insoluble in the present state of our knowledge.

Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Band IV, Heft 1 (Oct. 1931).—This number of the *Mitteilungen* contains an article by Dr. Ernst Herzfeld of much value from an historical and geographical, if not from a philological, point of view entitled "Sakastan: Historical Researches on the Excavations at Kōh-i-Khwāja" (in Sīstān). In it a great mass of references to the Sakas and Sakastān culled from Chinese, Iranian, classical and other sources has been collated and marshalled with a view to elucidating the nomenclature referring to the province and tracing the wanderings of the people who eventually gave it their name. The article is divided into four sections: (1) Zrānka and Sakastān, in which the various names are set forth and explained; (2) The Sakas up to the time of Alexander, based upon references in inscriptions, ancient texts, Herodotus, Hecataeus, etc.; (3) The Wandering of the Sakas, dealing with (a) the Chinese sources, their dates and value; (b) the push that started them on their migration; (c) their starting point, which is shown to have been *Wu-sun*, or Farghana; (d) the region where their wanderings ended, which was *Ki-pin* (Arachosia, or modern Sīstān); (e) their encounter with the Parthians (in Ariana); and finally (f) their settling down under Mithridates II. The identification of *Wu-sun* with Farghana and of *Ki-pin* with Arachosia is important, as even in the

Cambridge H. of I., 1922 (vol. I, pp. 565, 567) these regions were equated with Kulja and Kapiša respectively. We think Dr. Herzfeld has considerably added to our understanding of the movements of these people. He has also provided two rough, but very useful, sketch maps to illustrate his findings.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. LXI, Jan.-June, 1931.—Besides the important presidential address delivered by Prof. J. L. Myres on "Anthropology, pure and applied," this issue contains many papers of wide anthropological interest, all well illustrated. Readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, however, will be chiefly attracted by a lengthy report (running to some 70 pages) by Messrs. L. H. Dudley Buxton and D. Talbot Rice on "The Human Remains found at Kish." After presenting very fully the anthropometric details of the skulls so far recovered, the question of ethnic relations between India and Mesopotamia is discussed at some length in view of the cultural connexions that have already been established. Reference is made to the late Dr. Hall's suggestion that the Sumerian sculptures represented a Dravidian type. The evidence on this point so far available does not appear to be decisive. Though the basal population in India as at Kish be entirely long-headed, and though there do seem to be an essential similarity between the Dravidians and the people of Mesopotamia, yet the authors consider that "the undoubted cultural relationship in early Sumerian times is probably not to be associated with a physical connexion." Summarising the present evidence, scanty as it is, they think it suggests "a remote physical connection with India and a more recent cultural connection, but this latter connection goes back to the dawn of history." The grounds on

which these opinions are based are clearly set forth; but they cannot be even summarised here: the report should be read. The fact seems to be that the Indian evidence is still insufficient to permit of any very definite conclusions being drawn from cranial measurements.

Antiquity, vol. V, No. 20 (Dec. 1931) contains a very interesting paper on "Further Links between Ancient Sind, Sumer and elsewhere" by Mr. Ernest Mackay, in which he draws attention to many striking resemblances and similarities between objects and designs found at Mohenjo-daro and others recovered from early strata at Kish, Ur, in Egypt and elsewhere. The evidence, in his opinion, indicates beyond question "that the upper occupations at Mohenjo-daro are contemporary with the earlier ones of Ur and Kish. This conclusion is of much importance, more especially in view of the discovery by Mr. N. G. Majumdar of remains from a still earlier stratum near Amri station in Sind (see *India in 1929-30*, p. 353), in regard to which details are anxiously awaited.

Royal Society of Arts.—In the course of a very instructive paper read before this society on the 13th Nov. 1931 by Lt.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, C.S.I., C.I.E., late Chief Commr. of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, on the penal system in force, a high tribute, readers of this journal will be glad to know, was paid to the work of the late Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., in the islands. "In Port Blair," said Col. Ferrar, "which he left nearly thirty years ago, he is remembered as a great and humane administrator, proud of his charge, and full of kindness to all who merited it. His name cannot soon be forgotten there."

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1926-27, edited by Sir J. MARSHALL, C.I.E. 13×10 in.; pp. xix+249; 48 plates. Calcutta: Government Press, 1930.

This volume has been edited by Sir John Marshall, and contains two important contributions from his pen, namely, (1) an introduction in which he raises publicly the question whether the time has not arrived for allowing non-official agencies, either Indian or foreign, to co-operate with the Government of India in the task of excavation, and (2) a short survey of the "Indus culture," in which he summarizes the main features of the previous five years' work at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa from their historic and cultural points of view. To those who have not been in touch with the march of events during the past four or five years, the views expressed in the introduction may perhaps come as a surprise; but there can be no question that it is high time that steps were taken to bring the work of archaeological exploration in India more into line with the arrangements that have proved

satisfactory in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and it is to be hoped that the necessary legislation, which, we understand, has already been formulated, will be carried through. It is obviously in the interest of archaeological and historical research, and in the interest of India herself, that her unequalled wealth of antiquarian remains should be more fully disclosed to the world. The task is not only beyond the capacity of the staff of the department, but beyond the financial resources of the Government of India. The thought may occur to many that steps towards this end might have been taken at an earlier stage.

In his résumé of the results (up to 1927) of the explorations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, Sir John suggests certain conclusions, which, though they may be liable to modification hereafter, are at least of interest. The structural remains at Mohenjo-daro tend to confirm the impression that the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen were far in advance of anything to be found at that time in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile. With the progress of excavation "it has become

evident that the connection with Mesopotamia was due, not to actual identity of culture, but to intimate commercial or other intercourse between the two countries. For this reason the term 'Indo-Sumerian' has now been discarded, and 'Indus' adopted in its place." It may prove that the latter term unduly circumscribes this culture, the extent of which is yet uncertain, though Sir Aurel Stein's rapid survey in Khârân and Makrân, and the more recent finds at Kotla Nihang, not far from the Sutlej-Jumna watershed, would clearly indicate that it was widespread.

Sir John, for reasons explained, confidently fixes the date of the three latest cities at Mohenjo-daro as falling between 3500 and 2500 B.C. To what date the earlier cities must be ascribed is still a matter of conjecture. In this connexion we may refer here to the discoveries recently made by Mr. N. G. Majumdar at Amri in Sind, where trial excavations brought to light remains (in stone) of two strata of occupation, the upper of which yielded painted pottery and other relics akin to those from Mohenjo-daro, while from the lower stratum, imbedded in Indus silt, was recovered a type of thin painted ware of entirely different fabric and ornament, resembling pottery from Balûchistân and Sistân. The pottery recovered from these ancient sites calls for special and detailed study. The red and black ware found at Mohenjo-daro was found in abundance by Sir A. Stein in the Zhob basin and in Waziristân; and Sir John considers that "some of the ceramic shapes and ornamental patterns both at this site and at Harappa betoken a connection with Elam and Mesopotamia as well as with Balûchistân." The remains of pottery since found by Sir Aurel at numerous sites in southern Balûchistân (Makrân, etc.), and that recovered by Mr. Majumdar from the lower stratum at Amri in Sind give rise to further speculation.

The year 1926-27 yielded a fertile harvest of antiquities in widely-separated areas. At Sirkap was recovered a unique hoard of silver plate and gold and silver jewellery of the Scytho-Parthian age, a number of which bear short records in Kharoṣṭhi script giving the name of their owner and their value. The Nālandā site, near Bihār, has yielded new treasures, and the Bulandī Bāgh site, at Patna, fresh facts regarding the wooden walls of Pātali-putra. At Pahārpur, in northern Bengal, fresh sculptures, partly Buddhistic and partly Brahmanical, were revealed. At Nāgārjunikonda in the Guntūr district, and at Alluru and Gummadidurru in the Kistna district important discoveries of Buddhist monuments were made, which, together with the Aśokan inscriptions lately found at Erra-ḡuḍi and Kopbal, afford further evidence of the wide influence of Buddhism in the basin of the Kistna in early times. In Burma, too, in the vicinity of Hmawza (Old Prome) numerous finds of

great interest were made by M. Duroiselle, among others that of a perfectly preserved relic chamber of a *stûpa* of the sixth-seventh century A.D., containing a wonderful collection of votive offerings. The retirement of M. Duroiselle, whose acquaintance with the sites of archaeological interest in Burma is unique, will be felt as a great loss to the department.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE CREDIT OF MEGASTHENES.

MEGASTHENES EN DE INDISCHE MAATSCHAPPIJ.

By Barbara C. J. Timmer. 9½ x 6 inches, 322 pp., chart. Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1930.

This is a thesis for an Amsterdam doctorate, and bears the marks of its origin,—in places perhaps somewhat academical, but thorough, precise and fully documented. The author sets out to enquire how far Megasthenes' description of India is to be trusted; less than 50 pages suffice for the preliminary discussion, while nearly 250 are occupied by minute critical examination of particular fragments, six by a statement of conclusions, and ten by an abstract in German, which will be convenient for students ignorant of Dutch. The conclusions reached may be summarised as follows. The only direct sources for Megasthenes' lost work are Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus; his language is preserved most closely by the first and last, while on the whole Strabo is the best source for his substance. Comparison with Indian sources for the period indicates that Megasthenes was a competent and unprejudiced observer, but an uncritical reporter of what he was told, apt to record theories as facts, to generalise from particular instances, and to rely unduly on his informants, who were probably in all cases Brahman. In discussing concrete historical questions, he is always suggestive, but can never be decisive. How far these conclusions are sound is a question that could be answered only by a reviewer at least as familiar as the author with the literature of the subject. I can claim no such authority, and will say only that, in the case of those fragments of Megasthenes which I had previously studied, the conclusions drawn by the author appear to me to be generally reasonable and well-founded, while the discussions are in all cases enlightening, and are entitled to serious consideration, even if one is occasionally doubtful regarding the result. The book has therefore claims on all students of the period, while—though this is not new—it should stand as a warning to popular writers not to quote detached phrases from Megasthenes as if they were conclusive.

W. H. M.

PAÑCHAVĀRA-VĀRIYAM.

BY RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.S., F.A.S.B.

THE term *pañchavāra vāriyam* is frequently met with in South Indian inscriptions. It generally occurs among the various assemblies, big and small, which went to constitute the government of rural divisions in Tamil India. From the contexts in which the term occurs, and from association with terms of similar application, it is generally translated as 'Pañchavāram Committee,' a confession that the *pañchavāram* part of the term is not understood, perhaps not even understandable. The term 'committee' as the equivalent of *vāriyam* we shall discuss presently. The largest number of these committees that happen to be mentioned together occurs in No. 156 of volume III of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, at Tirupārkaḍal in the North Arcot District. The assemblies mentioned are the following :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Samvatsara vāriyam ; | (5) Pañchavāra vāriyam ; |
| (2) Tōṭṭa vāriyam ; | (6) Kaṇakku vāriyam ; |
| (3) Ēri vāriyam ; | (7) Kaliṅgu vāriyam ; |
| (4) Kaḷani vāriyam ; | (8) Taḍivaḷi vāriyam. |

Among these are included the great people of Śrī Vaḍavira Nāraṇam, and following these are the Bhaṭṭas. All these, together with other citizens, constituted the *Mahā-sabhā*, or the great assembly, of the village, and the meeting under reference also contained the governor of the village, Pallavan Brahmāda Araiyan, and the superintendent, Arumbā Ki'ān.

In this recital, it will be seen, there are two classes of people referred to, viz., (1) the *Bhaṭṭas* or learned Brāhmanas, a group by itself, and (2) the great ones of Śrī Vaḍavira Nāraṇam, which would simply mean the inhabitants, or the residents, of the part or ward of the town which went by the name Vaḍavira Nāraṇam. In these two cases, apparently, it is the whole body of the people concerned that are under reference. In the case of the other eight, it seems to be that the bodies were constituted, as usual, by a process of lot and election combined, for various purposes. The first one was entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the village for the year. The second, similarly, had the management of the gardens of the village; the third, the irrigation tanks; the fourth, the fields; the fifth is the *pañchavāra-vāriyam*; the sixth had the management of the accounts of the village; the seventh, of the sluices; and the eighth was the *taḍi vaḷi vāriyam*, which ought to be translated as the Roads Committee, but is rendered as the 'great men of the field supervision.' This seems inappropriate, as there is the *kaḷani-vāriyam* for the fields, whereas *vaḷi* would mean 'the way,' and *taḍi vaḷi* perhaps stands for 'straight roads,' as they are usually stated to be of a width of so many rods (*taḍi*).

From this recital it becomes clear that the common affix to these terms, *vāriyam*, has a meaning as in the similar very familiar Tamil compound *vāśivāriyan*, *vāśivāriyan* being the equivalent of the Sanskrit *āśvadamanaka*, one who trains and controls horses, or, in one word, trainer. So it would be safe to translate the term *vāriyam* by the English general term 'management.' The *pañchavāra-vāriyam* therefore must be a committee appointed for the management of something on the analogy of the other seven, of which, as we see, the first constituted the general management for the year, whereas the other six committees are committees appointed for the management of particular branches of administration.

The term *vāriyam* however has another significance, which ought to be noted here, namely, 'president' or 'chairman.' In the 'circular-inscriptions' issued by Parāntaka laying down the regulations for the election and constitution of the bodies composing the government of a village, the circular is said to have been presented to the assembly or the *sabhā* of the village of Uttaramērūr by a divisional officer of consequence, who is said in the inscriptions to have acted as the *vāriyam* (*vāriyam āha*). The Government Epigraphist of the day, the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya, translated the words in the *A.S.R.* for the year 1904-05 (where he has translated the two important documents) as 'the local governor being

present'. He has also doubtfully suggested, "and convening?" *Vāriyam āha* cannot be explained as denoting mere presence, having regard to the general significance of the term *vāriyam* indicated above, viz., that of management. In those two documents clearly the officer concerned was not merely present, but actually conducted the assembly as the representative of the king. He would therefore be one who presided over the assembly and managed the business by conducting the meeting satisfactorily. In the expression *pañchavāra-vāriyam*, therefore, the term *vāriyam* may stand for either a managing committee of a few, or an individual chairman who managed the business of a body.

In regard to *pañchavāra-vāriyam*, however, there must be a similar significance. In the same village are other records which refer to a few other bodies¹ like this. Of these, five are mentioned. There is a body or a committee for the supervision of *kuḍumbu* or, as it is translated, 'wards.' This is a new body, and there is a body of men looking after ascetics (*udāsīnas*). This again is a new body. There is a body which is simply described as a body of 200. Nothing is added by way of explaining what the 200 stood for, and how that body of 200 came to be constituted. The other two mentioned are already found in the list above. So there are in all eleven such bodies, of which the *pañchavāra-vāriyam* is one.

This body is generally referred to, wherever it occurs, as the '*Pañchavāram* Committee,' and nothing further is stated as to what it might actually connote, or how that name came to be given to that body. There is one reference, however, which seems to give the clue to this. In connection with the measuring of grain, one comes across a reference to the *pañchavāram*-measure, which would indicate that the measures were subject to regulation by this *Pañchavāram* Committee. Perhaps from this the inference would be permissible that this committee had the supervision and regulation of such matters as measures, weights, etc., somewhat like a municipal corporation in these general functions. If that is so, it becomes clear that it is all the more important we should know what the *pañchavāram* was, and how it came to be constituted.

Pañcha, of course, may be translated as five, and probably it is five. Here, as in fact elsewhere, e.g., in the term *pañchāyat*, it seems loosely to stand for a body of five, though the specific significance of the number has been lost, and people speak, in these days, often of a single man constituting a *pañchāyat* in the sense of the Sanskrit term *madhyasta*, or an umpire. But what is the term *vāram*? This term occurs in other contexts, as pointed out by the late Professor Kielhorn, e.g., in the *Sīyadoni* inscription, where the term occurs several times in the compound *vāra-mukha* or *vāra-mukhya*. He refers also to the term *vāra-goshṭi* occurring in some of the Eastern Chālukya grants, and has even attempted to identify the *vāra-goshṭi* with the *pañcha-vāram*, and going further, tried to identify the term *pañchavārim*, occurring in the same inscriptions, with this *pañchavāram*.² But the term *vāram* in its general application, as in *vāra-mukha* or *-mukhya*, is nothing more than *gaṇa* (a 'group' or 'body'). The Sanskrit lexicon *Vaijayanti* gives the term *vāra* as a synonym of *gaṇa*,³ which would mean a 'body,' and that seems the meaning in which the term occurs in *pañchavāra-vāriyam*. The term would then mean the managing bodies of five groups of people, thereby indicating that in the various committees and bodies in whom vested the administration of the rural area, there were five groups that constituted bodies of people, rather than committees of management consisting of a smaller number, the usual number being either six or twelve according to the character of the particular committee. Hence, the *pañchavāra-vāriyam*

¹ These additional bodies, and in fact some of the eight already quoted, are found in a number of records, of which it is only one or two that have been so far published. I examined the transcripts in the Epigraphist's office, through the courtesy of my friend, Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who allowed me to examine the documents and read through them. I acknowledge his courtesy with pleasure and gratitude.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 16 E; also note 7 on p. 138 of the same volume.

³ *Vide* Oppert's Edition, p. 186.

would mean a body of management constituted out of five groups or bodies of people, for which we have the analogy of the 200 in the village, "the great men numbering 200," of one of these inscriptions; and the Bhaṭṭas, who must have been numerous, the number of learned Brāhman in a village constituting a body by itself. Then for certain purposes there were the *ūrōm*, the inhabitants of the whole village, the *nāṭṭōm*, the representatives that constituted the government of the *nāḍu* or larger division, and the *nagarattār*, or the citizens. It would be in keeping with such a constitution as this that they should have the general management of the affairs of the village, such as the regulation of weights and measures, and other such matters of general administration. *Vāram*, therefore, seems a term used merely to indicate a group or body of people, the *pañchavāra-vāriyam* meaning as a whole, therefore, the management consisting of representatives of five groups of people.

There is evidence for this suggestion in the ordinary Tamil expression *aṁ perum kuḷu*, the *five great bodies* which formed one of the bodies of ministers, who ought to be consulted and whose advice had to be acted up to by the ruler. There are two such groups that are mentioned among those in immediate attendance upon the king, and they are the five great groups mentioned above, and the eight bodies who constituted the *pariṇanam*, the people in immediate attendance upon the king. The king's court consisted of these two bodies, of which the five that have been referred to above consisted of the *mahājana* (people in general), *pārpār* (Brāhman or Bhaṭṭas of the inscriptions), *maruttar* (physicians), *nimittar* (astrologers), and *amaichar* (ministers, the body that constituted the Council as a whole). Another definition of this group of five, recites among them the ministers, priests, commanders of the army, ambassadors and the body of spies. While the second interpretation would seem to me unsuitable for explaining *pañchavāra-vāriyam* as constituting a body in the governmental organisation of a rural unit, the first interpretation, or something analogous to it, seems legitimate, knowing as we do that the administration of a rural locality consisted actually of a certain number of committees of twelve or six members according to the character of the committee. While these smaller committees were intended for carrying on the actual administration, they had behind them larger bodies of people from whom they drew their authority; and these bodies were divided into groups for definite purposes. These groups, among whom five were of general importance, such as the whole body of Brāhman or Bhaṭṭas, and the whole body of people other than Brāhman, might have been represented by committees, or even individuals, for certain purposes; and the committees or the individual representatives of the five of these groups that were concerned with the administration as a whole, must have constituted the *pañchavāra-vāriyam*; and they must therefore have had powers of general administration and control, which the reference to a '*pañchavāram* measure' seems to indicate.

Before passing on, we ought to consider the suggestion made by Kielhorn on the basis of the Eastern Chālukya grants. The whole of Kielhorn's position is contained in the note above referred to. The inscriptions refer to a family of learned Brāhman, whose children and grandchildren attained to such facility and excellence, even as boys, in speaking and recitation that they were held in reverence by the great people of the community. That is the general sense of the *śloka* which occurs in two variant forms in the two grants, in both of which the term *vāra-goshṭi* occurs. After drawing attention to the similarity between the two passages, Kielhorn remarks: "*Vāra* here and in *Pañcha Vāri* probably denotes the number of a committee; the word occurs, by itself, and in *Vāra-Pramukha*, in an apparently similar sense in the Siyadoni inscription, *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. I, p. 173. The meaning of *Pañchavāri* is similar to that of the more common *Pañchakula*. Compare with it also the word *Pañchāli* in line 16 in the Nepalese inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume IX. page 173."

The *ślokas* under reference are :—

1. *Yat putra pô(pau)tr(â) Vatavo Vâra gôshṭishu Vâgminah |*
Panchavâri(m) samâpayya sampūjyantē mahâjanaiḥ || (8)
(Ep. Ind., V, 16 E.)
2. *Yat putra pautrâḥ patvô vatavo vâra gôshṭishu*
Agrahârâgra(pû)j(ân)âm âpnavanti paramparâm (6).
(S. I. I., I, No. 37.)

The two *ślokas*, notwithstanding variety in expression, seem intended to convey the same meaning, and to refer to the same ceremonial excellence, which the particular family of Brâhman had attained by their extraordinary ability. While in the one record (the British Museum plates) occurs the expression *Pañchavârim samâpayya sampūjyantē mahâjanaiḥ*, in the corresponding place in the other *śloka* occurs the expression *Agrahâra agrapūjânâm âpnavanti paramparâm*. The latter would simply mean that they became entitled to reverential treatment as the best, or the first, by the inhabitants of the Brâhman settlements. The sense of the former passage where the term *pañchavâri* occurs must be exactly the same. *Panchavâri* therefore seems to mean water given for five purposes : (1) water for washing one's hands, (2) water for washing one's feet, (3) water given after the guest had been seated to clean his hands, (4) water for the guest to sprinkle over himself, and (5) water to sip, a ceremonial presentation of water usually for very highly respected guests. This would be a kind of treatment included in the term *agra pūjâ*, respectful treatment as the first among the Brâhman. Therefore *pañchavâri* would mean merely water given for the five ablutions, and may be dismissed as having no analogy to the *pañchavâram*.

The other term to which Kielhorn's note makes reference is *vâra-gôshṭi*. It occurs in the context where the persons concerned exhibited capacity for expression, while yet they were bachelors undergoing education, in the *vâra-gôshṭi*. *Vâra-gôshṭi* may, therefore, simply mean an assembly of learned Brâhman. The exhibition of elocution is not made in mere general assemblies of Brâhman. They must have been made in assemblies of people who were acknowledged experts in the chanting and recital of the *Veda* and *Vaidic* texts. *Vâra-gôshṭi* probably there means the assembly of learned Brâhman for reciting the *Vedas*, where these young men exhibited excellence as the best reciters among them all. They had shown such proficiency that they were accorded the deferential treatment indicated in the following passage :—

Yad grihâ(thi ?) ti-pūja(yâm pāda pra)-kshâ!anāmbasā |
Ajiram karddhamābhūtam punāty āsaptamam kulam ||
(Ep. Ind., V, 16 E, p. 137.)

*[Kielhorn's translation of *ślokas* 6-8 is given below for comparative reference :—

" His son, again, is Viddamayya, a student of the *kramapāṭa*, eminent in religious learning and full of manliness ; whose hospitality purifies the family to the seventh generation ; whose sons and grandsons, youths eloquent at committee assemblies, are honoured by the chief people who have made them serve on the committee of five."]

That this was the actual meaning appears again from an analogous expression, though in an entirely secular context. The word *vâram* occurs in the sense of singing by turns. In Indian music, when an expert renders music, he goes a certain way in the performance, when an assistant or a collaborator takes it up by way of relief, and carries on for a considerable time. Then the expert takes it up again, to be again followed by the other. This method of affording relief to the principal performer is more necessary in the case of a dancing woman who sings while performing the dance. For this purpose dancing women, who were experts in their days, but who have grown too old for the work, are generally employed ; and these women take up the refrain and continue the singing. This practice is called in Tamil *vâram*

pādudal, the act of singing in turn. Exactly the same procedure is followed in *Veda* or *mantra* chanting: a passage is chanted by one set, is taken up by another, then resumed by the first batch, to be followed by the next, and so on.⁴ This may be the *vāra*, or, in modern language, *santhe*, recital by turns. *Vāra-gōshṭi* may therefore mean special assemblies held for Vedic chants, and the reference to the excellence of these youths, while yet they were undergoing education, would be pointless unless it be that they showed such exceptional precocity or talent as to merit special commendation in an assembly of acknowledged experts. It is the sense of chanting alternately or singing by turn, that is implied by the component *vāram* in the term *tēvāram*, the singing by turn in *gōshṭi* in the presence of God; *tēvāram* being the name given to the Śaiva canonical poems of the 63 devotees, which the Śaivas chant nowadays in a body, though not exactly by turn like the chanters of the *Veda*. If this be the sense of the term *vāra* in *vāra-gōshṭi*, it would be something different from the word *vāra* in *pañchavāram*, or in *vāra pramukha*. *Vāram* in this context is nothing more than a *gaṇa* or body, and it is in that sense that we shall have to interpret the term in *pañchavāra-vāriyam*, the management or representatives of five bodies of people, whose functions lay in controlling the general affairs of a rural area.

CORRESPONDENCE.

3611, Twelfth Street, N.E.

Washington, D.C.

10th October, 1931.

TO THE EDITOR, *Indian Antiquary*.

SIR,

Recently, in an article on the "Possible Origin of the Caste System in India," I made a suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, p. 95), on the authority of a passage in the *Ambaṭṭa Sutta*, that the Aryans—the Kṣatriyas—reserved the highest place for themselves and gave the second place to the Brāhmanas. When I wrote my paper the above-mentioned passage seemed to me to be the only one in the Buddhist texts which said that the Kṣatriyas occupied a higher position than the Brāhmanas. Since my paper was published Mr. A. P. Gomes, B.Sc. (Lond.), has written to me (letter dated 8-9-31, Holy Cross College, Kalutara, Ceylon) to say that "in Ceylon for over 2500 years the caste that has been recognised as the first is the Kshetriya. Brahmana has always been given second place. The kings of Ceylon always claimed descent from the Chandra or Surya Wansé, that is North Indian Kshetriya descent." He has further sent me the following references and the order of the four different casteś given therein:—(1) *Pubba Thupama Sutta* (Pāli):—"Kaththiyé, Brahmané, Vessé, Suddé." (2) Sinhalese translation in *Saddharmāṅkara*:—"Raja, Bamunu, Velenda, Govi." (3) *Anguththera Nikaya* (Pāli):—"Kaththiya, Brahmana, Vessa, Sudda." (4) Sinhalese translation in *Pooja Valiya*:—"Raja, Bamunu, Velenda, Govi." Mr. Gomes expresses the opinion that there "must be many others like these in the Sinhalese and the Pāli books."

It seems to me, then, that I had overlooked several important texts—texts which are not easily obtainable to me so many thousand miles away from India—in support of my tentative theory of the magical origin of caste.

BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (Paris),

Professor of Oriental Languages, F.M.S., Washington, D.C.

⁴ *Silappadhikāram* III, ll. 136-37 and l. 153, and references in the following books.


OLD SITES ON THE LOWER INDUS.

By G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

Thambhanwâro Masjid and some other sites.

THAMBHANWÂRO¹ Masjid, the 'Mosque of the Pillars,' stands in the north-west of the Mirpur Sakro taluqa of the Karachi district, about one mile north of the Vângo Creek, six miles north-east of Lâhori Bandar (now nothing but a mud waste with a dilapidated city wall), and eight miles west by north of Râj Malik. I visited it in the spring of 1916 from a camp in Hingoro's village, making a round journey to Kherâni, Mâri Morâri and Thambhanwâro Masjid. The Survey of India 1 in.=1 mi. map of the area is mainly blank, and for my own information I filled in details of what I saw.

Fifteenth century² Râjput-Baloch cemeteries exist at Mâri Morâri, Daryâ Pir and Pir Mufuddîn. I would date the remains at Gungki and Kherâni as of the eighteenth century from the style of pottery and porcelain found there. Persian coins recovered at Mâri Morâri also establish a fifteenth century date.³

There is no trace now of a village site at Thambhanwâro Masjid. The 'masjid' consists of the lower courses of a rectangular building, with two large upright pillars flanking one who enters from the door in the eastern wall. Its external dimensions are 31 ft. 5½ in. by 35 ft. 3½ in. The walls are about 40 in. thick, and the doorway about 66 in. wide. I plotted the whole on the basis of a foot of 13·3 inches (the lesser Asiatic foot), giving external dimensions of 29A by 32A.⁴ The walls are constructed of thin bricks laid flat in courses and cased in dressed stone, which had been tied by wedge-shaped ties (). There were two windows in the west wall, and two narrow doors in the south. In the centre of the north wall was a peculiar stone of a red, friable limestone,⁵ running right through, but without any bond, as the dressed facing stones held it in on two sides. The windows had held stone lattices, pierced in quincunx cubes, as at Andhan jî Mâri (near Hilaya), of a not uncommon style. There is a recess in the west wall that could serve as a *mihrab*, but it is obviously not part of the original plan. No trace of other pillars, or of foundations for them, could be seen.

The annexed photograph (see Plate II, fig. 2) gives all details now available as to the carving. Attention may be drawn to the common type of diamond pattern. It is not safe to assume, as Mr. Cousens does,⁶ that the niches in the pillars formerly held images, though the craftsmanship is Hindu. In an area such as this delta is, it is equally unnecessary to assume that a town was at or near a temple or mosque: there is no town near the fine temple of Uderolâl.⁷

A few relevant matters may next be noticed.

¹ For map, plan and views of the ruins, see Plates I and II. It is a local jest that the vernaculars of Sind vary in the pronunciation of the dental and cerebral letters. سَئِنُور or سَئِنُپُ means a 'pillar' or 'post.' In deference to the dictionaries I spell the name Thambhanwâro; but the word, as I learnt it orally, is heavily accented on the first syllable, and -bh- pronounced as a simple -b-.

² Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 164 f., assigns these cemeteries generally to the eighteenth century. From my own (unpublished) inquiries, I hold strongly that they are *generally* of the fifteenth century.

³ Of a large hoard of coins found early in the present century, four only were preserved. I had these sent to the B.R.A.S. One was defaced. The others were reported as follows:—

Shâh Rukh (1404–1447)	Mint Herât	828 A.H.
Ulugh Beg (1447–1449)	Do.	352 A.H.
Abdullâh (1449–1452)	Do.	defaced.

⁴ Had I taken 28A × 32A as correct, the proportions would have been more probable mathematically.

⁵ So my notes run. I now wonder whether it was a partially decomposed trap, of which there are a few exposures in the Karachi district. The dressed stone was a uniform pale yellow (stone) colour, typical of the local limestone.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁷ Taluqa Ghorâbâri, district Karachi.



Fig. 2.

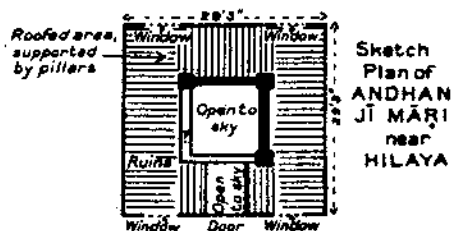
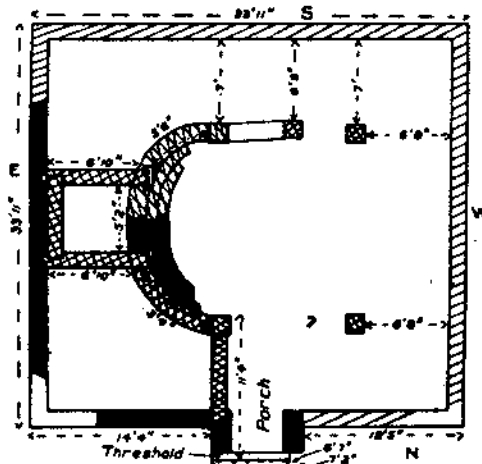






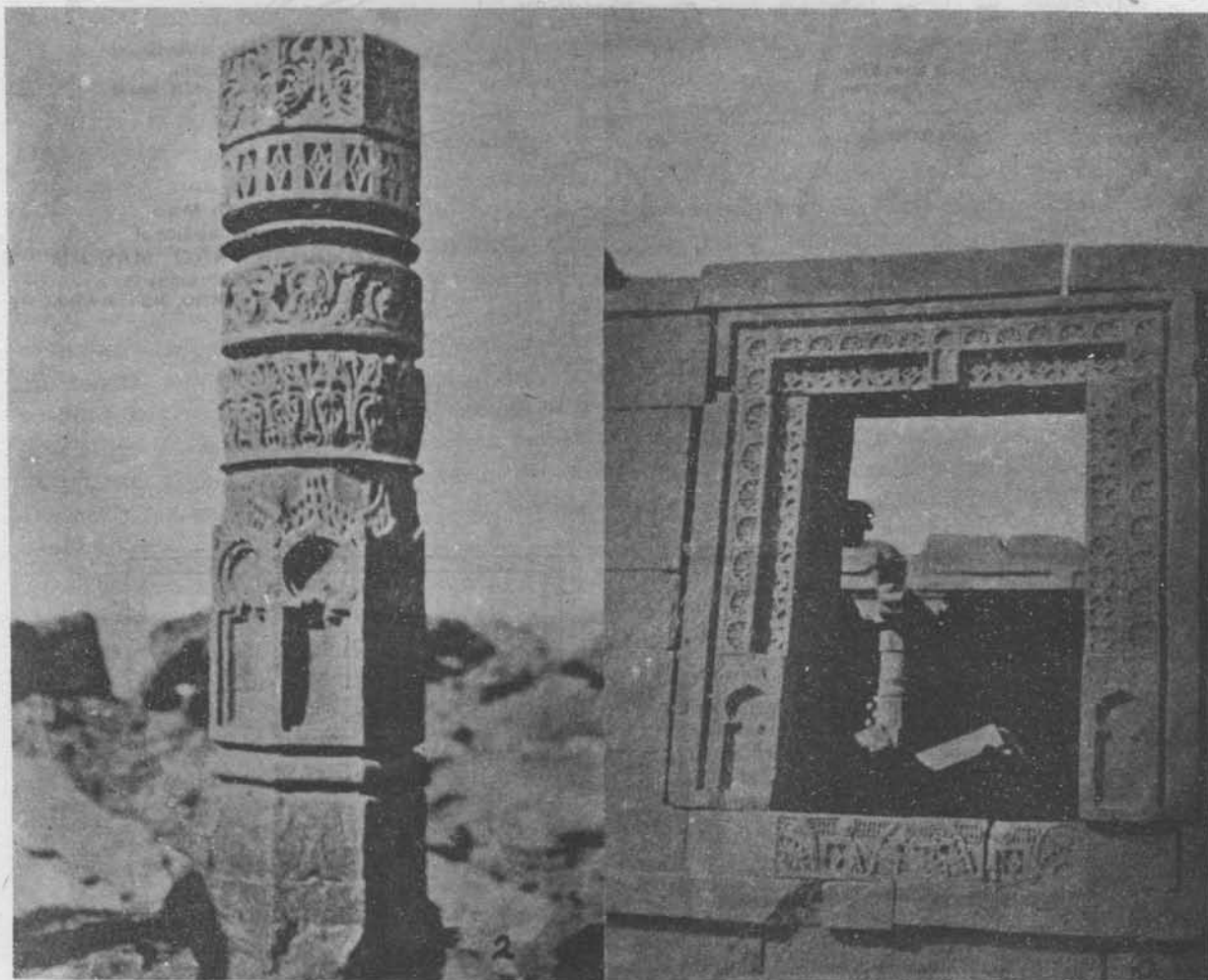
Fig. 4.

Fig. 3.



Sketch Plan of
KĀFIR JO HAT near GUJO

-  Foundations and plinth
 Pillars and beams
 Standing walls
 Tie of stones



1. **Tradition and lore.**—Daryâ Pir (the 'River Saint') in Tali Makân, two miles south of the *masjid*, probably marks the *aboriginal* holy spot of the region.⁸ Musalmâns still go there on the 12th *urs* to worship, and Hindus (who call the saint Jaskaran) on the 1st Vaisâkha, i.e., on the same day as Hindus also attend at the shrine of Pir Patho.⁹ A festival is held at the shrine in the month of Nâhari (= *Marg*, i.e., *Margasira*). Daryâ Pir is classed in my notes as a Sarmân (Buddhist) Pir with Âdam Pir of Sakro, Shaikh Sarmân of Nângwa, and a Sarmân Faqîr whose shrine is near the junction of the Karachi, Tatta and Mîrpur Sakro taluqas.

The red stone in the north wall of the *masjid* is obviously there because of its redness. Remember first the story told by Ibn Baṭūṭa, how the people of Sind used to prepare and eat the desert lizard, and how he himself could not manage it. It is now a matter of folklore that the people ceased to eat it when it left off living on trees and took to holes in the ground. The story of Mâi Garhî (the 'Red Lady') turns entirely on the mystic virtues of eating the lizard.¹⁰

It is a commonplace of literate Muhammadans of Lower Sind that the old mosques have a second *mihrab* in the north wall, directing attention to Multân,¹¹ in addition to the one on the west towards Mecca. The question seems to arise, therefore, whether the people of Sind (Hindu or Muslim) did not orient themselves in prayer, at some period of unorthodoxy, on Multân, as this red stone would lead them to do, with the further implication that the medieval Muslim revival deliberately masked this by encouraging a second *mihrab*.

2. Other similar Buildings—

(a) About one mile west of Hilaya, where the road leading from Tatta northwards drops from the great limestone causeway which separates the Kinjhar lake from the Indus, stands a four-square stone building, measuring 29 ft. 3 in. on its four sides, known as Andhan jî Mâri. It was roofed, with a central square open to the sky. On the south-east side is a door and two small windows. In general it appears to have been copied from the Kâfir jo haṭ (the 'Infidel's shop').¹²

(b) The Kâfir jo haṭ (at Tharṭo near Gujo, taluqa Mîrpur Sakro) in plan is a square with a projecting entrance on the north. Inside was a colonnade with a central half-dome open to the sky. An area roofed with massive stone beams on the east, and a slight apse cut in the solid wall on the west complete the existing internal features. The pillars are partly octagonal on square bases. There is no carving except on the threshold. The walls are now dilapidated. Viewed from the inside, they are of dressed stone. The rough external face shows that it was a double wall, similar to that of Thambhanwâro Masjid. No mortar was used in its construction. Its measurements were based on a foot 13.5 inches long. The stones were tied as at the Masjid, the same kind of tie having evidently been used. In plan the building was a square, with sides measuring 33 ft. 11 in., but the colonnade was semicircular. The carving on the threshold consists of half-suns with diamond-shaped rays and other 'diamond' patterns. The temple—and there can be

⁸ On the part played by the river in primitive Sindhi religion, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLVI (1917), p. 206, and vol. XLVII (1918), p. 197.

⁹ For whom, see below, Note 22.

¹⁰ Her shrine is north of Karachi.

¹¹ That town was more than once the inspiration of Sindhi thought. Hsüan tsang is one witness. The Tughlaqs tried to build a second Multân on the Makli hills; a large four-square hall is pointed out as built to accommodate 'Shaiḥjî Multânî' there, about ¼ mile north of the dâk bungalow at Tatta. The monumental ruins of Tughlaqâbâd, about a mile to the south, have never, I believe, been reported.

¹² I am not sure that *haṭ* here does mean 'shop,' but I have always so translated it. For a plan of Andhan jî Mâri, see Plate I, fig. 4; for its doorway, Plate II, fig. 3.

little doubt that it was a temple originally—shows pronounced classical influence, and is probably the oldest of the three buildings of this class.¹³

3. Geographical—

(a) Travelling by boat at the mouths of the Indus is so difficult and so circuitous that little reliance can be placed on distance expressed in terms of a day's sailing.

(b) It is not safe to assume great changes in the extent of the delta: its age is geological. The delta is gaining on the sea, but the levels are such that a change of an inch a mile in the gradient would upset the whole of the present régime.

(c) Local changes were probably less rapid formerly than since the British occupation, since the floods of the *ābkalānt*¹⁴ season could then spread themselves more freely over the country as a whole.

(d) It is doubtful whether Lāhori Bandar could have been a place of greater permanence than Ketī Bandar¹⁵ is today, though its importance was as that of Karachi.

(e) The invocation to the river god is *Lahr-Bahr jā sūn, mehrbānī de!* ("Lord of the water, grant a favour!") with dialectical variations in pronunciation ranging as far as Lōr-Bōr. Similar variations occur in the name Lāhori Bandar.

Mr. Cousens assigns the Thambhanwāro Masjid to about the twelfth century. We ought, I think, to assign it to the stage of civilization anterior to the influence of the Ghaznavids and Ghorids. It is strongly Hindu in sentiment and execution. If it was for Muhammadan use, it must have been for that pale reflection of Islām into which the first phase degenerated in Sind.

The site of the shrine of Daryā Pir is probably older than that of the masjid. Neither has any direct connexion with Lāhori Bandar, which appeared to me in its present form¹⁶

¹³ The island hill of Tharro, near Gujo, which contains this remarkable building is rich also in struck flints of a late date, bears the remains of a great walled city of an early date, and overlooks the tomb of Hājī Abū Turāb (ob. 787 A.D., cp. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 29). For reasons given in my paper on "Ptolemy's Map of Sind" in the *J. B. Anthropological Soc.*, Vol. XII (1923), p. 547, I identify the hill with Patala. In the same paper the geography of the delta is discussed in some detail. For plan and view, see Plate I, fig. 3, and Plate II, fig. 4.

¹⁴ *Ābkalānt*, the flood season of April-August, due to (a) the melting of the snows in the Himālaya and (b) the rains in the Panjāb during the monsoon.

¹⁵ As recently as 1914-15 Ketī Bandar was disturbed by the river eating into the town, and a new Ketī Bandar was built close by.

¹⁶ It closely resembles the town of Dhārejah in Deh Dundi, taluqa Mīrpur Sakro, of a date not anterior to the seventeenth century, and possibly of the eighteenth. Looking up my MS. copy of the *Tuhfatul-kirām* (1763 A.D.) and a translation which I had had made thereof, I find the following interesting information:—

(1) "Bandar Dhārejah. It is now made known that Bandar Lāhori, which in ancient times was known as Bandar Debal, was a town of great renown inhabited by many learned and pious men. It is only a few years back that owing to the scarcity of water and vicissitudes of times the Bandar disappeared along with its hamlets and rural abodes. Whatever remained of habitations has gone out to Bandar Dhārejah, which was originally the native land and the chief town of the tribe called Nikāmīrah."—This fixes the following dates: Lāhori Bandar abandoned c. 1725 A.D.; Dhārejah built c. 1725 A.D. It explains also the similarity of the existing enclosing walls.

(2) "Shaikh Jhāryo. He is a saintly man of very ancient times, and lies buried on the hillock called Stam Takar [سٹم ٹکڑ, or perhaps سٹم ٹکڑ], a resort of pilgrims." There is a story of his having been in Mekka as a sweeper of the holy places, to explain his name as 'Pir of the Dusts.' In modern Sindhi, however, the name is pronounced Jhāreon, and there can be little doubt that the word is a feminine plural, meaning 'trees,' 'bushes.'

Query—Did this hill also bear one of the old "Thambhanwāro" temples? There is nothing there now but a curious Muhammadan shrine, where Hindus and Muslims eat together, and the footprint of the horse Dhur Dhur. The hill is about half way between Mīrpur Sakro and Tatta. Built into the present shrine are fragments of old carved stone, the capital of a pillar.

(3) "Mullā Mauj Daryā [مولیٰ موج دریا]. He lies buried on the bank of Shakar Ghat [شکر گھاٹ] near Bandar Lāhori, which was in ancient times known as Bandar Debal. Pious people visit his tomb. His descendants are called *Mullāyān*, and reside at Bandar Dhārejah."

This passage clearly shows that the *mujdārs* were then claiming the tomb as 'ancestral.' Hindus still go there, if this is the same as Daryā Pir.

to have been a town of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bandars move very freely to accommodate themselves to the shifting river. Though Lāhori Bandar is more impressive with its earthen walls, Māri Morāri is the most extensive town site in the whole area.¹⁷

In short, the cult of the River (Daryā Pir) and the simplicity of the architecture of the "Masjid" indicate that we have a genuine fusion of Hinduism and Islām, which we may locate in that obscure period when the Arab dominion was passing away, after 871 A.D.¹⁸

Ibn Baṭṭā, in the course of his travels in India, spent some five days (circa 1333-34 A.D.) at the then port of Lāhori Bandar, which he describes as a fine place situated on the shore of the ocean, near to which the 'river of Sind' fell into the sea. I give below an extract from the account of his travels relating to this visit.

"I rode out one day in 'Alāu'l-mulk's company, and we reached a plain situated at a distance of seven miles (سبعة أميال) from Lāhari, and which was called Tārnā (تارنا). I there saw an incalculable number of stones resembling figures of men and animals. Many had undergone alteration, and the characters of the objects represented had been effaced. There remained only the figure of a head or a foot or other part of the body. Amongst the stones were some also that depicted grains—such as corn, chick-peas, beans and lentils. There were traces of a wall and of the side walls of houses. We then saw the remains of a building (or house, بيت), where there was a cell constructed of dressed stone, in the middle of which rose a platform (or dais), also of stone, cut with such precision that there appeared to be but a single piece of stone. On this platform was the figure of a man, but the head was much lengthened, the mouth on one side of the face, and the hands behind the back like those of a prisoner. One saw there pools of very stinking water. One of the partition walls bore an inscription in Indian characters. 'Alāu'l-mulk related to me that historians asserted that there had been at this place a considerable town, the inhabitants of which having committed many offences had been changed into stone, and that it was their king that appears on the platform in the building referred to. This house is also still called the residence of the king. It is averred that the inscription which is seen on one of the walls contains the date of the destruction of the inhabitants of this town, which occurred about 1000 years ago..."¹⁹

The name of the plain, Tārnā, is, I think, a misreading for *Khārro*.²⁰ *Khārro* is the generic word for the flat, salt wastes of the lower Indus delta, a region of mud and slime, and marked by cattle tracks. The weathered stones, depicting portions of limbs and grains of corn, were, I think, simply weathered fossiliferous limestone, of which the details become more clear when the cement matrix disappears. I have myself been shown the footprints of the great horse Dhur Dhur, and of several saints of the past.

From the complete absence of any other building like the Thambhanwāro Masjid in the whole neighbourhood (Kāfir jo haṭ is about 20 miles away), one may presume perhaps that this building of dressed stone was the one that Ibn Baṭṭā mentions. There are no other remains there now, but it may have been that he saw traces of houses at Daryā Pir and then went on to Thambhanwāro, where he saw the "king's house." It may have been, too, that when Māri Morāri was built, the ground around the 'Masjid' was stripped, this building being left as a valuable landmark. The description of the figure suggests that it was a panel bearing a profile which he saw²¹; he could not otherwise have mentioned the detail of the mouth in the side of the head. The elongation of the head possibly refers to the custom of enlarging the lobe of the ear. Not only are there the *kānpḥātīs*, but in the

¹⁷ Unfortunately I did not visit Daryā Pir. There could have been no building there resembling Thambhanwāro Masjid; but the *chautandī* tombs are evidence of a medieval town.

¹⁸ I take this date from Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁹ Based upon DeFrémery and Sanguinetti's translation.

²⁰ The Sindhi word *khārro* is a geographical term meaning the large salt mud deserts of the delta, slimy and marked by half-dried foot-marks of wandering animals. The *rr* is a heavy rolled guttural sound, for which رر is a conventional sign. Cp. the word *khær* given by Raverty in his *Pushtu Dictionary* as meaning 'muddy' or 'foul.'

²¹ Panels are not uncommon, even in stone, though the profile is, in India.

complex story of Pīr Patho-Guru Gorakhnāth²² (of Pīr Arr, a few miles south of Tatta), the Pīr-Guru made Guru Dayānāth his disciple by cutting his ear and putting an ivory ornament in it. Placing a black thread turban on his head, he sent him back to Dinodār (Girnār) in Cutch. In the same story there is reference to his magical possessions,—a bullock which filled its own *pakhāl*, a beggar's bowl which collected offerings, a rag rope which would bind a man, and a cudgel which would beat him. The story of men being changed into stones rings very true. At Jung Shāh's tomb (near Jungshāhī station) people still point to a large thin vertical slab of stone as having been Jung Shāh's camel. Along the edge of the Kohistān generally, other upright slabs may be found marking prehistoric sites. In one group of these, near the "altar" in the Mol valley, still stands a small dolmen; other groups I have found in the foot-hills west of Kotri. Those in the Mol valley one could connect definitively with a primitive fire dance in honour of Veṭāl and with Buddhist customs ("if you go there at midday or after dark, the ghosts will throw lighted torches at you"). The tales reported by Ibn Baṭūta had been transmuted ere ever he came there, and what better form could a tale take than to point an Islamic moral: even Hsüan-tsang says the Sindhī loved a wondrous tale.

No such stones now remain at or near Thambhanwāro Masjid—but once more one may point to the large strange stone embedded in the north wall.

The building was clearly not reconstructed by Muhammadans. The *mīhrāb*, the recess in the west wall, is no part of the essential structure of the building. It is thus extremely probable that this was the building shown to Ibn Baṭūta as the "king's house," and that it was after he visited the place, after Mārī Moṛāfi was built, that the central dais was removed. Whether this 'cell' of dressed stone was then converted into a mosque by the fashioning of the *mīhrāb*, whether that had happened on some previous occasion, whether the whole was originally built as a temple or unorthodox Muslim place of prayer, is hard to determine now. It is significant that the Andhan jī Mārī, which is not oriented correctly, was never supplied with a *mīhrāb*.

In all probability, then, the building was originally a temple for a very restrained type of Hinduism (such as the worship of the river god). It certainly always looked like a temple (*deul*, i.e., *devālaya*), and assuming there was no village around it, it would, in so featureless a country as the delta of the Indus, be a notable landmark for miles around, worthy of preservation, even by Muslims, as an object of utility, and verily, as Ibn Baṭūta shows us, an object lesson.

²² The cult of Pīr Patho embodies Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic lore, and represents now part of the Multānī revival. In the *Tuhfatul-kirām* Pīr Patho is called Shaiḫ Patho *deok*. One story mentions his settlement at Pīr Arr in 547 A.H. (1152 A.D.) and another that he died in 608 A.H. (1209 A.D.). Yet he is also equated with a pre-Islamic Rāja Gopichand of Schwān, of whom a purely Buddhist story of a great renunciation is told.

Two miles east of Gharo is an isolated hill known as Pīr Patho's hill, and between Karachi and Son Mīānī is yet another 'place' of Pīr Patho-Rāja Gopichand. The geography of the cult indicates an interesting coastal ramification.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROFESSOR S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(Continued from page 34.)

Shampoo.—There is a good description of this process of “kneading and pressing the muscles” in Terry, but the Indian word is first used by Mundy.

[1632.] “The Barbers of this place [Etāwa] are much spoken of for their neatnesse in Shaveinge and artificiall *champing*. The latter is a kinde of Custome used all India over, att tyme of rest especiallye, which is to have their bodies handled as wee knead in England, but this is with gripeing their hands; and soe they will goe all over a mans body as hee lyes along, vizt. Armes, shoulders, back, thighes, leggs, feete and hands.”—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 86.

Shireenbāf.—This word occurs in Barnī's *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī* in the list of the prices of commodities as fixed by Sultān 'Alāu' d-dīn Khaljī. We are informed that the best, middling and inferior (بهین میانہ و کمینہ) varieties of *shirīnbāft* (شیرین بافت) were valued at five, three and two *tangas* [per piece].—Text, 310, ll. 8-9. In the corresponding passages of their own histories, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and Firishta, who have merely abridged Barnī, and frequently transcribed whole sentences, have altered the word to سری باف (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, text, 79, l. 11), and سری صاف (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, text, I, 113, l. 5). This probably indicates that the form *shirīnbāft* had become obsolete and its place taken by *sirībāf* or *sirīqāf*. And we find that سری صافی (*sirīqāf*) was the name by which the fabric is mentioned by Abul Fazl (*Āin*, trans. Blochmann, I, 94, 617; Jarrett, II, 223).

Fryer's 'Serribaff' must be this *sirīqāf*, which seems to have been synonymous with the *sirībāf* of Nizāmu'd-dīn. In the second quotation from Fryer, 'Siring chintz' is mentioned as if it were identical with that author's 'Serribaf,' but 'Siring' is more probably Abul Fazl's 'Sihrang,' 'three colours.'—(*Āin*, trans. I, 94.) 'Siring chintz' may have been chintz printed in three colours, or perhaps 'chintz used for the *sarong*, the body-cloth or long kilt, "which forms the chief article of dress of the Malays and Javanese" (*Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 796).

Shoegoose.—[c. 1595.] "His Majesty [Akbar] is very fond of using this plucky little animal [*scil.* the *siyāhgosh*] for hunting purposes. In former times it would attack a hare or a fox; but now it kills black deer."—*Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, I, 290. Blochmann says in a note that the Persian name is a translation of the Turkish *qara-qolag* ['black ear'] whence our *Felis caracal*.—*Ibid.*, note.

[1632.] Peter Mundy also mentions the animal as 'Shawgose.' (*Travels*, II, 307.) Sir Richard Temple says it is properly *shāhgawaz*, and is a common name in Bengal for the *sāmbar*, but he does not mention any authority for the statement.

Manucci writes:

[c. 1700.] "Also in the Mogul country, they hunt them [cranes, *kulīng*] in another way. There is a kind of animal like a large cat called *Xagor*—that is Royal Ear. Their colour is grey, and their ears larger than those of the cat, having at the tips some rather long hairs, black in colour."—*Storia do Mogor*, trans. Irvine, III, 90, and note, where Mr. Irvine identifies it with the 'Siyāh-gosh' and says it is 'an animal of the panther kind, a lynx.' See also *ibid.*, IV, 429.

Siam.—In a note on the quotation from Barbosa, Sir Henry says that "it is difficult to interpret the form 'Anseam' used by that writer, which is found also in C. Federici in the form Asion. Mr. Dames suggests that just as 'Ārākān' is formed by prefixing the Arabic particle *Al* to Rākhang (Al Rākhang, Ar-Rākhang, Ārākān), so 'Anseam' is السيم, Alsiām, Assiyām (Anscām).—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, 162, note.

Singara.—The earliest illustration from an English writer which Mr. Crooke could add in the second edition is of 1798, but the fruit had been named and described much earlier by Finch:—[1698-11.] "The herbe which beareth the hermodactyle is a weed abounding in most

tankes neare Agra . . . the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell of a hard woodie substance, having at each angle a sharpe picked pricking point and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit, being greene, is soft and tender, white, and of a mealish taste, much eaten in India, being exceeding cold in my judgement, for alwayes after it I desired aqua-vitae. It is called by the people *Singarra*."—*Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 150. De Laet has a similar account, but it is hardly worth quoting, as he has borrowed it from Finch.—(*De Imperio*, trans. Hoyland, p. 44.)

Siwalik.—The learned authors stoutly deny that this name is derived from *sawālakḥ*, 'one lakh and a quarter,' and say that this etymology is absolutely valueless. As they admit "that the special application of the term to the detached sub-Himalayan range is quite modern," the latter does not enter into the discussion, and the question is confined to the earliest and primary sense of the toponym, viz., the territory to the west of the Aravalli Hills and including Nāgor and Mandāwar. Now a reference to Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī's *History of Gujarāt* (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. i, 157) shows that this identical territory is called *Sapādālaksha* by the Jain chroniclers :—

"The Ajmer kings were '*Sapādālaksha*.' Why they were so called is not known. This much is certain that *Sapādālaksha* is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewalik. It would seem that the Chohāns whom the Gujarat Jain chroniclers call '*Sapādālakshiya*' must have come to Gujarat from the Sewālik hills." It is fairly well known to Indian archæologists that the names of many districts or territorial divisions in this country are associated with certain numbers, e.g., Salsette *Shāshasti*, 'sixty-six' (*Hobson-Jobson*, 786). *Tiswādi*, 'Thirty'—and others (*q.v.* Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, 403, 431). The rationale of the association has not been determined by scholars,⁷ but there can be no doubt about the fact, and *Sapādālaksha*—*Siwālik*—may be reasonably supposed to be an instance of this kind of nomenclature.

Sumpitan.—The earliest example quoted by Mr. Crooke is from Herbert [c. 1630], but there is a description of the thing, without the name, in the *Journal* of John Jourdain.

[1613.] "The Kinge is . . . very severe in justice towards his owne nation. Yf any offend and hath deserved death, he is brought before him, and with a truncke the Kinge will shute him with a little poysonned arrowe. If he will have him live halfe an houre . . . he will shute him in the arme or legge, butt if hee will have him dye presentlie he will shute him in the breast neere the harte, and then he falleth downe presentlie before him."—*Op.cit.*, ed. Foster, p. 295.

Surat.—"Surat is not a place," Sir Henry writes, "of any antiquity. There are some traces of the existence of the name ascribed to the fourteenth century, in passages of uncertain value in certain native writers." Yule's earliest quotation refers to 1510. Whatever the case may be as regards the fourteenth century, it seems fairly certain that Surat did exist and was a place of some note in the fifteenth. I beg permission to quote the following evidence, which I believe is mostly new. In his account of the reign of Sultān Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt, the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (circa 1611 A.C.) writes :

[c. 1410.] "Módūd, son of Fīrōz Khān went to Khambāiat. Then he was joined by Shékh Malik, entitled 'Masti' Khān, son of Sultān Muzaffar, who was Governor of Súrāt and Ránér. When the Sultān went against them, they left Khambāiat and went to Bharūj [Broach]. He pursued them thither and invested the place."—Bayley's translation, p. 89.

Again, Firishta has the following mention of the town in his history of the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Khālji I of Mālwa (1435-1469 A.C.).

[1452.] "It is worthy of remark that Sooltan Mahmood, never experienced a defeat before, or afterwards, during his reign, His son, Gheias-ood-Deen, with the right wing of the

⁷ For the most probable explanation of these numerical designations, see Prān Nāth, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, Roy. Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XX (1929), pp. 23-39. For *Sawālik*, see *ibid.*, p. 37.—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

army fled to Surat, where he plundered the country, and returned to Mando by the same route he came [that is, Nundoorbar, Talnere and Sindwa].—Briggs' *Ferishlah*, IV, 218; also Lucknow lith., II, 250, l. 12; see also *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, Lucknow lith., p. 555, l. 15.

[1478.] Besides these allusions, the town is explicitly mentioned in a letter addressed to the Pârsis of Gujarât by their Zoroastrian brethren in Persia in the Yazdajardi year 847=1478 A.D.—Hodivâlâ, *Studies in Pârsî History*, pp. 279-280.

Surwaun. [c. 1626.] "The *Sarwân* or camel driver, looks to his camel."—Pelsaert, trans. Moreland, p. 62.

[1631.] See also de Laet, *De Imperio*, trans. Hoyland, p. 90, who speaks of them as 'Serriwani.'

Suttee.—The strange story quoted by Yule from Hamilton (1727) is found in Manucci, who asserts that he witnessed the incident himself at Râjmahâl in Bengal in 1663. (*Storia de Mogor*, trans. Irvine, II, 96.) Bowrey states that he saw a woman drag a Brâhman into the flames in a place about six miles above Hûgli about 1676. (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 204.) The two cases are of course different as regards time and also place. Hamilton merely says that he had heard the story.

Sweet Potato.—May I say that *shakarkand* does not mean 'sugar-candy' as the authors say, but 'sweet tuber'? *Kand* here is not the Arabic كَنْد, but the Sanskrit *kanda*, (कंद), a bulbous or tuberous root. See Fallon's *Dictionary*, s.v. كَنْد as well as شکر کَنْد.

Syee.—The word appears to have been in general use in the secondary sense of 'groom,' as early at least as the days of Akbar, as it is used in the *Âin*, Book I, ch. 53. In his account of the officers and servants attached to the imperial stables, Abul Fazl writes:—

[1595.] "II. The *Sâis* or groom. There is one groom for every two horses." Blochmann's trans., I, 138. *Sâis* (سائیس) occurs also in Badâonî (text, II, 205), where Lowe has left out the word in his version (trans., II, 208, l. 4); but Blochmann has translated it correctly as 'grooms.' *Âin-i-Akbarî*, trans. (Note on the *Ṣadrs* of Akbar's Reign), I, 273; see also Elliot, *H. of I.*, V, 521. Richardson says سائیس means 'governor, controller a master of horse, an equerry, a groom, a public executioner.'—*Persian, Arabic and English Dictionary*, s.v.

Taj.—Mr. Crooke suggests that Tavernier's *Tasimacan*, which the latter describes as "a great Bazar or Market place comprised of six great courts, all encompass'd with porticos," must be a corruption of *Tâj-i-maqâm*, 'Place of the Taj.' I venture to suggest that the correct restoration is *Tâj-ganj*; witness Mundy:—

[1632.] "Hee [*scil.* Shâh Jahân] intends, as some thinck, to remove all the Cittie hither, cawseinge hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospect of it, places appoynted for streets, shopps, etts. dwellings, commaunding Marchants, shopkeepers, Artificers to Inhabit [it] where they begin to repaire and called by her name *Tage Gunge*."—*Travels*, ed. Temple, II, 213-14.

[1648.] The word occurs also in *English Factories in India* (1646-50), p. 220, as 'Tadgundy,' where Sir William Foster points out that "from O. C. 2248 and references in O. C. 2071 to the 'Agra Tadgund or Basar' it would appear that this word represents the still existing *Tâjganj*, the village which sprang up around the *Tâj Mahâl*."—*Ibid.*, note.

Tangun.—The earliest quotation from an English author is of 1774, but this vernacular name of the 'Tibetan pony' occurs in Mundy's *Travels*:—

[1632.] "From beyond this place [Patna] to the Eastward are hither brought certain small horses called Goonts or *Tanguns*, which are of the same repute heere in India as our Cornish Naggs are with us in England, . . . full of metall, hard bredd, and of great endurance."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II, 136.

Talipot.—The tree as well as the custom of using its leaves "for writing upon instead of paper" is mentioned by Albirûnî.

[c. 1030.] "The Hindus have in the south of their country a slender tree like the date and cocoa-nut palms, bearing edible fruits and leaves of the length of one yard, and as broad as three fingers, one put beside the other. They call these leaves *târî* . . . and write on them. They bind a book of these together by a cord on which they are arranged, the cord going through all the leaves by a hole in the middle of each."—Albirûnî's *India*, trans. Sachau, I, 171.

Tashreef.—The following is an earlier use of the term than any quoted by Yule:—

[1633.] "Those Portinggalls whilome expelled Hugly hath found greate favour with Shawgahan, and reentered the place to the number of 20 persones; hows cavidall [capital] for their commencing a new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed on, which with large priveleges and *tashareefes* with honer the king hath bestowed on them."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-33), p. 308.

Thug.—In his edition of Tavernier, Ball proposed to identify that author's *Pauzeconr* with 'Pariah' or 'Phâusigar.' Mr. Crooke rightly says that this is inadmissible, and himself suggests that it stands for "Panchagauda, the five classes of Northern Brâhmans." But this ignores what Tavernier says about them. He declares that "they do not belong to either of the four castes ['Brahmins, Ketris, Banians and Soudra'—whom he names], that they all occupy themselves with mechanical arts, and do not differ from one another except by the different trades which they follow from father to son."—(Ball, II, 185.) The Panchagauda Brâhmans certainly do not follow mechanical trades, and none of them follows the tailor's calling, which Tavernier gives as an instance. I venture to suggest that the jeweller wrote or meant to write either 'Paunzelour' or 'Paunzecoul,' that is 'Panchalar' or 'Panchakula.' The 'Panchalars' are "the chief of the left hand castes in Southern India, the five classes, workers in metal, stone, etc." (See *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 172.)

Panchkula or **Panchkalshi** is the general designation of the similar class of people in the Bombay Presidency. They are also called *Varnasankar* or *Sankarjâtî*, i.e., the mixed castes. In other words, they do not properly belong to any of the four castes, and are said to owe their existence to unions between males and females of different castes.

Tope-Khana.—The following early use of the word may be noticed:—

[1668.] "Some time in October or November a letter was received from Robert Smith dated from the *Topconno* in Dehli."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1668-69), p. 36.

Toshaconna.—To the illustrative quotations in the first edition, Mr. Crooke has added in the second, a passage from Roe's Journal in which 'Atashokannoe' is mentioned (II, 300). The same word is used by the ambassador again at p. 363, but it has nothing to do with 'Toshakhâna.' It stands for *yâtish-khâna*, 'guard room.' The latter word occurs more than once in the *Journal* of William Finch, who describes it as the place where the Emperor's "Captaines according to their degrees keep their seventh day chockees."—*Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 184. See also *ibid.*, pp. 162, 164; and Monserrate, trans. Hoyland, p. 206.

Tuckavee.—This familiar word is as old at least as the days of Akbar and is found in several Persian writers of that period. Firishta writes in his account of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.):—

[c. 1610.] "He . . . took some pains to encourage husbandry and commerce and for this purpose (?) gave large sums to the inhabitants from the treasury. But as the people were distressed for food they expended the money on the necessities of life."—Trans. Briggs, I, 425. Here the word in the original is *نقاروی* (Lucknow lith., I, 137, l. 10 from foot). See also *ibid.*, I, 140, l. 15 (corresponding to Briggs, I, 433).

The author of the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, who wrote about 1590 A.D., employs the identical word in the same connection (Lucknow lithograph, p. 103, l. 3 from foot; p. 107, l. 13).

Upper Rojer.—As Sir Richard Temple has pointed out, the Pâli word is *upa-râja* (Bowrey, p. 259, note), and this is much nearer to the *Hobson-Jobson* form than the Sanskrit

yuva-rāja. Sir Henry Elliot gives some other "happy examples of the *Hobson-Jobson* dialect," which I may be permitted to quote as they are not in Yule.

"We have heard our European soldiery," he writes, "convert Shekhawati into 'Sherry and water'; Sirāju-d-daula into a belied knight, 'Sir Roger Dowler,' Dalip into 'Tulip': Shah Shujā'u-l-Mulk into 'Cha sugar and milk,' and other similar absurdities."—*History of India*, I, 516.

Whether "happy" or not, they are certainly curious.

Vaishnava.—There is a very early mention of this sect by name in 'Al Shahrastānī's *Kitābu'l-Milāl wa'l-Nihāl*.' Of the *الباسنويي* (*Al-Bāsnawīya*) he says: "They believe their apostle to be a spiritual angel who came down to earth in the form of a man. . . . He ordered them to make an idol resembling him, to approach, to adore it, and to walk round it every day thrice, with musical instruments, fumigation, song and dance. He ordered them to magnify cows, and to worship them whenever they perceived any, and to take refuge in penitence by stroking them."—Rehatsch's Translation in *Journal, BBRAS.*, vol. XIV, No. XXXVI, p. 61.

Yaboo.—Yule's first quotation from an English author is of 1754. The following is a much earlier example:—

[1669.] "All such [horses] as procurable of any worth were taken and seized on by the Kings generall. . . . Yabboule which formerly were in noe esteeme, are now growne to extraordinary prizes."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1668-9), p. 210.

Yak.—Ralph Fitch is perhaps the earliest English author who writes of this animal, though he does not give the name.

[c. 1585.] "They [the people of Bhutān] cut the tailed of their kine and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those parts. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is above a spanne long; they use them to hang them for braverie upon the heades of their elephants; they bee much used in Pegu and China."—*Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 27.

Zantel.—This word is not in *Hobson-Jobson*, but it is used by Pelsaert, de Laet and Herbert. The first of these authors writes:—

[1626.] "The *tsantel* or messenger, a plume on his head and two bells at his belt, runs at a steady pace, ringing the bells; they carry their masters' letters a long distance in a short time, covering from 25 to 30 kos in a day."—*Jahāngīr's India*, p. 62.

[1631.] "The *Zanteles* or runners (who wear feathers on their heads and carry two cymbals hung from their belts, which they clash as they go) can cover 25 or 30 cos in one day."—De Laet *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, trans. Hoyland, p. 90.

Mr. W. H. Moreland is not sure whether it represents *chandāl* or *Santāl*. Neither Pelsaert nor de Laet could have known anything about the aborigines called Sontāls, and there is nothing to show that they were generally employed as messengers in the part of the country with which these authors were familiar. But the following passages from Abul Fazl seem to show that the word stands for 'chandāls.'

[1592.] "On 4 Bahman [1000 H=1592] *Khidmat Rai* died of dysentery. He belonged to a tribe which was unequalled in India for wickedness. They are also called *Mawi* [*recte* Meo?] and *chandāl*. His Majesty favoured him and made him chief of his tribe, and guided him towards honesty. . . . As he had the title of *Khidmat Rai*, every one of the tribe is called *Khidmatiyā*."—*Akbarnāma*, trans. Beveridge, III, 922.

It would appear from the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, that these *Khidmatiyā* belonged to the same class as, if they were not absolutely identical with, the 'Mewras.' The latter are described as "natives of Mewāt, who are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies. . . . Their wages are the same as the preceding [*scil.* *Khidmatiyās*]."—*Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, I, 252.

It would seem that 'Khidmatiyās,' 'Mawis' (i.e., Meos), Mewras, and 'Chandāls' were practically identical.

SIR AUREL STEIN IN GEDROSIA.

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.

IN the course of the 25 months from March 1926 to April 1928 Sir Aurel Stein accomplished a series of three remarkable tours of archaeological exploration on the north-western frontiers of India, tours which for masterly conception, for rapidity, yet thoroughness, of execution, and for variety and value of results stand unequalled, we believe, in the history of Indian archaeological exploration. The fruits of the first two tours in (1) Upper Swāt and Adjacent Tracts (March-May 1926) and (2) Wazīristān and Northern Balūchistān (Jan.-April 1927) have already been noticed in this journal. In the third,¹ with which we deal here, Sir Aurel covered a vast extent of country, stretching from Mastung near Quetta to the extreme south-western corner of Makrān close to the Persian border, and from the Rāskōh range in northern Makrān to the Arabian Sea, examining all areas likely to contain remains of antiquarian interest in the now arid provinces of Khārān, Sarāwān, Jhalawān and Makrān. In the course of his rapid journeys, facilitated by the use of motor lorries and camels, he succeeded in examining upwards of 150 sites, and was able to make halts of some days at the most important of these and to conduct trial excavations where the proximity of a settled population provided sufficient labour for the purpose.

The wealth of material collected at scores of sites is so vast and the questions of archaeological, historical and geographical interest involved so numerous that space will not permit of more than a brief survey of the main features of the results attained. Evidence of extensive settlements dating in many cases from early prehistoric times, and in some cases of prolonged duration, was found at a large number of sites in different parts of the areas explored. These were most numerous in the Mashkai, Kolwa, Kêj, Dasht and Nihing valleys, and in Rakhshān and Parôm. As might have been expected, the most ancient sites have been traced along and adjoining the valleys of the main rivers, where, we are forced to conclude, the supply of water for man and beast and for purposes of irrigation must have been more abundant at the time when they were occupied than has been the case since the earliest historic times. Of sites of special interest may be mentioned Suktagên-dôr, about 35 miles NW. of Gwādar, in the Dasht valley; Shâhî-tump some four miles from Turbat in what is known as the Kêj valley; Kulî-damb, near Āwarān in the west central basin of the Hingol river; Siâh-damb, near Jhau in the east central basin of the Hingol; and Mehî-damb, near Jebri in the upper basin of the same river, some 40 miles SW. from Nāl, where careful excavations, with the results of which readers of the *Indian Antiquary* are familiar, were carried out by Mr. H. Hargreaves in 1925.²

At Suktagên-dôr abundant finds of pottery, objects in stone and shell and cinerary deposits indicated a culture closely related to those of chalcolithic sites in Sīstān and in the Zhob and Loralai valleys in N. Balūchistān, but pointing perhaps to an earlier stage, as the profusion of stone implements found both above and below ground would indicate. The occupation of this site was evidently prolonged and confined to chalcolithic times. It is specially interesting to notice the evidence here of funeral customs similar to, but probably older than, those traced in the Zhob valley.

At Shâhî-tump the indications were so hopeful to his practised eye as to induce Sir Aurel to make a comparatively long halt (of eleven days), and the considerable excavations, which he was able to carry out owing to labour being available from some villages in the neighbourhood, more than justified his anticipations, as a wealth of pottery, stone implements and other objects, including human remains, was recovered. Here were found no less than 85 terracotta figurines of humped bulls, the similarity of which with the *vāhana* of Śiva was sufficiently

¹ A. S. I. Memoir No. 43 : *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1931.

² A. S. I. Memoir No. 35 : *Excavations in Balūchistān*, etc. (1925), by H. Hargreaves. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1929.

striking as to suggest to Sir Aurel the question whether we may not have to recognize "the influence of an ancient cult established already in pre-Aryan India": but, as he cautiously adds, this is a question to which only further discoveries and researches may in time permit of an answer. The burial remains and funerary deposits found at this site are of exceptional interest, a striking peculiarity of the funerary ware being the restricted range of shapes and motifs as compared with the ordinary painted pottery of this and other sites in Makrân of approximately the same age. An exact parallel to this contrast seems to be furnished by the painted pottery found in the earliest zone at Susa.

At Kulli-damb trial excavations were carried out for about a week, resulting in a variety of important finds, including an abundance of painted pottery of superior quality, terracotta figurines of humped bulls (66) and of a female (5) described by Sir Aurel, for reasons referred to below, as the 'goddess,' funerary remains and stone-built structures. The pottery and figurines and other objects disclosed similarity with finds in the early strata at Shâhi-tump and at sites in the Zhob and Loralai valleys and in Sistân. Sir Aurel considers that this site, the largest known to him in Makrân, would on extensive and systematic excavation be likely to yield further valuable results. At Siâh-damb, near Jhau, the limited exploration possible sufficed to attest prolonged early prehistoric occupation and cultures of the types noted at Kulli.

Some five days were spent in trial excavations at Mehî-damb, which proved to be another early prehistoric site, yielding a mass of early painted pottery of various types resembling those found at many other prehistoric sites in Makrân as well as in Zhob and Loralai, besides burial deposits, cinerary urns, numerous terracotta figurines, copper objects and remains of structures built of unhewn stone. Evidence was here found of simple burial after cremation as well as of the deposit of remains in cinerary urns. Specially remarkable perhaps was the abundance of terracotta figurines recovered, comprising 199 specimens of the humped bull, exclusive of fragments, and 92 of the 'goddess.' The large number of humped bulls obtained at this one site and the uniformity of the type found throughout all chalcolithic sites of Makrân and Jhalawân makes it "difficult," Sir Aurel writes, "not to believe that this animal was like its Indian counterpart, the 'Brahmani bull,' an object of popular reverence, if not of actual worship. If this assumption is right the temptation is obviously great to seek some connexion between that prehistoric worship of the population which occupied the extreme western marches of India before the 'Aryan' invasion of Vedic times, and the great role played by Śiva's bull in Indian cult from a very early historical age. There is scarcely any indication of such a cult to be found in the oldest Vedic literature. This might lead us to infer that it was an inheritance from much earlier times to which the autochthonous population of northern India with its deeply rooted archaic bent has clung notwithstanding the great transformation brought about in its civilization, racial constitution and language by the triumphant invasion of its northern conquerors. But the subject touched upon is too wide and at present too speculative to be pursued here further in what is meant for a plain record of antiquarian facts." Equally interesting is the problem raised by the female figures found in such quantities at Mehî and other sites. Sir Aurel draws attention to the fact that all these figurines, wherever the lower portions survive, invariably end below the waist in a flat base, showing that they were meant to be set up, presumably on some stand or platform. Variety is introduced mainly in the treatment of the hair dress and of the ornaments, often of a particularly ornate character, around the neck and breast. No indications of dress are attempted. Similar figurines found in the Zhob valley led Sir Aurel to the surmise that they perhaps represented a female goddess of fertility, the 'mother goddess,' whose worship is so frequently to be found in widely distant parts of Asia and Europe in historical times. He points to the connexion which in early mythological belief often appears between that 'mother goddess' and the goddess of the earth, and

also to the fact that all these figurines show the body only to below the waist as possibly affording further clues. "It is certainly curious," he concludes, "that we meet with a corresponding representation of the Earth goddess emerging from the ground with the upper portion of the body also in Buddhist and Hellenistic iconography."

From the geographical and historical points of view great interest attaches to the observations which Sir Aurel records from time to time on the evidence of a large and thoroughly settled population having dwelt in prehistoric times in so many of the tracts surveyed by him in the course of this tour, where at the present day an extremely sparse and mostly nomadic population pass a precarious existence. The arid, barren conditions of Khârân, with its almost entire absence of permanent villages, leads him to conclude that it could probably never have served as "a passage land for trade." The conditions in Makrân are not much better; and Sir Aurel draws a striking contrast between the abundance of prehistoric sites in the Kolwa and Kêj valleys and the massively built stone structures traceable at certain sites, indicating extensive and prolonged settled occupation, and the few inhabitants of today and the wretched huts of palm-matting that house practically the whole of even the settled population. The subject was forcibly impressed upon his attention at an early stage of his tour when examining some large prehistoric mounds at Zayak and Taghazidamb in the Besêma valley about the head-streams of the Garuk river, some 90 miles SW. by S. of Kalât. Here the specimens of ancient pottery found strewn upon the mounds showed features of special interest, and Sir Aurel would have welcomed the possibility of excavation; but the total absence of a settled population within a radius of 30 miles precluded this. It was clearly impossible to suppose that this tract could in prehistoric times have supported the number of settlements indicated by the extant mounds had the climatic conditions been as unfavourable then as they are now.

In regard to all this unmistakable testimony to change of physical conditions the two questions that will probably first strike the reader are (1) what causes have operated to bring it about? and (2) at what period approximately did it occur? Dealing with corresponding signs of change in northern Balûchistân and Waziristân, Sir Aurel has recorded elsewhere³ that he had failed to observe definite evidence of 'desiccation.' In the absence of any record or other proof it would be hazardous to pronounce the evidence as definite; yet it seems convincing to reason that something has happened to render conditions of life more difficult, whether this be due to diminution of rainfall and subsoil moisture, or to neglect to maintain an ancient system of storage and regulation of water-supply for purposes of irrigation and human consumption, or to both these causes. In this connexion the affiliated question of the deforestation of the hill-sides should also be considered. Whatever the theoretical findings may be in respect of the effect of tree and vegetable growth upon soil moisture, experience shows that such growth does have the effect of checking desiccation. Can it be that these rugged hills have gradually become shorn of a growth that once covered them, and that this has acted as at least a contributory cause of the change? As to when the change began to have the effect of depopulating the country, the period must have been remote. We learn from the accounts that have come down to us of the hardship endured by Alexander the Great and his army in their passage along southern Makrân. That these accounts are not wholly fictitious we can rest satisfied from various items of description which are confirmed by existing facts. Even allowing for exaggeration with a view to magnification of Alexander's achievements—and we are rather inclined to suspect this, having

³ A. S. I. *Memoir No. 37: An Archaeological Tour in Waziristân and Northern Balûchistân*, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1929.

regard to other evidence—we may safely conclude that conditions have not completely altered since the fourth century B.C., and that Gedrosia was even then a “worthless and sandy” country (πovήρος καὶ ψαμμώδης, Arrian). We are disposed to regard the massive, stone-built *gabbar-bands*, or embankments, noticed by Sir Aurel in so many areas, as having a bearing upon the question. It seems possible that the construction, involving immense labour, of such huge dams or training-works for the conservation or control of water for purposes of irrigation was originally prompted by a diminution in the supply brought about by a change in climatic conditions. In any case a marked change appears likely to have taken place in later prehistoric times, as we notice that certain sites which disclose prolonged, settled, prehistoric occupation were abandoned before historic times.

As will be readily understood, Sir Aurel in planning this tour had kept in view the possibility of finding in the intervening country further links between the remains of the “Indus culture” found at Harappâ and Mohenjo-daro and the cultures revealed from prehistoric sites in Sistân, Îrân and the Tigris-Euphrates basin. That such links have indeed been traced by him will be obvious to all who study the records of these last two tours; but their exact historical, cultural and chronological interrelations still remain in large measure to be worked out. We must await, on the one hand, the complete stratigraphical exploration of certain sites, which he had neither the time nor the means to carry out, and, on the other hand, the detailed expert examination and correlation of the mass of ceramic and other material which he has recovered. It is to be hoped that necessary measures are being taken to have this critical examination made.

It is of far-reaching interest to note the evidence which Sir Aurel Stein has now unveiled of what may perhaps be regarded as two main series of routes of communication between Îrân and (shall we say?) Sumer and north-western India, the one, more northerly, through N. Balûchistân and Waziristân, and the other, to the south, along the valleys of Makrân and through the hills of Jhalawân, to the fertile plains of the Indus basin. The observations in connexion with the latter routes and with the significance of the persistence of a Brâhûî population, speaking a Dravidian language, in Jhalawân and Sarâwân contained in Chapter I call for study and further development.

BOOK-NOTICES.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION, being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, vol. II, No. 1, March 1931. Aryabhushan Press, Poona.

This interesting periodical, which contains, among other articles, a summary of the latest physical concept of matter, is specially noticeable for an original and well-reasoned discussion of ‘Totemism and the Maratha Devak’ by J. Abbott, I.C.S., with which the number commences. Mr. Abbott has collected from many thousand cases personally examined a list of *devaks* which advances our present knowledge materially. By far the greater number are the names of trees and plants. Among some 30 odd entries which he classes as not identifiable, we note the *singavul*, which is the *Gouania microcarpa*, the *virchatra*, which is the royal umbrella, a well known protector against the possible

evil influence of the sun’s rays (*vide* Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*), and the *vadvagni*. The latter, according to Molesworth, is a mythical animal of flame, found in the sea. Another occasion must be found to deal adequately with Mr. Abbott’s interesting theory that the *devak* is not a totem, but merely a vehicle for invoking the presence of the *âkti*. It would seem that the conclusions put forward fail to give sufficient weight to the evidence already on record regarding totem divisions among the Gonds, Mundâs and other early tribes in other parts of India, where there is far less trace of the super-imposed Brahmanistic culture, which, in the cases dealt with in his article, has obviously obscured the original nature of the practices dealt with. To read into the rapidly decaying survivals of a once consistent

primitive system of exogamy the conclusions suggested by the super-imposed Hindu practices which, as Crooke so well establishes, have overlaid so many original superstitions, is to travel far from the truth. Briefly, Mr. Abbott's method, interesting as it is, suggests the work of an archaeologist who would attempt to describe the buildings in ancient Rome on the results of a study of the recently erected Vittorio Emanuele monument. All the same, we are indebted to him for the useful additions which his researches have made to a most important ethnological problem, and one that lies at the root of the question of caste and tribal origins in India.

R. E. E.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, vol. XVI, Pts. III and IV, September-December, 1930.

The leading article in this issue of the JBORS. is a long and important paper on 'Problems of Śaka-Śātavāhana History' by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in which he discusses a large number of controversial questions with characteristic acumen and wealth of reference. Mr. Jayaswal would place the initial year of the 'earlier Śaka era,' as he prefers to call it, at about 123 B.C. He does not accept the view that the 'historical Śaka era' (78 A.D.) was established by Wima Kadphises, pointing out that we have records dated 187 and 191 of the time of Wima, which is sufficient to prove that he did not establish an era of his own. He holds that the date on the Amohini tablet of the reign of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa is 42, and not 72, and would equate it with about 81 B.C.

Mr. Jayaswal expresses the conviction that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi was the Vikramāditya of Hindu story and of the Jaina *gāthās*, and that it was he who conquered Nahapāna and freed the whole of Mālava and Avanti from the Śakas. He thinks it probable that the Mālavas took a leading part in the campaign, and that it was they who founded the V.S. era, "as marking the foundation of their Rājputānā *gaṇa*-state, which synchronized with the defeat of the Śakas and was evidently connected with it." He elaborates his previous conclusion that the Kushāna dynasty were Śakas, and emphasizes the point that contemporary, formal documents disclose Kushāna as the personal name of the father and predecessor of Wima. The term Kushāna, he further points out, is not employed in the Purāṇas, which may be regarded as supporting his view that it was not the tribal or family name, but "a personal name adopted by the founder of the dynasty."

The question of Śātavāhana chronology is dealt with at much length with an abundance of references from the Purāṇas, Jaina and other texts, inscriptions and coins, resulting in the framing of a complete list of 29 kings from Simuka Śātavāhana (225—188 B.C.) down to Pulomāvi III (231—238 A.D.) giving the probable duration of each reign. This is a valuable piece of work in itself, and will serve as an important aid to the unravelment of a tangled period of history. Mr. Jayaswal is to be commended for the attention paid to the examination of the Jaina texts, which so often furnish reliable historical data. Fresh light has thus been thrown on Nahapāna and on the Śaka dynasty in Saurāstra (Apps. A and B).

The Vikramāditya of Guṇādhyā and Somadeva's story is identified with Kuntala Śātakarṇi (75-78 A.D.), son and successor of Mahendra Śātakarṇi (72-75 A.D.), who is regarded as the Śātavāhana of 78 A.D. who defeated the Śakas: it is suggested that this explains for the first time the puzzling Hindu tradition that as in 58 B.C. Vikramāditya won a signal victory over the Śakas, marking an era, so in 78 A.D. king Śālavāhana, a grandson of his, gained a victory over them once more, another era being reckoned from that event. "On the other hand," Mr. Jayaswal adds, "we have the definite statement of the Jaina tradition and historical evidence in its favour that the Śaka Era was started by a Śaka king. Both traditions are true. [The] year 78 A.D. was the beginning of the Śaka Era and was also the year of the second Śaka defeat in Western India at the hands of the Śālavāhana, who was in fact a descendant of the first victor of the Śakas, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi."

Some interesting suggestions are made towards the identification of the dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas as contemporary with the Andhras, the numbers of their kings and their reign periods. Finally Mr. Jayaswal expresses the conviction that the Purāṇas contain information sufficient to furnish a complete account of local sovereignties between the Andhras and the Guptas, but no one has set his hand to clear up this so-called 'dark period.' We can only hope that Mr. Jayaswal, who is so eminently fitted for it, will be able to find time to undertake the task himself.

While several of Mr. Jayaswal's findings are necessarily open to modification in the event of further evidence becoming available, we commend the courage with which he has tackled many thorny points, the extent of his research and the ability in piecing together disjected data shown in this paper.

C. E. A. W. O.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from vol. XLII, p. 258.)

XXI. The Years called Kṛita, or the Origin of the Vikrama Era.

Epigraphists are aware that the Sāṃvat years associated with the traditional Vikramāditya were originally known as Kṛita years. It is therefore rather strange that in spite of the epigraphic evidence to the contrary some scholars¹ have maintained that there was a king called Vikramāditya flourishing about 57 B.C., who founded the era. As a matter of fact, almost all the Sāṃvat years before the fifth century A.D. have been styled Kṛita years, and there is not even the remotest hint in any one of the early inscriptions that they were in any way connected with a king called Vikramāditya. But here we have to consider the question: what is meant by Kṛita years or *kṛitāḥ vatsarāḥ*? The earliest inscription in which a year of this era has been referred to has been found at Nandāsā, Udaipur State, Rājputānā. The date expressed in this record is: *Kṛitayor=ddvayor=śatayor=ddvyaśītayaj* (tau) 200 80 2 *Chaitre*.² The point worthy of note is that the word Kṛita stands exactly in apposition with *varsha*, *vatsara*, or any such synonymous word following it in all the inscriptions where Kṛita is mentioned.³ What does the word Kṛita, therefore, mean in such phrases? I suggested long ago that it possibly meant 'made' and referred to the years of an era invented by astronomers.⁴ There was, however, no evidence to support it, and there was nothing in this suggestion which could inherently command acceptance. I now put forward another suggestion for what it is worth, as no scholar has yet come forward to explain satisfactorily what Kṛita means.

Enough attention has not been drawn to the importance of 'the Brahmin Empire' established by the Śuṅgas sometime before the Christian era. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first to bring this subject to our notice in two papers on 'the Brahmin Empire'.⁵ In the second of these he has quoted a passage from the *Harivaṃśa* attached to the *Mahābhārata* where Pushyamitra and his revival of Brahmanism have been clearly hinted at. Soon after reading this paper I happened to light upon Chapters 190-1 of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which describe the Kaliyuga and its atrocities. We are told that during the Kali Age the Śūdras will be the preachers and the Brāhmaṇs the hearers, that the earth will be adorned, not by shrines of gods, but by Buddhist *stūpas* (*edūka*) and that India itself would be overrun by the Mlechchha hordes. This has been described as the character of the Kaliyuga, but Kaliyuga will gradually, we are told, develop into a *sandhi* period before the Kṛitayuga is ushered in. In regard to the Kṛitayuga, we are told, that "when the Sun, the Moon, and Bṛhaspati, will, with the constellation of Pushya, enter the same (zodiacal) sign, the Kṛita Age will begin again." We are further informed that a Brāhmaṇ named Vishnuyāsas will be born as Kalkī in the town of Sambhala in a Brāhmaṇ family and that he will be not only a supreme ruler (*chakravartin*) but also a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). He will exterminate the Daśyus, perform a great Horse Sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇs, establish the worship of *triśūlas*, *śaktis* and deer-skins, and will usher in the Kṛita Age (Chap. 191, vs. 1-9). I am afraid this description suits Pushyamitra excellently, as he was a Brāhmaṇ, a supreme ruler, a righteous conqueror, and celebrated a horse sacrifice and re-established the Brāhmaṇic religion. Nay, the account of the Kaliyuga preceding the advent of Kalkī lays stress on the predominance of Buddhism and the Śūdras becoming the preachers, exactly as is done by the *Harivaṃśa*, according to which this state of things

¹ Such as C. V. Vaidya in *Ind. Rev.*, Dec. 1909; Haraprasad Sastri, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 32; and K. M. Shembavnekar, *Jour. Ind. His.*, Vol. X, p. 143 ff.

² D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1 (Appendix, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff.).

³ These have been culled together by me in *R. G. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, p. 191 ff.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 163.

⁵ *JBORS.*, 1918, p. 257 ff.; 1928, p. 24.

was ended by Senāni *dvija*, who, as shown by Mr. Jayaswal, cannot but be Pushyamitra. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the case of the *Mahābhārata* also, Pushyamitra is intended by the description of Kalki. The only difficulty that may be raised is that Kalki is spoken of as a personage to come. But Mr. Jayaswal has already told us that the Purāṇas "clearly say that he did flourish."⁶ Thus the *Matsya-purāṇa* says that the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatāra*) and that Kalki, Viṣṇuśaśa, the leader of the Parāśaras, will be the tenth incarnation at the close of Kaliyuga. Then follows a description of his conquests, but at the end we are told that "Time having passed that king (or god, *deva*) disappeared." This clearly shows that according to some authorities the Kalki Incarnation of Viṣṇu has come and gone. This means that the Kali Age also has passed away, giving rise to the Kṛita which is therefore now going on. If this line of reasoning has any weight, Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Kṛita Epoch which began with 57 B.C.

I am aware that Pushyamitra has been assigned to circa 180 B.C. on the strength of the dynastic lists and regnal periods specified by the Purāṇas. The testimony of the Purāṇas may perhaps be utilised when there is nothing of an irrefragable character to contradict it. Unfortunately the recent discovery of a Śuṅga inscription in Ayodhyā runs counter to the above date of Pushyamitra. It refers to the reign of Dhanadeva, son of Phalgudeva and Kauśikī, who was Lord of Kosala. But the most important point about it is that Dhanadeva says that he was sixth in descent from "Senāpati Pushyamitra, who twice performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice." Now, Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly says in regard to this epigraph that the alphabet is "almost the same as in the records of the Northern Kshatrapas (first century A.D.)"⁷ Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, who edited this inscription last, also remarks that it "on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the first century A.D."⁸ In fact, if any scholar frees his mind from any bias created by the date already assigned to Pushyamitra on the strength of the Purāṇas and considers impartially the palaeography of the Ayodhyā inscription, he cannot but come to the same conclusion, viz., that the record belongs to the first century A.D. We have seen that Dhanadeva was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and if we assign 25 years to a generation, an interval of 150 years must have separated the two. Further, supposing Dhanadeva lived about 75 A.D., Pushyamitra has to be placed circa 75 B.C. It is possible that he first seized power about that time, but he must have been engaged in internecine warfare for a pretty long period before he could put down the Mlechchha rulers and establish himself as an indisputable paramount sovereign. That he was engaged in warfare for a long period is shown by the fact that he celebrated the horse-sacrifice not once but twice. The first horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated after he first established his power. But it seems that it was soon after called in question by a number of enemies who had arisen. These were, however, put down, and he re-established his supremacy, which was signalised by the second performance of the horse-sacrifice. Although he thus first came to power in 75 B.C., it was not till 57 B.C. that he became an undisputed supreme ruler and a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). So the Kṛitayuga must have been ushered in by him when his power was established for the second time and placed on a firm footing.

Now only one difficulty remains in regard to our theory that the so-called Vikrama Samvats are years of the Kṛita era. It may reasonably be asked how Kṛita in such a case stands in apposition to *varsha*. We would rather have *Kṛita-vaśarāḥ* or *Kārttāḥ vaśarāḥ*, but not *Kṛitāḥ vaśarāḥ*. Fortunately for us we have a parallel for such terminology in the Śaka era. It is well-known that the years of this era have once been called *Śaka-nripati-rājyā-bhishaka-samvatsara*,⁹ but that they are generally called Śaka-samvat. It is however worthy of note that there are some inscriptions, where Śaka stands exactly in apposition to Samvat-sara as Kṛita does. Thus a grant of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty has the

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, pp. 145-6.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

⁷ *An. Bhand. Ins.*, Vol. VII, p. 180.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 211.

following: *Śrī-Śake trayodaś-ādhika-triśat-ottara-sahasra-gate*.¹⁰ If any inscription from Northern India is required in support of this proposition, it is supplied by the Śomavarmśī king Karmarāja of Kakairā, bearing the date *Chaturdaś-ottare s=eyam=ekādase(śa-)śate Śake*.¹¹ In both these cases Śaka has been used in the sense of "the years of the Śaka era." It thus seems that the years of the Kṛitayuga in course of time similarly came to be known as merely Kṛita. In fact, Kṛita was considered to be the actual designation of these years. This is clearly shown by the phrase *Kṛita-samjñite* which occurs in a Mandasor record.¹² From this it is evident that Kṛita denoted not only an epoch, but also the years of that epoch. There is therefore no reasonable ground against the supposition that the Vikrama years were originally the years of the Kṛitayuga and that this epoch was ushered in most probably by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

NOTE ON A FIND OF ANCIENT JEWELLERY IN YĀSĪN.

By SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

IN November, 1930, Mr. J. H. Todd, then Political Agent in Gilgit, was good enough to bring to my notice an interesting find of ancient trinkets and other small objects which had been made on the once cultivated stretch of ground known as Dasht-i-Taus in the Hindukush valley of Yāsīn belonging to the Gilgit Agency. As I was then travelling in Chinese Turkestan no inspection of the objects was possible for me at the time. But when, on my return to Kashmir in June, 1931, I passed through Gilgit, Mr. Todd very kindly handed me the collection of objects for examination, with a view to a record of the find being published. In compliance with this request the present brief report has been prepared.

No detailed information is available as to the exact circumstances of the find. But according to the statement supplied by the Khushwaqt Governor of Yāsīn to Mr. Todd, it was made by villagers of Yāsīn while digging up a small mound on the Dasht-i-Taus. This locality, which is known by tradition as having been once irrigated, was visited by me in 1913 in the course of my third Central-Asian expedition. Its old remains as far as traceable above ground have been described in *Innermost Asia*, i. pp. 43, 44. The area of old cultivation occupies a plateau on the right bank of the Yāsīn river and extends from about two and a half miles above the village of Yāsīn for a distance of three miles up the valley.

On it is found a large ruined circumvallation, built with rough stonework, which is vaguely ascribed to some Chinese invasion 'in the old times.' No information is available as to where the digging took place nor whether the objects sent by the Governor were all excavated in one place. But there is some reason to suspect that the villagers' digging was not confined to a single spot and that the articles sent are only specimens of the 'proceeds' which attended this "irresponsible excavation." The fact that most of them are of gold suggests that there was encouragement for extending it before further disturbance of the ground was stopped under instructions from the Political Agent.

Comparison of the objects with those which I cleared in 1913 from burial deposits near Dudukôt in Darêl, the tract due south of Yāsīn on the other side of the range separating the Gilgit river valley from the Indus,¹ suggests a similar provenance for them. Those Darêl objects had certainly been deposited with remains of cremated bodies. The same was the case also with the small jewels and beads found by me in 1927 within a cinerary jar close to the ruined Buddhist Vihāra of Shāhi Yola-mīra, at Tôr-ḡhērai in the Loralai District of Balūchistān.² The discovery at this site of potsherds inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī characters of the Kushān period makes it highly probable that this cinerary deposit of Tôr-ḡhērai belongs to the early centuries of our era.

¹⁰ *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV. p. 115 f.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX. p. 186, l. 15. Compare also the date 944 of the Kalachuri era which is described as "944 years named Sāhasamalla" (*Memoirs A.S.I.*, No. 23, p. 137, v. 53).

¹² D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscr. of North Ind.*, No. 3.

¹ See *Innermost Asia*, i. pp. 24, 25, 29.

² See my *Archæological Tour in Waziristān and Northern Balūchistān* (*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 37), pp. 69 sq.

Of the date of the small relics recovered in Darêl nothing more could be said than that they dated from pre-Muhammadan times. These extended in these Hindukush valleys until three or four centuries ago, in remote parts perhaps even later. It is hence all the more gratifying that in the case of the Yâsin find more definite chronological evidence is available. It is furnished by two of the objects which on account of their interest may be described first. One is the small bronze figure, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across at its base, of a Bodhisattva reproduced in Pl. I. It represents him seated in a pose which I take to be that of *varamudrâ*, but which may possibly be that of the *bhumisparśa*. The right hand is lowered level with the flexed right knee, the palm turned outwards. The left hand holds some object no longer recognizable. The metal is too corroded to permit, without expert cleaning, of determining exact details of features and dress. But an ornamental band or chain below the neck can be made out and also folds of drapery arranged in the Græco-Buddhist style of Gandhâra. To this conform also the general modelling of the figure, with its hair knob and elongated ears. The lotus seat is of a shape persisting in Buddhist sculpture from the early centuries of our era down to a late period.

It is probable that the little figure found its way to Yâsin as an import from outside, and this can be asserted with certainty of the intaglio set in the bezel of the fine gold ring in Pl. II, fig. 17. It is carved in an onyx-like stone which shows a crackled surface probably due to exposure to great heat. It represents a helmeted male head which by its style can safely be recognized as of late Hellenistic or Roman workmanship. An impression of the seal is shown in the Plate. Similar intaglios recovered by me at Khotan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkestan have, on the authority of Professor Percy Gardner, been assigned to the second-third century A.D.³

From the number of carved seal stones of this type found both in Central Asia and in the North-west of India it must be concluded that they formed a frequent article of import from the west. The fact of clay impressions from such intaglios having been excavated by me at the Niya site in the Taklamakân desert points to their having been used in Central Asia by the third century A.D.

Such small intaglios intended for seals are not likely to have ordinarily remained in use for long periods. Hence this seal affords a useful indication also for the date of the ring in which it is set. This shows very delicate ornamentation round the bottom of the high bezel. It consists of a border of gold pearls or grains at the bottom, surmounted by four symmetrically placed triangles of grains. At each end of the oval bezel a pair of round knobs is fixed as if meant to secure it to the circle of the ring proper.

A somewhat similar style of ornamentation is observed on a second gold ring (Pl. II, fig. 5) which has lost its intaglio. The high bezel is decorated round its upper edge with a border of grains and a double cable band and, below, with eight pear-shaped small dark red stones, apparently some kind of chalcedony, of which three have been lost. Each stone has a grain border on its bezel. In the lower spandril between each pair of these bezels is shown a small triangular group of three grains. Two other rings of bronze (Pl. II, figs. 10 and 14) have seal-tops of curious lozenge shapes not otherwise known to me, one of them channelled. Both show neat workmanship.

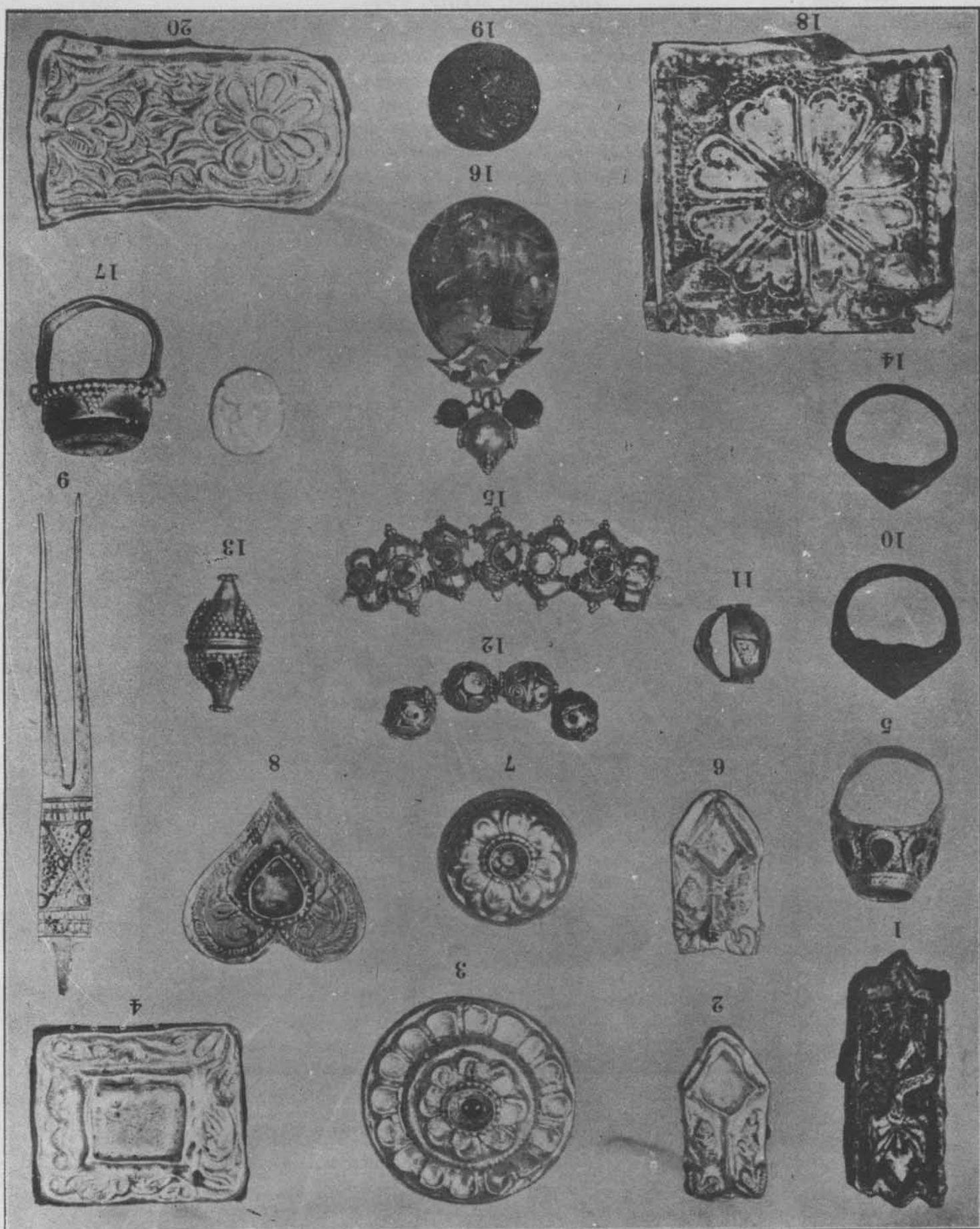
The ornamentation with strings of tiny grains is met again on seven delicately worked gold beads (Pl. II, fig. 15), five uniform and two smaller, obviously belonging to necklaces. Each bead is made up of two ovoid globes joined together at their smaller diameter and surmounted there by a small jewel in a bezel. Perforations through the longer axis of each globe show how the necklace was strung. Only on two of the beads the bezel retains a white stone, in one case a white sapphire.

³ Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 209, 210, ii. Pl. XLIX; *Serindia*, i. pp. 100, 101, 103, iv. Pl. V; *Innermost Asia*, ii. 822, iii. Pl. CXL.



BRONZE FIGURE OF BODHISATTVA FROM YĀSIN.

Scale 1/1



A fine piece of jewellery is seen in the large gold bead one inch high shown in Pl. II, fig. 13. It is formed by two cones joined at their base. Each shows above a grain string three small pear-shaped stones within grain-bordered bezels and between them a triangular device also formed of small grains. Three of the small stones are lost; the others look like garnets. The same triangular device appears also as decoration on the three ribs of a gold ornament (Pl. II, fig. 11), which has a tube down its centre and probably formed part of a necklace.

The same style of decoration is seen also on the ball which forms the top portion of the elaborate gold mount fixed to a large uncut pale blue, pear-shaped sapphire, which may have been used as a pendant or ear ornament (Pl. II, fig. 16). Two small stones(?) of dark opaque colour are fixed at the ends of the transverse bar which supports the ball. Another uncut stone, partly broken, retains only a part of a similar gold mount on its top; the stone itself is flaked. There are five more uncut gems, all transparent and of irregular shapes, which show perforations meant to hold fittings. Two of them are light blue sapphires, two deep red garnets, and the fifth a crystal. With them may be mentioned a flat bead, worked of an almost black opaque stone(?).

Four globular beads of gold (Pl. II, fig. 12) are formed of neat filigree openwork. Its style is not unlike modern silver filigree ornament seen by me in Chinese Turkestan.

Strings of tiny grains play a subordinate part in the decoration of two gold ornaments (Pl. II, figs. 3 and 7), the use of which is not quite certain. Both are rosettes of gold worked in repoussé, each with a small projecting tube soldered to the flat sheet forming the back, evidently intended to fix them to some other object. The larger one, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, is decorated on the raised surface with a whorl of lotus petals in relief and within this on a higher plane with another whorl, the two whorls divided by a raised, notched band. A third, and slightly smaller, whorl is separately cut from sheetgold and is superimposed on the second. Above this a circle of grains surrounds the crowning bezel. The smaller rosette, about one inch in diameter, shows a single circle of lotus petals and a central bezel. In both cases the jewels are missing.

The lotus ornament with small leaves arranged in palmette shapes appears in the oblong gold plaque (Pl. II, fig. 20), two inches long, worked in repoussé. It may perhaps have been fixed to the end of a leather strap. The two narrow gold plaques (Pl. II, figs. 2 and 6), also in repoussé, are exactly alike in size ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long) and in their leaf-shape ornamentation and quadrangular jewel cells. They may well have formed part of a small buckle or strap ends. Pins of silver inside probably served to fix them to leather.

The use of an oblong plaque of silver (Pl. II, fig. 1) showing floral motifs in rilievo is likely to have been similar. The method of fixing the heart-shaped gilt plaque (Pl. II, fig. 8) having in its centre a bezel for a gem now missing is uncertain. Its crude ornament is poorly chased.

There still remain to be mentioned two small cases of thin gold sheet (Pl. II, figs. 4 and 18) both obviously meant to hold amulets like the modern *ta'wiz* still to be seen in the North-west of India and probably elsewhere also. The front side of the larger one, two inches square, has for its chief ornament a lotus flower in repoussé, with a circular bezel for a gem now lost, and four more pear-shaped bezels in the corners, also without the gems they were meant to hold. On the back a quatrefoil of heart-shaped leaves is enclosed within a pearl border. One of the sides is now open but shows holes for small rivets or suspension loops.

The smaller case, measuring approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, consists of two thin gold plates, the turned-over edges of one fitting over those of the other and both decorated in repoussé. There is in the centre of each side a plain sunk oblong surrounded by a floral scroll which is suggestive of the twining acanthus ornament often seen on wood carvings of the Niya and Lou-lan sites (circa third century A.D.) in Chinese Turkestan and in Gandhara reliefs also.

There is also a golden hairpin, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, shown in Pl. II, fig. 9. Its top portion is ornamented on one side with a simple geometrical pattern on a stippled ground. Two

much corroded objects seem to be of silver. One is a button (Pl. II, fig. 19) showing remains of gold plating, with a trefoil floral design no longer clearly recognizable; the other a wristlet of thin wire, crudely decorated with incisions.

Not much artistic merit can be claimed for the collection as a whole. But some of the objects show skilful craftsmanship far above the present gold and silversmith's work in the Hindukush region. Taken altogether the collection is of distinct archaeological interest since, on the assumption that it comprises more or less contemporary deposits, it enables us to associate certain recurring ornamental motifs in the metal work, such as the string of pearls, with the period to which the intaglio with the helmeted head must be assigned. At this period the influence of Hellenistic art asserted itself potently in even more remote regions to the north of the Hindukush.

Mr. Todd has been kind enough to leave the disposal of the objects above described to me. I propose to deposit them under the care of the Indian Archaeological Department in the place where the collections of antiquities recovered by me on my Central-Asian expeditions and belonging to the Government of India are temporarily stored at New Delhi, pending the hoped-for construction in the future of a Museum suitable for displaying them.

DEVAKS.

By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired.)

List¹ of common devaks, with Botanical and other equivalents.

DEVAKS.	EQUIVALENTS.
1. Adad	<i>Phaseolus Mungo</i>
2. Agada, Aghada	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i>
3. Agasti	<i>Sesbania grandiflora</i>
4. Agaavel, Akashvel	<i>Cassytha filiformis</i>
5. Ahir	A fish
6. Ain	<i>Terminalia tomentosa</i>
7. Airana	<i>Clerodendron phlomoides</i>
Ala, Aladagidda	see Vad
8. Amba	Mango, <i>Mangifera indica</i>
9. Anjan	<i>Hardwickia binata</i>
10. Apa	<i>Typha angustifolia</i>
11. Apta	<i>Bauhinia racemosa</i>
12. Arai	<i>Mimosa rubicaulis</i>
13. Arati	<i>Mimosa hamata</i>
Arka	see Rui
Arkhe	see Harai
Arsina	see Halad
14. Asanvel	<i>Pterocarpus Marsupium</i>
Ashvatha	see Pipal
15. Asoka, Asopalava	<i>Polyalthia longifolia</i>
16. Asvali	<i>Vitex glabrata</i>
17. Avala	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i>
18. Babul, Babhul	<i>Acacia arabica</i>
19. Bail	Bullock
20. Bajipotira	A bird
21. Balde	† Bali, q.v.
22. Bali	A bird, <i>Babulcus coromandis</i>
23. Bandgul	<i>Epidendron tesselloides</i>

¹ This list is published as a preliminary to an article on the important subject of *devaks* in relation to caste origins, for which space has kindly been offered me in subsequent numbers of the *Indian Antiquary*.—R. E. E.

24. Banni	<i>Acacia Suma</i>
Banyan	see Vad
Barangi	see Bharang
Basandvel	see Vasandvel
Basundrivei	see Vasundrivei
25. Bel	<i>Aegle Marmelos</i>
26. Bhadarache phul	<i>Artocarpus Lakoocha</i>
27. Bharadvaj	Crow pheasant (<i>Centropus rufipennis</i>)
28. Bharang, Bhargi	<i>Clerodendron serratum</i>
Bhirand	see Margali
29. Bhomad	Anthill
30. Biju	Polecat
Bilayatijhad	see Kavath
31. Bor, Borati	<i>Zizyphus Jujuba</i>
32. Chameli	<i>Jasminum arborescens</i>
33. Champa	<i>Michelia champaka</i>
34. Chas	Blue jay (<i>Coracias indica</i>)
35. Chat	Spinning wheel, whorler, or a shell
36. Chatak	A bird (<i>Cuculus melanoleucus</i>)
37. Chinch	Tamarind (<i>Tamarindus indica</i>)
Coral tree	see Pangara
38. Corinda	<i>Carissa Carandas</i>
39. Cotton wool	
40. Daygali	A bird
41. Darbha	<i>Eragrostis cynosuroides</i>
42. Davana	<i>Artemisia phalleris</i>
Deobabhul	see Kinkare
43. Devnal	<i>Phragmites communis</i>
Devpayarichakanis	see Pair
Dhamale	see Babul
44. Dhapali	<i>Juniperus Lycia</i>
Dhar	see Tarvarichi Dhar
45. Dhotara	Datura
46. Dive (tinshesath)	360 lights (see also Palas)
47. Drakshacha vel	Grape vine
48. Dugar	Pig
49. Durva	see Haral
50. Gahu	Wheat
51. Gai, gaichegomukh	Cow
52. Gangavel	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>
53. Gangudli	A bird
54. Gauri	<i>Calamus acanthospathus</i>
55. Garuda, Garudacha pankh Garudasana	Vishnu's eagle
56. Garudphul	<i>Anamirta Cocculus</i>
57. Garudvel	<i>Tinospora cordifolia</i>
58. Ghana	Oil mill
59. Ghar	A kite, <i>Milvus Govinda</i>
60. Ghevada	<i>Dolichos Lablab</i>
61. Ghoda	Horse
62. Ghondan	<i>Cordia Rothii</i>

63. Goni	A sack
64. Gugul	<i>Balsamodendron Mukul</i>
Gulvel	see Garudvel
65. Halad	Turmeric, <i>Curcuma longa</i>
66. Har	A garland or wreath
67. Harina	Mouse-deer
68. Haral, Haryali	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i>
69. Hastidant	Ivory
70. Hati	Elephant
71. Hivar	<i>Acacia leucophlœa</i>
72. Hola	Ringed turtle dove
73. Ikhmogar, Ishmogar	Jasmine, <i>Jasminum Sambac</i>
74. Ingli	<i>Gymnosporia emarginata</i>
75. Jaikavel	Jasmine, <i>Jasminum arborescens</i>
76. Jakeri	A lamp of flour
77. Jambhul	<i>Eugenia Jambolana</i>
78. Jasvandichephul	<i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i>
79. Jowari, Juari	<i>Sorghum vulgare</i>
80. Kabuta	Pigeon
81. Kadamb, Kalamb	<i>Anthocephalus Cadamba</i>
82. Kakad	<i>Garuga pinnata</i>
Kalak	see Velu
83. Kalimati	Black earth
84. Kamal, Kamalachephul, Kamalachelaukad	Lotus
85. Kambal	<i>Hymenodictyon excelsum</i>
86. Kandyachemal	A garland of onions
87. Kanikanche jhad	<i>Paramignya monophylla</i>
88. Kaner, Kanhera	Almond flower, <i>Nerium odollum</i>
89. Kank	Curlew
90. Karal	<i>Bauhinia malabarica</i>
Karand	see Corinda
Karauli	see Kavali
91. Karanj	<i>Pongamia glabra</i>
Karvand	see Corinda
92. Kasav, Kasavachi path	Tortoise, tortoiseshell
93. Kasod	<i>Cassia sumatrana</i>
94. Kate Kalak	<i>Bambusa arundinacea</i>
95. Katvel	<i>Cucumis trigonus</i>
96. Kaval	<i>Careya arborea</i>
97. Kavali	<i>Sterculia urens</i>
98. Kavath, Kavthi, Kauthi	<i>Feronia elephantum</i> (wood apple)
99. Ketak, Kevada	<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i> (screw pine)
100. Khadira, Khair	<i>Acacia Catechu</i>
Khajur, Khajuri	see Shinde
Khijado	see Shami
101. Khul Khula	<i>Crotalaria retusa</i>
102. Kinkare	<i>Acacia Latronum</i>
103. Knife	
104. Koch, Kooha	Turmeric, <i>Curcuma aromatica</i>
105. Kohala	Pumpkin

106.	Kolisara	Lynx
107.	Konbada	Cock
108.	Koya	A bird, <i>Cacomantis passerinus</i>
	Kudak	see Kakad
109.	Kudal	A hoe
	Kumbha	see Kaval
	Kumbhar Kukde	see Bharadvaj
110.	Kunda	Jasmine, <i>Jasminum pubescens</i>
111.	Kunda	<i>Andropogon intermedius</i>
112.	Kurhad	Axe
	Landor	see Mor
113.	Lend	Dung
114.	Lendi	<i>Lagerstroemia parviflora</i>
115.	Lendphul	<i>Salacia macrosperma</i>
116.	Lendsunc	Marigold
117.	Lokhandi	<i>Ventilago madraspatana</i>
118.	Madhvel	<i>Combretum ovalifolium</i>
119.	Magar	Crocodile
120.	Maharukh	<i>Ailanthus excelsa</i>
	Mandar, Mandarachephul	see Rui
121.	Mandra	<i>Marlea begoniæfolia</i>
	Mango	see Amba
	Maratvel	see Bel
122.	Maredi	<i>Erigeron asteroides</i>
123.	Marelicha vel	<i>Allophylus Cobbe</i>
124.	Margali	<i>Garcinia indica</i>
125.	Margati, Marjadvel } Marvel, Maryadvel }	<i>Ipomæa biloba</i>
126.	Maricivel	<i>Piper nigrum</i>
	Mayur	see Mor
127.	Mendi	<i>Lawsonia alba</i>
128.	Mhas	Buffalo
129.	Mirci	<i>Capsicum frutescens</i>
	Mogari	see Ikhnogor
130.	Moha, Mohwa	<i>Bassia latifolia</i>
131.	Mol	<i>Pyrus Pashia</i>
132.	Mor, Morache pise	Peacock
133.	Morvel	<i>Clomatis Gouriana</i>
	Murgali	see Margali
134.	Musal	Rice-pounder
135.	Mag	Cobra
136.	Nagchampa	<i>Mesua ferrea</i>
137.	Nagvel	<i>Piper Belle</i>
138.	Nandruk	<i>Ficus retusa</i>
139.	Narel	Coco-nut
140.	Nim	<i>Melia Azadirachta</i>
141.	Nimbuni	<i>Citrus limonum</i>
142.	Nirgundi	<i>Vitex Negundo</i>
143.	Nirvel	<i>Limacia cuspidata</i>
144.	Pach, Pachna	<i>Pogostemon Patchouli</i>

145. Padwal	<i>Tricosanthes anguina</i>
146. Pair, Payara	<i>Ficus Rumphii</i>
147. Pala	<i>Ehretia buxifolia</i>
148. Palas	<i>Butea frondosa</i>
Palvel	see Rayan
149. Panchpalvi, Panchpallava	Leaves of five trees
150. Pangara	<i>Erythrina indica</i>
151. Pankanis	Reed mace, <i>Tyfa angustifolia</i>
Panvel	see Nagvel
152. Paratachi ghadi	A washerman's cloth
153. Paratin, Paratiniche pankh	Pied wagtail
154. Parde	Balance scale
155. Payani	<i>Vateria indica</i>
Payara	see Pair
156. Phal	Potter's patter
157. Phanas	Jack fruit tree.
158. Phankani	Blowpipe
159. Phansiche ghad	<i>Carallia integerrima</i>
160. Pipal	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>
161. Pipli	<i>Ficus infectoria</i>
162. Pipri	<i>Ficus Tsiela</i>
163. Pithiche bavle	A doll made of flour
164. Pomvale	Coral
165. Purtak, Perkut	<i>Euphorbia tortilis</i>
166. Rai	<i>Brassica juncea</i> (<i>Sinapis ramosa</i> , Roxb.)
167. Rajahansa	Goose
168. Ramban, Ramhan	<i>Typha elephantina</i> (<i>T. angustifolia</i> , Linn.)
169. Rayan	<i>Mimusops hexandra</i>
170. Revatavel	<i>Jasminum angustifolium</i>
171. Rothi	<i>Malva rotundifolia</i>
Ruchkin	see Rui
172. Ruddraksha mal	A garland of berries, <i>Elæocarpus Ganitrus</i>
173. Rui	<i>Calotropis gigantea</i>
Runmogra	see Jaikavel
174. Rupe	Silver
175. Sag	Teak (<i>Tectona grandis</i>)
176. Sahâmr̥g	Ostrich eggs
177. Sal, Salpi, Salphali, Salai	<i>Boswellia serrata</i>
178. Salunkhe	A bird, <i>gracula religiosa</i>
179. Sandas	Pincers
180. Samp	Snake
Saundad	see Shami
181. Sankpal	Lizard
182. Sayal	Porcupine
183. Sayar	<i>Bombax malabaricum</i>
184. Serni	<i>Adelia neriifolia</i>
185. Sevra	<i>Taxotrophis Roxburghii</i>
186. Sevri	<i>Bombax heptaphyllum</i>
187. Shakhar	Sugar
188. Shami	<i>Prosopis spicijera</i>

189.	Shankh	Conch shell
190.	Sheli	Goat
191.	Shinde, Sinde	<i>Phoenix sylvestris</i>
192.	Shisheshi Gol	Bullet of lead
193.	Singanvel	<i>Gouania microcarpa</i>
194.	Siras	<i>Albizzia Lebbek</i> (<i>Mimosa Sirissa</i> , Roxb.)
195.	Sisav, Shisav	<i>Dalbergia Sissoo</i>
196.	Sone	Gold
197.	Somvel	<i>Sarcostemma brevistigma</i>
	Sonkavale	see Bharadvaj
198.	Sonvel	<i>Cuscuta reflexa</i>
199.	Sugad, Sughad	An earthen vessel
200.	Sumadravel	<i>Argyrea speciosa</i>
201.	Supari	Areca nut
202.	Surad	<i>Laportea crenulata</i>
203.	Suru	Cypress (<i>Tamarix dioica</i>)
204.	Survad	Rosha grass (<i>Andropogon Schænanthus</i>)
205.	Suryakamal	} Sunflower
	Suryakant, Suryaphul	
206.	Sutali	String
207.	Tad	<i>Borassus flabellifer</i>
	Tamarind	see Chinch
208.	Tamba	Copper
	Tambul	see Nagvel
209.	Tarvariche dhar	Sword blade
	Tas	see Chas
	Thapatne	see Phal
210.	Tulsi	<i>Ocimum sanctum</i>
211.	Ukirda	Dung-heap
	Udid	see Adad
212.	Umbar	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>
213.	Untakantari	Camel thorn (<i>Echinops echinatus</i>)
214.	Vad	<i>Ficus indica</i>
215.	Vadvagni	A mythical animal of fire
	Vagh	see Wagh
	Vaghache Champa	see Champa
216.	Vaghanti	<i>Capparis Zeylanica</i>
	Vakumbha	See Kaval
217.	Vangay	Wild ox
218.	Varal, Varalache Singh	White ants' nest
219.	Vasandvel, Vasanvel, Vasundrive	<i>Cocculus villosus</i>
220.	Vasukicha vel	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i>
221.	Velu	Bamboo
222.	Vet	Ratan cane (<i>Calamus Rotang</i>)
223.	Vibhuti	Ashes
	Vikhmogar	see Ikhmogar
224.	Virchatra	Royal umbrella
225.	Vitkar	Burnt powdered brick
226.	Wagh	Tiger

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

By M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., D.A. (OXON.), F.R.A.I., PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT,
GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS.

(Continued from page 77.)

Ārōmaṭ then calls his mother and tells her of his resolution to fight the duel, when she becomes greatly grieved and bemoans her fate in touching words. He then calls his brother Unnikkaṇṇan, and tells him of his engagement to single combat: "I have had the *aṅgam* fees paid to me. Come here and take them over." Unnikkaṇṇan replies: "I am not rich in brothers. Only a single brother have I. I don't want to lose him for any wealth." Ārōmaṭ answers: "If you don't take over the money, I shall fall a victim to my own sword." Unnikkaṇṇan then obeys, and takes the money with tears in his eyes. Ārōmaṭ tells him that in the central strong room of the house there are seven copper vessels, six of which are full, and asks him to fill up the seventh, which he accordingly does. Sobbing he returns. Seeing his distress, Ārōmaṭ calls him and addresses him again: "Unnikkaṇṇā, the youngest of the *Pullāram* house, come here." Taking the kerchief from his shoulders he wipes his brother's tears, makes him sit by his side and consoles him as follows:—

"Just listen to me, my brother,
"Not because of my fame have they come;
"It is father's fame that has brought them here.
"Father is old and weak,
"Whereas I am young and strong.
"While we two are alive
"We cannot see father fall a victim to another's sword.
"Grain or wealth we can buy or borrow,
"But honour we cannot beg or borrow.
"When father went for combats
"How much younger was I than you now are,
"Father asked my consent,
"Which I readily gave;
"Even so do I ask of you.
"Our forefathers came here
"Adorned as professional combatants."

He continues:—

Nammude ²⁵ paṇḍette kāraṇamār	"Our forefathers
Āṅgaṇamayam chamaṇṇu pōnnu	"Came over here adorned as professional combatants.
Chēkavanmārāyi janichehal pinne,	"When one is born a <i>chēkavan</i> ,
Vāḷkāṇayil chōṛallō chēkōnmārku	"The <i>chēkon</i> has to earn his bread at the point of his sword.
Āṅgattinu āraṇum vannateṅgil	"If anybody comes for <i>aṅgam</i>
Pōkāte kaṇḍittirunnu kūta	"He cannot refuse to go."
"Hear me again, what weighed with me in agreeing to the <i>aṅgam</i> and accepting the fees. Should father fall and die we stand to lose all honour. I am now 22 years old.	
Ashtaṁa vyāṛam śanippirayum	"Jupiter ²⁶ is in the eighth house (Scorpio) and is under Saturn's inauspicious influence,

²⁵ This unmistakably shows the martial organisation of the community of *chēkavars*. They were actuated by the spirit of martial service, animated by a high sense of duty.

²⁶ Belief in astrology is deep rooted in the mind of every Malayāli, and nothing of any significance is done without first calling in the astrologer, or *kanisan*, and examining the horoscope.

The reference to the eighth house is to one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which is referred to as a house in astrology. (Cf. the term 'mansion'.)

Śanippira tanṅreapahārattil
Peṭṭannu viṇu marikkum ṇāne
Bālikku paṇḍu pīrachcha vyāram

Annallo Bāli vadham kaṇiṇṇu
Oḷiyambināle marichu Bāli

Akkanakkāyi varum inikku
Veṇṇu marikkunnatane kkaḷum
Viriyattōde marikkanallu

"It is on these considerations that I agreed to this fight. Hear me further :—

Nālavastta niyyum kēttiṭṭille
Aṅgam piṭichālē ohēkōrāvu
Pulasyam aṇiṇṇāle nāyarāvu
Pūnūlu miṭṭāle nambūryāvu
Maṇṇalyam aṇiṇṇāle nāriyāvu
Nammude paṇḍette kāraṇanmār
Aṅgam piṭichchu kaṇiṇṇu pōnnu
Munnūṅṅarupattettu varshmāyi
Annutoṭṭinnu varakkaum Uṇṇi
Aṅgam piṭichu kaṇiṇṇu pōnnu

Aṅgam muṭaki irunnukūṭa

"Hear me further :—

Nammude paṇḍette kāraṇanmār
Īruvattu nāṭṭinnu vannōrāne
Chērānperumālu tambūrānum
Ōla eṇṭi ayachchitallo
Īruvattu rājāvinu kattu kiṭṭi
Kattāṇṇu vāyichohu nōkkunnunḍu
Appōl parayunnu rājāvallo
Iviṭunnu ēruvare ayakkavēṇam
Malayāla perumālute kalpanayāl

Pachchakutayume pachchapōṇḍi²⁷
Kula virutenṇorū chēkavarum
Malayālattekkāṇṇu yaṭṭayāyi
Yāṭṭayum chollinṇu pōkunnēram
Ērucheppu kuḍam koṇḍupōnnu
Velli ōḍavum kaṭannu pōnnu
Chērān Perumālu tambūrāṅṅe
Tambūrān mumbāke chennitallo
Tambūrān tiru mumbil chennuninṇu

"And in consequence of this ill-luck,

"Suddenly shall I fall and die :

"That same Jupiter which in times of yore was
fatal to Bāli

"And which witnessed Bāli's death—

"Bāli²⁷ died by an arrow from an unknown
hand—

"That will be my fate too.

"Better to die with honour

"Than to die a plain death."

"Have you not heard of the four states ?

"Aṅgam fighting alone makes a *chēkor*,

"As girding the sword makes a Nāyar,

"And the sacred thread makes a Nambūdiri,

"And wearing the *tālī* makes a woman.

"Our forefathers

"All engaged in *aṅgam* fighting.

"Since 368 years now,

"From that date to this

"Have they maintained their prestige as
aṅgam fighters.

"Nor can you sit quiet and refuse to fight."

"Our forefathers

"Have come from Īruvattunādu.²⁸

"Chērān Perumāl tambūrān

"Sent a written message.

"The king of Izham got the letter ;

"And the king reads it.

"Then announces the king

"The Izhavar must be sent from here

"By the direction of the Perumāl of Malay-
alam

"With green umbrella and the fencing foil,²⁹

"With a *chēkor*, Kulavirutan by name,

"Set out for Malabar.

"When coming over, leaving their homes,

"Took with them seven copper vessels,

"Came embarking in a silvery boat

"Before the tambūrān Chērān Perumāl ;

"Approaching the tambūrān,

"Stood before his gracious presence,

²⁷ The reference is to Bāli's fight with Sugriva, an incident described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bāli was getting the better of Sugriva, when Rāma, to save the latter, despatched an arrow which killed Bāli.

²⁸ From the numerous references in this song it is manifest that the *chēkavars* were a community of Izhavar who were first established in and about Kadattanād in North Malabar. This is particularly clear from the very significant words in which Arōmaṅ traces the origin of the race from the land of Izham, the old name for Ceylon. The ballad thus affords striking evidence of the migration of the Izhavar from Ceylon.

²⁹ *ponḍi*, a fencing foil, club of wood, the insignia of a fencing master. (See Gundert, *Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 713.)

Tirkkālum kaṇḍu torutavarum	" And, bowing to him,
Tirumukham nēriṭṭu bōdhippichehu	" Addressed the Perumāḷ in person ;
Kammālarkulla pirayum tēṭṭu	" And thus ended the penalty ³⁰ attaching to the Kammālans.
Annūtottulla gajavirutu	" The honours attaching to us from that day,—
Negrippattavum nerukalpūvu	" Tiara for the forehead and floral decoration for the crown of the head ;
Pāvāṭa tāmmēl pakal vilakku	" The cloth spread on the street to walk on, and the lamp by day ;
Kuttuvilakkume pandakkura	" The lamp and the garland torch with the brass handle.
Ērukaṭayum tannittuṇḍu	" Seven umbrellas too have been given,
Tōraṇam nālume tannittuṇḍu	" Four triumphal archways,
Ponnum pallakkume tannittuṇḍu	" The golden litter or palanquin,
Irippum naṭappum orārppukaḷum	" Processions with great pomp.
Panchavādyavum naḍaveḍiyum	" The five kinds of music and firing of salutes.
Chennālaviteyirippāṇāyi	" To enable us to settle,
Taṇḍāyina ³¹ stānavum tannittuṇḍu	" Headship has been conferred on us,
Vittāyina stānavum uṇḍu nōkku	" And we have full household rights.
Keṭṭum kiṇiyumoraṅga taṭṭum	" The <i>aiṅam</i> fighting platform.
Īvakayokkēyum tannittuṇḍu	" All these honours have been bestowed on us,
Chēkōn pataviyum tannu nōkku	" And the rank and status of chēkōrs,
Chērān perumālu tambūrānum	" Chērāmān Perumāḷ tambūrān
Nīra ³² paṇayum vilakkum vechehu	" Placing a lighted lamp and a measureful of rice
Āditya chandrane sākshiyāki	" With the sun and moon as witnesses.
Avidunnu yāṭra vanānippōṇnu	" There they took leave of the tambūrān,
Kaṇṭṭenār nāṭṭilum vanuavaru	" Reached Kaṇṭṭēnār,
Nāduvāri kōlōttum vannavare	" Approached the <i>nāḍuvāri</i> of the place,
Cheppu kudam onnu kārchhavechehu	" Presented him with a gift of one of the copper vessels,
Kārchchayeduttallo tambūrānum	" And the tambūrān accepted the gift,
Puttūram vidum kalari tannu	" And gave us Puttūram house and <i>kalari</i> ,
Aṭṭippēṇāyi ³³ eruttannu	" Gave us on documentary possession,
Anṇane irikkunna kālattallo	" While we were thus flourishing,

³⁰ Penalty for having left their home (Malabar) in a body and migrated to Ceylon. The song embodies the tradition according to which the Kammālans or artisans left the country fearing Perumāḷ's wrath, as they remonstrated against his action in allowing a washerman to marry one of their daughters. The Perumāḷ had considerable difficulty in persuading them to return home. The tradition is described at length on pages 106-114 of Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vol. VII.

The fact is that the artisans came in the wake of or along with the Tiyaṛ, for in their first settlement at Kodungallūr (Cranganore), the artisans (the five kinds of artificers), washerman, etc., are mentioned as having settled at the same place, along with the islanders or Tiyaṛs, *vide* copper-plate grants of the Jews and Syrian Christians, published at pages cxviii to cxxii of Logan's *Malabar*, vol. II.

³¹ The rank of *tandāns* or leaders of the community. The rank used to be conferred on certain families by the local chieftains or rājās. The use of the word is now confined to S. Malabar, where the *tandān* is the hereditary headman of the village. He used to be appointed by the senior Rāṇi of the Zamorin's family, or other local chieftain. He decides all caste disputes, and has a voice in all the social ceremonies of the caste. He controls the castes which serve the Tiyaṛs, such as the washerman and the barber. He also officiates at marriages of the artisan castes. The name is however practically unheard of in N. Malabar, though there is evidence to show that the *tandān* was in former days in existence there also.

³² The light and the heaped measure of rice are indispensable to all ceremonies in Malabar.

³³ *Aṭṭippēṇāyi*, complete purchase of freehold property.

Īṟuvattu rājākkalum nammal tanne	"Living as we did as lords in the land of Izham.
Malayālam tannile kalariyallo	"In the <i>kalari</i> of Kerala,
Vettum payaṅṅum naṭappillāññu	"Because of the decadence in practices that set in,
Tuḷunāṭṭil ³⁴ nalla tuḷu kurukkal	"The Gurukkals (teachers) from Tuḷunād
Mēlayama sthānam kurukkalkkallo	"Were overlords, occupying the highest rank."
Continuing, he narrates how Gurukkals from Kanara were displaced, and rank and position bestowed one after another upon his ancestors in recognition of their high culture, until they were the Āśāns of the four central <i>kalari</i> s and forty-two subsidiary ones :—	
Toḍuvōr kalariyil payaṅṅum kālam	"When it is the season for practices in Toduvorkalari.
Tudaññumbōl āyiram kiṭṭumallo	"We get a thousand (fanams) at the start,
Niṭṭumbōlayirattomnum kiṭṭum	"And a thousand and one at the close.
Kaṟuttēnār ³⁵ nāḍuvārum tambūrānu	"For the ruling tambūrān of Kaṟuttēnār
Uḍavālu piḍikkonna kalariyāne	"It is the <i>kalari</i> which carries the sword of protection and honour.
Maṇṇalam ³⁶ tāli pirannidumbōl	"When the season is on
Maṇṇalam tāli payaṅṅundallo	"Begin the fencing feats and practices,
Ēriya sammānam kiṭṭum nōkku	"And many a present we get
Vilayēriya paṭṭum mundum kiṭṭum	"And costly silks and cloths.
Kalariyil pūja kaṟiññiṭumbōl	"When the ceremonies at the <i>kalari</i> are over
Kaṇḍatokke puṟappāḍunḍu	"A share we have in all.
Kalariyil puja kaṟikkunnēram	"When the worship at the <i>kalari</i> begins
Chemboḷa nōkki kaṟichchu kōlu	"Follow the directions in the copper-plate,
Keikarmam onnum muḍaṇṇarutu	"Let not any of the ceremonies be neglected.
Nāḍuvāri dēsavāri ettumallo	"The <i>nāḍuvāri</i> and <i>dēsavāri</i> will be there;
Nāṭṭukārokke sorumikkunṇi	"All the people will be there, my boy.
Nērchchakal kiṭṭunnatu chollikkūṭa	"There is no end to the offerings made,
Kāṇān varunnavarkkaṟṟamilla	"And numberless are the men who come to see the sight."
He then recounts the great wealth accumulated by their forefathers and their father, and lastly by himself. He exhorts him to invite their only uncle to live with him as he has no son :—	
Ammāvan tanne marichchupōyāl	"If our uncle dies,
Ambādi kōlōtte mēnōnmāre	"The Menons of Ambadi kovilagam

³⁴ Tuḷunād.—Apparently refers to that part of the present district of S. Kanara nearest to Malabar. The whole district of S. Kanara formed in early days part of Northern Kerala, from Gokarnam to Perumpura, between the modern Kundapur and the Cāññirōttu river.

³⁵ This statement, that it was the *kalari* which had the honour of holding the sword in ceremonial processions of the ruling *tambūrān* of Kadattanād, accords with the meaning of *cheṭam* as service chiefly around the king's person (*vide* Gundert, *Malayālam-English Dictionary*, s.v.)

³⁶ *Maṇṇalam*, a period of 40 days' ceremonies and practices. These and the foregoing lines give as graphic a description as we can get of the *kalari*s—academies or gymnasia for physical culture and fencing practices, which were a feature of Kerala in the past. These were the centre of interest to the whole locality and people from far and near resorted to them for physical culture and fencing exercises and training in all the arts of warfare. They were also centres of religious worship, as is seen from the many references in this and other songs to the importance of worship at the *kalari*, directions for which are carefully preserved on copper plates, and which should on no account be departed from. Worshippers make offerings at the *kalari*s to the deity that guards over their destinies, the *kalari bharambhar*, or the governing deity. For a fuller description of the *kalari* and the *aṅgam* by the present writer, see *Man in India*, vol. IX, p. 137 f.

Avarvañnu mūdi chuttukollatte	" Let them come and cremate.
Avitēyum chennu parakavēnam	" You should go and tell them.
Ila pula nannāyi kaṛichchukollu	" And let the obsequies be duly performed,
Panchavādyāññalum kōlāhālam	" With music and processions,
Ārpu viḷiyum naṭavētiyum	" With shouts and firing of guns :
Āghōshamōḍa kaṛikkavēnam	" Let it be done with great pomp."
Then he gives directions as to how he should proceed in case of the death of their father and mother. Lastly, he safeguards the interests of their only sister :—	
Namukkūme onnallo nērpeññalum	" We have but one sister,
Anchuvayassilum kātum kutti	" In the fifth year was performed the ear-boring,
Eṇu vayassil eruttinākki,	" Was put to school at seven,
Eṇuttum payaṇṇum paṭhichavale,	" And was well educated and trained in fencing,
Eṭtu ³⁷ vayaasil muṭiyumkeṭṭi,	" And her hair tied at eight years.
Vidyakalokke tikaññavalkke	" She had completed her education
Āṇṇummaṇammele Kunhiraṇ	" When Kunhiraṇ of Āṇṇummanammel
Pattu ³⁸ vayassil kuḷichu keṭṭi	" Married her in her tenth year,
Nedumangalyam ³⁹ vechu koṇḍupōyi	" Tying the <i>tālī</i> of long married life, and took her away.
Nūṇonnu ⁴⁰ achchāram cholligṇuṇḍu	" One hundred and one guarantees have been given,
Nammaḷum āyirattonnu achchāram cholligṇuṇḍu,	" And we on our side have given one thousand and one,
Āyirattonniṇṇe venma ponnum	" And their value in gold
Tulāmtūkki paṭṭamkoṭuttittuṇḍu	" Has been measured and given ;
Pasuvu kiṭāvine koṭuttittuṇḍu	" And a cow and calf have been given.
Nalpatṭiraṇḍallo katti chēkōu	" Of the forty-two armed <i>chekons</i> ,
Aṭilume nālāle koṭuttittuṇḍu	" Four have been given.
Avaḷum vaṛakkumāyi vānu pōyāl	" Should she disagree [with him] and come away,
Cholligṇullatu koṭukkavēnam	" What we have agreed to must be given.
Pinne vaṛakkumāyi vānu pōyāl	" If she should return,
Annette mūnmanane varuttikkōlu	" Send for the intermediary of the day
Kayyum kanakum paraññukollu	" And settle accounts and details.
Nūlāchārattōyum vāññukollu	" And agree to the divorce.
Kāsālevisam orikkarute	" Don't give up even a pie."

(To be continued.)

³⁷ Girls do not tie up their hair till they are about 8 years of age. Though even then their hair will be scarcely sufficient to be done up in knots, it is begun to be simply tied up with string from that age.

³⁸ This furnishes clear evidence of the *tālī* having once formed the essential part of marriage among the Tiyars, the *tālī* being tied by the bridegroom himself on the wedding day. This was no doubt departed from in later days, under what circumstances it is difficult to say for certain at this distance of time, until the *tālīkeṭṭu* came to be considered as a separate ceremony to be performed on every girl before puberty and before marriage. The use of the simple word *keṭṭi*, which literally means "tied," to denote "married" is most significant, as it clearly shows that marriage consisted in tying the *tālī*. For a fuller treatment of the subject of *tālī keṭṭu Kalyanam* by the present writer, see *Man in India*, vol. IX, pages 116-130.

³⁹ *Nedumangalyam*=the string of a *tālī*, being metaphoric of long married life.

⁴⁰ *Achchāram*=earnest money, advance given to ratify a bargain [Gundert, p. 9]. Here it means, guarantees given by either party lest the wife be divorced without sufficient reasons or lest she should leave her husband of her own accord. It will appear that it was the custom to give *stri-dhanam*, or bride price, along with the bride.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MATHURĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA-GUPTA II, G. E. 61.

This inscription, which has not yet been edited, has been engraved on a pillar which was originally inserted in a wall situated in the Chandul Mandul Baghichi near Raṅgeśvara Mahādeva temple near Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholānāth, but has now been deposited in the Muttra Museum. The characters belong to the early Gupta period, when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāna records. Most of the letters are so very similar that it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāna record, if it had not contained the name of a Gupta king. The inscription belongs to the reign of Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The date of the inscription is 61, which of course has to be referred to the Gupta era. The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G. E. 82. The date furnished by this epigraph is thus 21 years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. For, the latest date for this Gupta sovereign is 93; this shows that Chandragupta II had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a list of Mahēśvara teachers extending over four generations represented by Parāsara, Kapila, Upamita and Uditāchārya. This last, again, is specifically mentioned as *daśama*, or tenth in succession from Kuśika, who, it seems, must have been the founder of a line of teachers, though he may not have originated any new doctrine or sect. Further, it should be noted that, while Uditā is called merely an *Ārya*, his three immediate predecessors, as well as Kuśika, have received the supreme designation of *Bhagavat*, which is generally associated with personages supposed to have attained to the rank of divinity. The object of the inscription is to record that Uditāchārya established two images called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara, evidently in the name of Kapila and Upamita, his two immediate predecessors, in the *gurv-āyatana*. The word *śvara*, which forms part of the two names just referred to, shows that it was *lingas* that were installed; and *gurv-āyatana* can only mean "the teacher's shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditāchārya appertained was then alive, the *gurv-āyatana* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. The inference is thus reasonable that *gurv-āyatana* was a place where *lingas* were installed in the name of all the teachers who preceded Uditāchārya. The *gurv-āyatana* of our record was thus a shrine which contained the *lingas* set up to the memory of the *gurus* of the lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged; and it may safely be assumed that these *lingas* were not only named after the *gurus*, but bore their portraits also.

The name Kuśika, who was possibly the founder of this line of teachers, is interesting. Who could this Kuśika be? Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar had long ago proved from a passage common to both the *Vāyū* and *Linga-purāṇa* that Lakulīśa was the last incarnation of Mahēśvara, and that he had four ascetic disciples, namely, Kuśika, Gārgya, Mitra and Kaurushya. This information is strikingly corroborated by the Cintra *prastuti* of the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Śāraṅgadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 271 ff.) where the order of the names runs thus: Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurushya and Maitreya. The *prastuti* further tells us that these four disciples of Lakulī were founders of four lines amongst the Pāsupatas, and even gives the names of three *āchāryas* or teachers belonging to the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulī. And now it is the new Muttra inscription which throws light upon the line of teachers or *āchāryas* that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulī. It appears that, while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Somanātha in Kāthiāwār, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā.

If the teachers mentioned in this Muttra inscription thus belonged to the Lakulīśa sect, it clears up two or three obscure points of the record. The first is how the *lingas*, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line are styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Uditāchārya is called *Ārya*.

In the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, 1906-7, Prof. Bhandarkar contributed a paper on Lakulīśa, where, with the help of copious illustrations, he was able to point out the figure of Lakulī sculptured on door jambs, friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or as separate independent sculptures, as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a *lakula*, or staff, in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are, moreover, two representations of him which are similar, and they are both found at Karvan, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and passed away. Here, there are two *lingas* with portraits of Lakulī sculptured on them. It will thus be seen that the Śiva *linga* has been combined with the representation of Lakulī into an image. It is, therefore, not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara we have not mere Śiva *lingas* set up here, but rather *lingas* with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved on them, as is the case with Lakulī in the two images of Karvan.

Next, Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pāsupata yoga. We have, therefore, to presume that they

must have passed away like yogis by driving their *prāṇa-vāyu* through the *brahma-randhra*. They must have thereby merged into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakuli sect have received the divine title of *bhagavat*.

Lastly, the teacher, Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and, in fact, cannot be honoured with this supreme title. Hence he is styled merely *Arya*, which means "a master, an owner"; and both the meanings fit in well with regard to Uditāchārya.

There now remains only one point to be considered,—the date of Lakulīśa. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakuli. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakuli. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of the inscription, is G. E. 61=380-81 A.D. If now we allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakuli to 105-130 A.D., a date which agrees pretty closely with the view which Prof. Bhandarkar expressed twenty-four years ago.

N. R.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, a Critical Edition, by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and others. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

In the two fascicules before us, namely, IV and V, we have *adhyāyas* 54 to 90 in the one, and 90 to 149 in the other. These take us through a little more than half of the first book of the *Ādiparvam*. The important features exhibited in this portion, according to the editor, are the extensive divergence between the northern and southern versions in regard to the arrangement of the chapters and groups of chapters, and next the variation in quantity, the southern version so-called showing vast additions to the text. Dr. Sukthankar apparently takes the Kumbhakonam edition of the *Mahābhārata* as representative of the versions prevalent in the south, and it must be remembered that his criticism of the southern version is on this basis. We shall revert to this particular later.

The first point of importance to notice is in the description of the ancestry of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. The first important change noticed is that, in the northern version, the Śakuntalā episode and the history of Bharata come in first, and the chapter relating to the life history of Yayāti comes later; whereas in the southern version *Yayāti's* history is described first, and the story of Śakuntalā follows later. The editor certainly does find that the linking of the story of Yayāti with the story of Śakuntalā previous to it leaves something to be desired. The story passes on from that of Śakuntalā and her son Bharata ostensibly to the history of Yayāti, but it recommences with the ancestors of Yayāti, giving a history of the solar dynasty from Prajāpati to Yayāti. While the southern versions place the history of the solar dynasty first and the story of Yayāti next, followed by the story of Śakuntalā, the northern recension places the story of Śakuntalā first, then comes the story of Yayāti, and into it is thrown the account of the *Sūryavauśa*. Naturally there is a great difference between the two. But the actual question is, which is the original, and which is the manipulated arrangement? In regard to length, the Śakuntalā episode alone extends to 590 stanzas in

the southern, or the Kumbhakonam edition, while the number of stanzas in the northern versions comes to somewhere about 325. The editor acknowledges the difficulty in adjudging whether the version containing the additions or the abbreviated one is the later, as the actual manipulation of the text could have taken either direction. But from certain other particulars that he notices he comes to the conclusion that the southern is the manipulated edition. While recognising that the northern edition is not altogether free from flagrant additions and alterations, the southern version has to prove its claim, according to him, in every case, where its text differs from the northern.

In the note prefixed to the fifth fascicule, which contains chapters 96 to 161 of the Vulgate texts, and deals with the early life history of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, Dr. Sukthankar points out that the constituted text, according to the principles hitherto adopted, follows closely what he calls the Kāśhmīrī text. This text, so far as the Bhandarkar edition is concerned, is based on a very early Śārada manuscript, which is quite imperfect. But another Kāśhmīrī manuscript preserved in the India Office Library is found, on a critical comparison, to follow the Śārada text wherever it is possible to make useful comparisons. Hence the editor has no doubt that the more modern Devanāgarī manuscript at the India Office represents more or less the orthodox Kāśhmīrī tradition in regard to the *Mahābhārata* text, which is indicated by the early but incomplete Śārada manuscript. He had already indicated in the previous fascicule (fasc. III) that the actual length given to the *Ādiparvam* differs in the Śārada text, and agrees with the shortest enumeration he had as yet found in the northern versions; and the result of a detailed critical examination of the text gives evidence of a very close approximation to the Kāśhmīrī text. This is so far satisfactory, and the similarity between the constituted text, and the Kāśhmīrī recension is far more close than mere accidental coincidence would account for. He finds the variations between the constituted text and the southern version certainly very great. He convicts the southern version

therefore of purposeful tampering with and alteration of the text, and regards it as altogether undependable for any purpose of textual criticism. He refers particularly to the politics chapter called *Kaṇīkanīti* (*Adhyāya* 140 of the Bombay edition), which he thinks ought to be omitted when it occurs in the *Adiparvan*, regarding it as a later addition. On such comparison as he has been able to make, the editor has come to certain definite conclusions, which may be stated in his own words: "Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is, and they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact, I am now fully persuaded that with the epic texts as preserved in the extant *Mahābhārata* manuscripts we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities; and that with the possible exception of the Kāshmiri version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated." While we may acknowledge readily the sincerity and care with which this far-reaching conclusion has been built up, we must point out, at any rate so far as the southern version is concerned, the editor has been reckoning all the while without the host. The Kumbhakonam edition of the *Mahābhārata* is anything but typical of the southern version, and if it is actually typical of anything, it is only typical of "a carelessly guarded fluid text" of the epic. We think it is the most comprehensive edition, which took in all that claims to be part of the text of the *Mahābhārata*. We are disappointed that the *Grantha* text issued first from a village near Tanjore and subsequently from a village near Kumbhakonam, which was based upon much more reliable manuscript material, is not altogether free, as we are informed, from textual corruption owing to the adoption of parts from the printed versions, the responsible editors having allowed themselves to be carried off the track by a false notion that complete exclusion of parts was likely to prove prejudicial to the authority of their texts.

A more or less typical southern text has yet to be provided, and for that we shall have to go back to rather earlier than later versions of the *Mahābhārata* text available in South India. We are on the eve of a southern recension more representative of the south than anything so far published, and we must say the time is not yet for any far-reaching conclusions in regard to the southern version of the *Mahābhārata*.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA: THE SOUTHERN RECENSION critically edited by P. P. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras.

ADIPARVAN, Part I. Published by Messrs. V. RAMASWAMI SASTRULU AND SONS, Esplanade, Madras.

This is an edition of the *Adiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and contains the first 137 chapters of the first book covering a little more than half of the book, as according to the southern version, the whole of this book consists of only 218 *adhyāyas*, as against 227 of the Bombay edition. This edition sets before itself the very desirable object of bringing out an authoritative southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*. As *Mahābhārata* students know, and those that are interested in the authoritative critical edition being brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute must by now know, there are important differences in the various versions or recensions of the epic. Among them we can distinguish a certain number from their peculiarity and their importance. *Mahābhārata* criticism is fairly clear as to a Kāshmiri version, a Bengali version, a southern version and what might perhaps be called a Devanāgarī version including in it the rest of the geographical area of India more or less roughly. In the course of the work, as far as it has advanced, it is found that as between these recensions there are differences and similarities, and in the reconstitution of the text of the *Mahābhārata* on a basis of criticism—the eclectic criticism adopted by the editorial board of the All India edition—the southern recension comes to occupy an important place. The question would at once be asked, what is the southern recension? The Kumbhakonam edition is far from being the southern recension. Although it is said to be based on southern manuscripts, so much has been imported from outside, even from the printed editions, that it has ceased to be southern, except to the extent of its emanating from the south. The *Grantha* version issued from Sarfojirājapuram and Uppiliappankoil, though much better in point of textual authority, cannot be said to be altogether free from this kind of corruption. There are numbers of manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library, and they are of all kinds. The *Grantha* manuscripts seem to stand out distinctly from all these.

The editor of this particular southern recension proceeds to his work on the basis of manuscript authority, and among them four *Grantha* manuscripts to which reference is made in the work are of the highest authority. Of these, one marked 11860 is considered by the editor, on a comparison of manuscripts, to be so far the best, and that it has been made the basal text for this publication. The other manuscripts are used for comparison, and their readings, wherever they are of sufficient importance, are indicated in footnotes, so that

it may be said frankly that this is an edition based on *Grantha* manuscripts reaching back to pre-Mahratta days in Tanjore, when for a century beginning with the first quarter of the sixteenth, there was an enlightened dynasty of Vijayanagar viceroys, who were generally scholars, and far more than that, were patrons of great scholars. The manuscript tradition therefore of that particular period acquires very considerable authority on this ground alone. A casual comparison of this edition with the first five fascicules of the constituted text of the Bhandarkar edition, which has already reached the end of the 149th chapter of the first book, shows that this southern recension comes very close to the edition issued on the basis of the eclectic criticism adopted by the editorial board of that edition. As the editor has pointed out in the foreword prefixed to some of these fascicules, the most reliable version seems to be that of Kashmir, which he adopts more or less, and the one other recension that he compares with it is the southern; the Bengali and the southern recensions sometimes agree closely and stand out distinctly from the rest. It is therefore not a day too soon that something like a carefully edited and authoritative southern recension was brought out. The enterprise of Messrs. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, and its present proprietor, Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu, the son of the proprietor whose name the firm bears, deserves all commendation. The editor, Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, has already shown energy and enthusiasm in this kind of work by the publication of the Catalogue of the Tanjore Manuscripts Library, of which nine volumes have been issued so far. The discovery of these important *Grantha* manuscripts is due to that cataloguing, although we see that three out of the four manuscripts that are made use of primarily are among those used by the Bhandarkar Institute editors. We only hope that neither the publisher nor the editor will let their enthusiasm cool before they bring out a complete edition, of which this gives but the foretaste. We are assured that the second part is almost ready for issue, and with that the first book will be finished.* At this rate of progress, we may well expect the complete work in our hands in the near future; and, apart from other benefits accruing therefrom, the publication of this edition will certainly be of great assistance to the work on the critical edition. Similar work would be welcome on the more important of the other recensions, such as, for instance, the Bengali recension, or the Kashmiri recension, or even of some groups of the Devanāgarī manuscripts that may permit of local grouping as being homogeneous. Bengal may perhaps attempt this, and let us hope others will follow.

In one of the prefatory notes to the later fascicules of the Bhandarkar edition, the editor has

arrived at some far-reaching conclusions regarding the southern version, which, if justified by manuscript authority, would give the particular direction to *Mahābhārata* studies and even *Mahābhārata* scholarship which has already attained a certain amount of vogue, but which to us seems hardly justified by the material at our disposal as yet. The *Mahābhārata* seems to have produced a deep impression upon non-Sanskritic peoples, and one peculiarity of all the literature in the South Indian languages is that almost each one of them seems to claim as its first great work a translation of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* of Nannayya Bhaṭṭa in Telugu stands an unrivalled classic. The *Pampa Bhārata* enjoys a similar eminence, if not the same degree of priority. The Malayālam *Bhārata* has almost as high a reputation as the Telugu work. The Tamil *Bhārata* is an early work also, and if the evidence of a late Pāṇḍya charter of the tenth century is accepted as authoritative, the rendering of the *Mahābhārata* into Tamil takes rank with the establishment of the Śāṅgam, the traditional Tamil Śāṅgam, in Madura. We have references to two other versions, which are datable:—Perumdevanār's *Bhārata* in the middle of the ninth century and Villiputtūrār's *Bhārata* of the fourteenth century or a little later, and a still later one, Nalla Pillai's *Bhārata*, which completes Villiputtūrār's. The Javanese *Bhārata* is said to be based on the southern recension, and therefore the expansion towards the east of the *Mahābhārata* culture is traceable to the Tamil version, or it may be the southern Sanskrit recension. The version of the *Bhārata* referred to in the copper-plate charter mentioned above is different from these and of a much earlier date, a date anterior to 300 A.D. A comparison of these versions with a native southern version would have its own value; but that is not our point at present.

One can trace in inscriptions grants made from time to time for the reading of the *Mahābhārata* in temples and sometimes even in villages. In many cases where educational grants were made or educational institutions are referred to, we find that the study of the *Mahābhārata* constituted a branch of these institutions. The cultivation of the study of the *Mahābhārata* seems to have been pursued systematically, and the tradition handed down, even of the text after it had been committed to writing, may be regarded as having been more steadily continuous than in any other case, excepting of course the Vedas and Vaidik literature. Does this not argue the continuous preservation of the *Mahābhārata* tradition in a correct southern recension and the bearing thereof upon the authoritative *Mahābhārata* text, whenever that authoritative text becomes actually possible. It is in that view that we welcome this publication.

S. K. Aiyangar.

* Three parts are already out bringing the work to the end of the second book, *Suhī & Parā*.—S. K. A.

ANTIQUITY OF THE JAIN SECTS.

By PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M.A., CALCUTTA.

My "Note on the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Sects," which appeared in the September issue of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1929, was written mainly with the object of bringing to the notice of scholars various problems connected with the antiquity and origin of the two major Jain sects, which still await investigation. From the further note on the subject which has appeared in the same Journal for August 1930, it is gratifying to see that Mr. K. P. Jain, a learned Digambara scholar, has taken up the task. I am confident that, provided the work is done in a thoroughly scientific spirit, free from sectarian bias, the origin of the two sects may be cleared up satisfactorily. I need hardly add that as my paper only briefly indicated the lines of enquiry, it neither supplied complete references nor presumed to speak the last word on the subject in scientific research. Holding opposite views, Mr. Jain rejects my conclusions on the ground that they are not based on reliable references. I regret to notice, on the other hand, that the references and interpretations of texts quoted by him are not always satisfactory, nor has he done me justice in his analysis of my views on the following points:—

(a) Nudity.

Mr. K. P. Jain thinks that I contend that "because the Śvetāmbaras hold that all the predecessors of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara wore clothes, the idea of nudity was preached by the last Tīrthaṅkara for the first time." In controverting my supposed views on the point, Mr. Jain cites references from the Rīg-veda and from Brahmanical and Buddhist literature to prove that nudity was an ancient institution in India and that the early Jain monks, from the days of Rishabhadeva down to Mahāvīra, were naked. I would point out that the conclusion drawn from my views does not logically follow from my statement that "the Jain ascetics of the period of Pārśvanātha and those of his predecessors used to wear clothes and that it was only at a later period, during the régime of Mahāvīra, that the fashion of discarding clothes had its origin, perhaps due to the prevalence of extreme asceticism at the time." Though Rishabhadeva discarded clothes after he had been an ascetic for some time, the rules promulgated by him permitted Jain ascetics to use one to three garments.¹ It is also stated that the Sādhus of the period of 22 Tīrthaṅkaras between Rishabha and Mahāvīra used to wear garments of all colours.² Mahāvīra, who gave up clothes after 13 months of ascetic life, made it a rule that only white garments should be used by Sādhus.³ The latter sanctioned nudity only to the order of Jinakalpī Sādhus, who were required to forsake human habitations and practise their austerities outside villages and towns. If Mr. Jain admits the authority of the *Kalpasūtra* on the nudity of Rishabhadeva, he should in fairness admit it for other statements made therein, if not for other Śvetāmbara texts.

The fact that the 22 Tīrthaṅkaras succeeding Rishabha as well as the ascetics of their time were accustomed to wear clothes, proves that before the days of Mahāvīra it was unusual for the Jain monks to go about naked. Pārśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment.⁴ In the *Mahāvīra-caritra* of Hemachandra, Gosāla Makkhaliputta, a contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, defends the precept of nakedness against the pupils of Pārśva and "gets beaten, and almost killed by the women of a village in Magadha,

¹ See *Achārāṅga Sūtra*, S.B.E., vol. XXII, pp. 67 (Fourth Lesson, etc.). London. 1884.

² See *Kalpasūtram*, D. L. Fund Series No. 61. Bombay. 1923. (2nd Edition), p. 2 ff. :

अजितादि द्वाविंशति जिनतीर्थ साधूनां कञ्चुप्रज्ञानां
बहुमूल्य विविध वर्ण वस्त्र परिभोगनुज्ञा सङ्गादेन, etc.

³ *Ibid.* :

श्रीकृष्णभवीर तीर्थ यतीनां च सर्वेषामपि श्वेत मानोपेत
जीर्णप्राय वस्त्र धारित्वेन अचेतनकरश्च

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I (1922), pp. 154-55; Ramaprasad Chanda, *Annual Report*, A.S.I., 1925-26, pp. 176-77.

because he was a naked Śramaṇa or mendicant."⁵ This proves that nudity was not practised by all Jain monks even in the days of Mahāvira.

Scholars are agreed that the institution of nudity was first emphasised by Mahāvira within the Jain church, but "this distinction did not lead to serious schism in the Jaina community till six hundred years later."⁶ We are told, besides, that "a prince whose father he (Udayin the king of Magadha) had dethroned plotted against his (Udayin's) life; and aware of the welcome accorded to the Jains by Udayin, he entered his palace in the disguise of a Jain monk, and murdered him in the night."⁷ It goes without saying that the person of a nude monk affords neither any scope for disguise, nor any protection against detection. As this happened sixty years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira, the custom of wearing clothes by Jain monks does not seem to have disappeared at that time.

The main point we are to consider is this, whether nudity was a compulsory rule of conduct among the Jain monks generally, or whether it was practised by the Jinakalpi Sādhus only and by Mahāvira during the latter stages of his asceticism. Now, from the available data at our disposal we are unmistakably led to the latter conclusion. From the Hāthi-gumphā inscriptions of the second century B.C. we find King Khāravela of Orissa giving away clothes to Jain monks.⁸ Mathurā sculptures of the first century also present scenes where monks are seen holding clothes.⁹ These are historical facts of first class importance, and we need not seriously consider the curious views Mr. Jain has about the Mathurā antiquities. The contention that "the inscriptions of the Śvetāmbara Gaṇas, etc.," have been "inscribed on the Digambara or naked images" may be merely the orthodox Digambara standpoint, but has no basis in fact. They do not show "a topsy-turvy condition of the Jaina Saṅgha at the time." On the contrary, "the inscriptions are replete with information as to the organisation of the Jain church in sections known as Gaṇa, Kula, and Śākhā, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jain books."¹⁰ Mr. Jain also states that "The Mathurā antiquities are only about a century older than the date on which the Jaina Saṅgha separated into two sects, and they might show signs of the Śvetāmbara origin at the time." It is therefore conclusive from Mr. Jain's own statement that the Śvetāmbara beliefs and traditions existed in the Jain church long before the formal separation.

Mr. Jain further cites the *munayo vātavasanas* mentioned in the Rīg-veda (X, 136. 2) and refers to Weber's identification of the Indian gymnosophists of the time of Alexander the Great with Digambara Jains. I must point out that the texts¹¹ give the reading *vāta-raṣana* and not *vātavasana* as misquoted by Mr. Jain, the word being translated "wind-girt" and not "wind-clad." According to Macdonell and Keith, the term is applied to *Munis* in the Rīg-veda (X, 136. 2) and to Rishis in the *Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka* (I, 23. 2; 24. 4; II, 7. 1), both late texts.¹² Mr. Jain does not, however, tell us if he can trace the origin of the Digambara sect from Vedic Munis and Rishis. Weber was not right in taking these to be Digambaras, as there are naked Śivaite Sādhus even to this day, according to his own statement. Similarly erroneous is his identification of the naked ascetics interviewed by Onesicritus at Taxila, one of whom eventually took to clothes and accompanied Alexander on his journey back to Persia.¹³ Mr. Jain also cites various Brahmanical texts in which Jain monks are designated as naked recluses. These texts are mostly of later dates, and sometimes

⁵ Wilson's Works, vol. I, p. 294, quoted by H. Jacobi in *I.A.*, vol. IX, pp. 161-62; Banerji-Sastri, *JBORS.*, vol. XII, pp. 53-62.

⁶ *Jain Yuga*, vol. II, p. 53. R. A. F. Hoernle, *JASB.*, 1898, pp. 40-41; J. Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 154-55; Ramaprasad Chanda, *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1925-26, pp. 176-77.

⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I (1922), p. 164.

⁸ K. P. Jayaswal, *Nāgarī Prachārini Patrikā*, vol. X, p. 501.

⁹ V. Smith, *Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 24, pl. XXVII.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 6.

¹¹ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 284.

¹² *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 77-78.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 358-9.

unreliable. Their testimony, therefore, on the history of the two Jain sects is hardly helpful, and even as such the references have not all been correctly gathered.

The passage cited from the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, for instance, mentions ascetics "who go clothed in much raiment" as well as those "who go naked."¹⁴ That Śāṅkara's (788-850 A.D.) reference to the Jains is confined only to the *vivāsana-samaya*,¹⁵ is explained by the fact that he came from South India,¹⁶ where the Digambaras were prominent, as may be gathered from the itinerary of Yuan Chwang. It is to be regretted that Mr. Jain does not quote the relevant passages from the *Mahābhārata*¹⁷ and *Duśakumāra-carita*, particularly as his references are unsatisfactory.

Among the Buddhist texts quoted by Mr. Jain in support of his statement that the Jains are described as naked monks, there is a passage from the *Mahāvagga* (I. 70. 3), which likens naked Buddhist monks to *Titthiyas*. Mr. Jain comments that the latter "were no doubt, the non-Buddhistic monks belonging to older orders than those of Mahāvīra and Buddha." As their description coincides with that of a Digambara Jain monk, as described in the Śāstras, he concludes that they were naked monks of the school of Pārśva. I have already shown that the disciples of Pārśva were accustomed to wear clothes and that they argued with Gosāla, one of the six *Titthiyas*, against nudity. So Mr. Jain's identification of the naked *Titthiyas* as disciples of Pārśva is untenable. The Buddhist texts, not cognisant of the doctrines of Mahāvīra, include him among the six *Titthiyas*; but it is well-known that Mahāvīra propounded the *Pañchayama-dharma* as against the *Chaturyama-dharma* of Pārśva,¹⁸ and so the *Titthiyas* could not have very well belonged to the order of Pārśvanātha. Another *Titthiya* was Ajita Keśakambali who derived his name from the garment made of hair that formed his apparel.¹⁹ A feature of his doctrine was the wearing of coarse garments. The poor fellow could not have been a Digambara. Makkhali Gosāla, the notorious apostate, originally a runaway slave, who had been deprived of his clothes by his master while making his escape, was the leader of the Ājīvika sect; and Mr. Jain's thesis cannot be maintained unless the Digambaras trace their origin from this ascetic who had broken away from his Guru, and identify themselves with the Ājīvikas. Pūraṇa Kassapa, one of the *Titthiyas*, had been originally a slave who left his master and was robbed of his clothes by thieves, whence he remained in nudity, thinking that as a Digambara he would be better respected. He held the notion that "actions are fatally determined,"²⁰ which is opposed to Jain theories. It is interesting to note that the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who refers to the Digambaras²¹ and the white-clad sects,²² the Nigranthas²³ and the Tīrthikas individually and separately, draws a distinction between them. He mentions 10,000 Tīrthikas in Koṅ-goda.²⁴ The Kalanda Venuvana had been given to the Tīrthikas.²⁵ Udra Rāmaputta, the ascetic, was a Tīrthika.²⁶ Ajita Keśakambali was another.²⁷ The Deva P'usa is said to have debated with Tīrthikas at Prayāga and Pāṭaliputra.²⁸ At Tsao-ku-t'a, the Tīrthikas were in the majority, having numerous disciples. They worshipped Shu-na deva who had come from Mt. Aruṇa in Kapisa to the Shu-na-hi-lo mountain in the south of that country.²⁹ At Malakuta, the Kuman-tzu-tsai P'usa, appears to the devotees as Pāsūpata Tīrthika, or as Maheśvara.³⁰ The ash-smearing Śaivas of Palusha are described as Tīrthikas.³¹

¹⁴ H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇupurāṇa* (London, 1844), pp. 338-9.

¹⁵ *Vedānta-sūtra*, II, 2. 33; *S.B.E.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 428-34.

¹⁶ J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 162, 166, 171.

¹⁷ For Indra's appearance in disguise as a *Digveda*, see E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 136-37.

¹⁸ *I.A.*, vol. IX, pp. 158-73.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 311-14.

²⁰ E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 207.

²¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, pp. 122-23; II, pp. 63, 154, 184, 224, 226 and 228.

²² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 251-52.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 184, 198.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 196.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 156.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 141.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 393.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 361-62, II, pp. 100-101.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 265.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 229.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 221.

The Tirthikas are mentioned as offering *tarpaṇa* in water.³² In the Chu-li-ya country, where the naked were numerous, the people, who were of a fierce and profligate character, were believers in the Tirthikas.³³ It follows that Titthiya, or Tirthika, was a general designation used by Buddhists for ascetics or sects who were heretics from the Buddhist point of view.

Mr. Jain's misapplication of the Buddhist texts is evidently due to his misinterpretation of the term *Nigrantha* as used therein. According to Prof. Jacobi³⁴ this term originally signified the pre-Buddhist Jain monks, who, as we have seen, were not accustomed to nudity. Their doctrines were the *Chaturyama-dharma* alluded to in the *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta*,³⁵ in Śīlaṅka's commentary on the *Āchāraṅga-Sutta* and in the text of the *Bhagavati*; but Mahāvīra propounded the *Pañchayama-dharma*, while the Buddhists persisted in calling him *Nigantha*. As applied to Mahāvīra the term connoted one who had destroyed the *grantha*, the 'bonds' of worldly cares, and did not refer to his nudity.³⁶ The Buddhist texts, however, do not use the designation for the Jains alone. It is true that *Nigantha* of the Nātha clan is distinguished from Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Kachchāyana of the Pakhudha Tree, and Sañjaya Belatthiputta.³⁷ But in the *Divyāvadāna*, a work dating later than 200 A.D.,³⁸ Puraṇo Nirgrantho is mentioned.³⁹ In the *Mahāvagga*,⁴⁰ the disciples of Pūraṇa Kassapa are described as *Niganthā ekasātakā, gihī odātavasanaṁ acelakasāvakaṁ*. Yuan Chwang mentions Nigranthas side by side with Digambaras at Puṇḍravardhana.⁴¹ All these clearly indicate that the Buddhists used this term in a generic sense, denoting religious orders whom they regarded as heretical.

Thus it is clear that the quotation from the *Mahāvagga* cited by Mr. K. P. Jain does not refer to Jain, but to non-Jain monks. But, for the sake of argument, even if we accept that it refers to Digambara Jain monks, the argument of Mr. Jain is hardly tenable. To prove that the Digambaras were the earlier sect of Jains and the Śvetāmbaras a later one, it is not enough to show that certain naked Jain monks existed at a particular period of time. It must also be shown beyond doubt that all Jain monks at and up to that period were naked and clothes were never in use amongst them.

In my original note I stated that the ancient images of the Tirthaṅkaras consecrated before the division in the church cannot properly be said to belong to any particular sect. But Mr. Jain asserts that at the time of the Hāthigumphā inscription "only naked images were installed and were under the exclusive management of the Digambaras." I fail to understand how he has come to such a conclusion. There is not a single authority or text which goes to show that only naked images were installed at the time and that such images were under the exclusive control and management of the Digambara sect. But from the internal and external evidence available up till now, it is clear that the differentiation of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jain images did not begin during the early centuries of the Christian era. According to Śvetāmbara tradition the distinction between the images of the two sects dates only from the eighth century A.D.,⁴² when, as the result of disagreement over

³² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 320-21.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 224.

³⁴ *I.A.*, vol. IX, pp. 158-63.

³⁵ Grimblot, *Sept Suttas Palis*, p. 126; *ibid.*, p. 160 ff.

³⁶ *I.A.*, vol. VIII, p. 313.

³⁷ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. 2, *S.B.E.*, vol. III, p. 166.

³⁸ J. N. Farquhar, *Outlines of Indian Religious Literature*, p. 108.

³⁹ Cowell & Neil, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 166.

⁴⁰ *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Pt. III (= *Mahāvagga*, LVII, 2), pp. 383-84.

⁴¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 184.

⁴² *Upadeśa-taraṅginī*, Ratnamandira Gani, pp. 248-49.

the Gīrnār *tīrtha*, the Śvetāmbaras started the practice of distinguishing their images, standing and seated, by indicating the *añchalika*, or scarf.⁴³ The Digambaras, on the other hand, insisted on representing the male organ on their images. This is particularly noticeable in their seated images, earlier specimens of which from Mathurā, true to their non-sectarian character, do not show this particular feature. The modern Digambara images, which similarly hide the male organ from view, as mentioned by Mr. Jain, simply continue this neutral or non-sectarian type. So that his learned comments on the history and iconography of Jain art are untenable on account of his misunderstanding of the facts.

(b) **Spiritual Emancipation of Women.**

In my original note I have drawn attention to the different views on the spiritual emancipation of women held by the two sects, and have mentioned that such views played an important part in the schism in the Jain church. My contention is that the Śvetāmbaras uphold the authentic and rational views on the point and that the reactionary Digambaras in denying salvation to women have reverted back to old standards of conservatism and biogotry. My thanks are due to Mr. Jain for bringing together references from Vedic and Buddhist texts which satisfactorily illustrate the conservative views held by non-Jain people on the matter. The Buddha's unwillingness to admit women to his monastic order indicates only that he was not altogether proof against those orthodox notions. The existence of bigoted and irrational views on the matter outside the Jain church being established by Mr. Jain, the Digambaras must be held to have made concessions to the conservative tendencies existing among the non-Jain and heterodox sects.

(c) **Jain Canons.**

With regard to my statement that the Jain canons accepted by the Śvetāmbaras preserve the genuine early Jain tradition, which has been totally discarded by the Digambaras, Mr. Jain only quotes Prof. A. B. Keith on their doubtful authenticity. It is to be regretted that he did not investigate the subject further, nor acquaint himself with the result of the considerable research that has been carried out on the subject.⁴⁴ He appears to have contented himself with adopting the sectarian Digambara opinions. He does not stop to consider that the Digambaras, while denying the authenticity of the Śvetāmbara canon, hold the twelve Āngas in as high esteem as the latter, the two lists being in close agreement. Nor should we forget that the texts of some of the Śvetāmbara Āngas at least, viz., the *Bhagavatī* and the *Jñāta-dharma Kathā*, *Upāsaka Dasāṅga* and the *Avasyaka-sūtras*, are in daily use among the Digambaras.⁴⁵ Mr. Jain does not explain why the story of Harinegameshi, which is proved to be a very early tradition from its representation on a Mathurā bas-relief,⁴⁶ should find mention only in the Śvetāmbara texts and not in any of the Digambara ones. Another case in point relates to the personal history of Mahāvīra, who, according to the Śvetāmbara canon, had been in his early life married to the lady Yashodā and had a daughter named Priyadarshanā by her.⁴⁷ The Digambara books in their regard for extreme forms of asceticism usually describe him as a celibate all his life. That this is a travesty of truth is proved by the Digambara Jinasena's mention of the marriage ceremony of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras in the *Harivamśa-purāṇa*. I have verified the relevant passages from the

⁴³ (a) W. Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Berlin, 1922, Tafeln 79, 81.

(b) Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. IV, 1924. See figures of Tirthaṅkaras, represented with *añchalika*.

(c) For a standing draped figure of Ajitanātha (brass) dated V.S. 1110 from Ahmadābād, see *J.A.*, vol. LVI, p. 72, and Pl. I; *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhak*, vol. III, p. 61; A. F. R. Hoernle in *JASB.*, 1898, Pt. I, pp. 47-51.

⁴⁴ H. Jacobi, in *J.A.*, vol. IX, p. 161. J. Charpentier, *Intn. to Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*, p. 15.

⁴⁵ G. Bühler, *J.A.*, vol. VII, pp. 28-29, quoting Bom. Administration Rep., 1875-76.

⁴⁶ V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1901, pp. 25-26; Pl. XVIII.

⁴⁷ A. F. R. Hoernle, in *JASB.*, 1898, Pt. I, p. 40.

MS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is incomprehensible to me how the Digambaras can be proved to be adherents of the genuine early Jain traditions in spite of their admission that the old canons have been altogether lost. Mr. Jain points out that the rules of conduct for the Śramaṇas (Jain monks) given in the Buddhist *Kassapa Sihanada Sutta* coincide to a word with those given in the Digambara Jain literature, which only indicates the non-Jain origin of some of the Digambara traditions.

(d) **Digambaras during Muhammadan Rule.**

In support of his assertion that the Digambaras were a flourishing sect during the Muhammadan rule, Mr. Jain mentions the facts that Nainsukhdās, a Śvetāmbara *pandit*, changed his creed during this period, and that Digambara pontiffs approached Muhammadan sovereigns like Alāu'd-dīn and Aurangzeb, and preached to them Jain doctrines. I need hardly mention that it is unscientific to rush to such conclusions merely from sporadic cases of apostasy in the Śvetāmbara church. The alleged relations between the Digambaras and bigoted Muhammadan sovereigns like Alāu'd-dīn and Aurangzeb cannot be accepted merely on the authority of a text like *Jaina Biruddhali*, unless corroborated from independent Muhammadan sources. On the other hand there is overwhelming evidence of Śvetāmbara influence over the Muhammadan sovereigns and their governors in various parts of Northern India.⁴⁸

I should further draw attention to another fact, that it is only in the existing religious literature of the Digambaras that we find great divergence of views and discrepancies in fixing the birthplaces of Tirthaṅkaras as well as other important events of their lives. This scepticism is indicative of a period of crisis, of doubt and questioning in the main body of the Jain church, which ultimately led to the separation by the section which refused to acknowledge the authority of the then existing canons. This conflict is nowhere to be found in the Śvetāmbara literature, which points to its adherence to older traditions.

I think I should not dwell upon the subject at greater length. It was only in a spirit of research and further study in this direction that I wrote the note, and these lines are also written with the same object. I hope Mr. K. P. Jain and other scholars will accept my views in the same spirit.

⁴⁸ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay*, 1883-84, Bom. 1887, p. 126, Hemchandra's *Nāma-mālā*; V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 162 n., 166-68; N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926, pp. 21-23, 69-73.

LIFE OF RŪPA BHAWANĪ

(A Great Hermitess of Kashmīr).

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRĪNAGAR, KASHMĪR.

DISTANCE of place has undoubtedly a great charm, but distance of time has greater, and when it is associated with the memory of a pious soul, this charm is immeasurably enhanced. A saintly soul's account of life will certainly be appreciated by many in whom tradition is not dead, by many to whom ancient learning and the veneration of ancestors are the breath of life, and by many in whom the gems of literature temper materialism and graft a fine philanthropy upon philosophy.

From the earliest times, Kashmīr was a land of saints and seers of sublime order, who developed in themselves occult powers which beggar description. Despite the lapse of centuries since they lived, they still command public homage and devotion. To their serene, meditative minds speculation in the sphere of metaphysics was always congenial. Anecdotes of their occult powers ever dominated the minds of both men and women throughout the country, shedding a perpetual glamour over the popular sentiments and tending to perpetually renovate mankind.

Amongst them was the famous holy woman named Rūpa Bhawānī, *alias* Alakeshwari ('the lady with the lock of hair') so called because she used to leave the hair of her head unplaited or Alak-Ishvari (incarnation of the Invisible). She was born in S. 1681 (1625 A.D.) Her name has an assured place among holy seers, shedding rays of purity all round. Her father's name was Paṇḍit Mādho Dhar, and her mother's Sampat Māji. The latter came from the Kaul family of Kāwdāra Mahall. Paṇḍit Mādho Dhar lived on the right bank of the Jhelum river below the 6th Bridge at Śrīnagar, close to Paṇḍit Shyām Sundar Lal Dhar's house, where at present Paṇḍit Bala Kaul's descendants live, and where there exists still a well sacred to her memory. In him the qualities of virtue and high-mindedness were blended. He used to have philosophical discussions with Sayyid Kamāl, *alias* Thag Bābā, a Muhammadan recluse of high order, who lived near his house across the river.

Paṇḍit Mādho Dhar used to go to the Hari Parvat daily for worship. One day he saw the goddess Shārikā in a dream, and she asked him what he desired. He told her that he desired nothing but this, that she should deign to take birth in his house as his daughter. The goddess granted his prayer. In course of time, his wife gave birth to a bright little daughter. The baby was named Rūpa Bhawānī. As she grew up, her divine origin manifested itself more and more. The purity and sanctity of her life were conspicuous. Her speech was rapture all and nameless bliss. Some of her sayings have passed into the intellectual currency of the Kashmīris. She was the beau-ideal of all that is pure, gentle and spiritualistic. She was a paragon of virtue and wisdom—the glory of her sex.

One day Rūpa Bhawānī, when she was only 2½ years old, was carried by a female servant to give a present to Rishi Pīr¹ (a renowned ascetic of Kashmīr) on his birthday. She gave him the present, but did not approve of his performing miracles, which made him famous, as great saints, she said, shunned show and publicity and remained in secrecy in absolute communion with God. She, therefore, regretfully remarked: *Rishis piyayih tembrā, parantu ohnojan gayes*, meaning that a spark (of revelation) had fallen on Rishi Pīr, but it had gone the wrong way down his throat. Rishi Pīr, on seeing her and hearing her remark, bowed down before her.

While yet but seven years old, she was married to a young man named Paṇḍit Shyām Sundar, son of Chatur Paṇḍit of the Sapru family living at Sapatyār (2nd Bridge) at Śrīnagar.

Rūpa Bhawānī's mother-in-law was, like that of Lal Dēd² the prophetess, noted for relentless cruelty and was a stumbling block to her happiness. Rūpa Bhawānī used to go,

¹ See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, pp. 95-98, 123-127.

² See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. L (1921), pp. 302-308, 309-312, vol. LIX (1930), pp. 108-113, 127-130, vol. LX (1931), pp. 191-193, and vol. LXI (1932), pp. 13-16.

in the first grey of the morning to Hari Parvat for worship, and even for this absurd and scandalous whispers, born of sheer malice and hatred, were circulated by her cranky mother-in-law. Once her husband was, at his mother's instructions, sent after her as a spy to see where she was actually going so early in the morning. He followed her and watched her from a distance. When she was returning, near the place called Parankanih, to the south of the Hari Parvat hill, she looked behind and saw her husband following her like a spy. She was naturally offended at this, and a prayer fell from her lips that the Sapru family might never thrive. And this family has actually not thriven since, there being very few people belonging to it in the whole Valley of Kashmir.

Once on the Khitsimāvas³ day Rūpa Bhawānī's parents sent a pot full of *pilāv* (cooked rice and meat with spices) to her husband's house. Her mother-in-law, far from being pleased, began to grumble that the *pilāv* was insufficient to feed all the family members and relations. Rūpa Bhawānī, however, covered the pot with a cloth and meekly requested her to begin distributing its contents. She began giving platefuls out of it, but lo! it would not empty. When all were served, Rūpa Bhawānī lifted the cloth and it was then empty. Yet her mother-in-law's anger was not appeased. She told Rūpa Bhawānī peevishly to remove the empty pot from her sight. She took it to the *ghāt* and let it float down the river. It reached the *ghāt* of her parents while her father happened to be bathing there. He recognised the pot as his own and, catching it, took it home.

Rūpa Bhawānī led her hermitical life at Wastarwan for 12½ years, then at Chashma-i-Sāhibi for another period of 12½ years and then in a forest in the Lār *pargana* for another 12 years. The *lambardār* of the village of Maingām, named Lāl Chand, was informed by some boys that they had seen an ascetic at a cranny in the neighbouring forest. He went with them and saw her, and at his request she came and lived in his house for six months. She then left this house and stayed on the bank of the Sindh River at the same village for another period of 12½ years. Here she planted a *chindār* tree, which is still there. At all the above places she performed austere penances. While at Maingām, she used occasionally to float down the Sindh river on a piece of matting to Qasba Lār village, where Shāh Sādiq Qalandar (a great Muhammadan philomath) used to reside, and there she used to converse on religious topics with him. Once he said to her: "Rupa Dedi! If you come to our side (i.e., become a convert to Islām) you will become gold in place of Rūp ('silver')." To this she replied: "Shāh Sādiq! If you come to our side (become a Hindu at heart) you will become Mokta ('pearl,' or 'having attained salvation') in place of [shi] Shāh ('glass')." At another time, when Shāh Sādiq Qalandar saw her, she was dressed in a garment dyed crimson. He asked her what colour her garment was. She replied: "*Zāg, surath, tah mazeth*." These words have a two-fold meaning, the one literal and the other mystical, namely (1) 'vitriol, safflower and madder' (*Rubia cordifolia*, Linn.) and (2) 'be awake, catch Him (God) and do not extend' (in this world).

Rūpa Bhawānī removed from Maingām to Ripur⁴ just above the hermitage of Shāh Sādiq Qalandar, where she performed austere penances for another period of 12½ years. After that she left one of her female servants, named Jaman Dēd (whose own house was at Qasba Lār), in charge of this place and went to Vāsakur village, near Sumbal. Kastūrmāji was another female servant of hers, who belonged to the same family as Aita Shāh Malang,⁵ one of the esoteric disciples of Rishi Pīr. She was a widow and had only a young son, named Rāma Chandra Matu, with her. Rūpa Bhawānī took her together with her son to Vāsakur. At this place she remained for 25 years. Here she had a well sunk by a blind potter, whose

³ This Festival falls on the *Amāvasya* of the month of Puṣya. In every Brāhman's house *khichrī* is cooked on the evening of this day, and a plateful kept outside in the compound for the god Kuvera.

⁴ Noted for vineyards which produce the best grapes in Kashmir.

⁵ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, pp. 95-98, 123-127.

eyesight became miraculously restored as soon as water level was reached in the well. This potter's descendants still live at Vāsakur.

Rūpa Bhawānī had a brother named Lāl Dhar, whose son, Bāla Dhar, lived with Rūpa Bhawānī at Vāsakur. This youth remained illiterate till he was 22 years of age. One day his father rebuked him for his illiteracy. Stung with remorse he wept bitterly. Rūpa Bhawānī, however, consoled him and gave him a pen made from a pomegranate twig, ink made with charcoal and some paper, and bade him write an application for employment to Aurangzeb, the then emperor at Delhi. He obeyed and, wonderful to relate, wrote it admirably and in the best Persian diction. The Emperor, who was pleased with its style and handwriting, appointed him to a post at Delhi, which he took up, and held with great credit. After some time he sent a letter composed in verse to his sister, Rūpa Bhawānī. She also sent him a reply in verse. Both these letters are reproduced below.

عربی حال بال دهر که از مقام دہلی بخدعت شوی مت گور صاحبہ عرضداشتہ است

- (۱) عرض حال سرگذاشتم بشنوید : لاعلاج چاره ساز من شوید
- (۲) بودم از غفلت در ایام شباب : روز و شب مشغول فکر خورد و خواب
- (۳) ہم زیبای کار غافل ہم ز سر : بودم از اصدای خیر پیر به خبر
- (۴) لیک فیض عام تو شد خاص من : یافتم بار جنابت در زن
- (۵) مدتی بودم ز الطاف کمال : بهره مند از دولت قرب وصال
- (۶) قدر آن دولت بے نشناختم : خود به داور راستی کم باختم
- (۷) وای بر من جرم غفلت کرده ام : سر بسر تقصیر خدمت کرده ام
- (۸) چون چنین جرمی ز من گشته ظهور : بوکنار افتادم از دریای نور
- (۹) باز روی از کابلی بو تاختم : بر در رحمت سراغ یافتم
- (۱۰) رفت دریای دلم خار طلب : دمیدم شد گرم بازار طلب
- (۱۱) صد بیابان دور ماندم ز انجناب : خانه بجران شود یارب خراب
- (۱۲) پی نہ بردم سوی این ره چند گاه : دور ماندم زان در عالم پناه
- (۱۳) تا کہ روزی خسرو قتم شد دوچار : کو بر راه ظلمتم شد دستیار
- (۱۴) چونکہ پیبوم زره چند قدم : ناگهان گشتم سگے سنگ رهم
- (۱۵) سگ به یک لقمہ وفاداری کند : این سگ از خوردن جفاکاری کند
- (۱۶) این سگ درندہ یاران الصدور : الصدور اے زیرگان کردم خبر
- (۱۷) آن نہ سگ ہم سنگ گرگ و شیر بود : وحشتش از عالم جان می بود
- (۱۸) چون سگ بدخوی دامگیر شد : پس به پای رفتم زنجیر شد
- (۱۹) از کشا کشهای آن سگ دمیدم : مدد لا سا کرده رفتم یک قدم
- (۲۰) قلعه دیدم چور قتم چند گام : بود در رفعت بے عالی مقام
- (۲۱) جانب خود ناگهان دیدم دوان : از نگهبانان آن ده بیلوان
- (۲۲) ہو یکی دیدم عیار و رهنه : در ره یزدان شده آبرمنه
- (۲۳) خواستم راه درون رفتم بے : تا به خلوت گاه او پئے بودم

- (۲۴) بر یکی راعی به چاره می نمود . در عیاری دستکاری می نمود
 (۲۵) بر یکی در گمراهی غولم شده . سدرای راعی مقبولم شده
 (۲۶) بسکریا آنهان ندیدم کس حریف . از غریبی یافتم خود را ضعیف
 (۲۷) جذبۀ توفیق شد چون دستیار . یافتم پس بر در آن قلعه بار
 (۲۸) کوچه دیدم بسے نازیک و تنگ . باد نتواند زدن دردی شلنگ
 (۲۹) ناگهانم جذبۀ آن خضر راه . از کشا کشهای آنهان شد پناه
 (۳۰) راه کوچه در حریم خاص بود . رهنمونش جذبۀ اخلاص بود
 (۳۱) میشدی هرگز سعادت رهبر . بر سر آن کوچه میکردم گذر
 (۳۲) بر سر آن کوچه چون باد صبا . گاه گاهی یافتم بوی وفا
 (۳۳) ایک ره در خلوت خاصم گواست . گرفتاری راعی آن خلوت بهاست
 (۳۴) زانکه از دل بندۀ آندر گهم . جذبۀ فرمای اے خضر رهم
 (۳۵) بر سر آن کوچه بسقم خاکسار . نابر بینم نقش پای آن نگار
 (۳۶) دیده ام من بسے رندان بند . ایک کمتر از مریدان تواند
 (۳۷) داشتم حد ادب چون در نظر . عرض حال خود نمودم مختصر

Translation of letter from Bāla Dhar to Rūpa Bhavānī.

- (1) Please listen to what occurred to me.
I am helpless. Be my helper.
- (2) I was, through negligence, in my youth
Busy day and night with eating and sleeping.
- (3) I neglected work entirely ;
I was wholly ignorant of real knowledge.
- (4) But thy general munificence became special [munificence] to me.
I obtained audience of thee in this world.
- (5) Long did I, through [your] extreme kindness,
Avail of the fortune of close contact [with you].
- (6) I did not esteem that fortune much ;
I myself played foul in the game of truth.
- (7) Alas ! I have committed the offence of negligence ;
I have been entirely remiss in service.
- (8) When such an offence was committed by me,
I was tossed up on the bank from the river of light.
- (9) Then I turned away owing to [my] idleness ;
I found a clue at the door of thy mercy.
- (10) A thorn of quest pricked into the bottom of my heart,
And a keen inclination arose for the quest.
- (11) I remained a hundred deserts distant from you.
O God, may the house of distance be ruined !
- (12) I could not get a clue to the way for sometime.
I remained at a distance from that door—the asylum of the world—
- (13) Until one day the prophet Khizr of the time met me.
He stretched out to me his helping hand in the way of darkness.
- (14) When I walked some paces on the way,
A dog suddenly hindered me from proceeding.

-
- (15) A dog becomes faithful by [giving him] a mouthful of food ;
This dog commits oppression on being fed (lit., ' from eating ').
- (16) O friends, beware of this biting dog !
O intelligent people, beware ! I have given you a warning.
- (17) Not a dog that, it was equal to a wolf or a tiger ;
Fear of it used to take life from a world.
- (18) When this dog of bad habits seized me by the skirt.
It hampered me from moving on (lit., ' became a chain on the foot of my going ').
- (19) From constant struggles with that dog
I walked one pace after [giving him] a hundred pats.
- (20) When I walked a few paces, I spied a fort.
It was a very lofty building in elevation.
- (21) I suddenly found running towards me
Ten warriors (i.e., 5 internal and 5 external senses) from [among] its guards.
- (22) I found every one of them crafty and a robber,
[Who had] become an evil spirit infesting the road towards God.
- (23) I, however, inquired the way to enter,
So that I could spy the secret abode.
- (24) Each one of them pointed to me a way to a well—
Showing his power in craftiness.
- (25) Each one led me astray,
Becoming an obstacle on the road agreeable to me.
- (26) I could not find anyone to oppose them ;
I found myself feeble from my weakness.
- (27) When the attraction of [thy] kindness became [my] helper
I then found an entrance to that fort.
- (28) I saw a lane very narrow and dark—
Wind [even] could not enter into it.
- (29) Suddenly the attraction of thee, the Khizr of the way,
Became a shelter from all their obstructions.
- (30) The lane was leading to thine own apartment ;
That guide was the attraction of love.
- (31) Thy grace was every time the guide
When I was passing through that lane.
- (32) In that lane, like a zephyr,
Sometimes I found the scent of faithfulness.
- (33) But where is the way to the special apartment ?
It would be meet if thou shouldst show me the way to that apartment.
- (34) As I am from [the depth of] my heart the servant of thy court,
Grant an attraction, O Khizr of my way !
- (35) I am humbly standing in thy lane,
In order that I may see the footprint of Thine Excellency.
- (36) I have seen many a hermit of India,
But they are inferior to thy pupils.
- (37) Since I have observed the limit of respect
I have briefly stated my circumstances.

- جواب شری ست گور صاحبہ بلام بال دھر از مقام واسکوره
- (۱) دلپسند افضل حق یار تو باد .: در حریم خاص دل یار تو باد
 - (۲) مهربان پیوسته اهل دل به تو .: کام دل بادا همه حاصل به تو
 - (۳) گوش کردم جملہ شرح نامرات .: خوش بیان بادا زبان خامرات
 - (۴) گر بصورت دوری از هجرم منال .: لیک در معنی بما داری وصال
 - (۵) نور من بنگر بہر جا جلوه گر .: عام در حیوان و خاصہ در بشر
 - (۶) نور پاکم در گرفت آفاق را .: لیک دادہ هر کہ شد مشاق بما
 - (۷) هیچ دوری نیست از ما تا بہ تو .: در میان گر هست منزل ہا بہ تو
 - (۸) رتبہ مشاق ما بالا تر است .: هر کہ شد مشاق ما نیک اختر است
 - (۹) نور من تابندہ از ماہ و خور است .: نور من رخشندہ از هر گوہر است
 - (۱۰) در حقیقت گشتہ از ما نامور .: اسم و جسم و رنگ و روی ہر بشر
 - (۱۱) خود پرستی باپ این بازار نیست .: خود فروشان را درین رہ باز نیست
 - (۱۲) هستی خود بین بود یار گران .: خود پرستی ہست آزار گران
 - (۱۳) در حریم نیست یار خود پرست .: وصل ما یابد کسے از خود پرست
 - (۱۴) شیوہ مردان حق نبود خودی .: از خودی بگذر بہا واصل شدی
 - (۱۵) بے نشان آمد نشان بے خودان .: سر بہ بر آستان بے خودان
 - (۱۶) بے خودان هستند والا دستگاہ .: شاہ وقت و صاحب تاج و تلاء
 - (۱۷) بے خودان خود مظهر خاص حق اند .: بے خودان خود مہر ذات مطلق اند
 - (۱۸) باش فرمان بخش شہر بیخودی .: آشنائی ہو و بہر بیخودی
 - (۱۹) ہسکہ از تاثیر الفت ہا سہ ما .: در دلت اسرار عرفان کردہ جا
 - (۲۰) واقفی خود از رموز فیض وصل .: از فرع پے عبیری زان سوے اصل
 - (۲۱) در حقیقت ہرچہ گفتم اے رفیق .: یاد دادن بود در شرط طریق
 - (۲۲) از سدانندہ دعا گوے قدیم .: کوست ہو درگاہ اخلاصت مقیم
 - (۲۳) تا بود دایم مدار شش جہات .: تا بود قایم قرار کاینات
 - (۲۴) مددعا بادا بر احوالت شمول .: ز آنکہ میباشد دُعای او قبول
 - (۲۵) باش از الطاف ما اے جان جان .: کامران این جہان و آن جہان

Translation of reply from Rūpa Bhawānī to Bāla Dhar.

- (1) O darling ! May God's grace be thy helper !
May thou have admittance into the sacred apartment of the heart !
- (2) May the saintly-minded be kindly disposed towards thee !
May thy desires be all fulfilled to thee !
- (3) I listened to all the contents of thy letter,
May the tongue of thy pen be eloquent !
- (4) Though in person thou art far away, do not grieve at separation from me :
But in reality thou art united with us.
- (5) See my splendour is conspicuous everywhere—
In beasts in general and in men in particular.

- (6) My holy light pervades the universe,
But every one observes it who has become fond of us.
- (7) There is no distance between us and thee,
Though there are many stages intervening between us.
- (8) The status of him who is fond of us is high ;
Whoever became fond of us is fortunate.
- (9) My effulgence is brighter than that of the moon and the sun ;
My effulgence is of greater lustre than any pearl.
- (10) In reality, from us has become renowned
The name, the person, the colour and the appearance of all mankind.
- (11) Self-praise is not the gate of this market ;
Those who indulge in self-praise have no access to this road.
- (12) The life of the conceited is a heavy burden ;
Selfishness is a great pain.
- (13) The selfish has no admittance into my apartment :
That person will be united with me who is selfless.
- (14) Ostentation is not the habit of the godly ;
Be far from self, and thou art united with us.
- (15) Selflessness is the sign of the selfless ;
Bow down at the door of the selfless.
- (16) The selfless are of the highest authority—
The kings of the time and the wearers of the crest and crown.
- (17) The selfless are the seers of God ;
The selfless are merged in the Almighty.
- (18) Be the ruler of the city of selflessness,
The possessor of lands and oceans of selflessness.
- (19) Very much from the effect of our love
The secrets of saints have dominated thy mind.
- (20) Thou thyself art aware of the secrets of the advantages of union
Therefore thou art inclined from the false towards the true.
- (21) Dear, whatever I have said; in reality
Was to remind [thee] of the way of religion.
- (22) From Sadānand, the old well-wisher,
Who is resolute at the door of thy friendship,
- (23) Until the centre of the six sides (of the universe) endures,
Until the stability of the world lasts,
- (24) A hundred prayers be connected with thee in thy vicissitudes,
As his prayers are granted (by God).
- (25) O soul of life ! be, by my affection,
Successful in this world and the world to come.

Rūpa Bhawānī's paternal female cousins often indulged in gibes, sneers and whispers against her for her ill-luck so far as conjugal happiness was concerned. Naturally the reproaches struck home, and she would heave a deep sigh and knit her brow in distress, her soul labouring under a sickly sensibility of the miseries not of herself alone for the time being, but also of others like herself in the family in the future, which she could foresee. On the other hand, her paternal male cousins' wives showed sincere sympathy with her and admired her magnanimity in patiently and nobly bearing misfortunes hatched by her cranky mother-in-law, and them she used to bless. And it does so happen that daughters-in-law in the Dhar family are, together with their husbands, invariably prosperous and happy.

Rūpa Bhawānī introduced a very important social reform, which is still in vogue, and has rendered her name immortal. She tabooed bigamy and polygamy, both in respect of daughters and daughters-in-law, in the Dhar family. This reform has greater force and higher sanction than a statutory law, solemnized as it is by an oath administered by her against its infringement, and it is, therefore, respected by all and strictly adhered to.

Rūpa Bhawānī's mind was always fixed on things heavenly. Her verses, composed in mixed Sanskrit and Kāshmirī, which number 96, have a profound mystic significance. They

have been recorded, and they are repeated by several of her votaries every morning. Five of them, which show that her spiritual *guru* in her practice of *yoga* was her father, Paṇḍit Mādho Dhar, are quoted below.

Tal pātāla takāl phirī tak khorum ;
Metsi tak kanēv manzi unmas pay ;
Adah nād udum gali mad piwum.
Parovum sumbrum sāt.
Ahushī ghī veglovum ;
Ang novum deshūgan.
Yusuy gur pitā suy chhum motuy ;
Suy prabhalum dīpa prakāsh ;
Suy sarva kulas udhār karawuny ;
Suy Ishwar suy chhum gur.

I dashed down into the nether regions [of the body] and brought it (the vital breath) up;
 I got its clue out of earth and stones;
 Then my [*kundalīnī* or *śaktī*] woke up with *nāda* (loud noise); I drank wine by the mouth.
 I got it (the vital breath) [and] gathered it within myself.
 I melted *ghī* for oblation;
 I purified all sides of my limbs.
 He, who is Father Guru, the same is my father;
 He became the brilliant lamp-light [in me];
 He is the liberator of the whole family;
 He is *Ishwar*, he is my *Guru*.

Rūpa Bhawānī, at the advanced age of 96 years, came to Śrinagar after leaving Kastūr-māji in charge of her place at Vāsakur, and shuffled off her mortal coil without regret, but mourned by all, in her parents' house on the 7th of the dark fortnight of Māgh, v.s. 1777 (=A.H. 1133=A.D. 1721). The words *به رحمت پیوست* in the following epigram in Persian, composed by Shāh Sādiq Qalandar,⁶ give the chronogram, viz., A.H. 1133, of her death:—

عارفی ذات آن الک اوقار
 قالب غصرونی خویش شکست
 کرد پرواز سوی عرش عظیم
 بادل نیک به رحمت پیوست

That holy-natured incarnation of the Unseen [Goddess]
 Broke her coil of four elements (i.e., quitted her body);
 Flew to the highest heaven;
 With a good-natured heart united with Bliss.

⁶ It is he who has written the following fine lines in Persian, which are suggestive of the transitoriness of the world:—

یک چند پیچ زینت و زیور گشتیم — در عهد شباب
 یک چند پیچ دانش و دفتر گشتیم — کردیم حساب
 چون واقف این جهان ابتر گشتیم — نقشه ست بر آب
 دست از ہم شستیم و قلندر گشتیم — اینک دریاب
 یک چند سواره سیر دشت گشتیم — کردیم
 یک چند پیاده پشت پشت گشتیم — کردیم
 دیدیم که این کوچه ندارد پایان
 گشتیم کردیم و باز گشتیم — کردیم

At one time we were in pursuit of adornment and ornaments—during the season of youth;
 At another time we were in pursuit of knowledge and office—we made calculations;
 When we became aware of this wretched world—it is a picture drawn on the surface of water;
 We washed our hands of everything: we became monks—lo! find [God].
 At one time we made excursions over a plain, riding;
 At another time we walked round a plateau.
 We found this lane (i.e., life) had no end;
 We strolled on and strolled back.

KIRĀDU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KUMĀRAPĀLA AND HIS FEUDATORY PARAMĀRA SÔMĒSHVARA DATED V.S. 1218.

By SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHVAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription is engraved on a pillar at the entrance of a dilapidated temple of Śiva at Kirādu, a ruined town situated about 16 miles north-west of Bādmēr (in Jodhpur State). It was transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar in his *Jaina Inscr.*, Pt. I, p. 251 f. A summary of the inscription has also been published by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 312.

The epigraph measures 17" x 17" and contains 26 lines. As the middle portion of the stone from the third line to the twentieth has peeled off, some names, etc., are destroyed. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record except a portion of the last line is in verse. As regards orthography, it is worth noting that, in some places, the consonant following 'r' is doubled, र is used for ऋ and स for श. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the only record which contains the genealogy of the Paramāra branch of Kirādu and the name of the Paramāra king Sindhurāja of Mārwar, the father of Utpalarāja, the first known Paramāra king of Ābu.

It is dated Śaṃvat 1218 Āshvina Sudi 1, Gurau = Thursday, the 21st September 1161 A.D.

The purport of the inscription is as follows :—

In the dynasty of the Paramāras, who sprung from the fire altar of Vasishṭha at Ābu, there was born a king named Sindhurāja, who ruled over Marumāṇḍala (Mārwar). His son was Ūsala (Utpala¹). The names of Utpala's son and grandson have peeled off. Then is mentioned Dharanīdhara (Dharanīvarāha),² and his son was Dēvarāja,³ who perhaps built a temple of Dēvarājēśvara. Then is mentioned Dhandhuka⁴ who ruled over Marumāṇḍala (Mārwar) through the favour of Durlabharāja (1066-1078 V.S.) (the Chaulukya king). Krishnarāja⁵ (II) was the son of Dhandhuka, and his son was Sochhrāja,⁶ whose son Udayarāja, being a feudatory of (Chaulukya) Jayasimha (1150-1199 V.S.), conquered Chōḍa, Gauda, Karanāta, and Mālava. Sômesvara (name peeled off here, but appears in line 23), the son of Udayarāja, regained his lost kingdom of Sindhurājapur⁷ through the favour of (Chaulukya) Jayasimha Siddharāja (perhaps in 1198 V.S.), became firmly established in 1205 V.S. in the reign of (Chaulukya) Kumārapāla, and protected for a long time his Kirātākūpa (Kirādu) along with Śivakūpa. He also exacted 1700 horses (including 1 five-nailed and 8 peacock-breasted horses) and took two forts, one of Tanukōṭṭa⁸ and the other of Navasara⁹ from prince Jajjaka on Tuesday, the first day of the bright half of Āshvina 1218 V.S. at 4½ hours after sunrise. But on his (Jajjaka's) acknowledging his allegiance to the Chaulukya king (Kumārapāla), he (Sômesvara) reinstated him in the possession of those places.

By the order of the king this *prastāvi* was composed by Narasimha, was written by Yaśodēva and was engraved by Jasôdhara.

The inscription ends with the date : Vikrama-śaṃvat 1218 Āshvina-śudi 1 Gurau.

Text.

१. [कं नमः] सर्वज्ञाय ॥ नमोनेताय सूक्ष्माय ज्ञानगम्याय वेधसे ॥ विश्वरूपाय शुद्धाय देवदेवाय शंभवे ॥ [१]
२. देवस्य तस्य चरितानि जयन्ति शंभोः सख्यं (शश्व) स्फालयि [धुम] स्म विभूषणस्य । गर्वः सकोपि हृदि यस्य प-
३. दं करोति गौरीनितं (ब) चिरवत्तल—वैदर्श ॥ २ [वशिष्ठ] — — — — [भूषिते] च्वं
(च्वं) दमूधरे । सुरभ्या :

¹ This is the first name of the Paramāra branch of Ābu found in the inscription of Vasantgarh dated V.S. 1099 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 10 ff.).

² *Supra* vol. XI, p. 239 : When Sôlaṅki (Chaulukya) Mūlraja (998-1062 V.S.) attacked him he was obliged to seek the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikundi (Hathūṇḍi) in Mārwar (*Epigraphia India*, vol. X, p. 21).

³ He was also named Mahipāla. A copper grant of his, dated V.S. 1059 (A.D. 1002), has been found.

⁴ He refused allegiance to Chālukya Bhimadēva I (1078-1120 V.S.) and was driven away from Ābu, but afterwards Vimāla, the new 'Daṇḍapati,' of Ābu settled the dispute and brought him back from Chitor, where he (Dhandhuka) lived for some days with king Bhōja of Mālwa.

⁵ He was the younger brother of Pūrapāla (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 135 and 139).

⁶ He was the founder of the Paramāra branch of Kirādu.

⁷ This might have been founded by Sindhurāja himself or by his descendants after the name of the founder of the Paramāra branch of Mārwar and Ābu.

⁸ Tanaut in the Jaisalmer State.

⁹ Nausar in the Jodhpur State.

४. परमाराणां वंशोत्पत्त्यनकुण्डतः ॥ ३ तत्रानेकम् [हीपाल] ————— । [सि]
धुराको महाराजः
५. समभून्मरुमंल्ले ॥ ४ निरगमल मिलद्वैरि ————— । —————
— — — प्रतापोज्ज्वलद्वैरि —
६. लः ॥ ५ शंभुवद्भूरिभूमीशाभ्यर्चनीयो [भ] ————— । —————
— — — — — धूः ॥ ६ रणे
७. कर्करण[त्का] र रावणोत्पन्नै [मवः] । —————
— — — [॥ ७] सिधुराजधरा —
८. धारधरणीधरधामवान् । [मा] —————
[॥ ८] [देवरा] जोमवत्समात्
९. सुरराजो हराक्षया । देवराजेश्वर ————— [॥ ९]
— — — — — [म] पहाय महीमि —
१०. मां । मन्ये कल्पद्रुमः प्रायावहरण [क] ————— [॥ १०]
— — — — — दारणात् । श्रीम —
११. तुल्लभराजोपि राज्ञो रंजितो — [॥ ११] —————
— — — — — ते । येन तुल्लभ —
१२. वीर्येण भूषितं मरुमंल्लं ॥ १२ ध [म्मार्करो व (व) भू] ————— ।
— — — — — [कृष्ण] राजो महा —
१३. शब्द विभूषितः ॥ १३ तत्पुत्रः सोष्ठ राजाख्यः ————— । —————
— — — — — [कल्प —]
१४. हुमोमवत् ॥ १४ तस्मादुदयराजख्यो महाराज ————— । —————
— — — — — [५ नी] कपदाधि —
१५. कः ॥ १५ भावोडगीडकर्णाटमालवोत्तर पश्चिमं । —————
— — — — — गजं ॥ १६
१६. प्रा (श्री) सिधुराजभूषालापितुपुत्रकमात्पुनः तस्मादुदयरा —————
॥ १७ उत्कीर्ण —
१७. मपि योराज्यमुद्भूतेभुजवीर्यतः । जयसिद्धमहीपाला ————— [॥ १८] —
— — — — — छम (?) — — — वर्षे
१८. विक्रमभूपतेः । प्रसादाज्जयसिद्धस्य सिद्धराजस्य भूभुजः [॥ १९] ————— जेन सिधु-
राजपुरो —
१९. द्रवं । भूयो निर्व्याज सी (शी) येन राज्यमेतत्समुद्धृतं ॥ २० पुनर्द्वा [दशसंख्येषु पं] चाधिक्यतेष्ट
(ध्व) लं । कु —
२०. मारपालभूपालात् सप्रतिष्ठमिदं कृतं ॥ २१ [कि] रा [ट] कूपमात्मीयं ————— समन्वितं ।
निजेन क्ष (क्षा) त्र —
२१. धर्मेण पालयामास यच्चिरं ॥ २२ अष्टाद [शाधिके] चास्मिन् शतद्वयस्यै ऽभिने । प्रतिपद्गुरुसंयो —
२२. ने सार्द्धं [या] मे गते दि [ना] त् ॥ २३ एवं सप्तदशशतान्यश्वानां नृपकञ्जकात् । सह पंचनखा —
२३. श्वेन मयूरादिमिरष्टभिः ॥ २४ तणुकोटं नवसरो वुग्गो सोमेश्वरोमहीत् । लक्ष्वां [ग] वर [हा] —
२४. साक्ष्यं चक्रे वैवारमसादा (६) सौ ॥ २५ ध (व) दुष्टः [सेव] कीकृत्य जौलुक्यजगतीपतेः । पुनः संस्था-
पया —
२५. मास तेषु देशेषु गजकं ॥ २६ प्रसादितमकरोदेता नरासिद्धो नृपाक्षया । लेखकोत्र य [शो] —
२६. देवः पूज्यारोस्तु (०) जसोधरः ॥ २७ विक्रम [संव] त् १९१८ अ (चा) श्विन शुद्धि १ गुरी ॥
मंगलं म [हाश्री] : ॥

MISCELLANEA

INDIA IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique.—On pp. 298 f. of the Oct.-Dec., 1930, issue of this journal Dr. C. L. Fabri notices what he describes as a "Mesopotamian element" in the art of India in the crenelations, formed like towers in diminishing stages, depicted in the representation of railings, etc., on sculptures at Bharhut and Sâñchi, in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves in Orissa, at Sârñath and on two pieces of railing now in the Peshâwar museum. He draws attention to the representation of similar patterns on certain bas-reliefs of the times of Senacherib, Assurbanipal and Darius. He suggests that the origin of this decorative element may perhaps be found in the *zikkurat*, or ancient temple of Mesopotamia. He expresses the opinion that this decorative motif is clearly derived from a similar decorative design of Persia, and that the latter came from a repetition or 'multiplying' of the *zikkurat*. The parallels which are drawn in this paper are of interest as affording another ground for suspecting influence from the west in the architectural development in India. In connexion with the statement that temples built in stages were foreign to Indian art, certain features observable on the west of the peninsula, e.g., in S. Kanara, should also be considered.

In the Jan.-Mar., 1931 (tome CCXVIII, No. 1) issue of the journal, M. Jean Przyluski contributes a short but very suggestive note on Tantrik Buddhism in Bali, based upon a memoir by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, in which he has given an analysis of some Buddhist texts from Bali and shown that the Balinese system is related to Japanese tantrism. M. Przyluski points out that the Bali texts are remarkable in enumerating the *krodha* manifestations corresponding to each of the five Tathâgatas and in associating with the Buddhas feminine divinities analogous to the *śaktis* of Hinduism. Here, as he notes, we have to do with a degenerate doctrine nearer to Hinduism than to genuine Buddhism. He proceeds to indicate his conception of the stages through which the Balinese Tantrik system would appear to have passed, noting not only the analogies between it and the Tantrism of the Shingon sect, but also the relations between these and the Indian and Tibetan beliefs.

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.—In vol. 88 (1931) Dr. H. H. Juynboll continues his translation (Chap. XX) of the old Javanese *Rāmāyana*. Prof. R. A. Kern records a few interesting notes on words occurring in the Malayan Inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, the texts of which, with translations in French, have recently been published by M. George Coedès in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (tome XXX, pp. 29 f.). Mr. Kemper describes, with a good plate, the stone Hindu-Javanese image (acquired in 1831 by Mr. Millett) now in the British

Museum, giving grounds for suggesting that it represents Nairrta. Mr. G. J. van Dongen, sometime Resident of Djambi in Sumatra, records a few notes on the Koehoes in reference to Professor Schebesta's account of these folk, in which the professor comes in for some sharp criticism.

Archæologische Mittheilungen aus Iran, Band IV, Heft 2 (Jan. 1932).—In this issue Dr. Ernst Herzfeld pursues his researches on Sakaistân and the Sakas, carrying them down to the time of Gondopharnes. The number comprises some four sections, viz., on the vassal kings under the successors of Mithridates the Great, the Parthian kingdom under the Arsakids, Sakâ and Surân in Sakaistân, and Gondofarr in legend and fable. A wealth of references from both western and eastern sources and the evidence of hitherto available coins have been requisitioned to elucidate the history and chronology of a period that presents many difficulties.

Karnatak Historical Review, vol. 1.—In I.A., VII, p. 33 f., the late Dr. Fleet described 3 copper-plates of the Kadamba Yuvarāja Devavarma found at Devagiri in the Karajgi Tâlukâ of the Dhâwâr district, issued from a place called Triparvata, which he was unable to identify. Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101) thought this was probably Devagiri, where the plates were found. In the March 1931 issue of the above *Review*, Fr. H. Heras gives reasons for believing the site to have been the modern Halebid, the Dvârasamudra of the Hoysalas. In this vicinity there are three hills, between which the earliest city seems to have stood. Among other reasons given in support of this identification, he considers that the temples on two of these hills were evidently Kadamba temples, reconstructed later by the Hoysalas.

In the same issue Mr. D. P. Karmakar deals with the administrative systems of the Châlukya kingdoms as disclosed from the epigraphical records, the territorial divisions for administrative purposes, the position of feudatory chiefs or subordinate administrative officials, the advisory council, heads of departments, the assessment and collection of government revenue and taxes, etc. Research of this nature deserves encouragement, and the example set might with advantage be followed in other areas rich in inscriptional records. In several cases the exact meaning to be attached to the terms used has yet to be satisfactorily determined. This is another matter that calls for research work. It is time that all such terms found in the inscriptions in different parts of India that are now obsolete or of doubtful meaning were listed and collated with a view to their correct interpretation. As regards the numerical components of certain territorial designations, such as the "Banavâsi 12,000," attention may be invited to the explanation of these

figures proposed by Dr. Pran Nath in *R. A. S. Monographs*, vol. XX, Chap. I, Sec. II.

Man, 1931.—In the April number (Article No. 65) Mr. L. A. Cammiado describes and illustrates the art of iron smelting among the Kois of the Godavari Agency. The smelters form a separate community, debarred from marriage with the Koi tribesmen. The bellows used are of the piston type. The art is fast dying out. In the September issue (Art. No. 202) Mr. F. J. Richards points out a number of similarities between the elliptical bronze bowl from the Nilgiris (Bresks, Pls. XLI, XLII) and a bowl of gold from Ur, figured by Dr. Woolley in the *Illustrated London News* of Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1092. In the October issue (Art. No. 205) Mr. K. de B. Codrington discusses the functions of the Māla messenger (*ślavāddi*) and the Desayi Chetti of S. India as survivals of a former system of civil organization. In Art. No. 212 Mr. Cammiado contributes an important note on the belief that the "man-eater" is not really a tiger, but a man. In Nos. 229 and 230 Mr. J. H. Powell criticizes certain theories of "hook-swinging" set forth in *Man*, 1927, No. 116, an article which purports to describe a Sinhalese example of the rite under Mr. A. M. Hocart's name. Mr. Hocart points out that the article was not his, and that hook-swinging is unknown in Ceylon; and he offers an alternative explanation of the rite.

Illustrated London News.—In the October 10, 1931, issue Mr. Gordon King describes the cave temples of Wu Chou Shin, near Tatung in Shansi, just inside the Great Wall, the oldest Buddhist monuments known in China. The sculptures which adorn them, dating from the fifth century A.D., are strongly influenced by the art of Gandhāra.

Some interesting Balinese customs are depicted in the issue of Nov. 9, notably the ritual use of masks similar to those of Tibet and Ceylon. In Bali a corpse is enclosed and cremated in the wooden effigy of a bull or cow. This number includes a coloured plate showing a troupe of dancers from Cambodia and another from Bali.

Other points of note in this handsomely illustrated journal are a brilliantly coloured plate of Javanese theatrical characters (Nov. 14); an appreciative critique by Sir Arthur Keith on the recently published volumes on *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation* (Dec. 19); pictures of Indian craftsmen by Stowitts; an article on the Chins, and another on Japanese marionettes.

The issues for January, 1932, includes an account of the Siamese shadow play, more pictures by Stowitts, of Indian rulers (Jan. 2), and some notes and pictures of Burmese customs (Jan. 23).

C. E. A. W. O. AND F. J. R.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SARASVATI MAHAL LIBRARY, TANJORE, by P. P. S. SASTRI, M.E.S.

The Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, is one of the very well known libraries in South India and enjoyed a reputation till recently quite deserved. Even after the Government Oriental Manuscript Library came into existence, it had not lost its special character, and had continued to maintain its place as a distinctly useful library. It owed its origin, at least in its present form, to Rāja Sarfoji, the penultimate ruler of Tanjore, early in the nineteenth century, and it is his name that it bears as the "Maharaja Sarfoji Library." But the Sarasvati Mahal goes back in history much anterior to the time of Rāja Sarfoji, and is at least as old as the first half of the seventeenth century. In more recent history, Tanjore became an illustrious centre for learning since the foundation of its Nāyakship under Achyutarāya of Vijayanagar, who was responsible for dividing the Southern Nāyakship of Madura into two sections for administrative convenience. Finding the charge too big, the nearer portion of the huge area was cut off from the territory dependent upon Madura proper, and was constituted into the Tanjore Nāyakship, which was consigned to the charge of Sevvappa Nāyak, whose wife's sister Achyuta took for one of his queens. Sevvappa had for his minister and adviser Govinda Dikshita,

who occupied a unique place in South Indian learning as the teacher to whom all propagators of Sanskrit culture in the South in one way or another traced their descent in learning. He was a remarkable man both from the point of view of administration and as a promoter of learning. He was minister to Sevvappa and continued in that capacity under his son Achyuta, who had a long reign, and he was tutor to Achyuta's son Raghunātha, whom he had the pleasure and gratification of seeing established on the throne of Tanjore at a critical time of its history by persuading his old father to abdicate in his favour. It was through the influence of Govinda Dikshita and the enlightened support of the Nāyaks of Tanjore that Tanjore revived as a great centre of learning. We do not know much about the literary character of Sevvappa. Achyuta was a man of considerable piety in religion and taste in literature. Raghunātha could be actually described as a scholar and a patron of great eminence, and his son was quite worthy of his father in this branch of his activities.

The Sarasvati Mahal Library came into existence, at least as a well established institution, in the days of Raghunātha Nāyaka, and maintained its character thereafter. We have some of Raghunātha Nāyak's works, and the works of those that enjoyed his patronage pre-eminently. We have some works of his son, which throw interesting

light upon the history of the time, and we are indebted to these for more than one important episode in the history of South India when the Mahrattas conquered Tanjore for Bijapur and took over the rule of what constituted the Nāyaks of Tanjore. The Mahratta dynasty was founded under Ekoji or Veñkaji, son of Shāhji and a half brother of Shivaji. Even in Mahratta history Ekoji is made to appear, of course in contrast to Shivaji, as an unenlightened and a no'er-do-well man. It would therefore be surprising to learn that his interest in Sanskrit literature was great. He is said to have made an effort at trying his hand in writing Sanskrit, though the one commentary that has come down to us of the historical poem *Mudrārākshasa* is by one Dhundurāja, who lived at the court of Ekoji and enjoyed his patronage. Ekoji probably contracted this taste for literature from the dynasty that he overthrew, and possibly he wanted to continue the tradition of the enlightened family of rulers of Tanjore unbroken. This patronage of literature continued at least as a fashion among his successors, and Sarfoji simply followed it up as a mere matter of fashion. The story goes that on a visit to Calcutta one of the enthusiastic members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal put him a question whether there were libraries in his State such as that of the newly founded Asiatic Society of Bengal. When Sarfoji returned to Tanjore, his interest in literature grew a little more active, and we find books published in Italian on the *Sakuntalā* well preserved in the library as yet. The calamity that overtook the family in the nineteenth century brought about the neglect of the library along with much else, and it was not till the seventies that efforts were made to catalogue the library and introduce some systematic arrangement. After some futile efforts, a District Judge of Tanjore, in the person of the late A. C. Burnell, took it upon himself to catalogue the manuscripts there, and it is that that first opened the eyes of the public to the important mass of material, literary material, that lay neglected in the library. Burnell's Catalogue was far from perfect, although it made the best effort to give an idea of what the library contained. Since then the library has been going on as heretofore, although within recent years a laudable attempt had been made to complete the work started by Burnell and, as a first step, arrangements were made to examine the manuscripts and put them in order. In the course of the litigation that occurred about ten years ago for the heirship of the estates, the various parties, with a commendable desire to perpetuate the library, whatever the result of the litigation, came to an agreement that irrespective of the court's decree in the suit, the library should be maintained, and provision made for its maintenance from the estate. This was agreed to with the sanction of the court. The library was placed upon the footing of a public institution, with a committee for its

management. Since then the library has had a considerable accession of manuscripts by taking over two or three private libraries containing collections of manuscripts from the families of Pandits connected with Tanjore. The Madras Government then stepped in with praiseworthy liberality, and offered, on their estimate at the time, to provide a grant of Rs. 25,000 a year for three years for the preparation of a complete catalogue. The cataloguing work was entrusted to Mr. P. S. Sastri, and a staff of Pandits under the management of a directing committee; and work has been proceeding apace. Since the beginning of the work we have had nine volumes of the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts and three volumes of the catalogue of manuscripts in Tamil. We have noticed the Tamil records in the *Indian Antiquary* already. Our present purpose is merely to notice the Sanskrit ones.

The first three volumes constitute a catalogue of Vedic literature, the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upanishads* constituting this section. The next section runs through two volumes having begun already in the third volume. They (vols. IV and V) comprise the *Vedāṅgas* and the *Śrauta* part of Vaidik literature. Volume VI begins the *Kāvya*. The *Kāvya* literature runs through the next two volumes (VI and VII). Vol. VIII deals with *Nāṭaka*, and vol. IX comprises *Kośas*, *Chandas* and *Alaṅkāra*. The number of manuscripts at present in the library would be well over 30,000. The first three volumes describe something over 2,000 manuscripts; volumes IV and V deal with about 2,500 manuscripts nearly; volumes VI and VII with about 1,500; volume VIII (*Nāṭakas*) contains 445 items; and volume IX over 630. So these nine volumes cover only something over 7,000 manuscripts, which represents but a fraction of the library. Notwithstanding the financial stringency of the times, it is to be hoped that the government that came forward with financial assistance to do the good work will continue their patronage to bring that work to completion.

Coming to the character of the work itself, the catalogue is arranged in approved style. Each work is given a number and its full name. References to Burnell's Catalogue are added wherever applicable. The number of pages and *ślokas* are given, whether the manuscript is on paper or on palm leaves, the number of lines to a page, and the character of the script. Then follows the total number of *granthas* and the name of the author. There are remarks in respect of manuscripts indicating their relations to other manuscripts in the catalogue and other such matters. Then usually the beginning and the end of the text of the manuscript are given, as they generally contain the name of the author, patron and other details that throw light upon the time in which the work was actually composed and other data of value. It follows generally the plan of the catalogue of manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, but

effects some improvement in particulars, and contains longer extracts where necessary. The editor takes it upon himself to provide additional notes of value by references to collateral publications and editions, wherever they are available. Whatever material was in Burnell's Catalogue has been incorporated, and this catalogue is made therefore to serve the useful purpose of bringing Burnell's Catalogue up to date so far as it goes. But in this work the editor has sometimes followed too closely Burnell and has not utilised the opportunity to bring the matter quite up to date. For instance, in speaking of the commentary on the *Sāmaveda Samhita* by Bharatasvāmin (No. 654 of Burnell's Catalogue) he has repeated the blunder made by Burnell, perhaps excusable at the time when Burnell wrote, but not excusable now. The catalogue says, and the editor follows it in the introduction, that "the commentator's date is more or less fixed to be the latter half of the thirteenth century when one Rama or Ramanatha of Bhosla dynasty reigned at Devagir (1272-1310). Bharatasvāmin was an inhabitant of Srirangapatam in Mysore and was the son of Narayanan and Yajñada." The text does not actually support the statement, even as it is given in Burnell. The ruler is said to be Rāmanātha, or to be more correct, Vira Rāmanātha, and the commentator says that he was a resident, not of Śrīraṅgapatam but of Śrīraṅgam (*Śrī Raṅgē vasatā mayā*). Bharatasvāmin was in residence at Śrīraṅgam, and composed a commentary at that place, while Rāmanātha the Hoysala was ruling at Kaṇṇanūr, hardly six miles across the Coleroon, in the Hoysala capital Vikramapura, as it was called in the years 1254 to 1295. This may be excusable, but could have been easily avoided by reference.

We commend the work as one of very great value on the whole, and look forward to its completion in the near future, so that we may have at least one complete catalogue. The peculiar value of this library consists in the possibility of its containing manuscripts of works of a period subsequent to the Muslim invasions, when Sanskrit literature and literary men found shelter in the south; and all the literature produced in the period of the renaissance under Vijayanagar, whether in Sanskrit or in other languages, is likely to be here and here alone. As a matter of fact, we find from actual experience that for a somewhat later period, the literary works that are available in the library are of the highest value historically, and are found only here and nowhere else. The period of the Vijayanagar viceroyalty was rich in literary output, in Sanskrit and Telugu primarily, but in other languages as well, though the partiality of the viceregal headquarters may be said

to have been for these two. Several of the Viceroys or Nāyaks were themselves scholars and wrote, among whom Raghunātha Nāyaka and his son Vijayarāghava were pre-eminent. But they were equally patrons. The influence of Govinda Dikshita and his sons, and of the unofficial school of which he was the real head were equally responsible. Some of the Telugu works are likely to be found there and nowhere else, as also the later Sanskrit works, and the cataloguing of the whole section including the Telugu MSS. would be of inestimable value. Some of the Telugu and Sanskrit works bearing upon the period we have utilised with great advantage in the reconstruction of the later period of Vijayanagar history. To mention only one specific instance, the massacre of the royal family, imperfectly described in an extract from a writer by name Barradas and translated by Sewell, was the only source of information for that event and the war of succession that followed. We have a detailed account of that incident and the important consequences that it produced in the Sanskrit work *Raghunātha-abhyudayam* by Rāma-bhadrmba, which is well supplemented by the two dramatic works, a Sanskrit *Raghunāthavilāsam*, and the Telugu work *Raghunāthavilāsam* by his son. Among those engaged in historical research, several were sceptical about the historical value of these literary pieces, and among them not a few happen to be Indians who hold as pronounced opinions as others possibly more ignorant of the literature than themselves. What is stated in these documents is confirmed almost detail for detail from the full text of the letter of Barradas, the head of the Jesuit Mission who wrote home periodical letters conveying the information he obtained by careful inquiry. This letter has been secured, and the whole substance of it is given in the *Journal of Indian History* by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., of Bombay. This is a typical instance of how a careful foreign writer in his reports confirms fully the account found in local documents, thoroughly justifying the view that the historical material to be found in certain classes of works in Sanskrit as well as in the languages of South India are likely to prove of great value for purposes of historical reconstruction.

It is therefore very desirable that the cataloguing of all the manuscripts be completed, including also the manuscripts in South Indian languages, which should not be left like the vast mass that lies in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras with no prospect, as it seems, of their ever being completely catalogued.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

PALATALIZATION IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

By A. F. THYAGARAJU, M.A.

In a study of the Dravidian consonant system we notice that Kanarese *k* is sometimes represented by *s* in Tamil and *ch* in Telugu; in certain cases it remains in all the three languages; in others it remains hard in Kan. and Tam. and is softened only in Tel. Caldwell drew attention to these facts in his section on the Dialectic Interchange of Consonants in his *Comparative Grammar*, but did not explain the conditions under which the softening takes place. There does not seem to be any doubt that in those cases where Kan. *k* is represented by *s* or *ch*, the hard sound is the older and the other sounds are later softening. We shall now proceed to determine if such a softening takes place in accordance with any phonetic law.

Kan. *k* is not uniformly softened. Examples where it remains are :

Kan.	Tam.	Tel.	
<i>kallu</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>kallu</i>	a stone
<i>kaṇṇu</i>	<i>kaṇ</i>	<i>kanna</i>	the eye
<i>kālu</i>	<i>kāl</i>	<i>kālu</i>	the leg
<i>kobbu</i>	<i>korupu</i>	<i>kovvu</i>	fat
<i>koḷa</i>	<i>kuḷam</i>	<i>kolaṇu</i>	a pond
<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōṛi</i>	<i>kōḍi</i>	a fowl
<i>kuḍi</i>	<i>kuḍi</i>	<i>kuḍuchū</i>	to drink

In many instances however it is softened. Examples are :

Kan.	Tam.	Tel.	
<i>kivi</i>	<i>sevi</i>	<i>chevi</i>	the ear
<i>kīvu</i>	<i>sīr</i>	<i>chīmu</i>	pus
<i>kēṛpu</i>	<i>seruppu</i>	<i>cheppu</i>	a sandal
<i>kīru</i>	<i>sīru</i>	<i>chīru</i>	small
<i>kinna</i>	<i>sinna</i>	<i>chinna</i>	"
<i>kela</i>	<i>sila</i>	..	few

Examples where the softening takes place only in Tel. are :

Kan.	Tam.	Tel.	
<i>keḍisu</i>	<i>keḍu</i>	<i>chedupu</i>	to spoil
<i>keyyi</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>cheyyi</i>	the hand
<i>gīḷi</i>	<i>kīḷi</i>	<i>chiluka</i>	the parrot

Tabulating the instances where the softening takes place we arrive at the following

Kan.		Tam.	Tel.
$k + i$	$>$	$s + e$	$ch + e$
<i>kivi</i>		<i>sevi</i>	<i>chevi</i>
$k + i$	$>$	$s + i$	$ch + i$
<i>kīru</i>		<i>sīru</i>	<i>chīru</i>
$k + i$	$>$	$s + i$	$ch + i$
<i>kīvu</i>		<i>sīr</i>	<i>chīmu</i>
$k + e$	$>$	$k + e$	$ch + e$
<i>keḷṭa</i>		<i>keḷṭa</i>	<i>chedda</i>
$k + e$	$>$	$s + e$	$ch + e$
<i>kerpu</i>		<i>seruppu</i>	<i>cheppu</i>
$k + e$	$>$	$s + i$	..
<i>kelavu</i>		<i>sila</i>	

It will be seen that in all cases the vowel following the initial *k* is either *e* or *i*. We shall take a few words and examine all the forms in the cognate languages and try to reconstruct the primitive form on their basis.

The ear : Kan. *kivi*, Tel. *chevi*, Tam. *sevi*, Mal. *chevi*, Tul. *kebi*. Prim. form : * *kevi*.

Small : Kan. *kinna*, Tel. *chinna*, Tam. *sinna*, Mal. *sinna*, Tul. *kini*. Prim. form : * *kinna*.

To do : Kan. *gēy*, Tel. *chēy*, Tam. *sei*, Mal. *chey*, Prim. form : * *key*. (Initial voicing in Kan.)

Sandal : Kan. *kera*, *keravu*, *kerpu*, Tel. *cheppu*, Tam. *seruppu*. Prim. form : * *kerupu*.

I suggest, therefore, that the primitive Dravidian vowels *e* and *i* had a palatalizing effect over the preceding consonant *k* and changed it into *ch*. If this theory is correct every primitive Dravidian form with an initial syllable *ki* or *ke* should be represented by *s* or *ch* in Tam. and Tel. If there are exceptions they must be accounted for in the following ways. The original vowel following the first consonant may not be *e* or *i*. It might be a vowel of guttural quality. A case of softening only in Tel. with the retention of the hard sound in Tam. is due to this : the *k* is preserved in Tam. on account of the influence of the succeeding consonant, which is lingual or cerebral, i.e., *t*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *r*, or *l*. This rule applies only to Tam. This will explain Tam. *keṭṭa* + Tel. *chedḍa*, Tam. *kiṭi* + Tel. *chiluka*, and forms like Tam. *kiṛa* (old) + O. Kan. *kerava*, Tam. *kēr*, *kēl*, *kēḍ*, + O. K. *kēlu*.

The word for 'to do' and its semantically related root for 'hand' present some difficulty. The Dravidian forms for 'to do' are : Kan. *gēy*, Tel. *chēy*, Mal. *chey*, Tam. *sei*, Kud. *key*, Gond. *kī*, Kota. *ké*. The forms for 'hand' are : Kan. *keyyi*, *key*, *kayi*, *kayyi*; Tel. *cheyyi*, *kēlu*; Tam. *kei*; Tul. *kai*. The root shows palatalization in some forms and not in the others.

Palatalization is not an uncommon change in the history of language. It is found in the Indo-European languages. Sanskrit regularly palatalizes the back-stops when they are followed by the palatal vowel *e*. Though this vowel was later on changed to *a*, a comparison with related forms in other languages shows that *e* is older. Cf. Skr. *pañca* + Grk. *πέντε* (<* *penkwe*), Skr. *catvāras* + Lith. *keturi*. On the other hand, if *a* or *o* follows the consonant the back consonant is preserved, as in Skr. *kakṣa* + Lat. *coxa*. It is interesting to find a similar development in the Dravidian group.

The rule in Dravidian, therefore, is as follows :—

Where a primitive *k* is followed by the vowels *e* or *i*, it is preserved in Kanarese, but is changed into *s* in Tamil and *ch* in Telugu. This change does not occur in Tamil where the vowel is followed by a lingual consonant, i.e., *t*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *r*, or *l*.

It is quite possible that in Tamil *k* was first palatalized into *ch* and later simplified into *s*, as the latter sound is considered more refined.

I offer this explanation tentatively, but I believe that it covers all the cases in a satisfactory manner.

A BUFFALO SACRIFICE IN SALEM CITY.

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (RETIRED.)

THE sacrifice described below was witnessed by Mr. S. G. Roberts, I.C.S., and myself at about midnight on March 7th-8th, 1907, in the hamlet of Manakkādu, in the municipal limits of Salem City, and within a very short distance of the European Club.

The chief village deities of Manakkādu (which is inhabited mainly by ryots of the Palli caste) are Selli-amman and Māri-amman. Of the cult of Selli-amman very little is recorded, though in Salem District it is fairly widespread.¹ She is identified with Kālī. In her honour an annual festival is held every February or March, and in this festival Māri-amman also takes part. In 1907 the festival began on February 19th (a Tuesday); and it was on the 17th day (a Thursday) that the sacrifice was performed.

On the evening of that day the processional image² of Māri-amman is brought round to the Kālī Temple, and, after the slaughter of a sheep in front of the temple, the two goddesses are borne, to the music of the village band, in procession round the village, Selli-amman's vehicle³ being a lion and Māri's a horse. In front of the goddesses walks the *sāmbān*, as the Pariah is called, whose privilege it is to slay the buffalo, and who is bound to observe a strict fast throughout the day of sacrifice; he grips with both his hands the heavy sacrificial knife, resting it on his left shoulder. The *sāmbān* is accompanied by his torch-bearer (*ṇandakkāran*), who is also a Pariah, both offices being hereditary. At each corner of the village the *sāmbān* is given a fowl and some eggs; he bites the fowl and sucks its blood, the eggs he swallows, shells and all. At intervals the goddesses are garlanded with jasmine and acacia, and coconuts are broken before them. The circuit of the village completed, the goddesses are carried "clock-wise" round Selli-amman's temple. The *vāhanams* are then lowered to the ground, and the images are reverently lifted up by the priests and their assistants. Each figure is held by two men, one on either side, and gently rocked to and fro to the accompaniment of a plaintive hymn, the gist⁴ of which is as follows:—

I invoke the great Vināyaka, who graces the council of the mightier powers, to bless my swing-song in honour of the lady Sellāndī, of Gingee, Queen who presides over the Chera realm.

Her swinging throne rests on two mountains; the heavens form her canopy; the atmosphere enveils her; the splendid stars are her flags; her garland is the Nāga; a vessel is in her hand. O goddess, ruler supreme of this land, sister of Rāma the famous bowman, mayest thou enjoy the swinging festival!⁵

On either side are the fierce spirits, Sakini and Dakini, whose giant forms measure the length and breadth of the universe, and the great sages: a countless multitude adores thee. Mayest thou, Sellāndī-Māri delight in the graceful movement of the swing! May Indra and the Dēvas live for ever! May the sun and moon shine gloriously! May all the eternal spirits live in peace! May those that sing and those that hear live happily! May all the people of this vast earth be vouchsafed a long life of prosperity!

As soon as the swing-song is finished, the *Ūrkavandan* (headman of the village) slowly passes his right hand thrice round the head of each of the goddesses, holding in his hand a two anna bit to avert the Evil-Eye. The coin becomes the perquisite of the *pūjārī* (the priest who officiates in the shrine). The *tōṭṭi* (village-messenger) then proclaims by beat of

¹ E.g., at Attūr, Tadāvūr, Kāri-mangalam, Mallasamudram, Chinna-Menali, Edappādi.

² The *utsava-vigraha*, or "festival-image" of metal, used only on festival occasions; so distinguished from the *mūla-vigraha*, or "cell-image" inside the shrine, which is usually fixed, and of stone, sometimes carved in human form, sometimes unshaped.

³ The *vāhanam*, a sort of throne, of wood, paint, and plaster, mounted on a platform and carried in procession on the shoulders of men (or in the case of the bigger Brahmanic festivals, on a car). Each principal deity has his or her appropriate *vāhanam*, and some of the larger temples provide a different *vāhanam* for the presiding deity each time the image is taken in procession. There is no evidence to connect this practice with "animal-worship."

⁴ I give an abridged version, slightly paraphrased.

⁵ Swinging is often an element of ritual, and a tall stone swing (sometimes two or three) is a common adjunct to the temples of the *grāma-dēvatas*.

tom-tom that all females should go home, for none of the gentler sex may see the sacrifice.⁶ During the sacrifice the doors of Selli-amman's shrine are closed.

Meanwhile a pit about 5 feet deep has been dug, about 50 yards in front of the temple, which faces north, and the buffalo victim is led to its edge. The victim is selected by the goddess herself in the course of the year; her votaries vow they will offer her a buffalo if their prayer is granted; if she accepts, she informs the fortunate owner in a dream on the eve of the sacrifice, and her *pūjārī* is inspired to announce her selection in the presence of the villagers. If more than one votary has received the divine warning, the *pūjārī* selects the buffalo which should be slaughtered, and the other candidates are sold for the benefit of the temple funds. It is immaterial whether the victim be full grown or a calf, but it must always be a male.

When all is ready the priest, shrieking in divine ecstasy, approaches the victim, places a garland of flowers round its neck, sprinkles red-ochre, sandal and saffron on its forehead and lays before it offerings of coconuts, plantains and rice.⁷ He then pours consecrated water (*tīrtham*) on its head and back. In breathless silence the people wait for the beast to shiver,⁸ the sign by which the goddess manifests her consent to the sacrifice. If the sign is delayed the *pūjārī* calls upon the goddess asking why she tarries. Immediately the sign is given, the *sāmbān* seizes his cleaver and crouches at a distance of about three yards from his victim, like a wild beast about to spring on its prey. The bystanders secure the hind legs of the victim, and, if necessary, a rope is passed over its horns and held fast in front.⁹ The *sāmbān* then strides forward, and, taking careful aim, severs the neck with two or three blows. An attendant Pariah then rushes forward, mixes the blood with boiled rice, rolls it into a ball and hands it to the *sāmbān*, who conveys it to his mouth and then, preceded by the *pan-dakkāran*, rushes like a mad man round the village boundaries, at each of the four corners throwing a few grains of the blood-sodden rice into the air. The Pariahs at the graveside then drag the carcase of the victim to the grave and throw it in, together with a garland that it wore. Before the *sāmbān* can complete the circuit of the village, the grave must be filled with earth.¹⁰ On his return the *sāmbān* runs to the front of the temple, and, after a few ecstatic screams, the spirit of the goddess leaves him; he prostrates thrice, shoulders his knife and walks away like a sane and sober man, and the *Ūrkavundān* provides him and his relatives with a feast. For fifteen days he must keep watch over the grave, lest dogs or jackals should disturb the buried victim. During these fifteen days no *pūjā* is performed, but a light is kept burning in the temple.

The festival closes with a sacrifice of sheep or fowls on the 8th or 16th day after that of the buffalo, and a general feast (*Kumba-pūjā*) of all the villagers.

⁶ Women on these occasions are peculiarly susceptible to divine influences, and during the progress of the goddesses through the village they are usually preceded by two or three females, quivering and swaying in a frenzy of "possession."

⁷ It is said these offerings are made to the pit, and not to the victim. It would be unsafe to base any theory on this explanation unless it can be paralleled with instances elsewhere. The explanation may be purely local.

⁸ Similar evidence of divine assent was required in classical Greece in connection with the cult of Apollo. See Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. IV, pp. 254 and 387.

⁹ When the *tīrtham* water is sprinkled on it the victim should face east; when it is slaughtered it should face north, towards the region over which the goddess (who bears the surname *Vadabattira-Kālī*), presides. Thus the *sāmbān*, when he delivers the death stroke, faces west.

¹⁰ Many plausible guesses could be offered to explain this prescription, but in the present paucity of evidence regarding the ritual of such sacrifices, it would be unsafe to theorize on this point.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HINDU SOCIETY.

By B. BONNERJEA, D.LITT.

It has often been said that the position of woman in a society is the true test of civilized morality, and that her status varies directly as the civilization of the society to which she belongs. This statement, however, is misleading. In the English law of Blackstone's day women were liable to various disabilities, and the great jurist says with unconscious humour that the very being or legal existence of a married woman merged into that of her husband and that she had no separate existence.¹ On the other hand, from the recently discovered *Codes of Hammurabi* we find that Babylonian women enjoyed more legal rights than their more civilized sisters.² Does it then follow that the Babylonian civilization of the second millennium B.C. was on a higher level than that of Great Britain in the eighteenth century A.D.? The position of women, therefore, is not an infallible test of civilization. Culture brings various responsibilities along in its trail, and the scale of actions grows and inequalities arise, which place entire populations at the mercy of the strongest. The social and judicial equality which women enjoy with men at the present day was not granted to them as their birth-right, but is the gradual outcome of centuries of inferiority and oppression suffered by them under the iron heel of male despotism.

In the earliest epoch of human history man had no fixed habitation; he was a migratory creature, living an ever-lasting nomadic life. With him woman had little, if any, ethical worth. She was regarded as the property of the strongest, a movable living thing, an object of bargain and sale, a means of gratifying one's lust.

The first indication of woman's social elevation occurs at a period when, at the transition of the nomadic life to a state of fixed habitation, man obtains a home; when from a hunter he becomes an agriculturist, and feels the need of having someone at home to tend to his personal needs. This in time gave rise to the institution of marriage, and marriage in its turn contributed to the uplifting of womankind. But marriage, as we understand it today, does not seem to have existed in the primitive society of the pre-Vedic and even perhaps of the early post-Vedic period. From the *Mahābhārata*³ we learn that Pāṇḍu tells his wife Kuntī that in former times women were not kept subject to their husbands; they had freedom of choice in whom they should marry, they could enjoy themselves as best they pleased, and they frequently had promiscuous love affairs. This practice was not only not considered in any way improper by the ancient Hindus, but was actually highly applauded by the Ṛṣis. It continued down to the time of Svetaketu, and was finally abolished by him when he saw a strange Brāhmaṇa take his mother away in the presence of his father.

According to Lewis H. Morgan⁴ family has passed through five different stages before it has become what it is today. They are:

- (1) Consanguine Family, founded upon the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, in a group;
- (2) Punaluan Family, founded upon the intermarriage of several sisters, own or collateral, with each other's husbands in a group, as also upon the intermarriage of several brothers, own or collateral, with each other's wives in a group;
- (3) Syndyasmian Family, founded upon marriage between single pairs, but without exclusive cohabitation;
- (4) Patriarchal Family, founded upon the marriage of one man with several wives; and, lastly,
- (5) Monogamian Family, founded upon marriage between single pairs, with exclusive cohabitation.

¹ *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. 1765, i. 430-433.

² Cf. Kohler and Preuss, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, iii, 8; Meissner, *Beiträge zum babylonischen Privatrechts*, 13.

³ i, 122, 4 ff. [Tr. by P. C. Roy, Calcutta, 1883-1896].

⁴ *Ancient Society*, 893 f.

Thus, looking at the history of the evolution of culture, we see that the present monogamic family is simply a modified form of what it used to be in former times. Of the first or incestuous form, certain ancient Hindu texts may be construed as bearing evidence. In a fragmentary song of the *Rg-Veda*⁵ we are told that Yamī appears in support of marriage of brothers and sisters, while Yama, her husband, opposes it. But how far this evidence may be taken as conclusive is open to serious question, and different scholars have given diametrically opposite interpretations. Weber thinks that it undoubtedly points to a practice which was universal in former times and later became antiquated, whereas Macdonell and Keith⁶ criticize Weber and are equally dogmatic in their denial. They say that "the dialogue of Yama and Yamī seems clearly to point to a prohibition of marriage of brother and sister."

Of the second form, or group marriage, no instance is known in the Hindu books, unless we take polyandry⁷ or levirate and sororate⁸ as relics of group marriage. Polyandry was undoubtedly known among the ancient Hindus, and there is the classical and oft-quoted example of Draupadī, who was married to the five Pāṇḍava brothers.⁹ Speaking of Draupadī's case, J. D. Mayne says¹⁰ that the most excellent precedents cited by the Pāṇḍava brothers of the "most moral woman," Jaṭilā Gautamī, who dwelt with seven saints, and of Vārکشī, who dwelt with ten brothers, "whose souls have been purified with penance," were bad ones, being cases of saints who were above moral laws; and he adds that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* polyandry is mentioned with abhorrence. He sums up in favour of the view that sexual looseness rather than recognized polyandry is indicated.¹¹ It has also been argued that the Pāṇḍava brothers were Kṣatriyas, and as such they were allowed greater license with regard to women and were even allowed to contract the lowest form of marriages.¹² Other traces of polyandry are not wanting among the ancient Hindus. One of the law-books says: "A bride is given to the family of her husband and not to the husband alone,"¹³ but the same book admits that such practices are forbidden now. Down to our own times there are traces of polyandry in the comparative freedom allowed to younger brothers towards their elder brothers' wives; the relationship between them is that which has been termed "joking relationship" by modern anthropologists.¹⁴

The Hindus themselves recognized eight forms of marriages, some of which are still to be met with in different parts of India. The first, most honourable, and at the same time the most important form of marriage is known as the *Brāhma* marriage, in which the father gives the daughter in marriage to a bridegroom of good character and learned in the Vedas, the ceremony itself being performed by a Brāhmaṇa priest. The second form *Daiva* is

⁵ x. 10. Compare L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus in Rigveda* [Leipsic, 1908], 275 ff.

⁶ *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* [London, 1912], i. 475.

⁷ According to J. F. McLennan (*Studies in Ancient History*, 2nd series [London and New York, 1886], 86-107), a tendency to promiscuity was the original sexual relationship, and the first general modification of promiscuity was polyandry.

⁸ Sir James G. Frazer (*Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 317; cf. *id.*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii, 144) says that "the sororate and the levirate are offshoots from one common root, a system of group marriage in which all the husbands were brothers and all the wives were sisters to each other, though not to their husbands; and that system in its turn originated in a simple desire to get wives as easily and cheaply as possible." Prof. E. Westermarck however is opposed to this theory (*The History of Human Marriage*, iii, 208, 262, 263 f., and Chapters XXIX-XXXI).

⁹ Winternitz, "Notes on the Mahābhārata, etc.," *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 735 ff.

¹⁰ *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, 4 64 f.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹² *Laws of Manu*, iii, 28.

¹³ *Apastamba*, ii, 10, 27, 3 f. (Tr. by G. Bühler [*S.B.E.*], Oxford, 1897).

¹⁴ In 1926 I suggested the possibility of this being a survival of polyandry among the Hindus (*L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, 86 [published Paris, 1927]). In an article published in 1929 (Atu) K. Sur, "Some Bengali Kinship Usages," *Man in India*, ix [1929], pp. 72-79) there is a suggestion that the "younger brother-in-law licence" and the "wife's younger sister licence" are remnants of levirate and sororate respectively.

extinct now ; it existed when a ruling chief gave his daughter to a Brāhmaṇa for performing a special service, such as the *āsvamedha*. The third form, *Ārsa*, was marriage by purchase, the bride's parents having to pay a certain sum of money to the bridegroom or his parents. This form of marriage is still very much in vogue in certain parts of India, e.g., in Bengal, Gujarāt and among the Rājputs of Kāthiāwār. It is prevalent only where the law of hypergamy prevails ; that is to say, where there is a law that a girl must marry in a caste equal to if not superior to her own. In sections where hypergamy prevails, if the parents failed to marry their daughters in an equal or higher caste, they would themselves be reduced to the rank in which the daughter marries. The fourth form of marriage, *Prājāpatya*, is merely a variation of the first ; it is that in which the god Prajāpati is invoked to shower his blessings on the pair. The fifth form, *Asura*, is that where the bride is purchased ; it is still practised by the lower Hindu castes or even higher Hindu castes in parts where they are much degraded by coming in contact with aboriginal tribes. The sixth form is the *Gāndharva*, or marriage by courtship ; it is a love marriage in which the consent of the parents is asked for after the parties themselves have seen each other. The seventh form was by capture ; it may have been practised in former days, but is unknown for all practical purposes at the present day. The eighth and the lowest form is known as the *Paiśāca* marriage or marriage by craft ; it was that which originated in the rape of a swooning or unconscious bride. Out of these eight forms, only the *Brāhma*, *Ārsa*, *Asura* and *Gāndharva* are the four forms of present Hindu marriages, and the *Brāhma* marriage is the commonest.¹⁵ At no period in the whole history of the Hindus can the other four forms be said to have been universal. They occurred sporadically rather than as a general rule, and there is no conclusive evidence in the Hindu texts to prove that Hindu marriages evolved out of promiscuity, neither is there any evidence to prove that they did not.

Coming down to our times we find that the Hindu family is in theory at least, a polygynous one ; whereas in practice it is strictly monogamous. In other words, though there is absolutely nothing to prevent a man from marrying a hundred wives if he so chose, in actual practice such a thing is not tolerated, except in those instances where the first wife remains childless. In such cases the man may marry again, but even then the first wife is held in greater respect than the subsequent one ; she has precedence over the subsequent one in all religious duties ; she may exercise the right of adopting a son if her husband dies without progeny ; and if her husband dies intestate she has the precedence. And a peculiar sanctity has from time immemorial been attached to first marriages because such marriages were regarded as having been contracted not from lustful desires but from a sense of duty. The ancient books of the Hindus seem to be in favour of monogamy rather than of polygamy, although it is true that none of them clearly expresses that a man should marry only one wife ; nor do they clearly forbid a plurality of wives.¹⁶ Āpastamba says that if a man has a wife who is willing to perform her share in religious duties and who bears sons, then it is not proper for a man to have more than one wife.¹⁷ And according to Manu mutual fidelity should continue till death.¹⁸ In fact, we should be quite correct in saying that the sole cause of polygyny among the Hindus is the desire for offspring, and that polygynous unions are tolerated when the first wife is childless. Moreover there are few Hindu families who would consent to give their daughters in marriage to a man already married and whose wife is still living. Generally in case of a childless wife the difficulty is solved by adopting a child. The practice of *niyoga* of the ancients was actuated by the same desire of having children, for

¹⁵ Cf. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-Born* [*The Religious Quest of India*, ed. by J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griewald. Oxford University Press, 1920], p. 55 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. *Laws of Manu*, v, 168 ; ix, 101 f. ; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* [*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, vol. ii, fasc. 8], p. 65.

¹⁷ *Āpastamba*, ii, 5, 11, 12.

¹⁸ *Laws of Manu*, ix, 101.

the levir did not marry his brother's widow, but simply had intercourse with her.¹⁹ Levirate might have been a right of succession to be enjoyed by the heir when he came to his inheritance, but the Hindu lawgivers regarded it as an unpleasant obligation and a duty towards the dead. One form of polygyny, however, was expressly permitted by the ancient texts. The *Smṛtis* allowed concubinage, that is those who were not married in due form, but were still entitled to maintenance and so on²⁰; and carnal knowledge of the concubines by any one else was considered as adultery.²¹

As to the actual prevalence of polygyny in modern India some interesting facts may be gathered from the latest statistics. In the Census Report for 1921—the 1931 census is not yet finished—for the whole of India, including Hindus, Muhammadans and others, the number of married females per 1,000 males is given as 1,008, or exactly 0·8 per cent of the whole population. In certain typically Hindu or Hinduized sections, such as Bengal and Bombay, there is no evidence of polygyny; and Madras and Bihar and Orissa, where the figures are 1,061 and 1,034 respectively, have a very much mixed population consisting of Āryan, Dravidian and Australoid peoples.²² Polygyny among the Hindus then is more imaginary than real.

Now coming to the actual position of women in Hindu society we find that in theory the husband is the absolute owner of the wife, whom, in ancient times, he could even put to death, the only penalty being the fine of a leathern bag, a bow, a goat or a sheep according to her caste.²³ And in another text it is mentioned clearly that "by a girl, a young woman, or even an aged one nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent." And only in one case Manu recognized the free will of a maiden in the matter of her own marriage: if her father failed to provide her with a husband within three years after her attaining majority she might marry whom she pleased;²⁴ but by her marriage she passed from the absolute control of her father into the absolute control of her husband, whom she was required to worship as a god.²⁵ Cānakya, who according to the Greek historians lived about 2250 years ago, has nothing very good to say about the qualities of women. In one of his *ślokas* he admonishes, saying: "Never put your trust on those with claws [meaning tigers, lions and so on], those with horns [such as bulls, buffaloes, etc.], rivers, women and the royalty; for if you do, you will come to grief in the end."²⁶ And in another place he says that a woman is "adorned" only if she has a husband.²⁷ The reason for this marked inequality of women was, according to Manu, because the qualities attributed to women were laziness, vanity, impurity, dishonesty, malice and evil conduct.²⁸ So inferior were women to men that even a male child was regarded as more deserving of honour than they, and if there were a number of women walking along and there was a male child among them, the child was to walk in front and the women were to follow him.²⁹ The Hindu family being patriarchal, men had

¹⁹ J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 47.

²⁰ *Nārada*, xiii, 26, tr. by J. Jolly [*S.B.E.*, xxxiii, Oxford, 1889].

²¹ *Nārada*, xii, 79; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 64 f.

²² *Census of India*, 1921, vol. I, India, part i, "Report" by J. A. Marten [Calcutta, 1924], p. 152, § 126.

²³ *Laws of Manu*, xi, 139.

²⁴ *Laws of Manu*, ix, 90 f.

²⁵ *Laws of Manu*, v, 154.

²⁶ "Nakḥindām ca nadindām ca, bṛiṅgindām śastra-dhārinām.

Viśvāso naiva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca."

²⁷ "Nārindām bhūṣaṇām patih."

²⁸ *Laws of Manu*, ix, 13-18.

²⁹ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 3, 1, 9; Sylvain Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas*, 157.

precedence in all social and religious affairs, and only in one instance was a wife given an equal right with her husband; in all solemn sacrifices the wife of the sacrificant helped in the religious ceremony along with her husband.³⁰ From a study of the Hindu laws and customs we find that in the Brâhmanical codes the greatest liberty was allowed to men, and the most complete bondage imposed upon the wife; further it is evident that proprietary rights rather than personal self-respect was deemed the basis of conjugal obligation. This, in substance, is also the teaching of a modern Hindu girl. In practice a married woman is the mistress of her own household. She has no voice in outside affairs, but her authority is undisputed at home; and this authority is not won by force, but is the result of mutual affection and understanding between her and her husband. In other words, it is simply a division of labour between them. The husband supports the family, takes care of all matters relating to the outside, bears alone the burden of worldly worries, while the wife manages the house and its affairs, and sees to the upbringing of the children and their education. Each lives in a different sphere, and shares each other's joys and sorrows. Finally, even in the ancient books a wife is enjoined to co-operate with her husband in pursuing the three great objects of life—religious merit, wealth and enjoyment,—and to neglect any one of these is considered to be a great sin. A woman who faithfully carries out these commands is regarded as a perfect woman and is called a *Padminî* or “a lotus-like woman”; the three other kinds of women being *Cîtrîṇî*, or “a woman of varied accomplishments,” *Śāṅkhîṇî*, or “a conch-like woman” and *Haṣṭîṇî*, or “an elephant-like woman.”

Hindu law, too, recognized the rights of a married woman to her own property. Thus the *Strîdhana*, or married woman's property, is fully described in the *Arthasâstra*.³¹ It consists of presents from parents, brothers, sisters, and so on, as also property acquired by herself in any way. When she died intestate, her daughters, or only unmarried daughters, inherited it; and she could leave it by will to whomsoever she pleased. But during her lifetime her husband might dispose of it with her consent in case of distress,³² and had control of it.

And, to sum up, let me quote the definition of a wife given in the Hindu classic *Mahâbhârata* ³³ :—

“A wife is half the man, his truest friend;
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
In solitude, a father in advice,
A mother in all seasons of distress,
A rest in passing through life's wilderness.”

So who can say that the position of a modern Hindu woman is in any way inferior to that of her Western sister?

³⁰ H. Hubert and M. Mauss, “Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice,” *L'Année Sociologique*, ii (1897-1898), p. 78, note 3.

³¹ *Arthasâstra*, iii, 2, 59, cited by E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii, 426.

³² W. H. Macnaughton, *Principles of Hindu Law* [Calcutta, 1880], p. 33 f., cited by E. Westermarck, *ibid.*

³³ i. 3028 ff., quoted by (Sir) Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* [London, 1883], p. 328.

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., D.A. (OXON.), F.R.A.I., PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT,
GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS.

(Continued from page 116.)

He then settles some property for the sole enjoyment of his sister, for whom he shows the greatest solicitude. Continuing the discourse with his brother, he proceeds to declare his wishes in regard to his wife Kuñjannūli :—

Ēru⁴¹ vayassilum keṭṭi nānum
Alatturappenre ponmakale
Maniyumkottappenre marumakale
Ālattuvittile Kuñjannūli
Achehāram nūṛonnu cholliṛuṇḍu

Nanmūrtam konḍu kulichu keṭṭi
Kettiyapandalil konḍu pōnnu
Avarume achcharum cholliṛuṇḍu
Ayirattoṇṇinre venma ponnum

Avalkāyittanne kotittirruṇḍu
Viṭṭupātravum tannittuṇḍu
Avalēyūm nīyūm maṛakkarute
Panattinum kotichchañṇayakkarutu

Avalum varakku māyi poyateṅgil
Parañṇu vaṣattākki rakshikēnam

Then he speaks of other household affairs: "The *mēnōnmār* of Ambādikūlōm, when their crops once failed, took from us on loan seven thousand *paras* of paddy and seeds, which I lent them at a low rate of interest, on mortgage of their property recorded in copper-plate deed. I warn you not to offend them or proceed against them to secure their lands." He then tells his brother that he has a son by his uncle's daughter Tumbōlārchcha, who is fair to see. As he has given him nothing, he should see that his son is suitably provided, and well educated. He again adverts to his sister, saying that he has bestowed on her a *kalari* and some lands, which his brother should not covet :—

Kalariyil pūja karippikkēnam
Mēlālāyi pōyi karippichehōlu
Nāttukārokkayum ettumallo
Avarēyūm nīyañṇu āsrayikka
Ēriya muṇḍum paṇavum kiṭṭum
Kuttōde paṭṭum sammānikkum
Kuṛaṇṇōṇnu peñṇalkum koṭuttukoḷḷu

"In her seventh year I married
"The only daughter of Alatturappen,
"The niece of Maniyomkottappen,
"Kuñjannūli of Ālattuvīḍu.
"One hundred and one guarantees have been given.
"Tying the *tāli* under good auspices,
"She was conducted home directly,
"And they in their turn have given assurances.
"The value in gold of thousand and one guarantees
"Has been given on her behalf.
"Household vessels have been given as well.
"You should not forget her.
"Send her not away on monetary considerations.
"Should she quarrel and leave you
"You should persuade her and protect her."
"The worship at the *kalari* should be maintained.
"You should supervise the ceremonies.
"People of the entire locality will assemble;
"Look to them for support.
"Presents of cloth and money you get in plenty
"And presents of silk.
"Give the sister a share :

⁴¹ The references to the marriages of Arummaṇammal Kumhīraman with Unniārchcha, and of Ārōmaṛ with Kuñjannūli, make it clear that marriages among the Tiyaṛ were then as they now are, *patrilocal*. At the present day the N. Malabar Tiyaṛ present the strange phenomena of being *matrilineal* so far as succession to property is concerned, while continuing to be *patrilocal*, the bride being invariably conducted ceremoniously to the bridegroom's house, where she lives during the lifetime of her husband. Indeed property passed from father to son in the earlier days, as Ārōmaṛ has described the inheritance of property in his family, the *matrilineal* form of descent being unknown. Considerable dowries were given with the bride in marriage, as is clear from the dowries bestowed on the marriages of Unniārchcha and Kuñjannūli described above, the system of dowries being intimately connected with the inheritance of property from father to son, the daughter getting no share after marriage. The institution of dowry no longer prevails among the Tiyaṛ, having disappeared apparently with the growth of the *matrilineal* form of descent with the *Marumakkayam* system of inheritance, which obtains at present.

Avalē mushichchalvaruttarutu
Nēr peññāluṭe kāriyam ōrtukūṭa
Sāmōdam kannir niraññōruki
Anusāram kēlppichchirikkunnēram
Sornavum peññāle ōrtukonḍu
Dēvarakkōṭṭil irunnavanum
Annoṭṭu pātira chenna nēram
Āṟṟummaṇammele Unniārchcha
Uraññunna urakkattil sopnam kaṇḍu
Kalaribhārambaru sopnam kāṭṭi

Ennuṭe āññāla Ārōmunṇi
Putturamviṭṭile Ārōmunṇi
Puttarisāgam kuṛichchirippe
Neṭṭi eruniṟṟu Unniārchcha
Kālari bhārambare ninandavalum
Kārkūndal nannāyi kuḍaññu keṭṭi
Dipam koḷutti pōkunnundu
Pūnkōri chāttanṟe kūval kēṭṭu
Paṭakāḷi muṟṟattum chenniraññi
Bhūmiyum toṭṭu neṟukil vecchēu
Sūrya bhagavāne keitoṟutu
Muṟṟamaṭiyum kaṛikkunnundu

Then she gets water and *umikkari*⁴² ready, and wakes up her father and mother.⁴³ The latter enquires why she is in a hurry. Unniārchcha tells them of her dream, expressing her anxious desire to see her brother before he goes to fight. Hearing this, the father remarks :—

Kaṭiññūl garbhavum niṇakkallāne
Palatume sopnavum kāṇum mōle
Appōl parayunnu Unniārchcha
Chila kālam sopnavum okkum achchā
Nānenṟe viṭṭōlam pōṭṭe amme
Appōl parayunnu ammayallo
Ninnuṭe chollinnu naṭakkayilla
Ninne iviṭēkku kuṭanna pinne
Enṟe makannu sukhamillallo
Appōl parayunnu Unniārchcha
Ninnāṭe makanenna kuṭannatendē
Ninnalku sukhattōḍe iruttāṇnelle
Enne iviṭēkku kuṭannatendē

The mother observes : " It is only eight days since you returned, and if you are going again, my son can't accompany you. He is always busy at the *kālari*." The mother proposes that she may go accompanied by a Pānan.

Puttūram viṭṭile penṇunñālum
Pānanṟe kūṭe naṭannittilla
Ninnāṭe tarakkam paraññu ninnal
Paṇḍēkkum āññālum Chēkōnmāre
Patinēṭṭu sthānavum āññalkkunḍē
Tandāyṁa sthānavum kīrvārchayam

" Do not offend her.
" I am pained to think of our sister ; "
And freely flowed the tears.
And thus he continued discoursing,
And meditating on his dear sister
Remaining in the hall of worship.
That night, when past midnight,
Unniārchcha of Āṟṟummaṇammel
In her sleep had a dream.
The guardian deity of the *kālari* appeared to
her in dream.

My brother Arōmunṇi,
Ārōmaṟ of Puttūram house,
Has resolved on proceeding to an *aṅgam* fight.
Unniārchcha gets up startled,
And prays to the deity,
Gathers and ties up her hair,
And lighting the lamp goes out of the room.
Hearing the cock crow,
She advances to the courtyard,
And does obeisance to the goddess of earth,⁴⁴
Worships the sun,
And attends to sweeping the courtyard.

ready, and wakes up her father and mother.⁴³ The latter enquires why she is in a hurry. Unniārchcha tells them of her dream, expressing her anxious desire to see her brother before he goes to fight. Hearing this, the father remarks :—

" At this period of first pregnancy,
" You are apt to have dreams, my daughter."

Unniārchcha replies :

" Dreams sometimes come true, father.
" Mother, let me just go home."

The mother replies :

" I shall not be dictated to by you.
" Ever since you were brought here
" My son has not been well."

Unniārchcha retorts :

" Why, then, did your son marry me ?
" You could have kept him in comfort.
" Why was I brought here at all ? "

The mother observes : " It is only eight days since you returned, and if you are going again, my son can't accompany you. He is always busy at the *kālari*." The mother proposes that she may go accompanied by a Pānan. Unniārchcha is wroth at the suggestion :—

" The ladies of Puttūram house
" Have never gone escorted by Pānans.
" You no doubt referred to your practice.
" From early times have we been *Chekor*.
" We are of the highest rank.
" We have the status of leaders

⁴² The charred husk of the paddy, which is still used throughout Malabar for cleaning the teeth.

⁴³ The daughter-in-law always addresses her father-in-law and mother-in-law as father and mother, respectively.

Chêkônpadaviyum tannittundu
Chêrânperumâl tamburânnum
Niraparayum vilakkum vecchhu

Āditya chandranê sākshiyākki
Nālu kūtṭavume tannittundu
Inīnne sthānum irippullappōl
Pānenṟe kūṭe nānpōnō ammē
Ponnum paṇavume ōṟtu ninnāl
Ennu paraññāval pōkunnundu
Kannirum kaiyayipōkunnundu

Going inside, she opens the room, takes a jar of oil, rubs her hair profusely with oil and walks along unattended until she reaches the riverside, where she asks a Kāṇakkan boy to row her across. Not having any money to pay the ferry toll, the boy refuses to row her across until she removes and gives him one of her gold ornaments. When they reach the opposite shore the boy learns who she is, when he falls at her feet, returns the piece of gold and pleads for pardon. Unniārṇchcha continues her journey until she reaches the Putturam fields. Ārōmaṟ, surprised to see his sister coming, wonders how she got the news. . . . His mother replies that she could have known only by divine intercession. The daughter approaching falls at her mother's feet, while the latter blesses and comforts her. At sight of Unniārṇchcha, the Vārūnnōr and the Nāyars rise up, when Ārōmaṟ makes a sign to them to sit, saying that it is none but his sister that is coming. Ārōmaṟ enquires how and why she has come. Unniārṇchcha, breathless with emotion, replies as follows :—

Innale pādīra nêrattingal
Urakkattil sopnavum kaṇḍu nānum
Nêram pulārṇchhakku enīṟru nānum
Atitālī vēgam kaṛichchitallō
Ammōḍu yāṭṟayum chōḍichappōl
Pānane tuṇa kūṭṭi pōvān cholli
Āvaṟi tanne naḍannu nānum
Chōḍichchariñṇu pōnnitallō

Ārōmaṟ then guides her inside and tells her of his engagement to fight, when she falls unconscious.

Śaṅgile vellam itukkunnundu
Nūṟgonnu mantram japichu ūti

Unniārṇchhakku tannir koḍukkun-
nundu

On regaining consciousness he consoles her, explaining the reasons which had weighed with him in accepting the engagement. Taking off a ring he gives it to her, saying : " If a son is born to you, let him be brought up bearing my name, and wearing my ring. He should be well trained in physical and fencing exercises, and if any one should ask for his services for *aṅgam* fighting, don't you stand in the way of his going. You should, on the contrary, see that he is sent with those who need his services. Let not the prestige of the land suffer, nor the *kālari* be dishonoured or its name and fame allowed to suffer in the least. Father's fame is at stake ; father is very old, and while I live I cannot see him killed by anybody. When in the days of my boyhood, father was engaged in single combats, aunt (father's sister) bore it like a bold woman. Grandmother also was then alive. In the same manner should you bear up. In the name of our guardian deity do not gainsay me, my sister."

Having thus consoled his sister, Ārōmaṟ continues his ceremonies late into the night, until he is startled by sobs, and, turning round, sees Kuñjaṇṇūli, his wife. " If you are going

" And we have been granted the rank of Chekor.

" The emperor Chêramān Perumāl.

" With the lighted lamp and the measureful of rice,

" With the sun and moon as witnesses.

" Four assemblies have been given us.

" When we have such dignities

" How can I go, mother, with a Pānan ?

" Wealth is your only consideration."

Saying this she moves along,

And weeping she goes.

" Yesterday when past midnight

" I had a dream, and

" I got up at daybreak,

" And, finishing my household work,

" Approached mother for leave to go.

" Thereupon she asked me to take a Pānan with me,

" Straight away I walked along alone,

" And found my way home."

Water is taken in a conch shell,

And chanting one hundred and one magical spells,

Is given to Unniārṇchcha to drink.

to this fight, I shall come with you to witness it," says she, giving vent to her pent-up grief, and falls at his feet, crying, "Should you be slain in the fight, how am I ever to forget you."

Kārirulkkotta mudī araku

Pañjami chandranôdotta nerri

Kuññi mukhavum kuñya kannum
Tattamma chundum pavira pallum
Ārômal tâdi arimban mîsa

Evîta vechchu nân marannitêndu

Êtaneññu potti karaññu penpu

Bôdhamkettanînine vîrupôyi

Atutâne kânunnu Ārômarum

Kiṭukiṭe potti karaññu Chêkôn

Onniṇdu kēlkēnampenkidāvē

Ikkandatokke nîpakkâne

Āngattil tōrru marichchatengil

Ennute⁴⁴ anujanām Unnikkanṇan

Ninnāyum oṭṭum orikkayilla

Niññalorumichchu irunnu kolvin

Appôl paṇayunnu Kuñjannûli

Patināru vayassu naṭappenikku

Ippôl ñanoru pennāyullu

Irupatturaṇdu vayassu niññalkkallo

"With beautiful jet-black hair

"And forehead as the moon on the fifth lunar day,

"Small face and round eyes,

"Parrot's lips and pearly teeth,

"Well shaped beard and graceful moustache,

"How I would miss them all!"

Thus she laments, broken hearted,

And falls down unconscious.

Ārômar seeing her great grief

Is likewise moved to tears

And implores her to listen to him :—

"All that you see here belongs to you.

"If I should die in the fight

"My brother Unnikkanṇan

"Will not abandon you.

"May you both live together."

Kuñjannûli replies :

"I am but sixteen now

"And am just on the threshold of womanhood.

"While you are only twenty-two."

He explains how he cannot stay at home, and send his father to fight. So he is going to the *anṅam* though the fates are against him, and he is certain to come by death. He assures her, however, that he will not be defeated and slain, but fears he may be a victim to foul play. Having thus consoled her, Ārômar asks his brother to fetch his father, whom he consults as to sending a reliable person to sharpen the *churika*.⁴⁵ Ārômar objects to sending his cousin Chandu, observing that he will play him false, as he bears him a grudge, having objected to Unniārṇcha being given to Chandu in marriage. His father remarks that Chandu was brought up as his own child, since the loss of both his parents while he was yet a child, and is thoroughly trustworthy. Chandu is accordingly sent for, despite the misgivings of Ārômar. Chandu comes and is entrusted with the *churikas*, solemnly promising to be faithful to Ārômar. Unniārṇcha then serves him food, when the following dialogue ensues :—

Onniṇdu⁴⁶ kēlkēnam Chandwannēlē

Uḷḷil mushichchal karutavēnda

Ômana mukham vāṭṭam tîṭṭitēndu

"Just hear me, my brother.

"Do not harbour any ill feeling,

"I shall cheer you up and make you happy.

⁴⁴ Ārômar here expresses a wish that his brother may espouse her on his death, with a view to protect her and save her from widowhood, in consideration of her very young age. This no doubt indicates the *levirate* as the custom is called which requires a widow to wed her husband's brother or some one else of his close kinsmen. The more common form is the junior *levirate*—the widow marrying the younger brother. The custom no longer prevails anywhere in North Malabar.

⁴⁵ A dagger, small sword (Gundert., p. 373).

⁴⁶ Unniārṇcha feels that Chandu may be harbouring malice towards Ārômar as the latter had stood in the way of his marrying her; and so in her great anxiety to save her brother, she tries to persuade Chandu that as soon as Ārômar returns victorious, she will separate herself from her husband and be a dutiful wife to Chandu. It is evident that the latter has harassed her not a little and that, though perfectly tired of his advances, she in her then frame of mind, actuated with the singleness of purpose of saving Ārômar, is prepared to sacrifice herself if she succeeds to enlist Chandu's goodwill in favour of Ārômar. Unniārṇcha in this shows her great selfless devotion to Ārômar. A heroine of repute, she was well known for the great endurance and strength of character she displayed in her moments of trial.

Ennuṭe āṇṇala kuṇṇiyaṇṇala
Puttariyaṅgattinu Pōkunnunḍu
Tuna kūṭi pōkunnatu niṇṇalāne
Onniṇḍucheṇṇam Chandwāṇṇale
Āṇṇala angattiljayichu vannāl
Āṇṇam maṇammēnu vākkorichechu

Niṇṇalku peṇṇāyi irinnukollām
Paṇḍu paraṇṇu chatichchōlallē
Īppōre nīyam maṇannupōyō
Orukuṇi nin vāḱku viswasichchu
Ninṇe arikattu vānu ṇānum
Muraṇṇaṭṭikkunna chōlukonḍu
Entinnaviṭem paṇayunnu ṇān
Āṇṇam maṇammēl varuvān chōlli
Pātira rāvatra neḍurāvullappōl
Kumaraṇṇ purā ṇānum nintivānu
Ni kiṭakkum muṇiyil ṇān vannappōl
Tuppum kōlāmbi koṇḍenneriṇṇu
Annu nī cheyitatu maraṇṇiṭṭilla
Unṇiāṇṇecha sheds bitter tears at his
Koṇṇipaṇayalla Unṇiāṇṇecha
Ninnuṭe māyaṇṇal ṇānāyiyum
Ammāṇane tanne oṭṭiṭṭane
Ninnāyūm ṇānonnum cheyyāttatu
Ela mūla poṭṭiyalaṇṇuvāṇam
Neṇṇaṭṭaṭṭichchu karaṇṇaṇṇaḷum
Āṇṇala yaṅgam jayichchu vannāl
Niṇṇalku peṇṇāyi irikkum ṇāne
Kalaribhārambharam achchanāne
Nānparaṇṇatu satyamāne

Ārōmaṇ's father cautions Chandu that, as the blacksmith's house is in the vicinity of Ariṇṇōṭeṇ's, he should not be tempted by the latter's enticements, or turn round, or converse with anybody on the way. He should particularly guard himself against the wiles of Ariṇṇōṭeṇ's beautiful daughters :—

Muṭitinnēl koṭikettiya Kuṇṇaṇṇūli

Iruṭṭatholiminnam Kuṭṭimāṇi
Iṇṇine raṇḍallō penkiṭāṇṇal
Ninne avaraṇṇu kaṇṭateṇṇil
Keikonḍu mādi viṭikkum ninne

Chandu solemnly promises to be true and faithful to the last. His uncle blesses him and sends him on his errand. Chandu walks along until he reaches Kōlōṭṭi nāḍu,⁴⁷ and goes by the way of Ariṇṇōṭeṇ's house, which he was expressly asked to avoid. Ariṇṇōṭeṇ recognizes him, and shrewdly guessing that the bundle contains *churikas*, advances and invites him just to refresh himself at his house for a while. Chandu refuses, when Ariṇṇōṭeṇ,

Koraṭṭattu⁴⁸ marunnu kaṭichumkonḍu
Viṭṭil kayariṭṭu pōṇam Chandu

" My dear and devoted brother
" Is proceeding on his first fight,
" And it's you who accompanies him.
" Just hear me, brother.
" No sooner does Ārōmaṇ return victorious
" Than shall I separate myself from Āṇṇam-
maṇammēl
" And remain your dutiful wife."
" Haven't you already played me false ?
" Have you now forgotten all that ?
" Once I believed you,
" And when I came to you,
" You used the broomstick.
" Why should I recall the rest ?
" You asked me to Āṇṇammaṇammēl
" In the dead of night.
" I swam across the Kumarm river,
" And when I stepped into your room,
" You flung the spittoon at me.
" I have not forgiven you that."
As young bamboos crackling in the woods,
She cries, beating her breast :
" As soon as my brother returns successful,
" I swear, I shall be your wife.
" Upon my father I swear.
" I speak the truth."

" Kuṇṇaṇṇūli, who does up her locks on the forehead ;

" Kuṭṭimāṇi, who shines even in the dark :

" These are the two girls he has.

" If they should see you,

" They will beckon to you and call you."

Employing a drug, which he eats,
Repeats his invitation.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁷ Kōlōṭṭi nāḍu or the kingdom of the Kolattiris, a dynasty of rulers who ruled over the greater part of what is now North Malabar. The line is now represented by the Chirakkal Tamburan or the Raja of Chirakkal, with his headquarters at Cannanore. The family now enjoys a Malikhana allowance of Rs. 24,000 per year from the Government.

⁴⁸ Malabar is pre-eminently the land of magic, which is considered most potent and capable of both good and evil.

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,
Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.

(Continued from page 59.)

Among the advantages presented by the site over any other in or near the harbour, and which, therefore, led to its selection, were that—(a) it was well raised, exposed to every breeze there being no higher land within a considerable radius, and commanded both entrances to the harbour; (b) the greater portion of the site was under grass, and therefore very little clearing of jungle and undergrowth had to be undertaken before the necessary number of buildings could be erected; and (c) extensive grass heaths, suitable for grazing large herds of cattle, such as it was desired to establish, stretched for many miles northwards; while the drawbacks and disadvantages were not so immediately apparent, but soon proved to be (1) the extensive foreshore of pestiferous black mud with, here and there, exposed coral reefs, which skirted the three sides of the small promontory on which the settlement was planted; (2) the existence of a large fetid swamp, measuring some 40 acres on the north-east border of the station, and a few small swamps and *jhils* in other portions of the same area; and (3) the poverty of the soil, consisting mainly of polycistina clay, and the difficulty consequently found not only in cultivating it successfully or utilising it in any other way, such as in brick, tile or pot-making, but also in draining it. The two first of these drawbacks would, however, it was thought, be ere long successfully overcome.

The services of the hulk *Blenheim*, a well-known East Indiaman, which was anchored in the harbour for the first five years (*viz.*, till April 1874) proved useful to the pioneers of the settlement both in affording accommodation while the buildings were being erected, and as a sanitarium to those subsequently requiring a change from the shore.

The average strength at which the convict gang was maintained varied during the nineteen years from 172 to 308 men, the mean average being about 235. The number with which the colony was started was 262 convicts.

The protective force, consisting of Madras sepoy's averaging between 50·65, and police 15·30, usually aggregated about 80 men, while the free residents, exclusive of the crew of the station steamer, which was first granted in February 1884, consisting of Government officials, employes, cocoanut-traders and, in late years, children of free and convict settlers, ranged between 20 and 50. The total number of residents (free and convict) rarely, therefore, exceeded 400, and was in some years so low as 300.

The officer in charge was one of the Assistant or Extra Assistant Superintendents on the Port Blair Establishment; when available, a European officer was detailed from his regiment to the command of the Madras Infantry detachment, and a medical subordinate (an apothecary or hospital assistant) was in charge of the hospitals.

The experiences of the first few years proved most trying to the pioneers of the infant colony, as evidenced by the high sick-rate among all classes, notwithstanding the adoption of many precautionary measures. This state of things was almost entirely due to the malaria for which the harbour has, from remote times, been notorious. It, therefore, soon became evident that, until some marked improvement occurred in the sanitary condition of the locality, it would be necessary to avail ourselves largely of the facilities afforded by the visits of the mail steamer, which in the first few years communicated once every six weeks, and subsequently once every four weeks, to effect reliefs at short intervals of all free residents, and to transfer to Port Blair all cases of convict patients requiring change of air for their recovery.

In the case of the free establishment a residence of, at one time, three months and, at another time, of six months usually qualified for a relief, but, in some instances, the stay was voluntarily prolonged to periods of from one to four or more years. In the case of convicts,

except when recommended for a change by the medical officer, they were, during a great portion of the period under review, required to pass about three years before they became eligible for transfer. This was not so great a hardship as it might otherwise appear, for further experience had proved that the first year of residence was usually the most trying and that, owing to this circumstance more work could be accomplished by those who had thus, in a measure, become acclimatised than by new arrivals. The practice, therefore, proved beneficial in enabling greater progress to be made.

Indeed, it often occurred that on becoming eligible for transfer to Port Blair, some of the convicts would prefer to remain at the Nicobars, so that it was found in February 1888 that of the 293 prisoners then at Nancowry, 88 had passed more than three years, and of that number 20 had been there from five to fifteen years without a change.

Although the facility of transferring the most sickly cases to Port Blair for change and treatment, and obtaining selected men in their place, was freely availed of, the hospital returns were, for most years, very high, and if the deaths and sick-rate at the Andamans of those recently transferred from the Nicobars had been also taken into account, the statistics would have proclaimed more clearly than they did the actual amount of mischief caused by the malarious climate.

Although, in spite of the disastrous experiences of the Moravian Missionaries a hundred years ago, the Nicobar fever can probably not be regarded as of so deadly a character as that of the pestilential Niger, it is curious to note that our experience of the former corresponded in one respect with that recorded of the latter, viz., that "the fever usually sets in 16 days after exposure to the malaria, and that one attack, instead of acclimatising the patient, seems to render him all the more liable to a second."

That a decided improvement had taken place in the sanitary condition of the settlement during the last few years there can be no doubt, and that it could have been further improved and the site itself rendered fairly healthy by completing the reclamations of the swamps, *jhils*, and foreshore, and removing all exposed coral reefs within a reasonable radius of the station, seems equally certain; but in order to accomplish such a task, more labour than was available at Camorta would have had to be freely bestowed for two or more years, during which time a high percentage of sick would have had to be counted on.

WORKS.—The principal works on which the convicts were employed from first to last were as follows:—

- | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|
| (a) The construction of buildings, tanks, and wells (as per margin), metalled roads, | | |
| 5 barracks | } with out-houses | drains (brick, surface and sub-surface), sea- |
| 4 bungalows | | walls, and a jetty (500 feet long). |
| 7 smaller quarters and out-houses | | The two last-named works proved very |
| 1 Commissariat godown | | beneficial in reclaiming a large portion of |
| 1 Magazine | | the unhealthy area occupied by the foreshore, |
| 12 brick wells | | whereby, among other advantages, a site for |
| 1. " tank | | numerous huts required for the accommoda- |
| 2 tanks | | tion of free cocoanut-traders was provided. |
| Numerous cattle and work-sheds, etc. | | |

As regards material, in the absence of stone suitable for building purpose *in situ*, much use was made of the fine blocks of coral which were so easily obtainable.

It was found easy to shape these by means of old blunt axes in slabs and blocks of suitable size. That they served our purpose very satisfactorily was evident from the substantial character of the work in the reservoir, wells, sea-walling and jetty. As the insanitary effects of exposed live coral are well known, the quarrying of

the adjacent reefs and the utilization of the coral in the above manner thus served a double purpose. The same material further enabled us to obtain, by burning, as much good lime as we needed. For thatching purposes the lalang grass was found admirably adapted; it is of this material that the excellent roofs of the Nicobarese huts in the Northern Islands are invariably made. Scantling, planking, etc., was obtained from the local sawpit station in Octavia Bay, while posts, bamboos, and cane were of course always readily procurable from the adjacent jungles.

- (b) The removal of jungle, the extirpation of lalang grass and planting of good grass-seed together with a large number of trees (neem, mango, casuarina, shisham, mahogany, etc.), calculated to benefit the place both in a sanitary sense and otherwise; the cultivation of vegetables and fruits and experimental planting of cotton, tobacco, coffee, etc., and the reclamation or draining of such areas of swamp land as were either in proximity to dwellings or were so situated as to exert a baneful influence on the health of the station.

With regard to these, the work of supplanting the lalang grass with superior imported species proved very difficult, and can in fact be said to have been only partially accomplished; this is due to the extraordinary vitality of this grass, its tenacity, and the depth to which its roots penetrate the soil. It is more than probable that in the absence of any further restraints to its growth and spread, it will before many years re-assert its supremacy over the whole area. With reference to reclamations of swamps, the important work of bunding the large wide-mouthed swamp, referred to above as on the north-east border of the station, was attempted with all available labour for two and a quarter years (January 1874 to March 1876). Great hopes were, with good reason, entertained that a decided improvement in the sanitary condition of the settlement would ensue on the successful completion of this work, but before it was half finished, it was ordered to be discontinued and the bunded portion to be cut through so as to re-admit the sea as before; the grounds for this decision being that (1) the position of the sluice-gate fixed by the Public Works Department was faulty; (2) labour was scarce and more could not be afforded from Port Blair; (3) much sickness was occurring among the men engaged on the work; and (4) the reclamation might prove of questionable utility. From experience previously gained at Port Blair it was known that while such work was in progress the rate of sickness was certain to be high, and had the work been persevered in and the reclaimed area well drained and planted with cocoanut-trees, there can be no doubt that results similar to those witnessed at Aberdeen, Phoenix Bay and other swamps at Port Blair, formerly notoriously unhealthy, would have been attained.

- (c) The formation of a cattle farm with the object of supplementing the outturn of draught and slaughter animals from the herds at the Andamans for the requirements of Port Blair, thereby eventually rendering that settlement independent of supplies of cattle from India.

Transfer of young animals for the above purpose commenced in October 1885, from which

1885-86	..	67	date 227 head were supplied to Port Blair (as per margin), while the entire herd at the time of the abandonment of the settlement comprised :
1886-87	..	120	
1887-88	..	42	
Bulls	..	..	11
Cows	..	..	313
Bull-calves	..	..	324
Cow-calves	..	..	292
Bullocks	..	..	24

Buffalo-bulls	2
„ cows	28
„ calves (bull)	24
„ „ (cow)	15
TOTAL ..	1,033

the above being exclusive of 210 head of cattle owned by self-supporter convicts.

(d) The manufacture or sale of the following for consumption at Port Blair or for local use :—

	Rs.
Cocoanut oil (about 720,000 lbs.)	1,20,000
Curds, milk and butter	28,500
Lime	20,000
Bricks	2,500

also procuring and preparing such quantities of jungle material, coral blocks, etc., as were required for local works.

(e) Girdling a few thousand timber trees (chiefly *Mimusops*, *Albizzia*, *Mangifera* and *Hydrocarpus* species), and maintaining a sawpit station for the supply of plank-ing, scantling, etc., for works in progress and for sale.

WATER-SUPPLY.—From the number of wells and tanks mentioned in the foregoing as provided for the wants of the station, it will be rightly assumed that the supply of water was abundant during the rains and adequate during the dry months. As its quality was not above suspicion, the precaution was taken to boil and filter all that was intended for drinking purposes. The large quantity of water stored in the reservoir and wells near the jetty would have proved for many years to come a great convenience to vessels requiring a supply while trading there or in passing through the harbour. The average annual rainfall, as ascertained from the registers of fifteen consecutive years (1873 to 1887), was found to amount to 112·23 inches.

CHARACTER OF THE SOIL AND CULTIVATION.—The result of the experience gained by us as regards the capabilities of the soil for purposes of cultivation may be briefly stated to be as follows :—That only in such portions of the undulating grass heaths as lie in deep valleys and ravines could cultivation be carried on for more than one or at most two seasons without free application of manure, while on the high grass lands, there being only a thin layer of black mould covering the polycistina clay, any attempt to remove the grass in order to prepare the soil for cultivation suffices to diminish the small amount of fertility in land so unfavourably situated by exposing the topmost layer to the effects of the heavy rains of these latitudes, which of course speedily cause it to be washed down the nearest slopes. As regards the jungle land, our experience corresponded with that gained respecting similar land at Port Blair, and there can be no doubt of the success which would reward intelligent agriculturists to whom a tract of such land was allotted. Besides of course raising ordinary Indian vegetables and fruits for local consumption, experiments were made in cultivating American cotton and tobacco. Between 1870 and 1873 about 20 acres were planted with the former ; although there was at first a rich promise of success, the staple produced being most favourably reported on, both as regards quality and quantity, various circumstances combined to disappoint the hopes that had been raised. The drought of the dry months proved as injurious as the heavy rains and violent squalls of the South-West Monsoon, while additional loss was occasioned by the ravages of a red beetle, which was apparently introduced with the seed received from America. In consequence of this, though the soil seemed peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of this valuable plant, the experiment had to be reluctantly abandoned. The tobacco experiments were conducted on a smaller scale and over a like brief period. They sufficed to show that tobacco of good quality could be raised, although, in consequence of indifferent curing, the value of what was produced was small.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA

A QUERY.

ST. THOMAS IN PARTHIA OR INDIA?

In the issue of *The Indian Antiquary* for June 1931, Dr. P. J. Thomas, of Madras, has (in his article on St. Thomas in South India) attempted to establish on the strength of the still nebulous and very late South Indian tradition that the Apostle Thomas did come to South India and went nowhere else.

Far earlier than the earliest recorded version (thirteenth century) of the South Indian tradition, there are statements in Origen and *The Acts of Judas Thomas* (both of about 200 A.D.), which show that St. Thomas went to Parthia or India. These two are in fact the earliest documents yet discovered which mention the field of St. Thomas's apostolic activities. India of *The Acts* is no doubt the Indus region under Gondophares of Taxila, i.e., North-West India, whatever the existing very late versions of the South Indian tradition may or may not say.

Now, while *The Acts*, written some time between A.D. 180 and 230, says that St. Thomas went to the India of Gûdnaphar (Gondophares), Origen, the much-travelled, voluminous writer of the same age (born A.D. 185-6, died about 254), says in his commentary on *Genesis* that the Apostle went to Parthia. He says (according to his statement incorporated by Eusebius, A.D. 265-340, in his *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. III, c. I.) as follows:—

Apostoli et discipuli Domini ac Servatoris nostri per universum orbem dispersi Evangelium prae-dicabant. Et Thomas quidem, ut a majoribus traditum accepimus, Parthiam sortitus est.

Does Origen here contradict his contemporary, the author of *The Acts*? Or, does he actually agree with him, meaning by Parthia the Indus region under the Parthian king Gondophares?

In olden times India was known to the Indians as Bhāratavarsa and Indians were called Bhāratīyas. Could Parthia in the above passage be Origen's way of pronouncing the Sanskrit name Bhāratā or Bhāratīya?

Dr. Thomas, by a serious oversight, does not at all refer to Origen's Parthia. And Origen is not the only authority who mentions the Parthian apostolate of St. Thomas. *The Clementine Recognitions* (IX, 29), and later, Eusebius (*History*, III, 1), Rufinus (fourth century, *History*, II, 5), and Socrates (fifth century, *History*, I, 19) assign Parthia to St. Thomas, although *The Doctrine of Addai* (of about A.D. 200, a work completely independent of *The Acts* of about the same age), *The Doctrine of the Apostles* (of the third century), St. Ephraem, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome (all of the fourth century), and several later writers assign India to him, not Parthia.

In the Syriac life of St. Mar, Bishop of Ctesiphon (second century), there occurs the following passage:—

"When Mar Mar, reached the country of the Huzites, and found believers there, and heard of

the conversion of the Persians, his heart was filled with joy to find a small quantity of wheat in extensive fields of tares. He preached through that country and converted many. Then he descended still further (or went still further) until the perfume (or odour) of Mar Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted unto him; and there also he added great numbers to the fold, and left behind him a disciple named Job, to minister to them."—(Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, 1905, p. 37.)

From where did the perfume of St. Thomas go to St. Mar in the second century A.D.? From Origen's Parthia, or from North-West India of *The Acts*, or from distant Malabar and Mylapore of South Indian tradition?

Trivandrum, 29th June 1931. T. K. JOSEPH.

AIRIKINA AND SANCHI.

Airikina.—This is the form found in the Gupta inscriptions at the site. The modern form is *Eran*, as current in the locality, which is now most conveniently accessible, being at a distance of four miles, from the railway station Kaithorā-Korwāi in the small Muhammadan principality of Korwāi in Mālwa. The railway station is about five miles from Bina Junction, G. I. P., in the district of Saugor, C.P. On the map of Saugor and Bhilsā, within a radius of twenty miles there are two other villages bearing the name of Eran. The *Airikina* of Samudra Gupta is the name of a district (*pradēśa*)¹ wherein he made his (*sva*)-*bhoga-pura*, an imperial resort. This *sva-bhoga-pura* is the site now known as *Eran*, four miles from Kaithorā. It is the gate between Mālwa (*Ākara*) and Bundelkhand (Vindhya country). This and the other two villages called Eran are to be treated as coming under Vidiśā, or Bhilsā, in the Gupta and the previous periods.

The three spots bearing the name in a group prove that there was a territory connected with that name. The territory belonged in the second century A.C. (or earlier) to an autonomous political community. This is proved by the coins found by Cunningham (*A.S.I.*, vol. X, pp. 80-81, pl. XXIV, figs. 16, 17; vol. XIV, 149, pl. XXI, figs. 17, 18). On the coins the form of the name is *Erakana*. [I take the letter read by Cunningham as *nya* to be an archaic form of *na*.] The origin of the name is indicated, in my opinion, by the symbol of a serpent figured on the top of the coin. *Eraka* or *Airaka* means a serpent. It is the name of a Nāga in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 2164). It is derived from *tr*, 'to move forward,' and the sense is to be found in *Airduat* (the Serpent King) and names of rivers. *Airaka*, as a proper name, occurs in the Nāsik inscription of Pulumāvi (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 65) as *Mahā-Airaka*, which M. Senart considered to be the name of a Buddhist monk (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 68). The context does show that Mahā-Airaka was either an official or a responsible

¹ Fleet, G. I., p. 20, Eran insc. of Samudra Gupta line 25.

monk. The political community under whom the Eran coins were struck derived their name from *Airaka*, who was evidently the founder of their state. I have shown elsewhere the existence of this system of naming the community after the founder of the state.²

The Nāga dynasty of Mālwā, who are found in Gupta times in the neighbourhood of Eran, might or might not have been connected with the Airikiyas.

Sāñchi.—Cunningham's identification of Sāñchi with Fa Hien's *Sha-chi* has been rightly questioned by Sir John Marshall.³ But the word remains unexplained. In the United Provinces it is contrasted with *Magah* (Magadha), in connexion with *pdn* leaves (betel). The *Magah* *pdn*, which is imported from Gayā, is white, while the uncured green variety is called *Sāñchi*, which means that it

came from *Mālwā*. The name must be old, as its connotation is now forgotten.

The word is connected with the Sanskrit root *sam-chi* ('to collect,' 'to collect and deposit bones' of a dead body after cremation, e.g., in *samchayana*.⁴ The hill of Sāñchi has its chief feature in the *stūpas* in which were deposited the bones of the Buddha, his two chief disciples, and the chief missionaries of Buddhism under Aśoka. It is thus a secondary name, like the *Chetiya-giri*, not the original name of the hill, but a popular one arising from the *stūpas*. Its Sanskrit form would be *sam-chiti*: from *Samchiti*, we have *Sāñchi*. The real name of the place was, as we know from inscriptions, Kākanāda.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICES.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, Section G, vol. II, Pt. 2, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY, by A. M. Hocart, Archaeological Commissioner. 9½ x 7 in.; pp. 73-97, with 41 plates.

In this volume Mr. Hocart, the late Archaeological Commissioner, continues his notes on matters of archaeological interest, under the same headings as before, bringing them up to the end of 1928. Further evidence has led him to revise the scheme of culture periods proposed in the previous *Summary*. He is inclined to connect with the Mahayanist activity (strongest in what he terms the classical period) the trident capitals of the small temple to the SE. of the Thūpārāma, and the square temple prevalent at the present day in Ceylon. The traditional connexion of the *Nāgas* with water is illustrated by their association with dams, sluices and artificial ponds, such as those at Mihintale and Vannameduwa (see Plates LXVI, LXVII). It is interesting to compare his description, illustrated by plates, of pottery making in Ceylon with the method followed in India, where the wheel appears to have been more consistently used.

Mr. Hocart comments on the paucity in Ceylon of specimens of Gupta age art, which showed such remarkable activity in India. The Gupta empire, however, was chiefly confined to northern India, and the kingdoms in the south of the peninsula probably proved an effective barrier to its influences spreading into the island.

C. E. A. W. O.

BEITRÄGE ZUR INDISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT UND GESCHICHTE. HEFT 6. BHĀRATAVARṢA: textgeschichtliche Darstellung zweier geographischen Purāṇa-texte nebst Übersetzung. By W. Kirfel. Pp. vi+71. 9½ x 6½ in. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. 1931. RM. 10.00.

It is a matter for congratulation that Dr. Kirfel is pursuing his studies in the textual composition

of the Purāṇas; for he has already shown that despite the unsoundness of most of the editions, valuable results can be obtained by his methods. In the present pamphlet he takes a geographical description of India which recurs in nearly all the Purāṇas and shows that it exists in two recensions, a shorter and a longer, each of which again has two recensions. He has succeeded in establishing a fairly sound text of the two recensions and is able to throw some light on the methods according to which independent treatises were incorporated in the Purāṇas. The work has been done with skill and scholarly precision, and forms a model that should be followed closely in future enquiries of the same kind.

The two texts have however a wider interest than that of the textual history of the Purāṇas. It has been hitherto impossible to make much use of the geographical statements in these works, because of the difficulty of deciding which form of name had the best authority and which names were later interpolations. But it seems to me that we are justified in holding that these texts as reconstituted give us a fairly accurate description of the distribution of Indian races at definite points still to be determined within the first six centuries or so of our era. Dr. Kirfel does not profess to have dealt thoroughly with this aspect, and in fact he has not made use of important recent work, such as Prof. Przyluski's illuminating essays on the peoples of the Panjāb or of other easily available sources of information. Perhaps in consequence, many of the identifications he puts forward in his notes are so at variance with the statements of his texts as to demand immediate rejection. Though the present reviewer cannot claim to be competent to solve many of the difficulties, a reference to the eighteen notes on p. 32 will make the point clear. Thus notes

¹ *Hindu Polity*, I, 132.

² *Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 135.

⁴ *Abot. Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

27 and 29 : the mention of the Śakas as living near the Lāṭas and Anartas can only be a reference to the domains of the Western Satraps, and the Kāmbojas are known to have been connected with them. Note 31 : the Strirājya cannot be that in Garhwāl and Kumāon, but is the same as the island mentioned by Hiuen Tsang southwest of Fo-Lin. Note 34 : the Mathurā mentioned in connexion with Sind cannot be the town on the Jumna and is possibly a corrupt reading (variant reading Paṭuma).

I have also a bone to pick with him on the subject of the Huns. He uses the mention of them in one form of the earlier recension to show that it cannot be earlier than the fifth century (p. 7, but see p. 29, n. 51, for a different view), and declines to admit the variants mentioning Hūpas and Hārahūpakas in the second recension. But the Huns are mentioned once in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and four times in the *Mahābhārata*, including once with the Hārahūpas (is *hāra* a Sanskritisation of some form of Turki *qārā*, black ?) who appear in two other passages also. The Hun writing is known to the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*. These references are all earlier, probably a good deal earlier, than 500 A.D., and I would infer that the Huns had dawned on the political consciousness of India several centuries before, and that probably tribes known to the Indians by that name had settled in the Indian borderlands, perhaps before the Gupta period. After all one of the thirty-six Rājapūt tribes used the name. May we express the hope that, when Dr. Kirfel fulfils his promise of dealing with other geographical texts, he will not allow preoccupation with textual criticism to interfere with the solution of the geographical problems involved ?

E. H. JOHNSTON.

INDICES AND APPENDICES TO THE NIRUKTA. With an Introduction, by LAKSHMAN SARUP. viii+76+394 pp. Published by the University of the Punjab : Lahore, 1929.

This most valuable volume forms a worthy conclusion to the great work of Professor Sarup on the *Nirukta*, of which have previously appeared the general introduction, the translation, and the critical text. Only with the help of extensive indexes can the work of Yāska be made full use of ; and Professor Sarup has laid his fellow-scholars under a deep obligation by putting together the numerous indexes and lists of quotations which form the bulk of this weighty volume.

The introduction mainly deals with the dates of several authors whose works are more or less closely connected with the *Nirukta*, as, e.g., Devarāja, Kāśīrāmin (who, according to Dr. Sarup, is not

identical with a certain Kāśīra mentioned by Kalhapa *Rājatar.*, iv, 489, as flourishing during the eighth century A.D.), Skandasvāmin, Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭa, and others. It also contains rather extensive quotations from Mādhava's commentary on the Rīgveda. The main part of the book, however, consists of indexes to the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*, a list of the etymologies of the *Nirukta*, and separate lists of quotations from the *Nirukta* by the commentators Sāyaṇa, Devarāja, Mādhava, Udgītha, Uvaṭa, Medhātithi and Govindasvāmin. Then follows a list of quotations occurring in the *Nirukta* itself, and finally a short list of untraced quotations found in that same text. It would be an almost unsurmountable task to anyone to control all these quotations, and besides a very superfluous one. As far as the present writer has been able to ascertain by now and then using the various indexes they are most reliable and carefully composed. Professor Sarup is certainly entitled to the thanks of all Sanskrit scholars for his painstaking and useful *magnum opus*.

In his introduction (p. 3 f.) the learned author mildly criticizes the work of the late Dr. Sköld called *The Nirukta, its place in Old Indian Literature, its Etymologies* (1926). The present writer has, for certain reasons, had to occupy himself most carefully, with that book, and he can conscientiously testify to its utter valuelessness from every point of view. Detailed criticism is, however, out of the place, its author having met with premature death ; and it is seriously to be hoped that the piety of fellow-scholars will let this work fall silently into oblivion.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR, Nos. 13, 14, 15. Government Central Press, Bombay : 1931.

Following closely on the first twelve, we now have three more pamphlets from Mr. Govind Sardesai, who, in accordance with the scheme prepared by Sir Jadunāth Sarkar, is in charge of the publication of portions of the Peshwa's Daftar.

These papers deal with Bājirāo's entry into Mālwa and Bundelkhand, in opposition to the Delhi Emperor, the conquests that ensued in northern India, and his advance on Delhi itself, roughly covering the period between 1724 and 1739. A reference to the most recent edition of Grant Duff's *History of the Marāṭhas* (Edwardes, 1921), will enable the student to follow the main lines of the campaigns of which these papers fill in many interesting details. We are able in these papers to follow the various events connected with Bājirāo's attack on the Nizām in the south, followed by his

incursion, with Chirraji Appa, into Banuelkhand, the capture of Jaitpur, and the victorious advance to the Chambal and Jumna rivers. The campaign carries the Marāthās to the vicinity of Delhi, when their movements were checked by the sudden appearance of Nādir Shāh and his troops from the north. A valuable communication from the Peshwa to Bāpuji Shripat, dated 6th April 1739, describes briefly the defeat of the Mughal troops by Nādir Shāh and his treatment of the Emperor on his arrival in Delhi. Unfortunately a portion of this precious document is missing. The vernacular text and short summaries in English are of great interest.

R. E. E.

TRAVANCORE ARCHEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1105 M.E. (=1929-30 A.D.) By R. VASADEVA PODUVAL, pp. 30. Plates I—IX. Government Press, Trevandrum.

This Report embodies some informing notes on the architecture, sculpture, wood-carving and inscriptions of Kerala. Brief accounts of the institutions known as *sankētam*, a sort of ecclesiastical *imperium in imperio*, and *channātam*, a system of military police, are of special interest. A short article on Leepuram (or Śīpuram) near C. Comorin, and another on Vattakōtta Fort and the South Travancore Lines appear as appendices. Several lines of investigation are suggested by Mr. Poduval which might usefully be followed up. The report is handy in size and the plates are creditably printed.

F. J. R.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT, Tome XXIX (1929). 10½ × 7 in.; pp. 603; 61 plates, besides illustrations in the text. Hanoi, 1930.

This handsomely illustrated volume of the *Bulletin* is replete, as usual, with matter of interest to students of Far Eastern culture. It starts with an article, accompanied by excellent plates, by M. V. Goloubew on 'The Bronze Age in Tonkin and North Annam,' in which are described some of the most important treasures in bronze of the Hanoi museum, including drums, vases, swords, daggers, axes, and other objects. Among the most interesting exhibits are certain drums, especially the Ngoc-Lu large bronze drum, to which special attention is directed, and the study of which, at his skilful hands, has enabled M. Goloubew to suggest conclusions of much historical and ethnographical interest. A detailed comparison is made between this drum and the pictorial ornamentation thereon with two other metallic drums found in Laos and Java respectively. The workmanship

and decoration of these specimens afford evidence, in his opinion, of a primitive civilization of which trace may still be found among the Dayaks of Borneo. Numerous bronze objects, and some of iron and stone, recovered by M. Pajot during his excavations of ancient graves at Dong-son have also been figured and described with suggestive interpretations of the evidence they furnish. These artifacts appear to have been of indigenous make, though the use of metal seems clearly to have been borrowed from the Chinese. Certain objects excavated at this site would indicate that the Dong-son necropolis can be assigned to the period of the two Han dynasties (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), while the recovery of several coins dating from the reign of the usurper Wang Man (9-22 A.D.) fixes the date more closely; and M. Goloubew seems justified in assigning it to about the middle or second half of the first century A.D.

Among other articles may be mentioned two by Mlle. M. Colani, in which this enthusiastic investigator furnishes a preliminary note on stone and bone implements, as well as a description of primitive carvings on stone and bone, discovered by her at prehistoric sites in southern Tonkin.

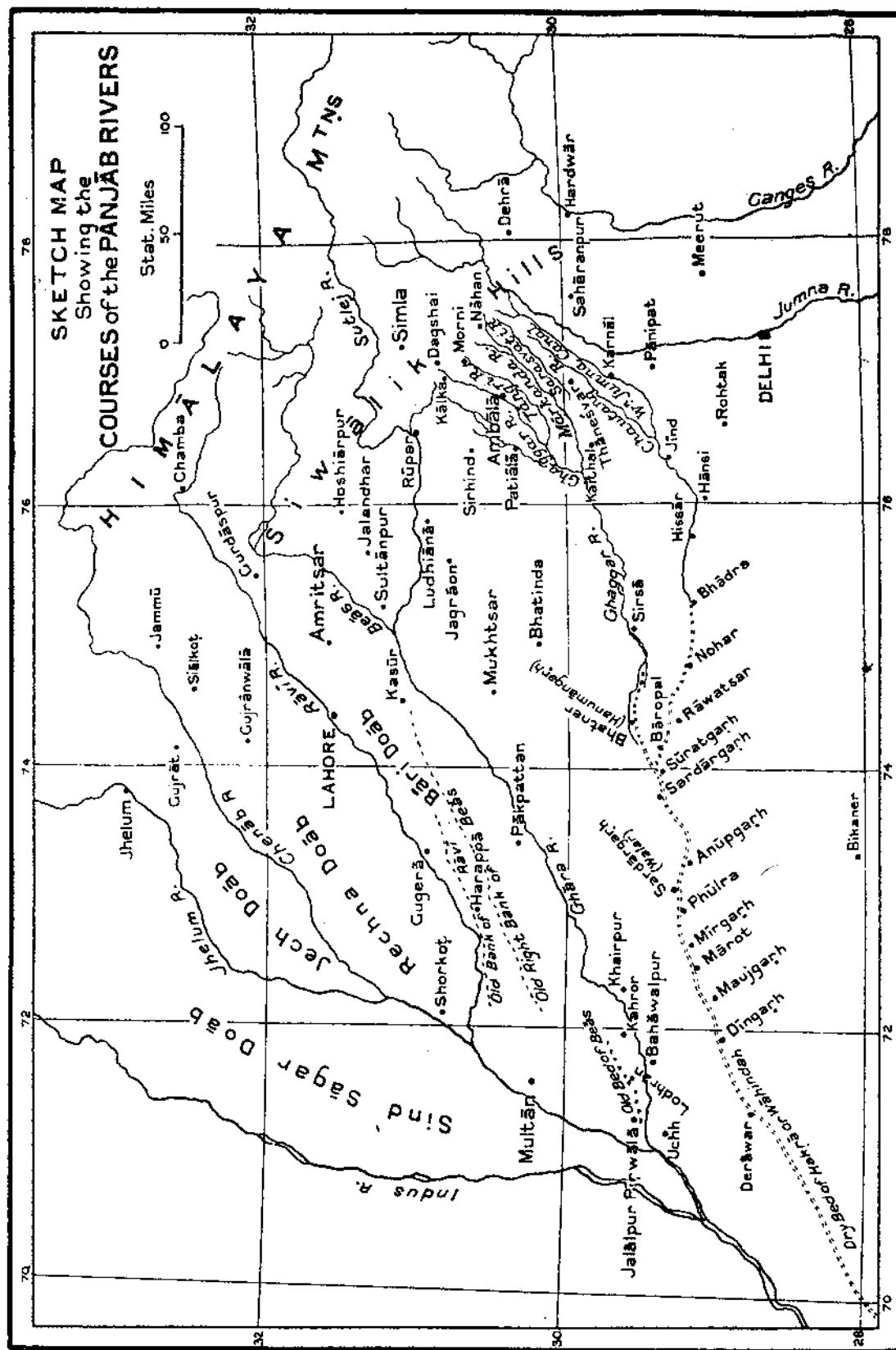
M. E. Gaspardone publishes the first of what promise to prove valuable articles on 'Materials for the History of Annam,' commencing with a well annotated review of a monograph on the country entitled *Yue Kiao-chou* compiled by Li Wen-fong in the sixteenth century.

M. G. Coedès, continuing his 'Cambodian Studies,' discusses the date of the central sanctuaries at Bantāy Srēi, which, for reasons that appear fairly conclusive, he would assign to the tenth century; and he furnishes important fresh data, both chronological and genealogical, for the dynasty of Mahīdharapura. There is also an interesting note by M. Paul Mus on the different types of balister, or cross-bow, depicted on the sculptures at the Bayon and at Bantāy Chmār. He adduces arguments tending to the conclusion that the use of these big weapons was introduced from China.

In the Miscellaneous section, M. L. Finot gives a transcription, with translation, of an incomplete inscription in Sanskrit of the tenth-eleventh century found in 1929 about 500 metres south of the Phimānākās, the import of which appears to have been that an image of Viṣṇu had been set up on the Yaśodharapārvata (Yaśodharagiri). This find seems to support M. P. Stern's identification of the Yaśodharagiri with the Phimānākās.

The volume closes with obituary notices of two distinguished scholars, the veteran M. E.-F. Aymonier, who had done so much to further our knowledge of the history and language of Cambodia, and M. L.-E. Aurousseau, a comparatively young man, who had already given high promise.

C. E. A. W. O.



C.B.W.O. 101

THE RIVER COURSES OF THE PANJAB AND SIND.¹By R. B. WHITEHEAD, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

THIS paper is based upon my personal experience in the Panjab Province, India, especially that of nearly six years passed in the Ambala District between 1914 and 1920. During and after this period I was in touch with Mr. H. W. Nicholson, C.I.E., of the Indian Irrigation Department, to whom I wish to express my obligations. Mr. Nicholson has had much to do with projects for the irrigation of a very extensive area of land extending down to the Sind border. These tracts have been contour surveyed, and the maps prepared from this information provide for the first time reliable hydraulic data.

The Ambala District consists of the submontane region bordering the Siwalik Hills from the River Jumna to the River Sutlej. South and west of it are the plains of Karnal District and Patiala State, followed by the sandy tracts of Hissâr, Hânsi and Sirsa, then the barren Bikaner desert. The Siwaliks in conformity with the general trend of the Himalayan system run in a north-westerly direction, while the rivers and torrents debouch from the hills at approximately right angles to this line; the tract from the Jumna to the Sutlej throughout its length of some eighty miles is scoured at frequent intervals by the wide and shifting sandy beds of *chos* or hill torrents. Only the Ghaggar River is a perennial stream. Its waters, if they did not lose themselves in the sands of Bikaner, would eventually reach the Arabian Sea, while the Jumna River flows by means of the Ganges into the Bay of Bengal, so the watershed of Northern India passes through the Ambala District. This tract and its continuation southwards to Delhi is the pivotal region of all India, of great topographical, historical and ethnographical significance.

A glance at the Government of India Survey Sheets will show that the Ambala (Ghaggar to Jumna) torrents are far more important as independent water-courses than those from the Ghaggar to the Sutlej. Most of the latter join the Sutlej or the Ghaggar quite early in their careers, and only the *chos* or sand torrents on either side of Kharar town flow on past Sirhind (now in the Patiala State) towards the desert. On the other hand the great divide is very close to the west bank of the Jumna, and throws the Ambala streams away from it to the south-west.

The Ghaggar River lies nearer to the Sutlej than the Jumna, and divides the District into two unequal parts which differ in race, customs, and agricultural efficiency. That to the west of the Ghaggar has affinities with the Panjab proper, while the remainder is more akin to Hindustan. The Outer Siwaliks in this region are low sandy hills, an Upper Tertiary formation of Pliocene age, composed of friable and partially consolidated material containing bands of clay and conglomerate. The Ambala Siwaliks, when they came under British administration, were thrown open to unrestrained wood-cutting and grazing, and the imprudent activities of the peasant proprietors have turned the range into a desert; great damage has been done by the *chos* to the fertile plains below. What in old days must have been streams in definite and narrow beds fed by a comparatively gentle and constant run-off, have degenerated into torrents which are raging floods in the rains and desolate wastes of sand for the rest of the year. Within living memory the bed of the Tângri *cho*, just east of Ambala Cantonment, had a deep bed. Efforts have been made in recent years to remedy this state of affairs. Thatching grass and coniferous trees have been planted in the sandy tracts, while regular measures for the re-afforestation of the Outer Siwaliks were started during the War. Behind these rises the Sub-Himalaya; between is usually a *dûn* or trough. The Jumna has its source in the high Himalayas. The Sutlej, like the Indus, is an antecedent river. It rises on the Tibetan plateau, and held its course through the Himalayan system while the latter slowly rose across its path.

¹ Read at the International Oriental Congress, Leiden, on the 10th September, 1931.

The plains of North-West India are alluvial, formed of silt brought down by the rivers from the mountains, and have a slope of about one foot in four miles. Similar physical conditions are found for example in the Dobrudja, and the valleys of the Po and Mississippi, but the region of the Yellow River in China provides a better parallel as being an analogous tract where light is thrown on past conditions by the records of an ancient civilisation. The alluvium of Northern India, the deposit of ages, is thousands of feet thick, and has never been sounded. It fills what must have been a sea bed, and the great divide emerged first. The slope on either side of the divide is quite gentle, about one foot to the mile : running along its top in a geological past was a silt laden river, the present Jumna, flowing from north to south, building up its bed, and spilling indifferently on one side or the other.² Just here on the Ambala side was Brahmāvarta, a settlement of the Vedic Aryans.

Brahmāvarta was centred on the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī Rivers, usually identified with the modern Sarustī and Chautang respectively (*C.H.I.*, p. 80), now insignificant torrents between the Jumna and the Ghaggar.³ It is natural that the Sarasvatī should occupy a position of great prominence in the Vedic period if the bulk of the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, not in the Panjab, but in the country round the Sarasvatī river, east and south of the modern Ambala (*C.H.I.*, p. 116). The Aryan invaders had already traversed the Panjab. What were the conditions which they found in Brahmāvarta which attracted them so much, and which did not exist in the Panjab ? The big eroding rivers of the Panjab had cut down below the general level ; between them were arid steppes (now called Bārs), and the only culturable land consisted of the narrow riverain strips.⁴ Further on was a land of promise, a region of better rainfall, a flat wide tract of very fertile soil with free water at or near the surface, irrigated by a net-work of comparatively small and gentle rivers (Sarasvatī means the river of lakes) forming an inland delta, the waters of which never reach the sea. As the gradient flattens out, the silt-laden streams fill up their beds and spill over the surrounding plain. This water tends to re-collect and to run onwards in a new bed ; in this sense the Sarasvatī could actually have sunk into the ground and reappeared. Now the water soon disappears by percolation, absorption and evaporation ; this process has been much intensified by artificial interference for irrigation purposes.⁵ The region is called the closed drainage area, and centres on Kaithal.⁶ Further south-west Sirsa, the ancient Sarasti, on the old road from Delhi to Multan, was a celebrated stronghold of Hind ; to-day it stands on one of the biggest mounds in the Panjab. The Sirsa tract is contiguous with the Bikaner desert, and the Ghaggar is dry from October to July, but the fertility of the locality in mediæval times may be judged from the following incident. The place had been invested in 1035 A.D. by Sultan Mas'ud, son of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The country round was remarkable for the extensive growth of sugarcane, so the Sultan directed his forces to fill the moat with sugarcane and assault the place. This was done, and the fortress of Sarasti was stormed and captured.⁷

The waters are those of the Ghaggar and the Ambala streams east of it—the Markanda, Chautang, Sarustī, etc. As already explained, the contribution of the courses west of the Ghaggar, which may be called the Sirhind streams, is inconsiderable. Regarding the prominence of the Nature gods in the Vedic hymns, it may be remarked that the Ambala streams

² There is a tradition that a pilgrim lost his shoes and water-pot in the Sarasvatī at Pehô (an old town fourteen miles west of Thāneśar) and found them again in the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāg. These places may be regarded in an extended sense as the limits of avulsion of a large silt-laden river swinging to and fro, and building up its delta.

³ *C. H. I.* = *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I.

⁴ There is no evidence of any effective change of climate in the plains.

⁵ Cp. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March, 1833, p. 107.

⁶ It is full of traces of old towns, and approximates with the ancient Kurukshetra.

⁷ Ibn Batuta mentions the city of Sirsuti as a large place abounding in rice.—*JASB.*, 1846, p. 219.

would be readily affected by storms which could make no difference to the great snow-fed rivers of the Panjab, and the forces of Nature must have been constantly manifest to the dweller in Brahmāvarta.

"At the present day it is difficult to trace their courses (the ancient rivers of Brahmāvarta), partly because the streams are apt to disappear in the sand, and partly because they have to a great extent been absorbed in the canal-systems constructed during the periods of Muhammadan and British rule" (*C.H.I.*, p. 80). But the British canals, the Western Jumna and Sirhind Canals, do not affect the streams of Brahmāvarta. In any case, their actual size depends on the extent of the catchment areas, whatever their vagaries in the plains may have been. When the lower hills were well covered with forest, the rainfall and run-off conditions were more favourable, but the actual catchment areas, the positions of the water-sheds, cannot differ much from what they were in times far anterior to those with which we are concerned. The Ghaggar is the only river which retains a definite bed down into Bikaner; the Markanda is the largest of the other streams. The reason is that both Ghaggar and Markanda have their sources in the higher hills; the remaining streams flow from the alluvial face of the Outer Siwaliks, and have insignificant catchment areas as the crest of the range is only a few miles back from the broken ground outside.⁸ The Ghaggar drains the hills between Morni and Dagshai; the Markanda flows past Nāhan, the capital of Sirmor or Nāhan State, and leaves the Sub-Himalaya at Kâlā Āmb. But even so, the length of the Markanda's course in the hills is probably not greater than twenty-five miles, while that of the Ghaggar is some fifty miles. These arguments appear to me conclusive. From pre-historic times there were two big rivers, the Jumna and the Sutlej; the watercourses between them can never have been large streams.⁹

The importance of the geographical factor in Indian history has been emphasized recently. For example, Dr. Vincent Smith has remarked that the investigator of ancient history needs to be continually on his guard against the insidious deceptions of the modern map. The rivers of the soft alluvial plains cut and carve their way as they please. Who can tell where the Indus flowed in the days of Alexander the Great? "Since the early Muhammadan invasions the changes in the rivers have been enormous, and the contemporary histories of the foreign conquerors cannot be understood unless the reality and extent of those changes be borne constantly in mind. One huge river system, based on the extinct Hakra or Wāhindah river, which once flowed down from the mountains through Bahāwalpur, has wholly disappeared, the final stages having been deferred until the eighteenth century. Scores of mounds, silent witnesses to the existence of numberless and often nameless towns, bear testimony to the desolation wrought when the waters of life desert their channels. A large and fascinating volume might be devoted to the study and description of the freaks of Indian rivers."¹⁰ Dr. Vincent Smith has done admirable service to his cause, and what he has said should certainly suffice to inspire caution in the interpretation of ancient texts and in attempts to identify places mentioned in those texts. Great changes have taken place in the rivers, and the positions of the confluences in both the Indus and Gangetic systems have undoubtedly shifted considerably since Alexander's invasion. But have the 'tremendous transformations' described on p. 25 occurred within the lapse of historic time? Is it

⁸ I understand that the Drishadvati has been identified with the Chautang. As the word means "river of stones," especially those used to grind grain (Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*), then stones of this size were much more likely to be found in the Markanda or the Ghaggar than in the Chautang, which has neither boulders nor large stones.

⁹ A recent contribution on the rivers of the Vedas is A. C. Woolner's "The Rgveda and the Panjab," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, vol. VI, Part 2, 1931.

¹⁰ *Oxford History of India*, 1923, pp. iii-v; also pp. 25 and 26.

true and accurate to say that since the Arab invader made his appearance a huge river-system (that of the Hakra) has wholly disappeared, and that the river Sutlej has wandered over a bed eighty-five miles in width ?¹¹ These extreme statements invite examination.

Dr. Vincent Smith's views are based on those of Major H. G. Raverty, to whom he has paid a well deserved tribute. Major Raverty published his annotated translation of the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî* in 1881, and intended to write a separate note on the investment of Uchh by the Mongols in 1245 A.D. An article had appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of 1874 entitled 'The Lost River of the Indian Desert'. At this juncture another paper on the same subject was published in *JASB.*, 1886.¹² This stimulated the production of Raverty's "The Mihrân of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study," *JASB.*, 1892.¹³ The work begins with the siege of Uchh, and continues as an elaborate historical geography of the mediæval Panjab and Sind. Much of the topographical information is taken from a work by an Indian unnamed, made previous to 1790 A.D., of which no particulars are given (*Mihrân*, p. 185). Major Raverty has endeavoured to reconstruct the old river courses of the Panjab and Sind by an analysis of the relevant material in mediæval histories, checked by extensive local knowledge, tradition and some Survey data. The argument is exceedingly diffuse and sometimes contradictory; the material is not well arranged.¹⁴ The validity of the deductions depends primarily on the reliability of the historian concerned and of the available version of his history. Connected history began with the Muhammadan invasion. The Muslim chroniclers were seldom eye witnesses of the events they recorded, while names in the Arabic and Persian scripts are notoriously liable to distortion and change at the hands of copyists.¹⁵

The subject bristles with difficulties, but in the limited space at my disposal I will endeavour to be as concise as possible. According to Major Raverty vast changes have taken place in the courses of the rivers of the Panjab and Sind since the Arab conquest. These are some of his more important conclusions. As late as a Mongol invasion in 1245 A.D., both Multan and Uchh were in the Sind-Sâgar Doâb, west of the Chenâb (combined Râvi, Chenâb and Jhelum). The Hakra was still a large river at this time, and Raverty calls the Sutlej and even the Indus tributaries of the Hakra.¹⁶ The Beâs had an independent course right down the present Bâri Doâb as far as Kahrôr.¹⁷ Subsequently the rivers deserted their ancient beds, retreated to the north-west, and a vast tract of country became a waterless desert. The development was as follows.¹⁸ (a) The Sutlej was a tributary of the Hakra. (b) Both Sutlej and Beâs left their ancient beds and met half-way, but again separated: (c) Finally towards the end of the eighteenth century the two rivers again united, formed a new river and a fresh bed, and commenced to flow as at present. Major Raverty asserts that the Sutlej has moved bodily 30 to 65 miles north-westwards, the Chenâb at different periods has flowed over a tract thirty miles broad, and the lower course of the Râvi has swung over twenty to twenty-five miles of country.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹² See below.

¹³ Mihrân is the name given by the Arab invaders to the Indus below its junction with the rivers of the Panjab.

¹⁴ The work is a veritable mine of miscellaneous information; herein lies its chief value.

¹⁵ Major Raverty knew this well enough—Mihrân of Sind, p. 185. See also Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 222.

¹⁶ Mihrân of Sind, pp. 181, 316. But this is largely a matter of nomenclature.

¹⁷ See Sheet No. 39, O, Punjab ½ inch Survey Map, 1920. An old bed of the River Beâs, so-called, is shown along the line Kahrôr, Lodhrân, Jalâlpur Pirwala, right in the angle of the Sutlej and the Chenâb, and extending within twelve miles of their present junction.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 178, footnote 65.

Major Raverty had been much impressed by the fact that no reference is made to the River Sutlej throughout the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*; he says that it is not mentioned in any history of that period (*Mihrān*, p. 178). Only the Beās is named in the direct routes from Delhi both to Multan and Lahore (pp. 159 f.). Hence Raverty concludes that the Sutlej was a tributary of the Hakra (p. 181), and talks of the Sutlej 'deserting its bed and moving up to join the Beās.' It is difficult to reconcile this conception with the existence of the ancient town of Ajudhan, now Pāk Pattan, with its lofty mound on the high bank of the old Sutlej (combined Beās and Sutlej), some miles north of the present course of the river. The Sutlej may be omitted from the *Ṭabaqāt*, but so are the Chautang, the Ghaggar, the Chenāb, and the Hakra (p. 179). The ubiquity of the Beās is quite embarrassing.

The deductions from the siege of Uchh are based on slender premises, and much dogmatical statement is merely hypothesis. The general trend of the argument about the Hakra, and especially the statement that it contained water till the eighteenth century (p. 415) are contradicted by a piece of evidence quoted by Raverty himself from Mir Ma'sūm's *History of Sind* (p. 184). Mirzā Shāh Husain, the Arghūn Mughal ruler of Sind, attacked the fort of Derāwar on the Hakra about the year 1525 A.D. He had to take a month's supply of grain and water along with him because Derāwar was 'situated in a desert tract so that even the birds of the air were afraid to glance at it.'

It is positively misleading to describe the Hakra as "a huge river system which once flowed down from the mountains through Bahāwalpur and which has wholly disappeared."¹⁹ In plain sober prose the Hakra is the local name given to a continuous dry depression which bounds the great Indian desert in Bahāwalpur; it bends to the south after entering Sind, and is continued to the Arabian Sea at Lakhpat by a channel called the Eastern Nāra. The two hundred miles of this depression in the Bahāwalpur State are roughly parallel with the present course of the Ghāra (combined Sutlej and Beās), and at a distance of twenty-five to fifty miles from it. On the banks of the Hakra are ancient sites and old fortified places, such as Walar (Sardāgarh), Phūlra, Mīrgarh, Mārot, Maujgarh, Dīngarh and Derāwar; along the lower course of the Ghaggar also are the remains of towns hidden under old mounds. Mārot is on the ancient road from Delhi to Multan via Hānsi and Sirsa (Sarasti), but the tract is now a *marusthala*, an abode of death. Tradition asserts that these regions were not always arid and desolate, and that their deterioration dates from the drying up of the Hakra River which came from the Panjab. What was this Hakra River? The Hakra depression was and still is the outlet of all the drainage channels between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and these are neither more nor less than the familiar Ambala and Sirhind streams already described. The combined waters of these small rivers now disappear in Bikaner State, yet the dry channel further on in Bahāwalpur is still two to four miles broad. One can only conclude that these waters were at one time largely augmented in this locality from some other source, and that source can only have been the Sutlej, or the Jumna, or both, reinforced towards Alor in Sind by water from the Indus. Excavation of the ancient sites along the Hakra will throw light on the period when this favourable distribution ceased to exist.²⁰

Dr. C. F. Oldham in the *Calcutta Review*, 1874, held that the so called Hakra is the old bed of the Sutlej. In an article in 1875 a contributor advanced the view that the Hakra was fed by both the Sutlej and the Jumna. Colonel Minchin, who was for many years Political

¹⁹ See above.

²⁰ The earth's rotation has been mentioned as a possible contributory cause, but the rotational effect is only tendential, and is common to the entire hemisphere.

Agent in Bahāwalpur, considered that the Hakra was an old bed of the Jumna. It could not have been the Sutlej because that river flows in a defined channel of its own, bounded on either side by land decidedly higher in level. A canal was made in the fourteenth century by Firoz Tughlaq Shāh from the Jumna to Hissār, and these old canals were excavated along ancient channels, so it is possible that the Jumna once flowed this way. The problem was attacked again in 1886 by Mr. R. D. Oldham of the Geological Survey of India.²¹ In his opinion the Hakra is an old bed of the Sutlej, though it may have been also fed from a branch of the Jumna; it dried up when the Sutlej 'turned up to join the Beās.' Lastly, Major H. G. Raverty in 1892 discussed the question from the historical point of view, and a summary of his conclusions has already been given. Not only the Sutlej, but the Indus itself was a tributary of the Hakra; the Jumna is not mentioned.²²

Since the year 1892 there has been a great expansion of irrigation in the Panjab. The vast Triple Project which made the flourishing Canal Colonies in the Central and West Panjab has been followed by works of almost equal magnitude. The Sutlej Valley Project came to fruition four years ago; it will eventually irrigate large areas of desert in the Bikaner and Bahāwalpur States. For the purposes of this project the country down through Bikaner has been contour surveyed. The contour lines are not more than half a mile apart, and levels have been observed at points every five hundred feet along the lines. Mr. H. W. Nicholson has been intimately connected with this work for the past twenty-five years. He authorises me to say that by the year 1916 it became evident that an ancient bed of the Chautang a mile wide was an old course of the River Jumna. Without making any definite statement as to period, historical or geological, it is possible to say that the Jumna once spilled down what is now an old bed of the Chautang in Bikaner State, and that it was water from the Jumna, and not from the Sutlej, which made the lost river Hakra. This former channel of the Chautang follows the line Bhādra, Nohar, Rāwatsar, Bāropal and Sūratgarh, all in Bikaner State, and it joins the Ghaggar at Sūratgarh. I have looked up the four miles to the inch Survey Maps. The dry bed of the Ghaggar is depicted as being one to two miles wide from Hanumāngarh (Bhatner), and it is joined a few miles east of Sūratgarh by a depression extending back to Bāropal. Nothing further is shown eastwards, but the importance of this depression is evident because the 'dry bed of the Ghaggar' suddenly doubles in width at this junction and becomes two to four miles broad; it so remains past Anūpgarh (Bikaner State) into Bahāwalpur State at Walar (Sardāgarh). There is a local tradition that water last reached Anūpgarh in 1060 A.D.; it now barely gets down to Bhatner, seventy miles further up. This gives a retrogression rate of eight miles a century.²³

In the year 1249 the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* went from Delhi to Multan by the direct route across the present desert tract. When the monsoon set in, and 'the rains of compassion' fell, he returned by way of Mārot, Sarasti (Sirsa) and Hānsi. This mention of the rainy season introduces another aspect of the matter. The great fluctuations in the rainfall are alone sufficient to explain much that is puzzling about these old desert routes. The difference between the matured area of Bikaner State in a poor year and a good year is in

²¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, pp. 322-343.

²² The Hakra is designated in the latest Survey maps 'dry bed of the Hakra or Ghaggar River.' Sir Alexander Cunningham calls the Hakra the old bed of the Ghaggar, also the Sotra or Chitrang (Chautang) River.

²³ The old bed of the Chautang is mentioned by Major Colvin on pp. 106, 107 of 'The Ancient Canals in the Delhi Territory,' *JASB.*, March, 1833. The Ghaggar "does not in the heaviest season pass in force beyond Bhatner," and "the period when this river (in the old bed of the Chautang) ceased to flow as one is far beyond record, and belongs to the fabulous periods of which even tradition is scanty."

the order of 5,000 to 500,000 acres. It would be possible even now to travel via Mârot in September after a good monsoon. A traveller or historian would derive very different impressions according to the season, and an explanation based upon a lost river or change in climate might be quite beside the point. In the Panjab the months of May and June are very dry and hot, but rain fell regularly at this period in the year 1917, and the crops sprouted on the threshing floors. This abnormal weather was followed by an exceptional monsoon. At Jagraon in Ludhiana in October 1917, water flowed out of the well heads and the land was too wet to plough; there was excellent recruiting for the Army that autumn. The rivers remained in flood for weeks after the normal time, and the ancient channels and spill-ways in the desert must have been full of water. The travels of a Chinese pilgrim through the Panjab in the Year of Grace 1917 might record an accurate picture of his impressions, but they would be quite misleading.

Another potent factor has been the hand of man. In former days the water of the Ambala streams reached the Sirsa region; their dry channels are still visible, while wells and Persian wheels are found embedded in the sand. A major cause of the change is the deflection of water higher up by dams and inundation canals which checked its course through the Karnal and Patiala levels. Settled conditions and increased population in recent times have greatly accelerated the spread of grazing and the rate of deforestation. The condition of the unprotected outer hills has much deteriorated in the last sixty years. Perennial streams have degenerated into sand torrents with a destructive rush of water in the rains, and nothing the rest of the year. There has probably been more change here in the last hundred years than in the preceding twenty centuries.

It is certain that the course of each of the rivers in the plains of the Panjab and Sind has changed within historical times, but this does not mean that the main beds have moved to the extent that has been suggested. Harappâ is on the old high bank of the Râvi and aerial reconnaissance along the bank has revealed a chain of sites possibly coeval with it. Harappâ has turned out to be immemorially older than was suspected when Raverty was riding over the Panjab Bârs in 1855, or when Cunningham wrote his *Ancient Geography of India* in 1871, and it would appear that the old high bank of the Râvi has remained much as it is today since pre-Vedic times. This great discovery puts the matter in its proper perspective.²⁴ The bed of a large river in an alluvial plain may be twenty and even thirty miles wide. The river is free to oscillate within these limits, but may not have transgressed them for thousands of years. I think this is true of the Râvi, the Chenâb, and the Jhelum.²⁵ The Beâs and Sutlej seem to have been more mobile. Major Raverty only had the levels of the Trigonometrical Survey; these were taken here and there, usually at elevated spots, for the purposes of triangulation. They do not give the general slope of the country, and are meaningless for hydraulic purposes. Exact hydraulic data are now to hand. Excavation will determine the real age of the buried towns along the old high banks. I am informed that a mound as far east as Rûpar, where the Sutlej leaves the Siwaliks, has been found to belong to the Indus Age. Much new information will be available when the large and fascinating volume envisaged by Dr. Vincent Smith comes to be written. The freaks of even Indian rivers are ultimately governed by levels.

²⁴ There is also Mohenjo-dâro, of course, in the riverain tract of the Indus.

²⁵ Cp. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 223.

NOTE ON THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WYNAD.

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired.)

I. *Physical.*

THE Deccan Plateau on its S.W. margin thrusts two great bastions seaward into the plains of Malabar. The northern bastion comprises the highlands of Coorg, the southern bastion the Wynad Plateau.

This Plateau, which averages about 3,000 ft. above sea level, is hemmed in on the N.W. by the mountains of S. Coorg (rising to 5,277 ft. in Brahmagiri), and on the S.W. by the 7,000 ft. Plateau of the Nilgiris. Its S.W. border is demarcated by a chain of three members,¹ which rise abruptly from the coastal plain between Tellicherry and Calicut. On the N.E. it merges into the basin of the Upper Cauvery, the homeland of Mysore.

The Wynad is not flat, though it looks flat when viewed from the Nilgiris. It is divided into two portions by a hilly belt that runs N. and S., and sinks to a col in the neighbourhood of Sultan's Battery. West of this water-parting the Plateau is drained by the Kabbani, east of it by the Nugu and Moyâr, all tributaries of the Cauvery. (Fig. 1.)

The Western Wynad, which is somewhat larger in area and lower in general level than the Eastern Wynad, is divided into four quadrants by the headstreams of the Kabbani. The waters of the S.W. and S.E. quadrants, from Vayattiri and Müppayi Nâd, unite at Panamaram, and are joined by those of the W., from Periya, about four miles below this confluence. In another four miles or so northward the Kabbani, which is here split up by numerous islands, receives the waters of the N.W. from Tirunelli. The N.E. quadrant (Puipalli) drains northwards, joining the Kabbani below the Tirunelli confluence.

The water-parting between the S.E. and S.W. quadrants, culminating in the Mani-Kunnu massif, 4,509 ft., follows roughly the line of the Panamaram-Kalpatta road, that between the S.W. and N.W. quadrants the Panamaram-Korôt road. The former line, continued northward, along or a little west of, the Kabbani, divides the Western Wynad into a western and an eastern half; the latter line continued eastward defines the northern and southern halves of the Western Wynad.

These halves and quadrants differ from each other in their cultural affinities; so also do the Periya and Tirunelli sectors of the N.W. quadrant.

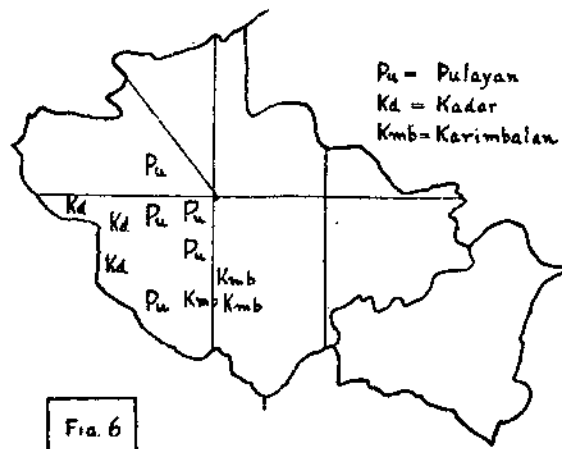
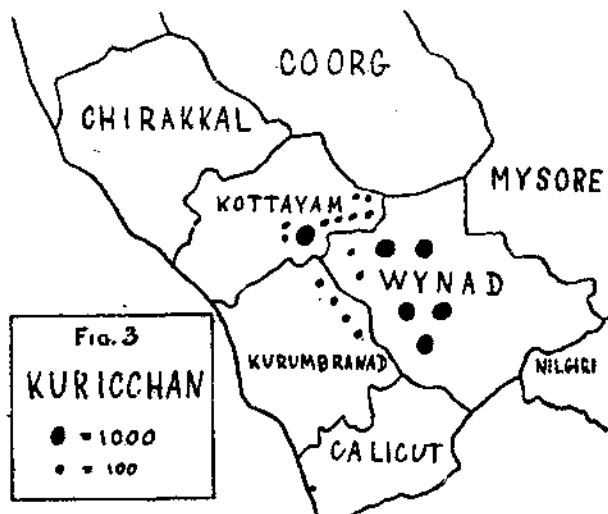
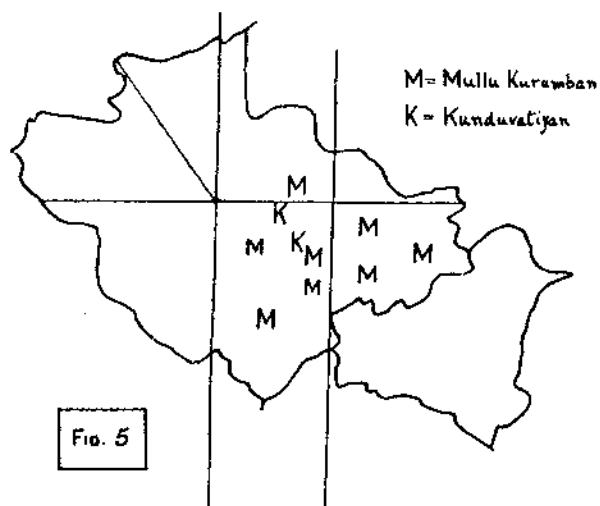
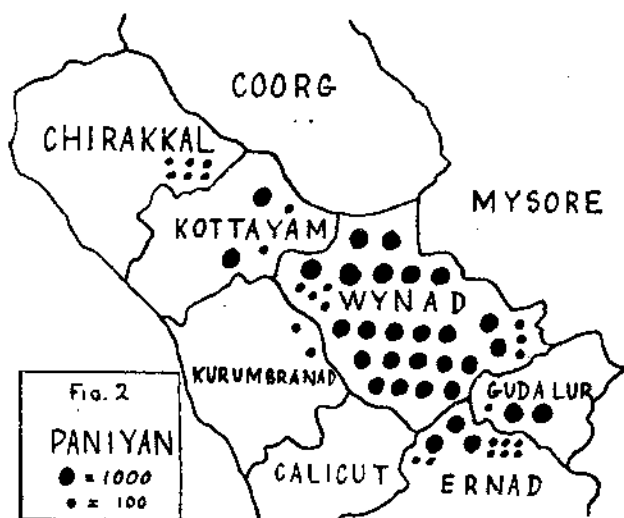
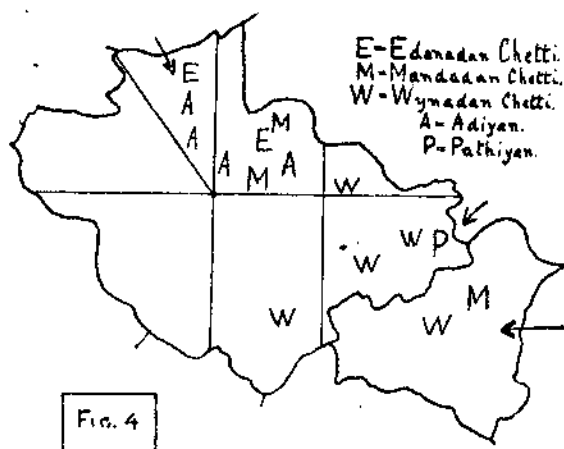
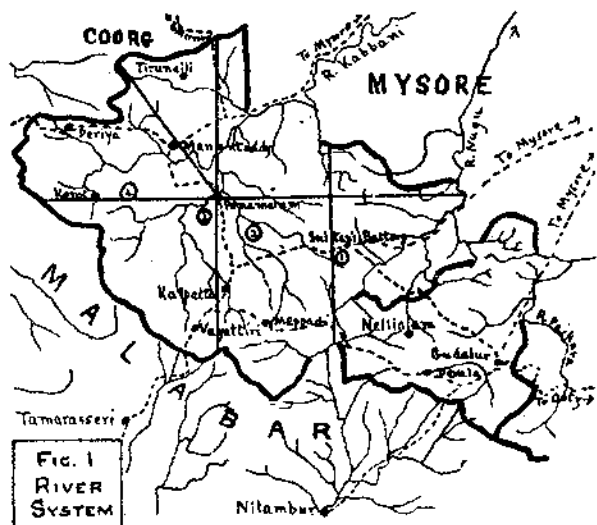
The rainfall at Manantoddy in the west averages about 106 inches annually, that at Gûdalûr in the east about 90 inches. Northwards towards the Mysore border the rainfall is scantier and beyond, in Heggadadêvankôte, it is only about 25 inches. But on the southern margin of the Wynad, which is more exposed to the S.W. Monsoon, it runs to over 160 inches (Vayattiri 169, Dêvâla 162), and an annual fall of 300 inches (25 feet) is not uncommon.

On the Malabar border the Wynad is girt with a belt of "moist ever-green" forest, "magnificent trees growing straight up to great heights, and so close together that little sunlight reaches the ground, which is littered thick with rotting vegetation, covered with creepers and undergrowth of many kinds, and swarms with leeches. Hence the fauna is mostly arboreal, and even in the tree-tops the density of foliage is such that grey is too conspicuous a colour for safety and the monkey (*Mucacus silenus*) wears a coat of inky black, with whisks of white hair that simulate the lichens hanging from the branches."²

On the Mysore borders the vegetation is different, a broad zone of deciduous bamboo jungle. "The bamboo grows in clumps, with considerable open spaces between and with plenty of grass; the clumps themselves are impenetrable and are favourite lairs for tigers and panthers; but it is nevertheless possible to traverse these forests without being held up by tangled undergrowth, unless it be *Lantana*, a pest of very modern introduction." These bamboo jungles are saturated with malaria of a most malignant kind.

¹ The highest points in these three members are (A) Banasuram, 8,757'; (B) Kurchipandi-Mala 5,271'; and (C) Vâvul Mala, the "Camel's Hump," 7,673'.

² For this account of the forests, I am indebted to Mr. Cammiade.



The total area of the Wynad is about 1,100 sq.m., of which 821 sq.m. lie in the administrative district of Malabar, the remainder in that of the Nilgiris (Gûdalûr Taluk). Even the standardizing influence of British rule has failed to merge the Wynad in the routine of normal district administration, or to obliterate the cleavage between the northern and southern halves. Till quite recently the Malabar Wynad remained a separate revenue division, with a divisional officer all to itself, and with a tahsildar at Manantoddy for the northern half, and a deputy tahsildar at Vayattiri for the southern half. The divisional officer has now been abolished, and the Wynad division is split in two, and tacked on to the adjoining coastal divisions; hereafter the northern half is to be administered from distant Tellicherry, and the southern half from almost as distant Calicut.

The population of the Wynad in 1911 was a little over 100,000; a density of about 101 per sq.m. for the Malabar portion and 83 for Gûdalûr; miserable figures, if contrasted with those of the plains (e.g., Calicut Taluk, 715; Coimbatore Taluk, 504) or the Mysore Basin (Mysore Taluk, 426), but very similar to those of contiguous areas in the Ghât Zone. (Kiggat Nâd in Coorg, 91; Ootacamund on the Nilgiris, 92; Heggadadêvankôte in Mysore, 103.)

From Malabar the Western Wynad is accessible through gaps in the fringing range; the northern half is now linked by a metalled road with N. Malabar, via the Periya Pass, the southern half with S. Malabar via the Tâmarassêri Pass. The Tâmarassêri route is an old thoroughfare, but the Periya Ghât, which was constructed by the British in the interests of their port of Tellicherry, has superseded not only the old Smugglers' Pass, which led via Manattana into the heart of the Kôttayam territory, but also the still important route from Korôt to Kuttiyâdi, whence access can be had by river to the older port of Badagara.

With Mysore the northern half of the Western Wynad is connected by a road which follows the N. bank of the Kabbani, the southern half by a road through Sultan's Battery and Gundlupet. Metalled roads also link the Western Wynad with Coorg, and the Eastern Wynad with S. Malabar (Karkkûr Ghât, via Nilambûr) and the Nilgiris (Gûdalûr and Sîgûr Ghâts).

II. History.

Of the early history of the Wynad little is known. Rice equates the name with "Bayal Nad," a term applied by the Hoysala hill-chiefs to the southern limits of their territory in the eleventh century, before they had, by the expulsion of the Tamil Chôlas, made themselves masters of the Mysore basin. But the inscriptions³ do not define "Bayal Nad" with precision; Rice adduces no evidence to prove its identity with the Wynad, and elsewhere⁴ he himself locates it in the adjoining taluk of Heggadadêvankôte. Moreover the term *bayal*, which connotes "open champaign country" is hardly applicable to the forest-stricken Wynad,⁵ and the term "Wynad" is in local usage restricted to a very limited portion of the Plateau.⁶

A few inscriptions exist, mostly unread, or unreadable, or unintelligible or unimportant. But there is one gleam of light.

At Tirunelli is one of those ancient out-of-the-way pilgrim resorts with which India is dotted from the Himâlayas almost to Cape Comorin. In the Tirunelli temple are preserved

³ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 98.

⁴ *Mysore*, 1897, II, 331-2.

⁵ See Mr. Gopalan Nair's *Wynad, Its Peoples and Traditions*, pp. 7-8, where an alternative etymology ("forest tract") is suggested.

⁶ According to Mr. Nair (*op. cit.*, p. 20), the Wynad proper is restricted to the four *amsams* ("townships") which cover approximately the N.E. quadrant of the Western Wynad. Mr. Cammiade writes "I know for a fact that the name Wynad was somewhere about the middle of the last century applied only to the central part of the area now known by that name. It was the most open, and, until coffee and tea came in, by far the most important part of the country." He points out, further, that the curious blunders committed in the Treaties of 1792 and 1799 referred to below would not have been made if the name Wynad had then the territorial significance now attached to it.

two copper-plate grants issued in the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman,⁷ a king who ruled the West Coast plains from N. Malabar to Central Travancore and whose date, though scholars rage furiously together on the subject, appears to be somewhere in or about the eleventh century. These plates provide for the management of the Tirunelli Temple, and it is clear that, in the days of King Bhāskara Ravivarman, the Western Wynad was, as it is now, politically part of Malabar.

Further one of the grants is issued by a chief of "East Purai Nād," presumably a vassal of Bhāskara Ravivarman, and as the modern chieftaincy of Kōttayam in N. Malabar is known as Pura Nād, the Wynad Plateau was presumably regarded in the eleventh century as the eastern part of the Kōttayam territory.

This reference to Kōttayam is of special interest, as it gives substance to the local traditions recorded by Mr. C. Gopalan Nair. According to his informants the Wynad was "once upon a time" ruled by two Vēdar⁸ chiefs, of whom Ariappan held the northern half and Vedan the southern half, the boundary between the two being at Panamaram.

A chief of Kumbala,⁹ in S. Kanara, when on a pilgrimage to Tirunelli, was kidnapped by these Vēdars. The captive chief got in touch with the chiefs of Kōttayam ("Cotiote") and Kurumbranād (also in N. Malabar) and begged their aid. These two chiefs, who were kinsmen, seized the Plateau and divided it between them, Kōttayam taking the Western Wynad and Kurumbranād the Eastern Wynad. The boundary between them was fixed at Padri Rock, a short distance west of Sultan's Battery.

Under the Kōttayam régime the Western Wynad was divided into a number of shares or "shires." The biggest and most important area, comprising the N.E. quadrant (fig. 1), with some of the best land to the west of Panamaram, was portioned out among a dozen Malayāli vassals, and assigned as an appanage to the Third Prince of the Kōttayam House; the Tirunelli quadrant was allotted to the Second Prince with two vassals; the valley of the Periya river, commanding the all-important routes to the Kōttayam home-land in N. Malabar being retained under the direct charge of the Senior Prince. Most of the S.W. quadrant (Vayattiri and Kalpatta) formed another fief, and two more fiefs were established in the area between it and the Periya Valley; one of them (Kurumbala) being placed in charge of the Payyōrmala chiefs, who held a large principality in the adjoining plains. The southern portion of the S.E. quadrant, the Muppai-Nād, is not mentioned among the Kōttayam fiefs and was probably not under Kōttayam control.

Kōttayam rule endured, but in the Eastern Wynad, Parakkumital as it is called, the Kurumbranād Rājas failed to make good, and in course of time the tract was absorbed by Kōttayam.

This tradition of Malayāli occupation is attested on the Kanarese side by a Mysore inscription of 1117 A.D.,¹⁰ which relates how an army of the newly founded Hoysala Empire overran the Nilgiris and "frightened the Todas" and then, turning on the "Malayālas," drove them down into Malabar; a campaign which necessarily implies the occupation of the Wynad. It was probably at this period that the Badagas colonized the Nilgiris and Gūdalūr Taluk.¹¹ There is no evidence that the Hoysalas retained their footing in Malabar or in the Wynad.

Towards the end of the twelfth century a religious reformation established Vira-Śaivism (commonly called Lingāyatism) all over the Kanarese country. About a century later came the Muhammadan invasions, followed by the rebuilding of the Hoysala heritage under the ægis of Vijayanagar. In this period certain chiefs of the S. Mysore marches

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, 285, and *Trav. Archaeol. Series*, 2, 31 sq.

⁸ Vēdan is a general term for "hunter," and cannot be taken as signifying any specific race or tribe.

⁹ See *S. Canara Manual*, 1895, vol. 2, p. 248.

¹⁰ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 4, No. 83 of Chamarājnagar.

¹¹ In 1921 there were 12,539 Badagas in Gūdalūr Taluk.

adopted the title "Subduer of the Nilgiris."¹² The last of these, the chiefs of Ummattûr, who were Vira-Śaivas by faith, made a bid for independence during the revolutions which shook the Empire at the close of the fifteenth century. The great Krishna Dêva brought them to heel in 1510.

The Ummattûr tradition is still alive among the Badagas of the Nilgiris. Nelliâlam, in the heart of the Nilgiri Wynad, is the seat of a Kanarese Vira-Śaiva, overlord of a wide extent of landed property, who is popularly entitled *Arasu* or "king."¹³ He still exercises a general authority over the Badagas as a court of appeal in communal disputes. The legends of his family connect it with Ummattûr, and state that his ancestors, when ruling the Nilgiris, wrested Nelliâlam from a Nâyar chief.

Meanwhile in the N.W., beyond the Wynad border, a prince of the house of Keladi¹⁴ established himself as ruler of Coorg.

Conflict ensued between this new Coorg State and the rulers of Mysore. Taking advantage of this, the Kôttayam Chief invaded Coorg and was annihilated. This disaster the Kôttayam princes never forgot or forgave.

In 1765 Haidar Ali, now master of Mysore, but bankrupt with his Marâṭhâ wars, decided to replenish his treasury by the conquest of Malabar. To secure his communications with Malabar he attacked Coorg. Malabar fell to him in 1766, but he was not yet strong enough to annex it all permanently. Meanwhile Coorg held out. Haidar then resorted to diplomacy, and Coorg was placated (1768). In 1773 Haidar descended on S. Malabar by a bold march through the Wynad and the Tâmarassêri Pass. This time he annexed all Malabar. In the following year the Coorg Râja, with Haidar's connivance, wrested the Wynad from his hereditary foe of Kôttayam and established a garrison at Kalpatta. In 1779, however, while Haidar was busy elsewhere, Kôttayam recovered possession, and in 1780 Haidar annexed Coorg.

War with the English followed. Haidar died in 1782 and the war ended with the Treaty of Mangalore (1784) by which Tipu Sultan retained all Malabar and the Wynad. But in 1792, by the Treaty of Seringapatam, Tipu was stripped of half his dominions. The British thought the Wynad was included in the territory ceded, but the terms of the Treaty were not explicit on the point. The consequences were awkward. Shortly after the Treaty was signed the "Pytchy Raja," as the English called the Prince of the Western Branch of the Kôttayam Dynasty, went into rebellion, and after three years of defiance retreated to the Wynad. The British followed and Tipu promptly protested that the Wynad was his. After two years' discussion the Governor-General decided that the Wynad belonged to Mysore. When in 1799 Mysore was restored to her rightful Râjas, the Wynad, as if to make amends for past omissions, was ceded to the Company under one name and to Mysore under another, and a supplementary treaty had to be signed in 1803 to make the Wynad British.

III. *Ethnology.*

Anthropologically the Wynad has never been intensively studied, but such evidence as is recorded is extremely interesting.¹⁵

"Until the introduction of tea and coffee planting the population of the Wynad was mostly confined to the swampy ground along the river valleys. They cleared the swamps, and grew paddy. They had no use for the forest land. The low hillocks standing out of the

¹² Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 153-5.

¹³ *Nilgiri Gazetteer*, p. 370 sq.

¹⁴ A dynasty of Kanarese Vira-Śaivas who built up a state in Shimoga District in the N.W. of the present State of Mysore and made themselves masters of the Kanara coast from Honâwar to the frontiers of Malabar. They are also called Ikkeri or Bednûr Râjas, from the names of their later capitals. They fell to Haidar Ali in 1763.

¹⁵ Especially the little book, already cited, by Rao Bahadur C. Gopalan Nair, who has a keen sense of relevant fact. See also Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, and the *Malabar and Nilgiri District Gazetteers*.

swamps was all they needed for pasture, dry crops, fuel and habitation. Each river valley would then become characterized by some more or less homogeneous community."¹⁶

The curly-haired *Paniyar* represent presumably the oldest stratum. Their method of making fire by "sawing" links them with the jungle folk of Malaya.¹⁷ They number about 24,000 in the Wynad alone,¹⁸ some 28 per cent of the total population; and they are to be found all over the Wynad (fig. 2). They work for hire in the fields. Their speech is corrupt Malayalam.

Field labour is also provided in the Western Wynad by *Pulayans* in the western half (fig. 6) and *Adiyans* in the Tirunelli Sector and the N.E. quadrant (fig. 4), the former apparently from Malabar (though they deny any affinity with the Malabar serf caste of that name), the latter from Coorg.¹⁹

The *Tên Kurumbars* and *Shola Nâyaks*²⁰ are more purely jungle folk, who speak Kanarese and whose affinities lie with Mysore.

In the Western Wynad the *Kâdars* of the west and *Karimbôllans* of the south²¹ (fig. 6) claim a definite status in the social hierarchy of Malabar, and their kinsfolk are to be found beyond the Wynad limits, mostly in N. Malabar.

The *Mullu Kurumbars* in the eastern half and the *Kundavatayans* of the N.E. quadrant (fig. 5) claim yet higher status, while the *Kuricchans* or *Kuricchians* of the western half (fig. 3) rank highest of all the Wynad tribes.²² These tribes cultivate their own lands, are keen hunters and stout fighters, as the British found to their cost, during the "Pychy" rebellions (1793-97 and 1800-05), and again in 1812.²³ The *Kuricchans* claim to be Nâyars of Travancore²⁴ whom the Kôttayam Râja brought with him when he conquered the Wynad, while the *Mullu Kurumbars* say they are kinsmen of the "Vêdar" chief who ruled before him.

The so-called "Chettis" of the Wynad seem to have quite a different origin. They too are landholders, and have no connection whatever with the trading "Chettis" of the Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu areas.²⁵ The *Edanâdan Chettis* of the N.W. speak Kanarese. So do the *Mandâdan Chettis* of the E. Wynad; while the *Wynâdan Chettis*, of the Western half of the E. Wynad, though their language is Malayalam, state definitely that they are Tamil *Vellâdars* who came *via* Mysore from Dhârâpuram in Coimbatore (fig. 4).

(To be continued.)

¹⁶ So writes Mr. Cammiade. The distribution of the several castes and tribes, so far as information is available, is roughly indicated in the figures on the plate.

¹⁷ See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, p. 57; *Ethnographic Notes*, 468; *Nilgiri Gazetteer*, 160; *Malabar Gazetteer*, 125; Nair, *op. cit.*, 100.

¹⁸ There are also, according to unpublished figures kindly supplied me by Mr. G. T. Boag, Census Superintendent for 1921, some 3,800 in Ernad Taluk and over 2,000 in Kôttayam.

¹⁹ Nair, pp. 97 and 105.

²⁰ Nair, pp. 108 *sq.*

²¹ Nair, pp. 77 and 80. Cf. *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 137. These *Kâdars* have no connection with the teeth chipping "Kâdars" of the Anaimalais described by Thurston in vol. III, p. 6 *sq.*

²² Nair, pp. 64, 74 and 59. The term *Kurumber* is used indiscriminately for a number of totally different communities. There is no evidence to connect this Mullu section with the Ten or Urali Kurumbars or any other "Kurumber" of the Tamil, Kanarese or Telugu areas. There are 10,485 "Kurumbas" in Malabar, but it is impossible to say how many of these belong to each of the several communities to whom the term is applied.

²³ *Malabar Gazetteer*, pp. 78 and 82. The *Kuricchans* in 1921 numbered 5,206 in the Wynad, 1,806 in Kôttayam Taluk and 367 in Kurumbranad.

²⁴ See *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 474.

²⁵ See Nair, pp. 153 *sq.*, Thurston IV, 444 and VII, 413; *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 123; *Nilgiri Gazetteer*, p. 158. In 1921 there were 4,735 "Chettis" "other" than Tamil or Telugu in the Malabar Wynad and 601 in Gôdalûr Taluk. But how many of these are included in the three local groups is not known.

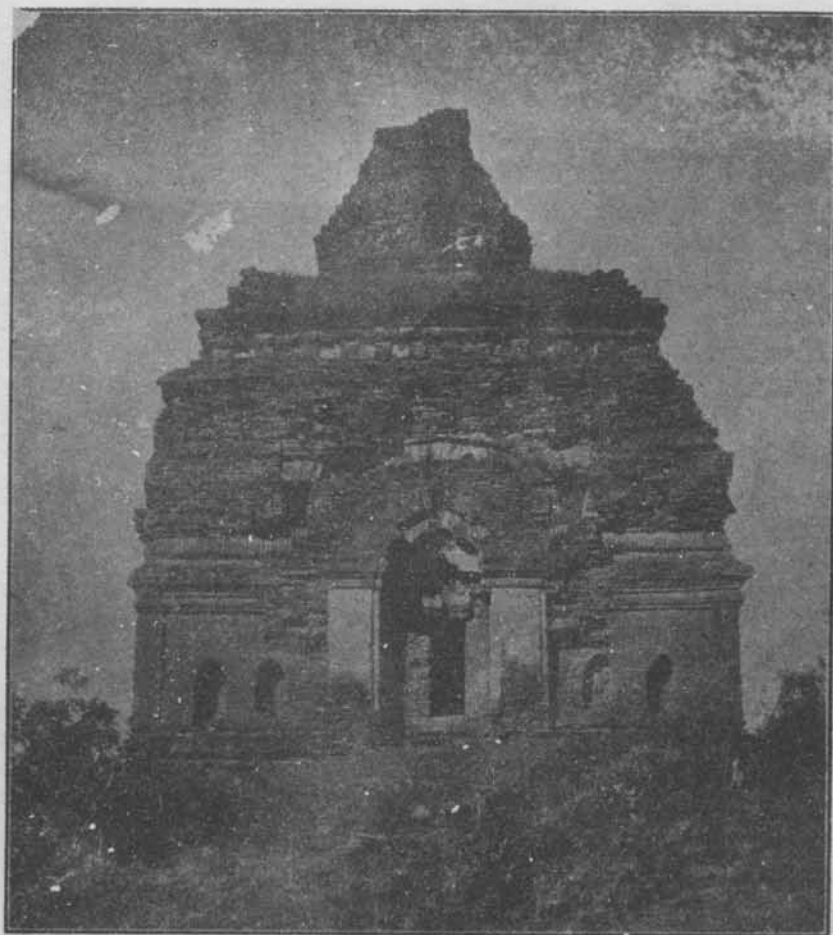


Fig. 1. The Nāt-hlaung kyaung, Pagan (East face).



Fig. 2. Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa.



Fig. 3. Buddhāvātāra.



Fig. 4. Viṣṇu standing.



Fig. 5. Varāhāvātāra.



Fig. 6. Narasimhâvatâra.



Fig. 7. Râmacandrâvatâra.



Fig. 8. Paraśurâmâvatâra.



Fig. 9. Sûrya standing.



Fig. 10. Vâmanâvatâra.



Fig. 11. Kalki avatâra.

THE NÂT-HLAUNG TEMPLE AND ITS GODS (PAGAN, BURMA).

By NIHAR-RANJAN RAY, M.A.

THE Nât-hlaung temple, or the Nât-hlaung kyaung, as it is locally called, is one of the hundreds of more or less ruined monuments of old Pagan, and is the only Viṣṇu, in fact, the only Hindu, temple now extant in Burma (fig. 1). It is an interesting monument not so much from the viewpoint of its architectural importance as it is from the viewpoint of history and the cult it represents. "The name," says Monsr. Charles Duroiselle, Superintendent of Archaeology in Burma, "implies that it was built for housing not figures of the Buddha, but statues of deities inferior to him; in this case Hindu figures."¹ In fact, it is a Viṣṇu temple enshrining in the niches of its walls as well as in those of the central obelisk, figures of the different incarnations of Viṣṇu, and having as its principal deity an image of Viṣṇu seated on his *vâhana*, Garuḍa, placed in the main sanctum formed by a large niche in the middle of the east face of the central obelisk.

1. The Temple.

The temple, according to tradition, was founded by king Taung Thugyi, who is said to have lived from c. 931 to 964 A.D.—a period too early for the style of the building as well as for that of the sculptures decorating its walls. Nor is there any epigraphical or literary evidence to support so early a date. "The only mention in Burmese of a Hindu temple built at Pagan is found in a late manuscript called *Pagan Mro Phura Samon*, or Record of the Pagan Pagodas, where it is said that it was built by king Anaorahtha after his return from the conquest of Thâtoñ (1037 A.D.). This might have well been the case, but in the absence of any authoritative corroboration, and in the light of the fact borne out by epigraphs that Anaorahtha was then a fervent adherent of the Sinhalese form of Southern Buddhism, it is doubtful whether this bigoted prince would have gone to the length of building a Hindu temple." Curiously enough, as Monsr. Duroiselle has already pointed out, there has been discovered an inscription recording the erection of a Viṣṇu temple at Pagan. The record purports to say that a Vaiṣṇava saint named Irayiran Siriyan, a resident of Magodayarapattanam in Mali Maṇḍalam and a disciple of Śrī Kuṣāṅkara "made a *maṇḍapa*, gave a door" in the temple of "Nânādeśi Vinnagara Alavar" at Pukām *alias* Arivattanapuram. Magodayarapattanam in Mali Maṇḍalam is Cranganore in Malabar; Pukām is certainly Pugāmā of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions, and Pukhān or Pugān of Chinese travellers; and Arivattanapura is apparently Arimaddanapura, another name of Old Pagan. "Nânādeśi Vinnagara means," says Hultzsch, "the Viṣṇu temple of those coming from various countries. This name shows that the temple, which is situated in the heart of the Buddhist country of Burma, had been founded and was resorted to by Vaiṣṇavas from various parts of the Peninsula."² As Nât-hlaung kyaung is the only Viṣṇu temple that is still extant at Pagan, and as there is no reference to any other Vaiṣṇava monument in the same locality in literature or inscriptions, it is only natural to infer, as Monsr. Duroiselle has done, that Nât-hlaung is the very temple referred to in the Tamil inscription. But from the record itself, it seems that the temple had already existed there when the *maṇḍapa* was made and the door was given to it. Dr. Hultzsch refers the inscription to the thirteenth century A.D. on palaeographic grounds, and as the inscription records the gift of the *maṇḍapa* and the door, not the erection of the temple itself, it is almost certain that the temple had been built before the thirteenth century. It is, therefore, quite likely that the tradition contained in the Burmese manuscript referred to above is true, and that Anaorahtha, who flourished in the last half

¹ *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13, p. 136.² *An. Report A. S. Burma*, 1902-03, p. 7.

of the eleventh century A.D. might have built the temple. This is a date which seems to be in exact accord with the style of the sculptures decorating the niches of the temple. Anaorahtha was indeed a fervent adherent of the Southern form of Sinhalese Buddhism, but when we read through the Môn records, and remember that in the Pagan court the Brâhmanas played a very prominent part in the rituals and ceremonies of the court, and that these Brâhmanas who were mostly worshippers of Nârâyana (Viṣṇu) required a place of worship for their own community—when we take all these facts into consideration, we are at once led to assume that Anaorahtha could not but allow this simple prerogative to the most honoured Brâhmaṇa priests of his court who, it may be surmised, had approached him with their request, and whom he wanted not to displease, however 'bigoted' he might have been.

From the traces on the outer walls of the eastern, i.e., the entrance face of the shrine, as also from the raised yard of the temple itself, it seems that there was originally a porch or a vestibule which had most probably been intended as the *maṇḍapa* referred to in the Tamil inscription just discussed. But, unfortunately, it has crumbled down as it had most probably been added later on and had not formed part of the original structure. The doorway has a stone frame, of which the lintel has also been broken to pieces; and if our surmise can be pushed still further, it is this stone-framed door that was made a gift of by the Vaiṣṇava saint. The broken lintel has now been replaced by a beam of reinforced concrete.

In plan, the Nât-hlaung temple is square, raised on a panelled and moulded plinth about five feet high above the ground. Like similar temples in Pagan, the interior of the square is occupied by a perambulatory corridor running all round a central square obelisk, which is a solid masonry structure, and on the three faces of which there originally were figures of gods standing in niches adorned with pilasters. On the outer walls of the square cella there are, as we have already noticed, arched niches, each originally containing one stone sculpture. Some of them are now lost or have been carried away to other countries; others that remain still *in situ* are more or less badly damaged. In the niches of the interior obelisk there were originally standing images of Viṣṇu, only one of which is now comparatively well preserved. Of the ten outer sculptures representing the ten *avatâras* of Viṣṇu, seven only remain; "there three of the four niches on the east side are empty, the sculptures having apparently been removed from them and destroyed by iconoclasts; the figures that remain bear visible traces of wilful disfiguration."³

II. The Images.

We begin by describing the main deity of the temple. We have already said that the centre of the interior is occupied by a square obelisk. In the middle of the east face of this obelisk is a large deep niche. It is here that the principal figure was once enshrined. The identity of this principal figure was long unknown, and even up till the first decade of this century it was known to have been lost. Colonel Yule, while visiting Pagan, saw lying on the floor of this temple two images,⁴ one standing and another seated, both of stone. The standing one is a statue of Śiva, now housed in the Pagan Museum; the seated one (4. ft. high) is an image of Viṣṇu on his Garuḍa, and has now found a home in the Berlin Museum.⁵ Credit is due to Monsr. Duroiselle for pointing out, for the first time, that the principal figure of the temple should be identified with the god now housed in the Berlin Museum⁶ and that Colonel Yule was wrong in describing this figure as coming from the niche above the capital on the left of the sanctum proper. The slab represents the figure of Viṣṇu seated

³ *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13, *ibid.*

⁴ Sir H. Yule, *Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*, p. 53 ff.

⁵ *An. Report A. S. Burma*, 1913, p. 18; Plate II, fig. 1.

⁶ *Sculptures aus Pagan*, by Grünwedel, cited in *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13.

on a lotus throne resting on Garuḍa (fig. 2). The whole piece of sculpture is executed in bold relief; the lotus petals of the seat are shown in sharp, beautiful curves; the god is seated in *padmāsana* attitude, with a reposeful smile; the bird Garuḍa poses itself as if ready to fly; and both the god and his *vāhana* are elaborately ornamented from their head downwards to the ankles. Beautiful *kīrti-mukuta* with fluttering scarves on two sides crown the head of the god; the ornaments round the arms, wrist and ankles are simple, but those on the ears, neck and waist are profusely and elaborately executed. The representation of the Garuḍa is somewhat peculiar and differs considerably from similar examples at Hmawza and other places in Burma. The bird shows a short, stunted human bust resting on two heavy rounded feet, with a pair of heavy wings scratched in short, rounded lines. The god holds in his upper hands the disc and the conch respectively. The palm of the lower right hand which is raised almost to the chest, is unfortunately mutilated, so much so that the attribute can scarcely be recognised, but the position of the hand seems to indicate that it was probably a *vīḷa* or *mutulīṅga* fruit, as is usually the case in Burma. The lower left hand holds the club, not at the top, but round the middle. It is interesting to find this example of Viṣṇu seated on his Garuḍa as in Indian examples; and the pose and the attitude of the god and his vehicle are more or less akin to those of similar sculptures in India. Interesting also is the lotus-seat that intervenes between Viṣṇu and Garuḍa; it is because of this that the flying attitude of the bird loses its real iconographic significance, and serves as a decorative figure.

Over the two capitals on the two sides of the principal figure are two small niches (2 ft. high) that must once have housed two statues. Of these two, one still remains *in situ* (fig. 3). It is a small slab of stone representing likewise the figure of Viṣṇu seated in *padmāsana* pose, resting on Garuḍa with outstretched wings. The figure is badly mutilated, but enough remains to show that it is nothing but a Garuḍa. The god is ornamented with simple but heavy ornaments round the wrists and arms, but they are not so elaborate as in the preceding figure, nor is there a *mukuta* of any description whatsoever. The head-dress is most simple and is similar to those so common on the heads of the figures of Buddha in Burma. The dress is plain, and "resembles," Monsr. Duroiselle points out, "that of a Buddhist monk." The iconography of the figure seems all the more interesting when we mark the attitude as well as the physiognomy of the face, which is peculiarly Burmese in character. Noticeable also are the two distended earlobes—a feature peculiar to the Buddha images. Rightly has it been identified as the Buddha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The *vāhana* Garuḍa and the attributes, such as the disc held in the second right hand on a level with the shoulder, and the club, which is visible in the left arm resting on the knee, determine once for all the cult to which the god belongs.

On the northern, western and southern faces of the central obelisk referred to above were originally three figures of three standing deities cut in relief in brick and placed in three niches flanked with slender pilasters. The figures are all badly defaced, and the different attributes can hardly be traced. The three figures are replicas of one another; they are all of the same type, with the same pose and with graceful limbs beautifully adorned with ornaments richly carved. The position of the four hands is the same in each, and it is most likely that they carried the same attributes. One of the three is comparatively better preserved (fig. 4); and this is described by Monsr. Duroiselle as follows:—"The lower right arm is missing. The upper right hand holds what remains of a broken object, probably the disc. The lower left arm rests on the club, traces of which are visible . . . ; the upper left hand holds the conch, the outlines of which are still perfectly seen . . . This last attribute

shows it to be Viṣṇu. Similar traces of the once existing symbols are visible, but much more faintly, on the bricks behind the two other statues."⁷ The standing position, most common to late medieval Viṣṇu images in India, the smooth and refined modelling of the slender body, the beautifully executed ornaments, and above all the physiognomy of the figures suffice to show that they are frankly Indian in character, belonging to a period not later than the eleventh century A.D.

Now we come to the images in the niches of the outer walls of the temple. The niche at the eastern end of the south wall is occupied by a representation of the Varāha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (fig. 5). The figure, like all the others, is badly mutilated. The boar-head has specially suffered, but the attitude of the legs and the position of the head turned towards the left shoulder, on which the defaced female figure of the seated Bhūdevī can be clearly noticed, are more than convincing. The heavy chignon of the goddess falling on her back and the hands clasped in adoration are represented with a thoroughness of detail. The hands are mostly broken off; the attributes cannot, therefore, be recognised, but the mace (*gadā*) held at the middle by the left lower hand, as well as the petals of the lotus throne are clearly distinguishable. It may be mentioned here that the attitude of the two legs which is generally determined by the attitude of the head, has here been to some extent misunderstood. If the head is turned towards the left, it is natural for us to expect, from similar examples in India as well from artistic requirement, that the left leg should be bent and the right kept straight and strong, or vice versa. But, here, though the head is turned towards the left, the leg bent is the right one and not the left.

One of the niches is occupied by a representation of the Narasimha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (fig. 6). The attitude of the legs with their knee-joints bent forward as well as the lower hands holding something in the lap are interesting, and are the determining factors for the identification of the divinity. The figure on the lap is completely gone, traces of the stone are only left; but the lines of the lion face of the principal figure with at least six hands and the sharp nails of one of the hands that are used to rend the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu that can yet be traced, leave no doubt as to its being the Narasimha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

A third niche is occupied by a representation of a two-handed divinity standing erect on a lotus throne with the head slightly bent towards the left (fig. 7). The head is crowned with the usual but peculiar head-dress with flame designs on two sides; but the face is mutilated and it is difficult to make out anything. The god is dressed to the knees, and the hands holding respectively the arrow and the bow at once show that it is a figure of the Rāmachandra *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The iconographic texts would lay down that "Rāmachandra should never have more than two arms; in the right hand the *bāṇa*, or arrow, should be held, and in the left hand the *dhanus*, or the bow;"⁸ and the present icon strictly follows this text. But some of the texts demand that an image of Śrī Rāma should be a standing one, with three bends in the body, in other words, it has to be a standing image of the *tribhaṅga* variety, an injunction followed in most of the South Indian images of Rāmachandra. This has here been disregarded; nor is the divinity accompanied by Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa or Hanumāna, as laid down in certain other, especially South Indian, texts.

A fourth niche is occupied by an image easily distinguishable as Paraśurāma (fig. 8), another *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The figure stands on a lotus throne flanked by two full blown lotuses; it is crowned by the usual head-dress and decorated with simple ornaments. The attitude of the body is erect, but the head is slightly bent towards the right. The hands,

⁷ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part I, p. 189.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

two in number, hold respectively a staff-like object, perhaps a *khadga*, or sword, raised upwards, and an axe resting on the left shoulder. The latter attribute determines the iconography of the sculpture. Here the icon differs a bit from written texts, inasmuch as the texts would require the *paraśu*, or axe, to be in the right hand, and the left hand to be in the *sūchī* pose, as if pointing to something.⁹ But the *Agni Purāṇa* would have four hands for *Paraśurāma*, holding the *paraśu*, *khadga*, *bāṇa* and *dhanus*, respectively. This helps to determine that the object held in the right hand can be nothing else than a *khadga*.

Of the ten niches, we already know that three on the east side are empty; the icons have not yet been traced, and there is very little hope of their being found in future. Of the seven that remain, four, e.g., *Varāha*, *Narasimha*, *Rāmachandra* and *Paraśurāma*, have already been identified without any very great difficulty. Of the rest, two are so badly defaced that it is difficult to be certain about their identification; yet we shall make an attempt. The third is one of the best preserved images of the Nāt-hlaung kyaung. No attempt has so far been made to identify these three images. We begin with the third, the presence of which in a Viṣṇu temple is interesting. It is surprising to learn, in the first instance, that it is not an image of Viṣṇu, nor of any of his ten *avatāras*. It is sheltered in the niche close to the entrance on the proper left (fig. 9). The image can easily be described, but it is better to quote Monsr. Duroiselle:—"It is standing on a lotus flower from which two other smaller ones spring; the arms are placed close to the body bent upwards at the elbows, and each hand holds a lotus bud on a level with the shoulders. It wears a crown; the distended earlobes hang down and touch the shoulders under the weight of large ear ornaments. It has bracelets, armlets, anklets; the lower garment is tucked up and reaches as far as the knees; lines showing the folds are visible." Monsr. Duroiselle was not able to identify it, but he added: "The number of niches would lead one to suppose that this also represents one of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*; but it has none of the distinctive attributes of any of these."¹⁰ And precisely for this reason, it is not any of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, but seems in all likelihood to be an image of *Sūrya* of the South Indian variety. The position of the two hands, as well as the lotus buds, held in a line with the shoulder, are significant; no less significant is the number of the hands, namely two (a feature peculiar to South Indian images of *Sūrya*) and the strictly erect pose of standing as well. The high boots covering the two legs and the horses drawing the chariot of the divinity are, no doubt, missing in the present example; but this is not at all to be wondered at, for these are exactly the features wanting in South Indian *Sūrya* images. The iconographic affinity between the two is such that it is difficult to exclude the possibility of its being a *Sūrya* image.¹¹ It is, no doubt, surprising to find a *Sūrya* image where we would naturally seek for an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. But, the fact can easily be understood if we only remember the very intimate relation of Viṣṇu with the Vedic *Sūrya*. For in the Vedas he is never a supreme god, but is always identified with the sun, and is said to have stridden over the seven regions and to have covered the whole universe in three steps, a story in which the germ of the later Trivikrama tradition of Viṣṇu is so often traced. "The idea underlying this solar explanation is obviously incorporated in the *dhyaṇa śloka* *Dhēya-ssadā savitṛi-maṇḍala-madhyavartī Nārāyaṇa-śarasiḥḍeana sanniviṣṭaḥ | kēyāravān makara-kuṇḍalavān kirīṭi hāri hiraṇmaya vapuḥ dhṛita-bāṅkha-chakraḥ ||* wherein Viṣṇu as *Nārāyaṇa* is described as residing in the orb of the sun. The idea that Viṣṇu is the sun appears to be still maintained in the worship of the sun as *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa*."¹²

(To be continued.)

¹⁰ *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13, p. 138.

¹¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part II, Plates lxxxvi, xciv (fig. 2), and xcvi (*Sūrya*).

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 74. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIV (1925), p. 161, J. N. Banerjee.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1927-28. 13 × 10 in.; pp. xii + 206; 57 plates. Calcutta, 1931.

This report has been edited by Mr. H. Hargreaves, who succeeded Sir John Marshall as Director-General when the latter was placed on special duty in September 1928. Under Conservation we find a record of useful work carried out in all the circles, especially at Kālañjar and Deogarh (U. P.), at Lahore, at Nālandā and Rohtāgarh (B. & O.), at Gaur, Pahārpur and Rāmpāl (Bengal), at Hampi, and Mahābalipuram (Madras) and at Mandalay (Burma). In the section on Exploration and Research Sir J. Marshall describes the results of work carried out at the fortress and monasteries of Giri and at the lower city of Sirkap. The evidence at the latter site indicates, he thinks, that in the third and fourth centuries B.C. Sirkap must have formed part and parcel of the city on the Bhir Mound. From the trial trenches a number of coins were recovered, including one described as the earliest type of coin yet found on the Sirkap site, and probably earlier than the well known punch-marked issues. Unfortunately neither this coin nor any of the 81 gold punch-marked coins reported to have been found at Venne in the Vizagapatam district have been figured on the plates. Mr. Mackay deals with the excavations conducted in two areas at Mohenjodaro. Mr. N. G. Majumdar gives a short account of the results of his exploration at Jhukar, some 16 miles farther north, where not only prehistoric antiquities identical with those found at Mohenjodaro and Harappā (including another steatite seal) have been recovered, but also remains of the Gupta period. This site appears to have been deserted by the time of the Arab conquest of Sind. Mr. Vats describes further fruitful excavation done by him at Harappā. Of the work carried out at Nālandā we have a graphic account, with useful explanatory plans, by Mr. Page; while the progress made at Pahārpur and Hmawza is reported by Mr. Dikshit and M. Duroiselle, respectively.

Special interest attaches to the description on pp. 113-121 by Mr. Longhurst of the important discoveries made at Nāgarjunikonda in the Guntur district of Madras, which will take rank as one of the most important Buddhist sites in southern India. Here, within an area of roughly 1½ square miles enclosed by hills and a bend of the Kistna river, have been found the remains of several Buddhist stūpas, temples and monasteries, with sculptured slabs, friezes and pillars of a workmanship rivalling, if not in some cases excelling, as Mr. Longhurst is inclined to think, the famous sculptures of Amarāvati, as well as a large number of interesting Prakrit inscriptions in Brāhmī script. The remains and epigraphical records found at this site are of importance from several points of view, architectural, historical and geographical. For

instance, the function of *ayaka-khambhas* and the method of their arrangement, in rows of five at each of the four cardinal points of a stūpa, appear to have been conclusively settled by the recovery of 17 such pillars at this site, the original positions of which have been determined by Mr. Longhurst. The inscriptions refer to the Ikshvāku dynasty, in the regnal years of which the Jaggaṃyapeta records are dated. Some 17 of these have already been transcribed and translated, with a valuable and suggestive commentary, by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in *Ep. Indica*, vol. XX, pp. 1-37 (Jan. 1929). The most notable structure must have been the *mahā-chetiya*, or great stūpa, which would seem from the inscriptions to have contained a relic of the Buddha. Mr. Longhurst thinks it possible or even probable that the original structure had been erected as early as the second century B.C. or about the same time as the stūpa at Bhāṭṭiprolu, the votive pillars and other portions being added later. The brief details given in the report and the illustrations of some of the bas-reliefs recovered suffice to show the site calls for a special, detailed monograph.

In Section V an admirable summary will be found of the explorative work carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Khārān, Makrān and Jhalāwān in 1927-28, the details of which have already been published in the departmental *Memoir* No. 43.

C. E. A. W. O.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA :

No. 37. An Archæological Tour in Wazīristān and Northern Balūchistān, by Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. Pp. iii + 97; 29 plates and plans, 28 illustrations in text and 1 map. Calcutta, 1929.

No. 42. An Archæological Tour in Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts, by the same author. Pp. iii + 115; 9 plates, 66 illustrations in text and 2 maps. Calcutta, 1930.

These are two records of outstanding importance, not only from the archæological but also from the historical and the geographical point of view. *Memoir* No. 37 gives a detailed account of a tour made during the months Jan.-April 1927 in Wazīristān and the Zhob, Loralai, Upper Zhob and Pishin valleys in N. Balūchistān; while the later *Memoir*, No. 42, deals with an earlier tour carried out in March-May 1926 in Swāt and Buner and the adjoining tracts towards the Indus. This latter tour has been already described in a more popular form in the work entitled *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* published by Messrs. Macmillan in 1929, reviewed in the Nov. 1929 issue of this journal, where it was described as a tour that will rank as one of the most prolific in results of value to scholars ever accomplished in so short a time (nine weeks). In the present departmental *Memoir* the archæological discoveries have been dealt with more fully

and with greater technical detail, the specimens of pottery and objects in stone and metal recovered have been illustrated and described, and several plans and sections added. The extensive and important geographical survey work done with the aid of K. B. Torabâz Khân has been incorporated in a map, on the scale of 8 in. = 4 mi., of the whole central and upper Swât basin and the adjoining tracts, and in a large scale (2 in. = 1 mi.) contour map of the Ūna-sar, Pîr-sar and contiguous ridges. The valuable linguistic material collected has enabled Sir George Grierson to compile a monograph published by the Royal Asiatic Society, entitled *Torwali, an Account of a Dardic Language of the Swât Kohistan*, about which hardly anything was previously known, as no European had penetrated the Tôr-wâl valley. The tour will always be memorable for the many identifications achieved by Sir Aurel, not only of sites referred to by Hsüan-tsang and of the strongholds of the Assakenoi, Bazira and Ōra, mentioned by the Greek historians, but more particularly for the conclusive identification of the famous "Rock of Aornos." A special feature of this *Memoir* is the large number of beautiful photographs taken by Sir Aurel, which illustrate it.

The second *Memoir* (No. 37) also contains matter of deep archaeological and historical interest, dealing with an area which in the distant past must have formed a link between the civilisations of the Indus basin and Irân and the Tigris-Euphrates plains. The selection of the sites visited in the Zhob basin and Pishin valley was influenced by the record of investigations made in 1898 by Dr. Fritz Noetling, paleontologist to the Geological Survey of India, which had established the existence there of interesting prehistoric remains. Out of a large number of sites visited and explored by Sir Aurel in the course of this fruitful tour of some 1,400 miles only a few can be noticed here.

At Sushk-dherai, Chaudhwan and Chichâ-dherai in Waziristân, remains of pottery were found showing affinity to examples of painted pottery recovered from certain prehistoric sites in N. Balûchistân as well as to patterns found by Sir Aurel in southern Sistân. In the central Zhob valley, at Periâno-ghundai, important finds were made of painted pottery of superior make, cinerary pots containing bones and ashes, in positions indicating intramural burial, stone and copper implements, etc. The stratification gave strong support for the belief that the remains at this site had been deposited by dwellers occupying the place during a prolonged, yet homogeneous culture period. These remains were associated with stone implements of neolithic type and also with copper weapons and ornaments.

Sir Aurel has remarked that the resemblance of the motifs used in the painted pottery (see Pls. V & VI) to that recovered from culture strata ascribed to pre-Sumerian times in Mesopotamian sites is very striking, and that even closer links perhaps are to be found with the remains from wind-eroded prehistoric sites in southern Sistân.

In the Loralai district, several trenches were cut in the enormous mound known as Dabar-kot, which is nearly a mile in circumference and rises to 113 feet above the plain. This mound was found to be composed of a succession of strata of clay containing potsherds, bones and stones, of ashes intermingling with calcined bones and other charred remains, and of pebbles and rubble. The evidence indicated that the dwellings occupying the central portion had been repeatedly subjected to great conflagrations. This site had evidently been occupied from very remote times, through the 'chalcolithic' period and down to the early centuries of our era. The ceramic remains, however, appeared to be attributable on the whole to a somewhat later period than those at Periâno-ghundai. At Sîr-jangal, again, some 12 mi. SW. from Loralai, an abundance of painted pottery of superior fabric and of artistic designs and delicate colouring, associated throughout with worked stones, came to light (Pls. XX & XXI), far superior to that found at Dabar-kot and other sites, and more closely resembling the Periâno-ghundai types.

One of the most interesting finds made was that of the remains of a Buddhist *stûpa* at Tôr-dhêrai, some two miles north of Dabar-kot, including the relic deposit. Here also were picked up a number of potsherds inscribed with Kharoṣṭhî and Brâhmî characters (Pls. XVII-XIX). Prof. Sten Konow, to whom these inscriptions were referred, has shown (see Appendix) that they contain a record of the dedication of a watering-place for men and beasts by Shâhi Yola-Mîra, in connexion with his own 'Yola-Mîra-shâhi *vihâra*, where Buddhist monks of the Sarvâstivâdin school resided. Much historical importance attaches to the discovery of these remains, which we owe to the practised eye of Sir Aurel, who was led by indications that would probably have escaped the notice of others, to excavate the top of this hillock. This find, as Sir Aurel writes, is "the first to attest the practice of Buddhist doctrine and cult on those south-eastern marches of Irân which are comprised in the present Balûchistân. They thus form a useful link with those traces of the influence of Buddhist iconography which, I believe, can be recognized in some mural paintings of the Kôh-i-Khwâja site of Sistân much further away to the west." The name and title of the donor, moreover, point to the extension

of Kushān rule over this portion of Balūchistān; while the chronological indications of the script and language (almost pure Sanskrit) are also of value. Sir Aurel notes that Têr-gherai is the first place where travellers coming from the direction of Duki can now obtain water "after traversing for about six miles an utterly arid waste of bare clay, rock and detritus." Yet an important highway between east and west must have passed through these valleys from prehistoric times, the memory of which was alive till some three centuries ago at all events, as Steel and Crowther went by here on their journey from India to Persia in 1614, and Sebastian Manrique followed the same route in 1642.

The Chinese traveller Hsüan-tsang in his reference to *Fa-la-na*, "the identity of which with Bannū and the adjacent part of the Dêrajāt is not subject to doubt," in Sir Aurel's opinion, relates that the local people reported that adjoining it on the west was a country called *Ki-kiang-na* situated among mountain valleys, with local chiefs and no supreme ruler, and that the country abounded in sheep and horses, including a breed of excellent horses very rare in other countries and highly prized. Sir Aurel now definitely identifies this country—the Qiqān of the Arab historians—with Wazīristān together perhaps with some adjacent mountain tracts of the same character to the south of the Gomal. This is but another example of how Alexander Cunningham was so often on the right scent.

The observations recorded on pages 89-90 regarding the possibility of climatic change in these hilly and now arid regions will be read with special interest by students of physical and historical geography; while archaeologists will be attracted by the marked resemblance between much of the material discovered and the remains of the 'chalcolithic' period brought to light during recent years at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. "What their approximate chronological relation with regard to the latter may be still stands in need of further investigation. But so much is certain," concludes Sir Aurel, "in view of the geographical position which these sites of the chalcolithic period in Northern Balūchistān occupy that they help us very usefully to link up the prehistoric civilization now revealed on the lower Indus with that traced already before in Irān and easternmost Mesopotamia."

C. E. A. W. O.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ARECA, LEAF-NUT.

In a recent issue of the *I.A.* the author of the notes on Hobson-Jobson suggested that *areca* in areca-nut was derived from Sanskrit *pūga*. They are, it appears to me, as far apart as the poles. The Arabic word *fuful* for areca-nut (see

Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *areca*) may, however, be said to be akin to *pūga*. For it seems to be derived from Sanskrit *pūga-phala* (= the fruit of the areca palm), with the final vowel *a* dropped from both the component words as is usual in Hindustāni and other languages. The word *coffolo* for areca-nut occurring in the quotation of 1510 A.D. in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, may be a mistake for *foufel* found in the quotation of 1624.

The words for areca-nut in Dravidian are:—

Tamil: *aiyakkāy*, or *adaiyakkāy* (அடைக்காய்)

Malayālam: *aiyakkā* (அடயக்கா)

Kanarese: *adike*

Tulu: *adike* (as above).

The Portuguese who came to Malabar in 1498 A.D. must have modelled their word *areca* on the Malayālam, Kanarese, or Tulu form of the word for the nut.

The ordinary man's word for the nut is *pōkka* in Malayālam, *pōkku* (பொக்கு) in Tamil, and *pōkka* in Telugu. These must be from Sanskrit *pūga*, or vice versa. It is the Malabar and Tulu Brāhmins that call the nut *aiyakkā* in Malayālam. Some of the low class people of Malabar call it *kawunkā* (கவுக்கா), the nut of *kawunka*.

The Malayālam word *aiyakkā* is made up of *aya* (அய) and *kā* (கா). In old Malayālam *aya* seems to have had the meaning leaf. *Kā* means fruit, nut. So that *aiyakkā* means leaf-nut, i.e., betel-leaf-nut, betel-nut. The Oxford Dictionary, however, gives it the root meaning of 'close-clustering nut.'

The Portuguese represented the Dravidian cerebrals *ṭ* and *ḍ* by their *r* as in the following words:—

Tūtukkūṭi (or—*ṭi*, துத்துக்குடி): Tuticorin

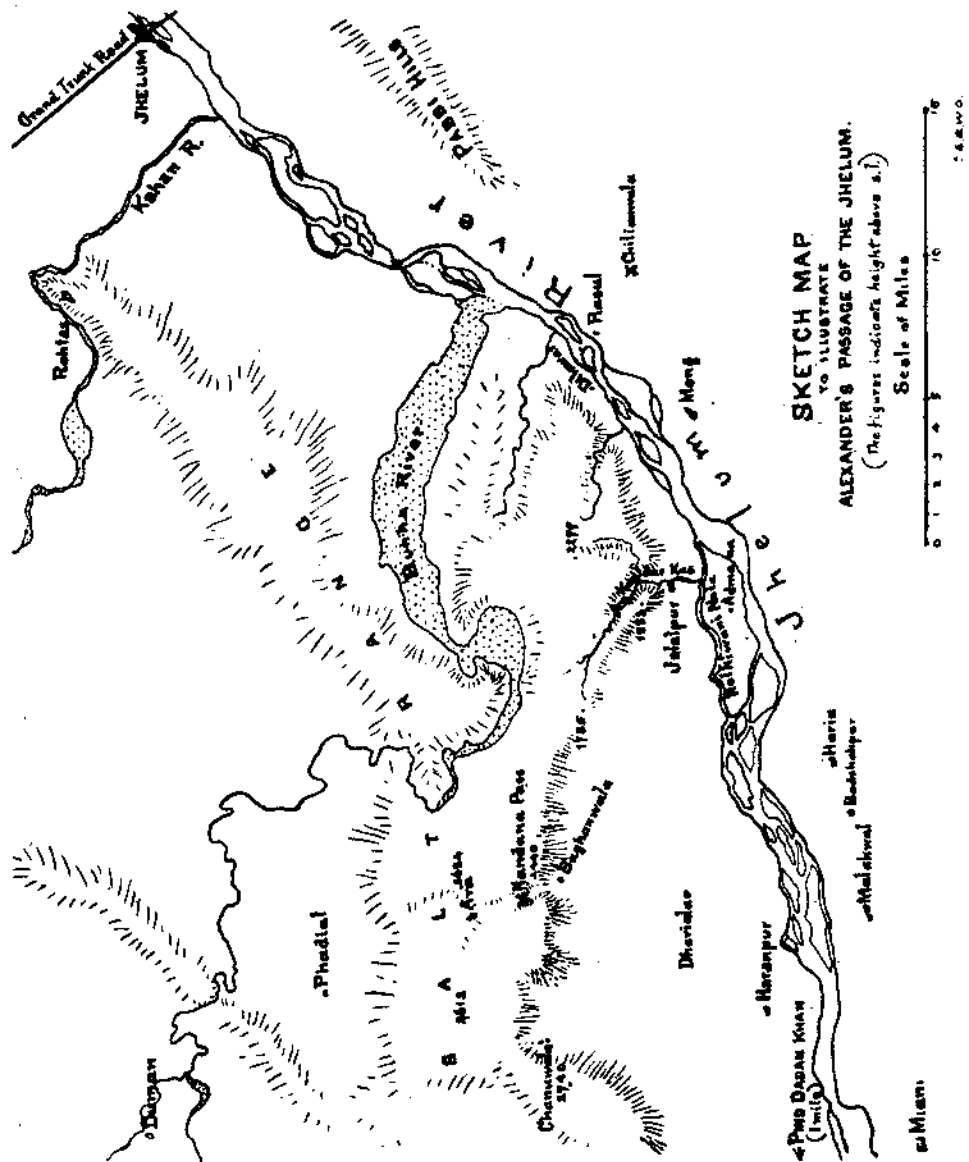
Tiruvāṇṭōṭṭu (திருவாங்கோடு): Travancore

So, *aiyakkā* (அடயக்கா): areca

The tree is called *kawunkā* (கவுக்கா), or *kamuka* (கமுகா), or *aiyakkā maram* (= areca-nut tree) in Malayālam. The first two are allied to the Sanskrit *kramuka*.

The old Tamil Dictionary *Nāmadīpa Nigāṇṭu* includes the word *aiyā* (அயை) among the synonyms for இலை (leaf) and those for வெற்றிலை (betel leaf), which was esteemed as the leaf *par excellence*. In the Tamil country a betel leaf pouch is called அடைப்பை, which literally means leaf-pouch. அடப்பன் and அடப்பன் in Malayālam mean the same thing as Tamil அடைப்பை. In the passage "அடைக்காய் கிது வெறுக்காய் காலும் வெற்றிலை யிக உம்" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. V, No. 32) அடைக்காய் means 'leaf and nut,' i.e., *pan-supdrī*, exactly.

T. K. JOSEPH.



ALEXANDER'S PASSAGE OF THE JHELUM.*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THE site of Alexander's bold passage of the Hydaspes, the present Jhelum, and his victory over King Poros's Indian army has been much discussed, but no definite solution of the question could be reached. Different locations were proposed by those officers who, in days long past, visited one part or another of the ground where routes from the Indus descend through the Salt Range to the Jhelum river. Neither they nor the scholars forming their opinions on those locations in the study had access to the accurate data to be gathered from the excellent large-scale maps of the Survey of India and modern antiquarian information.

Prolonged experience elsewhere had taught me that even with the help thus afforded careful examination on the ground would be needed for a safe conclusion. The necessary freedom for such an investigation was offered to me last November while awaiting the start on archaeological explorations in Southern Persia, which the generous support of Harvard University and the British Museum has rendered possible.

Alexander's passage of the Jhelum, when it was swollen in flood, and his decisive victory over the vastly superior army of his brave Indian adversary represent a historical event of lasting importance. It will suffice here to indicate briefly those data from the extant classical records of the event that help us to locate its scene. They are mainly to be gathered from Arrian's *Anabasis*. It was at Taxila that Alexander learned of the opposition which Poros, ruler of the region beyond the Hydaspes, was preparing to his advance into the Panjab. Taxila provides an absolutely safe starting point for Alexander's route from the side of the Indus; for the position of Taxila at the ruined site of Shahderi, to the north-west of Rawalpindi, has long ago been correctly determined by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, and Sir John Marshall's excavations have fully confirmed it.

Alexander's march must have taken him across the Salt Range. When he reached the Hydaspes, after a march which Pliny's record puts at 120 Roman miles, "Poros was seen on the opposite side with all his army and his array of elephants around him." Alexander, we are told, "clearly recognized that it was impossible for him to cross where Poros himself encamped near the bank." It was early summer, and the river was swollen by the melting snows of the mountains and unfordable, as it is now at this season. So he diverted the enemy's attention by demonstrations in different directions along his side of the river before making his dispositions for the crossing at the place finally chosen.

About this we are told by Arrian that "there was a headland (*ἀκρᾶ*) ascending from the bank of the Hydaspes at a point where the river made a remarkable bend, and this was thickly covered with all kinds of trees. Over against it lay an island covered with jungle.

. . . Now the headland and the island were 150 stadia [about 17½ miles] from the great camp." Curtius states that the island was greater than the rest of the numerous islands in the river, and adds the important detail of a deep ravine (*præalta fossa*) near the bank helping there to screen troops, including cavalry.

A Stormy Night.

Leaving parts of his force at the camp, as well as between this and the island, Alexander took selected troops of horse and foot with secrecy to the headland, keeping at a considerable distance from the river. A stormy night of rain hid from observation the embarkation of the troops in boats and on skin rafts previously collected. "They were not seen by Poros's sentries until they had passed beyond the island." The landing was safely effected, but proved to have taken place not on the mainland but on a large island separated from it by a channel of the river that had escaped notice. This, ordinarily shallow, could after the night's rainstorm be forded only with great difficulty.

* Reprinted with the author's approval, and with the kind permission of the Editor, from the *Times* of 15th April 1932.

Of the events which followed only the briefest summary need be given. Alexander, leading forward his cavalry, some 5,000 strong, easily routed the inferior force of horsemen and chariots first sent against him by Poros. Moving on he came upon the main Indian army, comprising 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots, 200 elephants, and 30,000 infantry. The exact details recorded of Poros's order of battle afford a useful indication. We are told by Arrian that he posted his elephants in the front line at intervals of at least a plethron (101 ft.) ; behind them his infantry in a second line. " He had also troops of infantry posted on the wings beyond the elephants, and on both sides of the infantry the cavalry had been drawn up, and in front of it the chariots." It is thus clear that Poros's front must have extended over more than four miles.

Alexander first attacked the cavalry on the enemy's left wing and by an outflanking manœuvre completely routed it. This initial success, gained by the trained skill of the Macedonian cavalry and the genius of its leader, decided the issue. The Macedonian phalanx successfully faced the elephants, though suffering heavy losses. Finally surrounded by Alexander's cavalry and pressed by the phalanx, the whole Indian host was cut to pieces or fled. The pursuit was taken up by the troops which had been left on the right bank and by that time had crossed. Poros himself, after fighting valiantly, was forced to surrender.

As regards the ground which witnessed Alexander's great military achievement, two contending opinions have so far prominently held the field. One—first put forward by Sir Alexander Burnes, advocated by General Abbott in 1852 and learnedly revived by the late Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* and other publications—made Alexander follow the line of the modern Grand Trunk Road to Jhelum town. It placed Alexander's crossing at a point ten miles above it, where the river, leaving the foothills, makes a bend, though not a marked one. But there is no " headland ascending from the bank of the river " to be found there, nor any deep ravine such as Curtius mentions.

A still more serious objection to this location revealed itself when I closely examined the ground on the opposite side of the river. For the narrow riverine flat separating there the much broken foot of the Pabbi hills from the left bank of the river is crossed for fully four miles above Jhelum by marshy torrent beds containing quicksands. This ground during the floods of the summer months is quite impassable, whether on foot or horseback. Nor would the limited ground between the river bank and the ravines at the foot of the Pabbi hills have allowed of a battle array extending over more than four miles.

The rival theory, put forth by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1863, placed Alexander's camp at Jalalpur, a small town on the right bank of the river, some thirty miles below Jhelum. There one of the several routes leading across the Salt Range south-west of the Grand Trunk Road debouches, and there, as the sketch map shows, the river leaves the foot of a rugged projecting spur of the Salt Range. The Nestor of Indian archaeology sought the place of Alexander's crossing at Dilawar, at the upper end of that spur.

But the distance between Jalalpur and Dilawar is only eight miles. This would not agree with the 150 stadia (17½ miles) definitely mentioned as separating Alexander's camp from the place of crossing. So General Cunningham made Alexander's troops perform a night march of that length, supposing it to have taken them up a narrow winding ravine and then across its head by very difficult tracks down another winding ravine to Dilawar. How a large force could be brought across such difficult ground in a single stormy night remained unexplained.

Jalalpur,

But if the location of Alexander's camp at Jalalpur proved thus untenable, my close examination of this place and its vicinity, on the other hand, revealed a very striking agreement between all its topographical features with the recorded description of Alexander's crossing place. The town, of some 3,000 inhabitants, is built on rising ground at the foot of a small outlier of the Salt Range, which rises close behind it to more than 1,000 ft. above the river. Immediately to the east of it lies the wide, winding mouth of the Kandar Kas, a

torrent bed joining the river. Within less than a mile there passes a northern branch of the Jhelum known as Halkiwani Nala, carrying much water at the time of the summer floods. Jalalpur marks the south-western corner of a boldly projecting spur of the Salt Range, which for a distance of some eight miles higher up falls off steeply to the river washing its foot. Nowhere else along its course after debouching from the mountains does the Jhelum touch ground which could possibly be described as a headland or promontory.

Here at Jalalpur we have a conspicuous headland at a marked bend of the river. There is a winding torrent bed wide enough at its sides to afford room for collecting troops, and with bold hillocks rising on either flank such as would effectively screen preparations for an intended crossing. The Kandar Kas corresponds thus exactly to the *præalta fossa*, or deep ravine, mentioned by Curtius. There are large trees and bushes growing on the ground on either side of its mouth. And—what deserves special notice—there is a large island stretching down from opposite this mouth between the Halkiwani branch and the present main river bed farther south.

This island, now occupied in patches by fields of the Admana hamlet, measures in length close on five miles. It is subject to inundation in years of heavy floods and therefore abandoned for the most part to jungle growth of high scrub and trees, just as Curtius describes the "island larger than the rest, wooded and suitable for concealing" Alexander's boats and rafts on their passage.

The accord between the topography of the Jalalpur ground and the classical account of the river passage is thus striking enough. But what in my belief definitely locates Alexander's crossing place at Jalalpur is the combined historical and archaeological evidence fortunately now available as regards the route which is the most likely to have brought the great conqueror through the Salt Range down to the river.

Below the route which leads down from the Salt Range to Jhelum town, and which the Emperor Sher Shah's great fortress at Rohtas guarded, there is no route that can come into consideration in this connexion until we get to the one which debouches at Jalalpur and which has led to the erroneous location there of Alexander's main camp. But farther down there are several passes which an invader crossing the Salt Range from the side of the Peshawar Valley and Taxila could have conveniently used.

The Pass of Nandana.

Among these passes there is one that figures very significantly in the accounts of the earliest of the invasions after Alexander's of which we have any details. It is the pass of Nandana, repeatedly mentioned, along with the stronghold that guarded it, in connexion with the campaigns of the famous Muhammadan invader of India, Mahmud of Ghazna. As rightly observed by Mr. W. S. Talbot in his "Gazetteer of the Jhelum District" (1905), the holder of the Nandana hill "had the absolute command of what is one of the most obvious routes across the [Salt] Range." The descent through the Nandana pass would bring the invader to the right bank of the Jhelum close to the large village of Haranpur, and the distance from there to Jalalpur, as measured along the present main road, keeping well away from the river, is about seventeen miles, just as Arrian's account indicates it between Alexander's camp on the river and the headland where his crossing took place. Thus topography and antiquarian facts in close agreement lead us to Jalalpur as the site of that successful achievement.

It is on the absolutely open and flat plain which stretches south of the left bank of the river all the way down from Jalalpur to opposite Haranpur that we must look for the field of battle. But its exact position cannot be determined, since we are not told the distance at which Poros's main force was encountered from the place of landing. Nor can we definitely indicate the site of Nikaia, the town which Alexander founded where he gained his victory.

We are in a better position as regards Boukephala, the town founded by Alexander at the place where Boukephalos, his favourite charger, died. Strabo distinctly puts it at the point where Alexander embarked for his passage. We may hence safely locate Boukephala at Jalalpur.

THE GREAT STŪPA AT NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY A. H. LONGHURST.

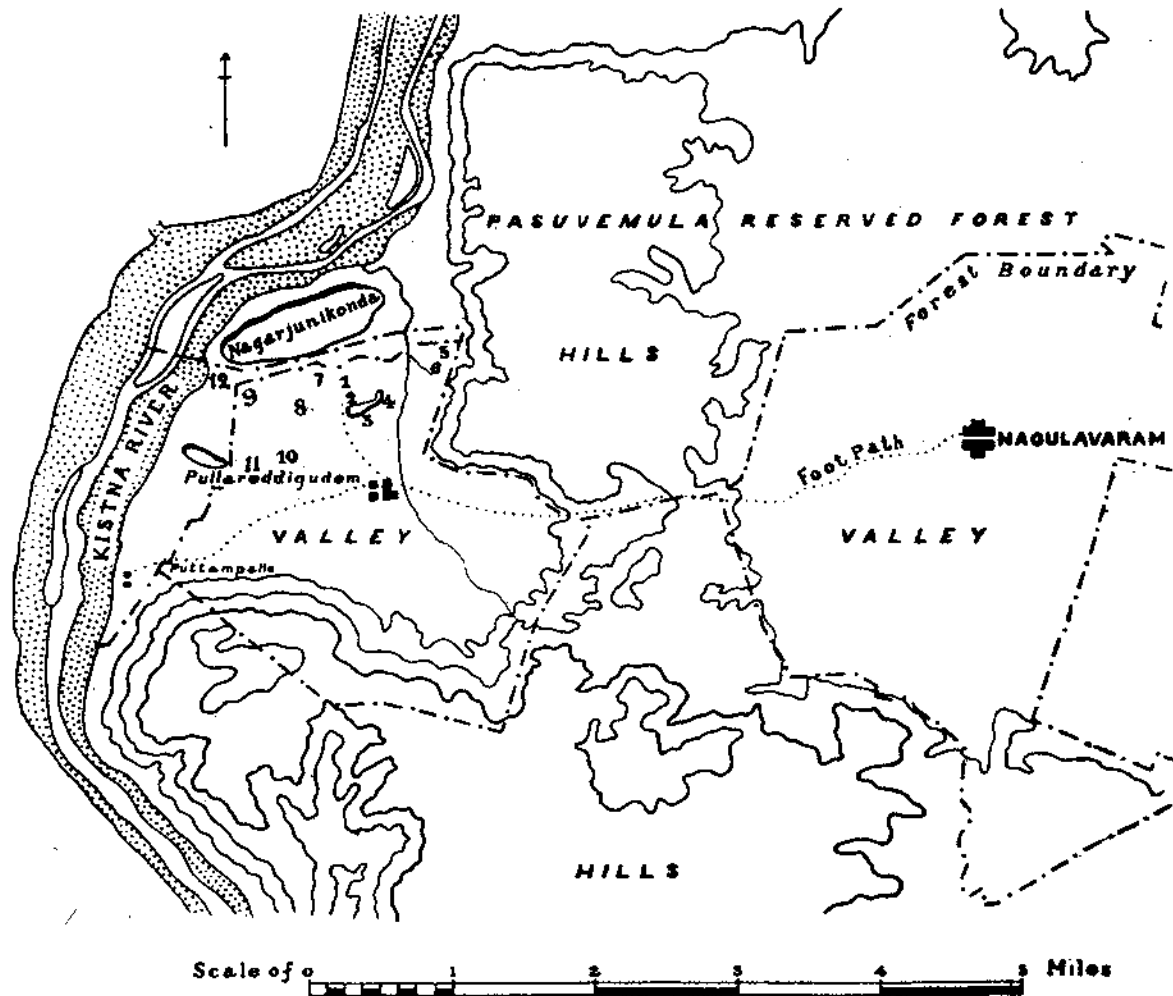
NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA, or Nāgārjuna's hill, is the name of a big rocky flat-topped hill on the right bank of the Krishna river in the Palnād taluk of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, and 15 miles west by north of Macherla railway station, the terminus of the new line from Guntur opened in 1931. The hill stands in a valley completely shut in by a ring of hills, an offshoot of the Nallamalais (Black Hills) of the adjoining Kurnool district, on three sides, with the Krishna river on the fourth or north-western side, where it forms the boundary between this part of the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions. The annexed site plan (Plate I) shows the geographical features of the area and the positions of the monuments discovered.

Nāgārjunakonḍa is about 60 miles distant from Amarāvati as the crow flies, but considerably further by river. It is a wild and desolate spot, and being shut in by the surrounding rocky hills is usually very hot during most months of the year. There is a rough cart track from Macherla to Nāgulavaram, a distance of 10 miles, but the remaining 5 miles over the hills and through the valley to Nāgārjunakonḍa has to be performed on foot, as no cart traffic is possible.

The hill was once fortified, and remains of brick and stone fortifications still remain all along the rugged cliffs surrounding the plateau on its summit, showing that it was once used as a citadel; but no ruined buildings of interest were discovered on the hill. At the eastern foot of the hill and scattered throughout the valley are a number of ruined *stūpas* of all sizes, from little structures 8 feet in diameter to large ones like the Great *Stūpa*, 106 feet in diameter. There are also many ruined monasteries and apsidal Buddhist temples, showing that, at one time, there existed here a large and flourishing Buddhist settlement, far larger in fact than the one at Amarāvati lower down the river. A number of important inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brāhmi characters of about the second century A.D. were discovered in connection with the Great *Stūpa* and two apsidal temples. Professor Vogel of Leiden University has published an account of these old records in the *Epigraphia Indica*, volume XX, 1931. Besides a number of inscriptions and ruined buildings, many lead coins of the Āndhra period, gold and silver reliquaries, pottery, statues and over four hundred magnificent bas-relief sculptures similar to those from Amarāvati, were recovered during the excavations which I conducted at Nāgārjunakonḍa during the cold seasons of 1928 to 1931, when I completed the explorations. A brief account of these discoveries appears in the *Annual Reports* of the Archaeological Survey of India for those years, but a fully illustrated account of the remarkable discoveries made would fill a large volume, and has yet to be written.

The historical information furnished by the inscriptions is somewhat meagre, and the careless manner in which some of them were engraved adds to the difficulty of interpreting the precise meaning of certain words and sentences. The records belong to the Southern Ikhāku dynasty, who were ruling in this part of India between the second and third centuries A.D. It is clear from these inscriptions that they were kings of considerable importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the rulers of Vanavāsa (North Kanara), but also with the kings of Ujjayini in Central India. A curious fact about these Southern Ikhākus revealed by the inscriptions, is that while the rulers were followers of Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices, their consorts were devotees of the Buddha and erected buildings for the Buddhists settled at Nāgārjunakonḍa and made pious donations to the *stūpas*. Most of these buildings owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikhāku, the principal founder being a princess named Chāmtisiri, who is praised for her munificence in many of the inscriptions belonging to the Great *Stūpa*, or *Mahāchetiya*, as it is called in the pillar inscriptions belonging to it, and which was founded,

Note.—The copyright of the photographs reproduced to illustrate this article is reserved by the Archaeological Survey of India.



SITE PLAN

Showing Positions of Monuments discovered at NĀgarjunakonda, Palnād Tāluk, Guntur District.
References to Numbers

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Great Stūpa No. 1 | 7. Monastery No. 4 and Stūpa No. 5 |
| 2. Chaitya No. 1 and Monastery No. 1 | 8. Stūpa No. 6 |
| 3. Chaitya No. 2 and Monastery No. 2 | 9. Monastery No. 5 and Stūpa Nos. 7 and 8 |
| 4. Chaitya Nos. 3 and 4, Monastery No. 3 and Stūpa No. 4 | 10. Palace Site |
| 5. Stūpa No. 2 | 11. Stūpa No. 9 |
| 6. Stūpa No. 3 | 12. Wharf |

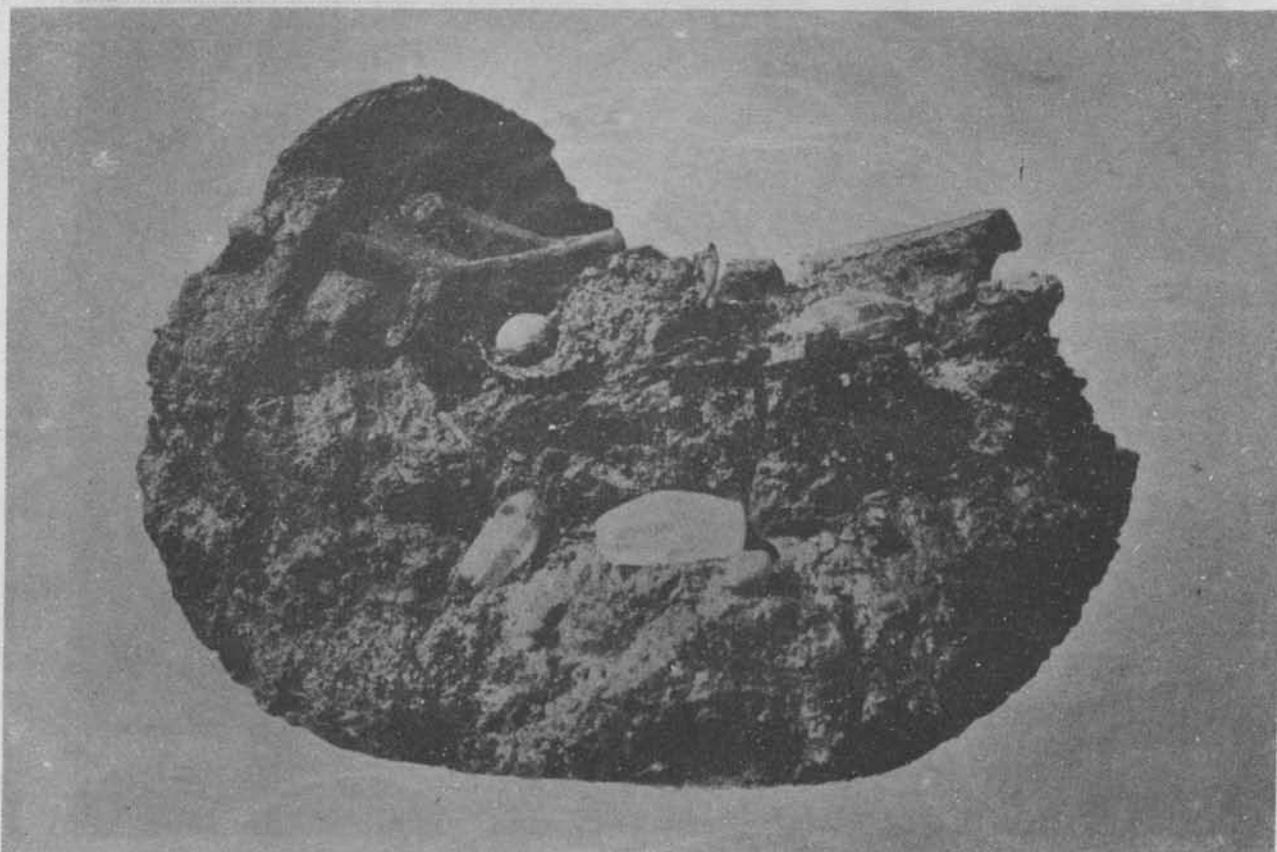


Fig. 1. Remains of the broken pot containing the relics found in the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.



Fig. 2. The Buddha relics from the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The bone relic and gold reliquary are marked 1 and 2 respectively (actual size).

or perhaps rebuilt, when the pillars were added, by the lady in question in the sixth year of the reign of king Siri-Virapurisadata between the second and third centuries A.D. The same royal lady built a monastery and an apsidal temple close to the eastern gate of the Great Stūpa, the ruins of which remain. Another important inscription was found engraved on the stone floor of an apsidal temple situated on a rocky hill about two furlongs to the east of the Great Stūpa, and known locally as Nāharāḷlabōḍu. This temple and a monastery standing alongside of it were built by a lady named Bodhisiri and dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks settled at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The inscription relates that these Ceylonese Buddhists had converted the people of Kashmīr, Gandhāra, China, Ceylon, Bengal, Kanara, and other places in India. The latter part of the inscription mentions other pious works by Bodhisiri, including a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* at Kantakasela, which, as Dr. Vogel points out in his account of these inscriptions, must be identical with "the emporium Kantikossula" mentioned by Ptolemy as being situated "after the mouths of the Maisōlos (Krishna)." The *Periplus* speaks of "the region of Masalia" stretching a long way along the coast," and adds, "a great quantity of muslins is made here." The ancient name by which the Krishna delta was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the seaport of Masulipatam.

In the same inscription (F of Dr. Vogel's list), the name of the ancient city that once existed in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley is given as Vijayapuri, and the hill now known as Nāharāḷlabōḍu, on which Bodhisiri erected the temple and monastery for the Ceylonese monks, is called the Lesser Dhammagiri situated on Śrīparvata. The hill in question is an offshoot of the surrounding Nallamalais of the adjoining Kurnool district. These hills extend in a south-westerly direction all along the river into the Kurnool district, where, on the top of a wooded hill some 50 miles south-west of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and facing the river, stands the famous Śrīsailam temple sacred to Śiva and a great place of pilgrimage in the spring, when a big annual festival is held there. It thus seems from this inscription that in early times the Nallamalais were known as Śrīparvata. This is an interesting point, because there is an ancient tradition preserved in Tibet that the famous Buddhist divine Nāgārjuna ended his days in a monastery on Śrīparvata in Southern India. If this monastery is the same as the ruined one on the Lesser Dhammagiri, it would follow that the association of Nāgārjuna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Nāgārjuna's Hill).

The fact that a monastery and a temple were built specially for the benefit of Ceylonese monks shows that very cordial relations must have existed between the Āndhra Buddhists and their co-religionists in Ceylon at that period. The existence of such relations can be readily accounted for by the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and the great emporium Kantakasela of the Krishna delta. It was no doubt this trade which was mainly responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of Southern India, which enabled the Buddhist merchants and their royal masters to raise monuments of such magnificence as those at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati. As Dr. Vogel mentions, the decline of Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley may have had other causes besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic factors at work, such as the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into Southern India. There was also the conquest of the South by the Gupta Emperor Samudra Gupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism, like the Pallava dynasty in the South and the Chālukya in the West.

The ruined buildings discovered, represent the remains of *stūpas*, monasteries, apsidal temples and a palace. They were all built of large bricks measuring 20"×10"×3", the same dimensions as the bricks recently found at Bulandībagh near Patnā in Bihār, the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra. It is strange that at two sites so far distant both should yield large bricks of the same dimensions. The pillars, floors, statues and important sculptures were executed

in white or grey limestone resembling marble. No other stone was used, and it was brought to the site by means of the river and landed at a stone-built wharf that still remains (see Plate I, 12). The wharf is about 250 feet in length, 50 feet wide and 6 feet in height along the river front and at both ends. Three rows of broken stone pillars extending from end to end show that it was originally provided with a wooden roof, probably thatched. It seems to have served as a kind of Customs House, with a row of shops or godowns on either side. Here, the Krishna is more than half a mile wide, with numerous sandbanks and huge rocks in its bed, but during the rains it is a very large river and navigable for country craft right down to the sea.

On plan and in construction, the Āndhra *stūpas* differ from those found in the North. They are built in the form of a wheel with hub, spokes and tire all complete and executed in brickwork (see plan of *stūpa* on Plate III). The open spaces between the radiating walls were filled up with earth, and the dome or brick casing built over the structure. As no traces of structural stone *tees* have been discovered in Southern India, we may presume that they were built of brick and plaster and decorated with the rail ornament in the latter material. The *stūpas* were covered with *chunam*, or fine shell-lime plaster, from top to bottom, and the moulding and other ornamentation was usually executed in stucco or plaster. The dome rested on a circular platform or drum from 2 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the monument. On top of the drum was a narrow path encircling the foot of the dome, and on each of the four sides, facing the cardinal points, was a rectangular platform resembling an altar and the same height as the drum. In the inscriptions these platforms are described as *ayaka*-platforms, because they usually supported a group of five stone pillars, called *ayaka-khambhas* (*ayaka*-pillars). The precise meaning of the word *ayaka* is not known, but it is used much as we use the word 'altar.' From the bas-relief representations of *stūpas* recovered from the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati *stūpas*, the *ayaka*-platform appears as an altar, on which pious donors are portrayed depositing their offerings of fruit and flowers. All Āndhra *stūpas* had these platforms, but only those belonging to large and important monuments were provided with pillars. As each group consisted of five pillars, the total number of pillars for each *stūpa* so decorated was twenty. The inscriptions show that these pillars represent gifts made to the *stūpa* in honour of the Buddha and to the merit of the pious donors who provided the money for the work; but no information is given as to the meaning or symbolism of the pillars.

The chief scenes portrayed in the sculptures recovered from these Āndhra *stūpas* represent the five great 'miracles,' or chief events in the life of the Buddha, namely, the Nativity, Renunciation, *Sambodhi*, First Sermon, and the Buddha's Death. These five incidents are portrayed over and over again, either as beautifully executed bas-relief scenes, or else as mere conventional symbols, such as a tree, wheel and *stūpa*. In this form they are found engraved on some of the bases of the *ayaka*-pillars belonging to the Amarāvati *Stūpa* now in the Madras Museum; and I discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa four bases of *ayaka*-pillars each ornamented with a bas-relief representation of the 'First Sermon.' The presence of these symbols carved on the bases of the pillars seems to indicate that they were set up to commemorate the five great miracles; just as we know Aśoka erected pillars to mark the sacred spots where these events are said to have occurred in Nepāl and Bihār. As it was impossible for those living in the Krishna district to erect the pillars on the actual spots in Northern India, they seem to have hit upon the idea of conventionalising the pillars into groups of five for the sake of convenience, so that the events could be commemorated locally, and also, perhaps, with a view to adding to the splendour and importance of the *stūpas*, as in the case of the Amarāvati *Stūpa*, where the stone casing to the dome, the *ayaka*-platforms and pillars, and the stone railing, were all added to the monument in the second or third century A.D. This we know from the inscriptions belonging to that monument. In earlier times the *ayaka*-pillars were unknown, and they only occur in the Āndhra *stūpas* of that period.

The platforms and pillars vary in size and height according to the dimensions of the *stūpa* to which they belong. The pillars vary from 10 to 30 feet in height, with square bases and octagonal shafts. The tops are round, showing that they could not have supported capitals or any other kind of ornaments. In some of the bas-relief pictures of *stūpas*, the pillars are shown crowned with *tristūla* ornaments, the centre pillar often with a miniature *stūpa* as a capital. This is incorrect and purely decorative, as they never supported anything and could not do so as the tops were round, so that any ornament placed there would fall immediately to the ground. In this case the ornaments merely indicate that the pillars were dedicated to the Buddha, and the inscriptions confirm this.

In the sculptures two kinds of *stūpas* are depicted—one a plain brick and plaster structure like the *stūpas* of the Aśokan age; and the other is similar in all respects, except that the brick surface is faced with richly carved stone slabs embedded in mortar. This stone casing was applied only to the face of the drum, *ayaka*-platforms and lower portion of the dome. The upper portion of the domes of all Āndhra *stūpas* was executed in brick and plaster and decorated with a characteristic garland ornament encircling the dome. This ornament always appears in the bas-relief representations of *stūpas*, and is in the form of a broad festoon decorated with big lotus medallions executed in plaster.

The stone casing was applied only to the base of the dome, as it is obvious that flat stone slabs could not be fixed to the curved surface of the upper portion of the dome. In order to do this, each stone would have to be specially cut with a convex front and a concave back, and even then it would be very difficult to keep the stones in position, so this part of the *stūpas* was always in plaster. These decorated *stūpas* were faced partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation, the two materials being used together, and when the work was completed the *stūpa* was given a coating of shell-lime plaster from top to bottom, to hide any defects or inequalities in the work. For this purpose, the white limestone used for this work was specially suitable, as it was of the right colour and takes whitewash or plaster readily, being very absorbent. It was no doubt these considerations and the fact that it is soft and easy to work when freshly quarried, that led to its general use in the Krishna valley. From the remains of slate-stone bas-reliefs and plaster ornament recovered from the ruined *stūpas* of Gandhāra, it seems that they were decorated in the same manner as those erected by the Āndhras. The inscriptions show that there was considerable intercourse between the Buddhists of Gandhāra and their co-religionists in the South, and in all probability the Āndhras adopted the custom from the Gandhāra builders in the second century A.D., or thereabouts. Gandhāra influence is also strongly marked in many of the Āndhra bas-reliefs and statues in the round. Traces of Roman influence are also manifest in a few of the sculptures and in two small gold medallions recovered from Nāgarjunakonḍa. This is not surprising, as we know that in the second and third centuries of our era there was considerable sea-borne trade between Rome and this part of Southern India.

When complete, the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgarjunakonḍa must have been a perfect example of a plain Āndhra *stūpa* (Plate II, fig. 2). It is built of large bricks measuring 20" × 10" × 3", and in the usual form of a wheel (Plate III, fig. 2). It was covered with plaster from top to bottom, the dome being decorated with the usual garland ornament, and the drum with a few simple mouldings executed in plaster. No stone was used in its construction, the *ayaka*-pillars alone being of that material, and, as at Amarāvati, they probably represent a later addition to the *stūpa*. They were gifts, as their inscriptions show, and were erected between the second and third centuries A.D. The diameter of the *stūpa* including the drum is 106 feet. The drum is raised 5 feet above the ground level, and the total height of the monument, excluding the *tes*, must have been about 70 to 80 feet. On top of the drum is a narrow path, 7 feet wide, extending all round the base of the dome. No traces of steps

up to this path were found, but it is possible that they may have existed. No steps are depicted in the bas-relief representations of *stūpas*, so perhaps there were none to any of these monuments. The *ayaka*-platforms are 22 feet in length and 5 feet in width, and the bases of the five stone pillars were securely built into the brickwork. In the stone-faced *stūpas*, the *ayaka*-platforms were the most highly decorated features of the *stūpa*. Here the Āndhra sculptor exhibited his best works of art, partly because these platforms were regarded as very holy structures resembling altars on which votive offerings were placed, and mainly perhaps, because they faced the four open gateways of the *stūpa*, so that they were the first objects seen by anyone entering the sacred precinct around the *stūpa*. The *stūpa* was surrounded by a processional path 13 feet in width, and enclosed by a wooden railing standing on brick foundations, which still remain. The gateways were formed by extending the railing outwards, so as to form a screen on each side of the entrance, but there were apparently no transoms spanning the entrance, like those of the Sāñchi *toranas*. No traces of stone rails or *toranas* were found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and it is quite clear that none existed there.

As a rule, the rails and gates were constructed of carved woodwork, no doubt resting on brick foundations, to protect them from damp and the ravages of white ants. It was only in very special cases that they were ever executed in stone, and then they were merely stone models of carved wooden originals.

When first discovered, the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was a large mound of earth and broken brick overgrown with grass and jungle, with two *ayaka*-pillars standing erect, the remaining eighteen pillars having fallen. As the whole of the dome of the *stūpa* had been demolished, the *ayaka*-pillars and platforms thrown down and broken by treasure seekers, the chances of finding any relics in the edifice appeared very remote indeed. The first thing was to remove the debris and trace out the plan of the structure and recover the broken pillars. When this work was finished and the excavations completed, the appearance of the Great *Stūpa* may be gathered from Plate II, fig. 1.

Fortunately, instead of placing the relics in the centre of the Great *Stūpa*, they were deposited in one of the outer chambers on the north-western side of the *stūpa*, where they escaped the notice of the treasure seekers who wrecked the monument (Plate III, fig. 1). As the *stūpa* contained 40 chambers, all of which had to be excavated down to the natural ground level, the excavation of this monument was a very laborious task that took a month to complete. At last, when we had given up all hopes of finding anything of interest, one of the coolies noticed a small broken pot in the north-western corner of the chamber marked with a cross on the plan (Plate III, fig. 2). The pot had been crushed when the chamber was filled with earth by the Buddhists, and all that remained is shown in Plate IV, fig. 1. On the surface were a few white crystal beads and a tiny gold box. After carefully sifting the contents of the pot the following objects were found:—a fragment of bone placed in a small round gold reliquary three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This was placed in a little silver casket, shaped like a miniature *stūpa*, 2½ inches in height, together with a few gold flowers, pearls, garnets and crystals. The three large crystal beads and the round ear-ornament were placed in the pot and not in the casket. The latter unfortunately was very corroded and broken, but a replica was made, which appears in the photograph showing the finds recovered from the tomb (Plate IV, fig. 2). The earthenware pot containing the casket and reliquary was placed originally in the corner of the chamber, which was filled up with earth as soon as the consecration ceremony was over. The brick dome was then built over the remains, and the plastering and decoration of the *stūpa* completed. No traces of ornamental plaster were found in the debris round the monument, except portions of simple mouldings that once decorated the plinth and cornice of the drum. It must have been a perfectly plain structure like those of the Aśokan age before the *ayaka*-pillars were added in the second century A.D. (Plate II, fig. 2).

In the inscriptions belonging to the Great Stūpa, the monument is called the "*Mahāchetiya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha," clearly showing that the tomb was consecrated to the Great Teacher and to nobody else. The discovery of the *dhātu*, or bone relic, proves that the monument was a *dhātugarbha*, or 'tomb containing a relic,' and that it was not a mere 'dedicatory' stūpa. The latter were memorial stūpas, which contained no relics, and, like Aśoka's pillars, were erected on celebrated sites sacred to the Buddha, such as his birth-place, and so on. It is, therefore, obvious that the Great Stūpa did not belong to this class of memorial monument. The inscriptions do not definitely state why the stūpa was built; they merely state that the *ayaka*-pillars were dedicated to the Buddha, and that they were set up by the princess Chāmtisiri and other royal ladies of the same house. Supposing the stūpa to have been already in existence prior to the erection of the pillars, it would have been necessary first to enlarge the drum and build the *ayaka*-platforms to accommodate the pillars, and then replaster and decorate the stūpa from top to bottom to complete the work. In fact, it would have meant rebuilding the whole of the exterior of the monument. Dr. Vogel is of opinion that the inscriptions show that the *Mahāchetiya* was "founded" by Chāmtisiri, but it is by no means clear whether she built, rebuilt, or merely contributed to the structure. If she did build the stūpa, then it was she who enshrined the relic found in the chamber; but it is impossible to believe that so great an event as this could have occurred without the fact being recorded in at least one of the many inscriptions referring to the stūpa. We know that the monument was consecrated to the Buddha, as the inscriptions are quite clear on this point. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the relic recovered from the tomb represents a *dhātu*, or corporeal relic of the Great Teacher, otherwise there could be no possible reason for calling the tomb the "*Mahāchetiya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha." That the *Mahāchetiya* was regarded as a particularly holy shrine is obvious from the tone and wording of the inscriptions found at the site. Again, the size of the tomb, the number of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, and the fact that pilgrims came from all over India and Ceylon to reverence it, afford testimony of this.

Unfortunately, the meaning of some of the words and phrases met with in the inscriptions is very obscure. Commenting upon this, Dr. Vogel says—"A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted." Dr. Hirānanda Sāstrī, Epigraphist to the Government of India, who has also made a study of these inscriptions, found the same difficulty, and, as might be expected in the circumstances, his interpretation of the precise meaning of certain words differs from Dr. Vogel's. The records belonging to the *Mahāchetiya* open with an invocation to the Buddha, who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Dr. Hirānanda Sāstrī is of opinion that the style and wording of the invocation shows that the *Mahāchetiya* has been specified in these inscriptions as "protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha" and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this stūpa from others not similarly consecrated. Nine ruined stūpas were discovered at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, four of them highly decorated with stone bas-reliefs similar to those recovered from Amarāvati, but the *Mahāchetiya* is the only one bearing inscriptions indicating that it was consecrated to the Buddha.

The discovery of the relic and the fact that inscription B. 2 of Dr. Vogel's List, definitely gives the name of the monument as the *Mahāchetiya* of the Buddha, seem conclusive evidence that the monument was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of the Buddha, as Dr. Hirānanda Sāstrī maintains. The stūpa was probably built long before Chāmtisiri set up the pillars and rebuilt the structure in the second century A.D., or thereabouts, which

would explain why the inscriptions give no information about the consecration or how the relic was obtained. If the *Mahāchetiya* did exist prior to the second century A.D., the fact that it contained corporeal remains of the Great Teacher would have been known throughout India and Ceylon, thus making it unnecessary to record this information in inscriptions added to the monument in later times.

We know from the inscriptions recovered from Sāñchi, Sārnāth and Amarāvati that the great *stūpas* that existed at these three famous sites were all rebuilt in later times. These inscriptions give the names of some of the pious donors who found the money for the additions to these monuments, but, like the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, they give no information concerning the purpose for which the *stūpas* were built, or when they were erected, just the very points which we should so much like to know. The Amarāvati inscriptions show that the stone casing, *ayaka*-pillars and stone railing were added to the Great *Stūpa* at that place in the second or third century A.D., that is, at the same period as that in which Chāntisiri set up the pillars and rebuilt the *Mahāchetiya* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Originally, the Amarāvati *Stūpa* seems to have been a plain brick and plaster *stūpa* similar to the *Mahāchetiya*, and it must have been a particularly holy shrine, else it would never have been enlarged and decorated in so costly a fashion. Perhaps when Chāntisiri learned what was taking place at Amarāvati, she felt it incumbent upon herself, as the leading devotee of the Buddha at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, to redecorate and improve the *Mahāchetiya*.

Personally, like Dr. Hirānanda Sāstrī, I do not think there can be any doubt that the *Mahāchetiya* was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of the Buddha, and that the fragment of bone found in the gold reliquary represents a genuine *dhātu*, or relic, of the Great Teacher. There is no reason why such a relic could not have been obtained from Northern India long before the days of Chāntisiri.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA MAHĀKUMĀRAS.

By D. C. GANGULY.

THE Paramāras of Mālwa rose to the highest pitch of their glory during the reign of Bhoja (circa 1000-1055 A.D.). Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasimha, Udayāditya, Lakṣmadeva, Naravarman (1094-1133 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (1134 A.D.). During the reign of Naravarman the long protracted war between the Caulukyas of Gujarāt and the Paramāras broke out. This finally resulted into the overthrow of the Paramāra government in Mālwa during the reign of Yaśovarman. Jayavarman, the son of Yaśovarman, succeeded in regaining his ancestral throne sometime between 1138 and 1144 A.D. But shortly afterwards he was overthrown by Ballāla, apparently a scion of the Hoysala family of Dvārasamudra and the leader of the Caulukya army of Karnaṭa. Ballāla, within a very short time after this victory, met his death at the hand of the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Gujarāt, who thereafter brought the whole of Mālwa under his suzerainty.

Kumārapāla, after the annexation of Mālwa, turned his attention to its internal administration. He seems to have divided the country into a number of provinces, which he administered through his governors. The charge of the eastern division was entrusted to the Mahāsādhnika Rājyapāla, whose headquarter was Udayapur in Bhilasa.¹ In 1163 A.D., when this chief was in office, a certain personage named Vasantapāla made some donations for the maintenance² of the temple of Udaleśvara at the town of Udayapur. Kumārapāla died in 1172 A.D., and was succeeded by Ajayapāla (1172-1176 A.D.). During his reign

¹ *I.A.*, vol. XVIII, p. 343.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

Lānapāsaka was in charge of the government of this province.³ In 1172 A.D., Lānapāsaka, for the spiritual benefit of his father, granted the village of Umaratha, situated in the Pathaka known as Bhṛṅgārikā-Catubśasti, in favour of the god Vaidyanātha, at Udayapur.⁴ Here the record describes Udayapur as being situated in the province (*maṇḍala*) of Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka (modern Bhilsa). This settles the eastern limit of the kingdom over which the Caulukyas asserted their supremacy in the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D. During this period, though the Imperial dynasty of the Paramāras was lost in obscurity, some of its junior branches continued to rule over the old Paramāra kingdom south of the Vindhya mountains. Their ruling chiefs assumed the titles *Samadhigata pañca-mahāśabd-ālamkāra-virājamāna-mahākumāra*.⁵ This means that they were great princes who attained the five *mahāśabdas*. The following are the sources of evidence from which we may reconstruct their history :—

A. The copper-plate grant of the Mahārāja Yaśovarmadeva,⁶ dated V.S. 1192=1135 A.D.

B. The copper-plate grant of the Mahārājādhirāja, Jayavarmadeva.⁷ The genealogy given is—

P.M.P. Udayāditya.

|
P.M.P. Naravarman.

|
P.M.P. Yaśovarman.

|
P.M.P. Jayavarman.

C. The copper-plate grant of the Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarmadeva,⁸ dated V.S. 1200=1144 A.D. The kings mentioned are—

P.M.P. Udayāditya.

|
P.M.P. Naravarman.

|
P.M.P. Yaśovarman.

|
Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman.

Here the name of Jayavarman is omitted.

D. The Piplīanagar grant⁹ of the Mahākumāra Hariścandra, dated V.S. 1235=1178 A.D. In this the genealogy is given thus—

P. M. P. Udayāditya.

|
P. M. P. Naravarman.

|
P. M. P. Yaśovarman.

|
P. M. P. Jayavarman.

|
Mahākumāra Hariścandra, son of Lakṣmīvarman.

Hariścandra is mentioned in the record as having obtained his territory through

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *I.A.*, vol. XIX, p. 352.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁹ *JASB.*, vol. VII, p. 736.

the favour of Jayavarman.¹⁰ Lakṣmivarman does not appear in it among the succeeding rulers. He is merely referred to in the concluding line of the inscription as the father of Hariścandra.

E. The Bhopal grant of the Mahākumāra Udayavarmadeva,¹¹ dated V.S. 1256=1199 A.D. The kings referred to are—

P.M.P. Yaśovarman.

P.M.P. Jayavarman.

Mahākumāra Lakṣmivarman.

Mahākumāra Udayavarman.

It is stated that after the conclusion of the reign of Jayavarman, Lakṣmivarman obtained the sovereignty for himself by force of arms.¹² He was succeeded by Hariścandra's son Udayavarman. Hariścandra is not mentioned here as a successor of Lakṣmivarman, but merely as the father of Udayavarman.

F. The inscription of Arjunavarman, king of Dhārā, dated 1210, 1213, 1215 A.D.¹³ The pedigree is given thus—

Bhoja.

Udayāditya.

Naravarman.

Yaśovarman.

Ajayavarman.

Vindhavarman.

Subhataavarman.

Arjunavarman.

Here Yaśovarman's successor is given as Ajayavarman, and not as Jayavarman.

G. The Mandhata plate of Devapāla,¹⁴ dated V.S. 1282=1225 A.D. The genealogy given here is the same as that in A., with the additional information that Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapāla, the son of Hariścandra. In his Harsauda grant¹⁵ Devapāla assumes the title *Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-bādha*, which connects him with the Mahākumāra family. Hence there can be no doubt that his father Hariścandra was the same person as the son of Lakṣmivarman.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰ ... Śrī-Yaśovarmadeva-pāddānūdhya-parama-bhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramadevara-śrī-Jayavarmadeva ity etasmāt prēṭhatama-prabhoḥ prasāddā dvāpta-nijādhipatyā samasta-prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-bādha-lamkāra-virḍjamāna-mahā-kumdra-Śrī-Hariścandra-devaḥ iti. sva-hasto 'yam-mahā-kumdra-Śrī-Lakṣmivarmadeva-suta-mahākumdra-Śrī-Hariścandra-deva-Paramdra-kula-kamala-kamala bandhoḥ (JASB., vol. VII, pp. 737, 739.)

¹¹ I.A., vol. XVI, p. 252.

¹² ... Jayavarmadeva-rājye vyastite nija-kara-kṛta-karavāla prasādddvāpta-nijādhipatyā-samasta-prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-bādha-(bā)ḍa-(ṇ)kāra-virḍjamāna-mahākumdra-śrī-mat-Lakṣmivarmadeva-pāddānūdhya-samasta-prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-bādha-(bā)ḍa-lamkāra-virḍjam(d)na-mahākumdra-Śrī-Hariścandra-deva-suta-Śrī-mat-Udayavarmadevo vijay-odayi. (I.A., vol. XVI, p. 254.)

¹³ JAOS., vol. VII, pp. 25, 32; JASB., vol. V, p. 378.

¹⁴ E.I., vol. IX, p. 108.

¹⁵ I.A., vol. XX, p. 310.

NOTE ON THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WYNAD.

By F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (Retired.)

(Continued from page 174.)

So too the *Pathiyans* (fig. 4) and *Uridavans* of the E. Wynad are immigrant communities; the Pathiyans come from Punnâd in the S.E. sector of the Mysore Basin, the Uridavans from Chitaldrug.²⁶

Of other tribes mentioned, the *Tachanâd Muppans*²⁷ of the S.E. quadrant of the W. Wynad are definitely associated with the Nilambûr valley of S. Malabar; the *Urdli Kurumbars*,²⁸ like the Kôtas of the Nilgiris, are artisans for all the tribes of the Wynad; while the *Kanaladis*,²⁹ who are professional fire-walkers, can hardly be called a community, as they number only some six families and have to indent on Pathiyans, Mullu-Kurumbars and Chettis for their wives.

The Nâyars, Brahmans, Jains and Muhammadans of the Wynad do not differ from their kinsmen in the plains. It is worth noting that even the East Coast Muhammadans of the W. Wynad hail from Pâlghât in Malabar.³⁰

Language and tradition are not the only evidence of Malabar influence. The "forelock" for instance, the outward symbol of Malayâli grace, is worn by almost all Wynad manhood except the jungle folk, whose hair is usually a tousled mop. But the Uridavans and Edanâdan Chettis, who hail from Mysore, wear the "back tuft" like Mysoreans, while the Mandâdan and Wynâdan Chettis say they used to do so, and the Pathiyan at weddings dishevels his forelock to make it look as like a back tuft as he can.

So too in dress; the white cotton of Malabar is the rule for both sexes; even the conservative Edanâdan Chettis have adopted this. The draping, too, is that of Malabar; the long, coloured, feminine swathings of Tamil, Telugu or Kanarese are rarely seen. But in this again the Pathiyans, and also, the Wynâdan Chettis, at weddings revert to the fashions of their Kanarese forebears.

The chivalrous courting and mating of Malabar have attractions which foreigners can seldom resist. The reaction of the immigrant Chettis to the Malabar system is interesting. The Wynâdan Chettis (of Tamil origin) are the most "malayâliized." They have access to caste temples and do not pollute a Nayar by touch. They have adopted Malayâli *sambandham* (marriage by consent), even in a matrilineal form, though a patrilineal type, with certain Tamil rites, is also permitted; and their inheritance is matrilineal. The Kanarese Mandâdan and Edanâdan Chettis remain patrilineal, and retain the normal "purchase" system³¹ of marriage, but the Edanâdâns also recognise a form of *sambandham*.³² The Pathiyans, on the other hand, have adopted matrilineal succession, but combine full Kanarese ceremonial with a *idli-kappu* wedding of Malabar type.³³ The Uridavans, most conservative of all, are patrilineal.

Kuricchans, Kunduvatiyans, Karimbâlans and Kâdars, consistently with their Malayâli origin, are matrilineal; so, too, are the Pulayans, though they pay a bride-price. On the other hand, the Mullu-Kurumbars, in spite of their conspicuous conformity with Malabar

²⁶ Nair, pp. 82 and 85.²⁷ Nair, pp. 89 sq.²⁸ Nair, pp. 71 sq.²⁹ Nair (p. 95) surmises that they are Malaysians from Malabar, presumably those of N. Malabar described in Thurston, IV, 436.³⁰ Nair, p. 53, and *Malabar Gazetteer*, 447.³¹ Characterized by the payment of a bride-price, or, in lieu thereof, by service.³² So Mr. Gopalan Nair (p. 54 A), as a second marriage, with reduced "price"; not unlike the normal re-marriage of Kanarese castes, but children have no right in their father's property.³³ Nair, p. 83. For *idli-kappu* rites see *Malabar Gazetteer*, 177.

customs, retain patrilineal succession and the bride-price, as befits the scions of the pre-Kōttayam rulers of the Wynad. So, too, do the Paniyars³⁴ and Urāli Kurumbars; like other pre-Dravidian communities in S. India.

The land tenure of the Wynad is also modelled on that of Malabar, the perplexing privileges of overlordship (*janmam*), which distinguish Malabar from the rest of S. India, being recognized by the Madras Government, and even extended to non-Malayāli proprietors who had no shadow of right to them.³⁵

Of Wynad cults and shrines little of value is known. The Tirunelli temple is served by Embrāndiri Brahmans of Gokarnam in N. Kanara, and managed by Mūsads³⁶ of Malabar. The riverside Vallūr-Kāvu, near Manantoddy, with its sacred carp, traces its origin to Cranganore, in Cochin State.³⁷ The Mani-Kunnu shrine (near Kalpatta in S. Wynad) is served by a Nambūdri of Calicut.³⁸

There is, however, reason to believe that these cults, in their present form, have been superimposed on something older. The Tirunelli shrine, for instance, is sacred to Vishnu; and it was so in the days of Bhāskara Ravivarman. But one of his grants imposes penalties on any local chief who may thereafter offer sacrifice without employing Brahman priests. This implies that at one time the cult was not Brahmanic. Moreover, not far from the Vishnu temple is a small cave temple, sacred to Śiva, of very archaic type, which suggests a Jain or Buddhist origin and to which local tradition assigns a far older date.³⁹ At Vallūr-Kāvu, again at the annual festival, the Paniyars are allowed liberties which they dare not take in ordinary life; they are free to jostle people of all castes and, it is said, they are the first to be fed from the boiled rice offerings.

In social matters Brahman influence seems notably rare. Only the Chettis are reported as employing Brahmans in domestic ceremonies; in the case of the Edanādans the officiant is a Vaishnava Brahman of S. Mysore. The Uridavans and Tēn Kurumbars⁴⁰ appear to be under the spiritual authority of Vira-Saivas, the Pathiyans⁴¹ under Jains.

The other communities are governed by headmen or councils of their kinsmen, the appointment being controlled with some by election with others by heredity, while the tribal officers of Paniyan and Adiyān serfs are nominated by their Malayāli overlord. The council of the Wynadan Chettis consists of the heads of five families, each representing a definite territorial area under an arrangement prescribed by the Kōttayam Rāja.

IV. Conclusion.

It is difficult to conceive that a tract so derelict as the Wynad was once a centre of thriving civilization. Cession to the British brought no luck. The 'Pytchy' Raja again rebelled and was not brought to book till 1805. Another rebellion followed in 1812, when his ex-retainers, the virile Kuricchans and Kurumbars, were required to pay revenue in cash instead of in kind. Then in the forties came the coffee boom, and the Wynad, for a time, enjoyed prosperity. But within a generation blight, bug, and borer broke it, and thousands of coffee estates relapsed to jungle. The gold boom of the eighties fared even worse. Parts of the Wynad are thick with ancient workings and in 1880 an effort was made to revive this industry.

³⁴ On this point Mr. Gopalan Nair has slipped (p. 101). The *Nilgiri Gazetteer* (p. 160) says they are patrilineal and Mr. Cammiade has no hesitation in confirming this.

³⁵ See *Nilgiri Gazetteer*, p. 280.

³⁶ Temple servants of quasi-Brahmanic status; *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 108. Cf. Nair, pp. 115 sq.

³⁷ Nair, p. 123.

³⁸ Nair, p. 132.

³⁹ So Mr. Cammiade, who adds that the Malayālis claim Tirunelli as the true source of the sacred Cauvery, while the Mysoreans locate the true source in Coorg.

⁴⁰ Nair, p. 87, Thurston, IV, 161.

⁴¹ Nair, p. 85.

But Wynad ore is capricious in distribution and intractable; speculators did their worst; and nothing is left of the venture but ruined bungalows, a jungle-choked race-course, and tons of rusting machinery that was never set up.⁴² Perhaps tea-planting may yet retrieve the long record of civilization's failure.⁴³

Yet the Wynad abounds in relics of ancient cultures, some of them historic, such as sculptures, caves, shrines and inscriptions associated with Jainism, Buddhism (perhaps) and orthodox Hinduism; others, e.g., dolmens, menhirs, stone circles, etc., which for want of knowledge are called 'prehistoric.' The urn-burials brought to notice by Mr. Cammiade⁴⁴ suggest that the Wynad was formerly more attractive and better populated than it is now. Marooned communities, such as the Chettis, imply the same. Whence came the ancient cultures?

The probabilities are obvious on the evidence cited. The ubiquity of Malayâli influence, and the depth of its penetration in this section of the Deccan Plateau are almost startling. Equally so is the failure of Kanarese culture to hold its own. Clearly the belt of bamboo jungle along the Mysore frontier is a greater obstacle to human intercourse than the perils of the passes to the plains. Tiger and wild elephant are minor evils; they offer no serious barrier to man's advance. But the *Anopheles* mosquito is quite another matter. Thousands of square miles along the fringes of the Deccan Plateau have been depopulated by the deadly malaria it conveys, and the malaria of the bamboo belt is of the deadliest kind. How long the process of extermination has been going on is not known. East of the Nilgiris it is certain that large areas have been depopulated since the eighteenth century; but in the Wynad there is little hint of any close and enduring contact with the cultures of Mysore. Probability is not proof, and the evidence has not yet been properly examined. Perhaps the key to Wynad 'pre-history' is to be found in the monuments that litter the plains of Malabar. It is a scientific tragedy that the antiquities⁴⁵ of Malabar and the Wynad have failed to interest the Archaeological Survey, for 'civilization' is fast breaking them up for road metal.

THE NÂT-HLAUNG TEMPLE AND ITS GODS (PAGAN, BURMA).

By NIHAR-RANJAN RAY, M.A.

(Continued from page 179.)

Of the two badly defaced images referred to above, one is most probably a representation of the Vâmana or Trivikrama, and the other of the Kalki *avatâra* of Viṣṇu. The former (fig. 10), of which little but the stone mass with its outline remains, may be described as standing in a *tribhanga* pose on a pedestal which is undoubtedly the remains of a full-blown lotus flower. The right leg is bent almost at right angles at the knee-joint, and the left is placed firmly on the ground. The god seems to have only two hands, of which the right holds the *kamaṇḍalu* and a staff-like object on which the god seems to lean. Neither the attribute in the left hand nor the hand itself can be distinguished. The dress seems to have consisted of a loin-cloth and a waist-girdle, the knot of which is noticeable on the side of the left hip. But the attribute that gives the clue to the identification of the image as Vâmana or Trivikrama is the *kamaṇḍalu* referred to above, and the tuft of hair tied up in a knot that is seen on the head. For, the canons (e.g., the *Vaikhânasâgama*) would lay down that a Trivikrama image should be represented as having two arms, "one of which should carry a *kamaṇḍalu*, and the other an umbrella. On the crown of the head there should be a tuft of hair tied

⁴² Nilgiri Gazetteer, pp. 13-18.

⁴³ Even in the planting industry the separateness of the N. and S. Wynad asserts itself. The coffee planters had two headquarters, at Manantoddy for the north, and at Vayattiri for the south; the tea planters have two centres, at Manantoddy and, for the south, Méppâdi.

⁴⁴ See *Man*, 1930, No. 135, and the sites marked (1), (2), (3) and (4) in fig. 3.

⁴⁵ See the long catalogue in Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, I, 241-253.

up in a knot ; and there should also be a pair of *kundalas* in the ears, a deer-skin worn in the *upavita* fashion, the sacred thread, a waist-zone and a *kaupina* He should also carry with him a book. All these are intended to show that the image is that of a Vedic student or Brâhmanical *brahmachârin*." Some authorities hold that the image should be represented as a deformed dwarf, and they, therefore, require that " the image should be worked in the form of an ill-shaped man with hunchback, protruding joints of bones and a big belly."¹³ The image under consideration, deformed and dwarfish as it is, seems roughly to agree with the latter description.

The other one, we have already surmised, is Kalki (fig. 11). It can be described as a standing image with two hands, holding in the right a *khaḍga*, and in the left an attribute that can be distinguished. It has the usual head-dress, heavy ornaments, and a loin-cloth folds of which can easily be distinguished. According to the *Agni-purâṇa*, Kalki should ride on a horse and carry the *dhanaṣ* and the *bâṇa*, but the *Vaikhâṇasâgama* states that he should have the face of a horse and the body of a man with four hands carrying respectively the *saṃkha*, the *chakra*, the *khaḍga* and the *kheṭaka*. But, in the present example the image neither rides a horse nor has the face of a horse. The only attribute that is distinguishable in one of the two hands, and on the strength of which we make the identification, is the *khaḍga*. It is not impossible that the left hand carried a *kheṭaka* or shield. And once we have made sure of our identifications of six of the *avatâras* of Viṣṇu—namely, Buddha, Varâha, Narasiṃha, Râmachandra, Paraśurâma and the Trivikrama, and when the present one is not any of the remaining three *avatâras*, namely, Matsya, Kûrma or Kṛṣṇa, we are led by a process of elimination to identify the present icon as the Kalki *avatâra* of Viṣṇu, and assert, in the same breath, that the three niches that are now empty once sheltered the images of the Matsya, Kûrma and Kṛṣṇa *avatâras* of Viṣṇu, the most important god of the Hindu Triad.

III. Art and Historical Background.

The Nât-hlaung images belong undoubtedly to the late medieval period. It is also evident that they were executed by Indian artists, probably imported for this purpose. We have already discussed the South Indian Tamil inscription palæographically dated in the thirteenth century A.D. We have tried in that connection to show that the epigraph refers not to the erection of the temple itself, but to a *maṇḍapa* and a door, which might well have been added later on. The temple cannot, in our opinion, if we are to judge by the sculptures in its niches as well as by the architectural style, date later than the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

In view of the fact that a Tamil inscription has been discovered in the debris of the temple purporting to say that the temple had been founded and resorted to by Vaiṣṇavas from various parts of the Peninsula, and that the iconography of some of the images (e.g., the *Sûrya*) are distinctly South Indian, it is only natural to jump at the conclusion that the Nât-hlaung images owe their artistic inspiration to a contemporary South Indian school of art. Had it been so our problem would have been as easy as one could expect in such circumstances. Unfortunately, such an assumption is not borne out by a careful consideration of the sculptures themselves.

The images are all very badly mutilated, and it is difficult to make a systematic survey of each individual image ; but the general features and characteristics are easily recognisable from what remains of some of them. The forms and attitudes are mostly conventional, nor

¹³ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part I, pp. 163-64.

have they any claim to any artistic originality; but they have features that are unmistakable echoes of a well-known school of art. The hard but lively modelling of the body, the regular lines that control the slim arms and legs and the gradual attenuating curve from the chest to the waist and then broadening itself again on the hips at once turn our eyes and attention to the large number of sculptures of the Eastern school of sculpture of the Pāla and Sena periods, extending from the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D. Our surprise increases all the more when we consider the anatomy of the body as well as the physiognomy of the face, and discover their close affinity with the art of the particular school referred to. They have all slim but well-proportioned arms and legs, a broad chest that gradually merges in an attenuated waist, and a pair of well-balanced hips. The ornaments and dress, too, are strikingly similar, and it is particularly noticeable in the heavy ear-rings, armlets and wristlets, and finally in the fluttering scarves over the two shoulders, a feature familiar to Brāhmanical and Bodhisattva images of the Eastern school. But we become almost sure of our assumption when we notice the close affinity of their facial treatment. It is roundish with a pointed chin and the two lips, of which the lower one is modelled in a slightly rounded curve, are drawn downwards to give a smile of bliss and contentment. Above, a not very sharp nose, and two faintly modelled curves of eyelashes give a restful shade to the half-closed eyes below, and a pointed downward appearance to the broad forehead. Thus, from the point between the two eyelashes to the pointed chin there is a downward motion, relieved only by the rounded cut of the face. All these are features that are only distant colonial echoes of the characteristic peculiarities of the Eastern school of art of the Pāla and Sena periods as revealed in innumerable Brāhmanical and Buddhist images found all over the area stretching from Sārnāth to as far east as Varendra, Kāmarūpa and Samatata.

Now, it is indeed surprising how, in a temple that is supposed to have been built and patronised by Brāhmanas from South India, and where the iconography of the images are South Indian, the images themselves happen to be works belonging to or deriving their inspiration from a school of art in Eastern India. But, however surprising this may be, our finding can scarcely be doubted; and if we are to accept it, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the services of artists imported from Eastern India, or at least trained in the art-culture of that particular school and period, must have been requisitioned by the South Indian masters who had most probably been responsible for the building and upkeep of the temple.

This is a fact which should not cause any surprise. For, Pagan in those days was the mistress of the Burmese world, and she had flung open her doors to outside intercourse within the Peninsula itself and beyond. It was this intercourse of Pagan with the outside world that inaugurated the classical period in the history of Burma. Emigrants from Eastern India and Orissa, the Chola country and Ceylon, as well as from the colonies, began to pour in incessantly, in the wake mainly of trade and commerce. Terracotta votive tablets in Eastern Nāgari characters of the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D. have been discovered in large numbers, as well as one inscription in Tamil characters of the thirteenth century. Her sculptures and bronzes can easily be ascribed to art traditions from Eastern India and Orissa, and the Pallava and Chola countries. Her innumerable monuments, when closely examined, reveal influences from Bengal on the one side and Orissa on the other. Still there are others in which Ceylonese elements predominate, and the contribution from the colonies cannot also be left out of consideration. Her Buddhism was Ceylonese, but she drew monks from Bengal, who sailed from Tāmralipta, and from the Chola country, who sailed from Conjeeveram, or Kāñch'puram, as well as others from Ceylon.¹⁴ It is thus evident that Pagan fostered a culture and civilisation very complex in character, assimilating with her national

¹⁴ *Ep. Birmanica*, vol. III, Part II, pp. 193-91.

genius contributions and influence from all countries and peoples that came in contact with her. This explains why we here find artists from Eastern India (or trained in the art traditions of that particular school of art) employed in a temple that had most probably been reared up and patronised by South Indian Vaiṣṇavas, and where the iconography of the gods is undoubtedly South Indian.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXIX, No. 1 (July-Sept. 1931).—In this issue M. H. S. Nyberg continues his essay on "Questions of Mazdean Cosmogony and Cosmology." After emphasising the plurality of religions in ancient Irān, and after discussing the opinions of various scholars on the subject, he expresses his own view that there are weighty objections to believing that the Achæmenian kings, who worshipped Ahuramazda, were followers of Zarathuštra. The reform of the latter being of a rather local character, it is only reasonable to suppose that Mazdeans existed independent of his doctrines, as is in fact attested by the description given by Herodotus of the religion of the Persians, which was not Zoroastrianism. Arguments are cited against the view of Hertel that Darius was a convert to Zoroastrianism. The remarkable fact that the Achæmenians and their empire are not referred to in the Avesta, either in the *yašt* attributable to their time or in the texts of a period posterior to them, can only be explained, he thinks, by the conclusion that Zoroastrianism was founded and developed far from the centre of the Achæmenian empire, beyond its limits and independent of its kings. Agreeing with M. Christensen, he would look for the origins of the Zoroastrian movement in eastern Irān. Briefly put, the available data suggest the existence in eastern Irān of a Zoroastrian community before the accession of the Achæmenians, its expansion towards the west under their rule, its peaceful penetration into the west during the centuries immediately preceding our era, well marked progress under the Arsakids, a first attempt to form a canon under one of the Vologases, a very strong revival under the Sassanians, marked by the formation of a definite canon and the organisation of a hierarchy, and finally the transformation of Zoroastrianism into a powerful state religion.

Chapters iv to vii, which are devoted to the subject of Zarvanism, are of much interest.¹ M. Nyberg analyses a passage, evidently an interpolation, in the first chapter of the *Bundahišn*, which he regards as referring to the god of 'limitless time,' or Zarvan, the quadriform god, the tetrad of divinities invoked by the Manichæans, which he proposes to call the 'Zarvanite tetrad.' Zarvan, though only incidentally referred to in the Avesta,

he hopes to show, was a central figure in Irānian thought from a very ancient time. Non-Mazdean sources have also been laid under contribution. Special attention is directed to the account of the religion of the Magians given by the Armenian Eznik de Kolb, as presenting the most detailed and most instructive recital of the Zarvanite theogony that has come down to us. Certain particulars in this recital are singled out for notice, e.g., the characterising of Ormuzd as sweet-smelling and Ahriman as stinking, and the mention of the rods (*barsaman*) as being not only an indispensable equipment for the sacrifice, as is even now the case among the Pārsis, but also the attribute of divine royalty. More interesting perhaps is the conclusion he draws from the description of the compromise by which Ahriman was to be king for 9,000 years, but Ormuzd was to retain hold of the supreme authority. The story, he considers, would imply that Ahriman was alone king in our world. The worshippers of Ormuzd would naturally revolt against this doctrine, and would only accept the Zarvanite legend after inserting in it that the supreme power still remained with Ormuzd. He thinks this would go to show that there was a fundamental difference between Zarvanism and Mazdaism, and that the Zarvanite myth was of non-Mazdean origin. The Sassanian theology he conceives to have been largely syncretist, containing ill-reconciled differences, the product of an amalgamation of elements that were opposed to each other and even hostile, and which may be characterised briefly as Zarvanite and Mazdean.

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, Pt. III, 1932, contains a "Note on the Buddha's *jāḷalakṣaṇa*" by Dr. Sten Konow, in which he suggests that the *jāḷalakṣaṇa* may have been based on a popular conception that people may be born with webbed fingers when something great is in store for them. Some fresh reasons are cited for thinking that the traditional conception was that of webbed fingers. It seems probable, he suggests, "that we have to do with ancient folklore, which had not, from the beginning, anything to do with Buddhism and the Buddha, and which was, at a comparatively early date, recast and interpreted in a new way by the learned leaders of Buddhist thought, mainly because the underlying idea was lost sight of or was found to be at variance with later monastic conventions."

¹ The attention of Indian readers may also be called to O. G. von Wesendonk's interesting paper on "The Kālavāda and the Zervante System" in *JRAS.*, Jan. 1931, p. 53 f.

Archiv Orientalní, vol. IV, No. 1, Apr. 1932.—In an essay on the study of Central Asian loan-words (pp. 79-91), following the lead given by Conrady in tracing the origins of loan-words in Chinese borrowed from more western sources, M. Pavel Poucha shows how, with the help of texts recovered in recent years from different sites in Eastern Turkestan, many points of contact may be traced between Tokharian and Uigur and also between Tokharian and Soghdian and other Central Asian languages. He cites a number of Uigur words that evidently appear to have been borrowed from Indian sources, noting also parallels in several cases from Soghdian, Mongolian and Eastern Iranian. A few examples may be quoted:—

Uigur *akaš*, Tokharian A *akāš*, Sanskrit *ākāśam* ;
Uigur *akšar*, Tokharian A *akšar*, Sanskrit *akṣaram* ;
Uigur *intri*, Tokharian A *indri*, Sans. *indriyam* ;
Soghdian *sm'utr*, Tokharian A *śmūtra*, Sans. *śamudraḥ* [not *śmūtraḥ*, as printed] ; Tokharian A *dašp*, E. Iranian **dāyan*, Sans. *daśanam* [not *daśnam*, as printed].

In the same issue (pp. 112-117) the learned President of the Research Section publishes a short paper entitled "Assyrians and Hittites in Asia Minor about 2000 B.C." While no historical inscription has been found among the thousands of cuneiform tablets recovered from Kültepe which might shed light upon the political situation in Asia Minor under the domination of the Assyrians, we know therefrom that Sargon of Assur (c. 2040 B.C.) was the sovereign of the Assyrian merchants who traded there. It has been suggested that the reference is merely to autonomous commercial colonies; but Dr. Hrozný is of opinion that it may be concluded with much probability from the inscriptions of Kaneš that the Assyrians were masters of the country, and that the princes (*rubdum*, etc.) also mentioned, hardly counted. He considers that the names recorded, marking some three generations, suggest that this domination

may have lasted seventy or eighty years, or at most a century. In the absence of historical data it is not possible to say with certainty when this change in the political situation occurred. "In my opinion," he writes, "it is very probable that after the fall of the 3rd dynasty of Ur (c. 2235 B.C.) Assyria became dependent on the dynasty of Isin, with which the dynasties of Larsa and Babylon quarrelled later on for political influence. The relative weakness of the Isin and Babylonian dynasties of this period generally allowed the Assyrian princes to play a more important part in Asia Minor than in the time of the powerful dynasty of Ur. . . . Personally I am inclined to think that it was perhaps during the reign of the Assyrian patēsi *Ilušuma*, a contemporary and adversary of the Babylonian king Sumuabum (c. 2105-2092 B.C.) that the Assyrians took possession of Asia Minor." Dr. Hrozný proceeds to discuss three Indo-European-Hittite names found in the inscriptions, namely, *Labarša*, *Varpa* and *Anita*, who are described as princes (*rubdum*). The importance of these names, he points out, lies in the fact that, though their Indo-European etymology be not always quite clear, they represent the oldest Indo-European linguistic material that we know.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1931.—This issue contains the fifth instalment of Prof. F. W. Thomas's important notes on "Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan," the subjects dealt with being (a) the Dru-gu (Great Dru-gu and Drug-cun; the Dru-gu *cor* and the Bug-*cor* the Dru-gu and Ge-sar; the title *Bog-do*); (b) the Hor; (c) the Phod-kar. Dr. Thomas seems to come to the conclusion that the Dru-gu province was, under the Tibetan administration, the old Shan-shan kingdom, and that the Bug-*cor* was Kan-su, probably including the Ša-cu region as far west as Lop-nor. He regards Ge-sar (*Kesara*) as a dynastic name.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE PHONETIC OBSERVATIONS OF INDIAN GRAMMARIANS, by Siddheshwar Varma. (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. vii); xiii+190 pp. London: the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.

This is an important and interesting work, in which has been undertaken the first wholesale attempt to throw the light of modern linguistics and phonetics upon the acute observations of the native Indian grammarians. Its author, Professor Siddheshwar Varma, is a man of well-known philological and linguistic achievements, besides being an expert phonetician. And he generally shows himself quite at home in European grammatical literature, though we must raise a mild protest against his way of quoting it, which is often highly

defective—a fault that is, unfortunately, common to nearly all our Hindu fellow-scholars.

Professor Varma has made a most extensive study of Indian phonetical and grammatical literature. Not only have the *Prātiśākhya*s, Pāṇini and his successors, and a long series of other grammarians yielded up most of their secrets to him, but of sixty-five *Śikṣā*s known to him by name he has studied no less than fifty; and, although the results seem sometimes to be rather barren, there is no doubt that he has made important finds during his exploration of this largely virgin soil. He is also thoroughly at home in the Middle Indian and modern dialects, the phonetic developments of which he has often very happily compared with the statements of the Sanskrit phoneticians.

When we record the following few scattered remarks and questions, they are certainly not meant to detract from the value of the work, which, according to our humble opinion, ranks very high indeed.

P. 21.—Why should Yāska's date be about 500 B.C. ? It seems fairly obvious that Yāska is somewhat older than Pāṇini, who may very well have lived about the end of the sixth pre-Christian century.

P. 27 f.—The conclusions arrived at here are obviously open to grave doubt, as the discovery—important though it be by itself—of a single quotation from the *Taitt. Prāt.* in the *Mahābhāṣya* seems to afford a very slender foundation for erecting a chronological system.

P. 33.—If the learned author means that the name *Kumbhīpāka* is of rather modern origin, he may be right. However, the idea of a hell where the sinners are boiled in pots is certainly quite old (cp. the hell *lohakumbhī* in *Jātaka*, III, 43 ; IV, 493, etc.).

P. 36.—*Kambala-Cārāyāṇīya* does not necessarily mean (as Kaiyaṣa states) "a C. fond of a blanket." It may rather mean "C. who wears a *kambala*," cp. the well-known *Ajita Keśakambala* as well as the *Kambalāśvatara* of the *Tattvasamgraha* (Bhattacharya, *Foreword to Tattvasamgraha*, p. liv f. ; and Charpentier, *Monde Or.*, xxiii, 312).

P. 37.—The conclusion concerning the home of the *Cārāyāṇīya Śikṣā* is certainly not justifiable. To speak of "an area in which . . . Apabhraṃśa was not predominant" means begging the question, as the literary Apabhraṃśa has, of course, never had any special geographical area to itself. Besides, Pischel only says that the *svarabhakti* vowel *a* was more common in Ardhamāgadhī and Apabhraṃśa than in other dialects—*i* being, of course, much more frequent than *a* even within these two.

P. 61 f.—It seems a pity that the learned author has apparently not studied the very important work of Professor Hermann on the structure of syllables (*Silbenbildung im Griechischen und in den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1923) which would, no doubt, have been of considerable help to him.—According to my humble opinion only a form

agg/ni- will explain *aggi-* just as only *var/gga-* will explain *vagga-*.

P. 72.—That *vatsa-* in Prākṛit has developed into *vaccha-* has never been explained in a satisfactory way. Only some sort of palatalization (i.e., a form **vatsa- > *vathsa- > *vatśha-*) would possibly explain this singular fact.

P. 73.—The author here gives some examples of an insertion of *-i-* between *s-n* and *s-m* which apparently is closely connected with the development of *Viṣṇu- > Viṣṭu-* or *Kṛṣṇa- > Kṛṣṭha-*. The passage from the *Taitt. Prāt.*, so happily adduced by Professor Varma, makes away with all sorts of more or less successful explanations of the forms **Kṛṣṇa-* etc. (cp., e.g., Professor Jacobi, *IF.*, XLV, 168 f. ; Pisani, *IF.*, xlviii, 226 f. ; and Caland, *IF.*, xlix, 132).

P. 78.—Read *nañjas*.

P. 99 f.—On doubling, cp., especially, Jacobi, *KZ.*, XXV, 603 f. ; and Johansson, *Shāhāṅgarhī*, I, 68 f. ; II, 4, 22.

P. 102.—*Vṛkka-* can only have developed out of **vṛt-ka-*, cp. Av. *varəḍka* (on the etymology, cp. Marstrander, *IF.*, XX, 347 n. 1 ; Charpentier, *Monde Or.*, viii, 180 f.).

P. 124.—On *aphe*, *tuphe*, cp. Professor J. Bloch, *MSL.*, xxiii, 265.

P. 135.—No connection could well be possible between a *svarabhakti* vowel *e* in Sanskrit and an old Slavonic *svarabhakti* *ě* (as in *jeleni*, etc., cp. Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, ii, 67 f.). Besides, the Sanskrit *ē* is always long, while according to the *Ath. Prāt.*, i, 101 f., the *svarabhakti* is $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ or even $\frac{1}{8}$ of a short vowel. Thus, when some authorities speak of a "*svarabhakti e*," this must, of course, only denote an indistinct vowel, a "Murmelvokal."

P. 155.—To call French an "Italic dialect" is scarcely to the point.

We congratulate Professor Varma upon his important and successful work and hope soon to meet with him again in a field of research which he masters so thoroughly.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

KUMUDVATĪPRAKARAṆA.

A QUERY.

In the *Padmaṇḍapikā* (ed. *Caturbhaṅgī*), p. 25, mention is made of a palm-leaf writing containing a portion of a play of this name and inscribed *Kumudvatīprakaraṇa Śārpakasakṛdān rājādārikān dhārī rahasya upalabhate*. The play evidently dealt with the love of the princess Kumudvatī for the fisherman

Śārpaka, the few scattered references to which in Sanskrit literature do not make the details of the story clear. I can find no entry of a play bearing this name in the catalogues of MSS. preserved in India, and I write this note in the hope that it may catch the eye of someone who knows of a MS. of it. Should that happen, I should be very glad to have details of it.

E. H. JOHNSTON.



Last portion of line 1



Last portion of line 2

THE GHOSUNDI INSCRIPTION OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

THIS fragmentary inscription¹ engraved on a big stone and now preserved in the Udaipur Museum was found at Ghosundi, a village near Nagari,² about seven miles north of Chitor in the Mewar territory of Rajputana. It is broken into several pieces, of which the biggest one found up to now has been already published by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVI, p. 25. The two other pieces,³ which form parts of the same stone, are here edited by me from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by MM. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer.

The characters of the inscription are what is known as *Brāhmī lipi*, belonging to a period about the second century B.C. The average size of the letters is about 1½."

The language is Sanskrit.

The inscription records the construction of a stone wall round the hall of worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, as also the performance of *āśvamedha* sacrifice by Sarvatāta of the Gaja family and son of Pārāsari. The fact that Saṃkarṣaṇa (Balarāma, brother of Kṛṣṇa) and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) were worshipped as early as the second century B.C. is known from this inscription; and this fact is important.

One of the two new fragments reads ... ए सर्वतातेन अश्वमेध. Now, the second line of the above published inscription commences with the word जिना. If the meaning of the word अश्वमेध be considered, it will be obvious that it is connected with the word जिना, so that जिना will read as याजिना. Thus the whole reading will be ... ए सर्वतातेन अश्वमेध-याजिना. The other fragment reads सर्वेश्वराभ्यां, meaning the 'lord of lords,' which may probably refer to Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva.

Text.

- L. 1.—[त] न गाजायेन पाराशरीपुत्रेण स ... ए सर्वतातेन अश्वमेध—
 „ 2.—जिना⁴ भगवभ्यां⁵ संकर्षणासुदेवाभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा [भ्यां]—
 „ 3.—भ्यां पूजायिनाप्राकारो नारायणवाटे का⁶—

Some Further Notes on the above Inscription.

Mr. E. H. Johnston, to whom I showed this inscription and Mr. Halder's reading of it, has recorded the following notes, which are so suggestive that they are, with his permission, reproduced in full.

C. E. A. W. O., Joint-Editor.

I am much obliged to the Joint-Editor for giving me the privilege of seeing Mr. Halder's interesting paper, which throws new light on an important but difficult inscription. The following notes do not claim to give a final solution, but are only meant to initiate discussion.

First as regards the readings, the first letter of the bigger of the new fragments seems to me clearly *na*. The next word, *sarvatātena*, is odd, but, as the bottom of *tā* is cut off according to the rubbing, a possible reading is *sarvatratēna*. It may also be noted that in the original piece the letter *ga* in *gājāyanena* seems to have a subscript letter below, attached to the left arm of the letter. The thick left-hand down-stroke is clearly intentional, but the right-hand one may, according to the rubbing, be merely fortuitous. On the whole, I think Messrs. Jayaswal and Halder have done right to ignore it.

The failure to observe the *sandhi* in one of the new fragments is not surprising in view of the similar instances in the well-known Sanskrit inscriptions of Rudradāman and his

¹ Noted in the *Annual Report* of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for 1926-27, p. 2.

² This village is referred to in an old inscription of the fourth century B.C., see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LVIII, p. 229.

³ They were found on the border of the village Ghosundi.

⁴ Read याजिना.

⁵ Read भगवभ्यां.

⁶ Read कारितः.

daughter. The spellings *rva* and *rve*, instead of the *rva* and *rve* which one would expect, are also noteworthy. The dating of the inscription to the second century B.C. seems incontestable.

Mr. Jayaswal, in editing the largest fragment in *Ep. Ind.*, took the author of the inscription to be a Brāhmaṇa, a very proper conclusion on the evidence before him. But Mr. Halder's new fragments suggest that this is not the case. For the mention of *āsvamedha* (I would accept Mr. Halder's ingenious combination, *āsvamedhayājñā*, cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, xiii. 1, 2, 3; and *Br. Ār. Up.*, iii. 3, 2) surely shows that we are dealing with a king of the first importance and, taking into account the date of the inscription, our search must apparently, on this point of view, be limited to the Greek kings of the Panjāb, the Śuṅgas and the Āndhra dynasty, all of whom might have reached the neighbourhood of Ghosūṇḍī. There were Greek worshippers of Vāsudeva, as we know from the Besnagar inscription, and a well-known passage of Patañjali indicates that the Greeks penetrated to Mādhyamikā close to Ghosūṇḍī. But it seems improbable that any Greek king should have celebrated an *āsvamedha*, whereas kings of both the other dynasties did so. Of the Śuṅgas this is recorded of Puṣyamitra, and his family is specially connected in literature and inscriptions with the kingdom of Vidiśā, not so very far from the place of the inscription. On the other hand they apparently claimed descent from Bharadvāja (*CHI*, I, 518) and I do not see how to connect the patronymic, Gājāyana, with them, nor is there any other point of contact with them in the inscription.

The Āndhra kings, of whom the third, Śātakarṇi, twice performed an *āsvamedha*, offer greater possibilities. For one thing, as is well known, the worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva is referred to in the Nānāghāt inscriptions of the first kings of this line (*Arch. S. of W. I.*, V, p. 60). The epithets there applied to them are *camḍasūlānam mahimāvalānam*, whereas here they are called *sarveśvara*, a term which is only used to denote the supreme divinity. It occurs at *Māṇḍūkya Up.*, 6, but more significant for our purpose are the only two occurrences in the *MBh.*, once of Kṛṣṇa at vi. 4462, *Vāsudevo 'nantaśaktiḥ sṛṣṭisamhārakārakaḥ | sarveśvaro devadevaḥ paramātmā sanātanaḥ*, and the other among the 1,000 names of Viṣṇu at xiii. 6960. Also the Kāśmīrī recension of the *Bhagavadgītā*, recently discovered by Prof. F. O. Schrader, inserts a half-verse in Arjuna's praise of Kṛṣṇa at xi. 39, which includes *sarveśvara*. The word seems to be specially associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa and the nature of its uses suggests the inference that this inscription represents a far more advanced stage in the deification of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva than that at Nānāghāt, though not necessarily more so than that at Besnagar.

Next consider the names. Gājāyana as a patronymic is unknown, but it is curious that according to Rapson's catalogue the elephant is the commonest symbol on the coins of the Āndhra dynasty, occurring on twice as many types as the horse, which Prof. Przyluski looks on as peculiarly typical of these kings (*JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 273 ff.), and that the only proper names in Prof. Lüders' list in *Ep. Ind.* X which begin with *gaja* are to be found in an inscription of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi's reign, namely the kṣatriya brothers, Gajasena and Gajamitra (*Arch. S. of W. I.*, V, p. 75). It is perhaps not without significance that the only proper names in literature containing the element *gaja* are to be found among the traditional authors of the Prakrit anthology known as Hāla's *Saptasataka* (ed. Weber, p. lv). For, whether that collection is really as old as the Āndhra dynasty or not, it clearly belongs to the region associated with their rule.

Further, the Āndhras are the only known dynasty of this period who make regular use of Brāhmaṇa *gotra* names to designate the king's mother, the usage, so far as we know at present, being confined to the later kings. The recorded names are Vāsiṣṭhiputra (of several kings), Mātharīputra (of one king), Gautamiputra (of one king), and Hāritiputra (of a branch line). It is remarkable that we have a similar name here, and all the more so when we reflect that the Pārāśaras are a section of the Vāsiṣṭhas, the name which occurs oftenest; Pārāśariputra is practically in effect a synonym of Vāsiṣṭhiputra. Is this merely coincidence?

These names do not imply that the kings were Brāhmaṇas. For Āsvaghōṣa, who was a contemporary of some of the kings so named, points out at *Saundarananda*, i. 22-23, that non-Brāhmaṇas follow the *gotra* of their gurus, and gives as an example Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, who became, the former a Gautama, the latter a Gārgya, from their having different gurus.⁷ The proper name of the king presumably followed this word and, if so, it began with *sa*, and, unless another word or title intervenes, ended with the *nā* of Mr. Halder's larger fragment. There is however, so far as I can see, no name in the dynastic lists of the Āndhras or on their coins or inscriptions which can reasonably be brought into line with these indications. It is of course possible that Mr. Halder is right in taking *sarvatātena* (or *trātena*) as a proper name and that the intermediate word (or words) was a title or a word giving a further indication of the king's family. *Sarvatāta* I can make nothing of; *trāta* is known as an ending for personal names (e.g., Bhavatrāta), and we have in a Mathurā inscription of Huviṣka's reign a word read by Prof. Lüders as *śavatrātāpotriya* (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 158). Seeing that *Sarva* is well authenticated as a name of Kṛṣṇa, I would read *sarvatrātena*, and understand it as a name or epithet.

It thus appears that there are several points of contact between this inscription and what we know of the Āndhra kings, and it may perhaps belong to one of them; if so, it would have to be placed in the big gap between the earlier and the later rulers of this line, for which we have no definite information. As against this possibility, account must be taken of the fact that all the known inscriptions of this dynasty are in Prakrit, except for that of Rudradāman's daughter, who follows the practice of her father, not of her husband; according to tradition in fact the Āndhras were special patrons of Prakrit literature. Also the place of its find is substantially further north and west of any place hitherto definitely associated with them. Certainty seems hardly possible, unless and until further fragments come to light, from which the name of the king can be deduced. In any case, whether new material were to confirm my suggestion or to show it to be unfounded, we have here a historical document of some importance, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Halder will be able to discover some more of the missing portions of the inscription.

E. H. J.

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

By M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., D.A. (OXON.), F.R.A.I., PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS.

(Continued from page 154.)

Chandu at once becomes communicative, and discloses that Ārōmaṣ is preparing for the fight, and that he is in haste to get his *churikas* sharpened. Ariṇṇōṭeṣ pacifies Chandu, remarking that he need have no fear of his uncle, shrewdly reminding him whether it was not Ārōmaṣ who stood in the way of his marrying Unṇiārchcha, when her father and mother had both agreed, and observing that if he were a man he should never forgive him. Ariṇṇōṭeṣ, thus engaging him in conversation, leads him as far as the *paṭippura*, Chandu refusing to go further. The former at once sends his daughter Kuṇjannūli to lure him to the house, telling her that in open combat he has no chance of success with Ārōmaṣ, who is skilled in all arts and is invincible, and can only be conquered by foul means. Kuṇjannūli, however, fails to tempt him and returns discomfited. Ariṇṇōṭeṣ tries his niece Kuṭṭimāṇi who,

Paṭiñṇāṇi machchaya tār turannu
Meivarna peṭṭi valichchu vechchu
Ōmanapeṭṭi mukham turannu
Ābharanañṇal eṭukkunnunḍu
Kannāḍi nōki tilakam totṭu

Opening the central strong-room,
Draws out the box of jewels,
And opening the lid,
Takes out her jewels,
And looking in the mirror puts on the *poṭṭu*.⁸

⁷ The Jains similarly apply Brāhmaṇa *gotra* names to Kṣatriyas (*SBE*, XXII, 226).

⁸ A circular mark on the forehead, mostly red (originally symbolical of Śiva's third eye). [Gundert, p. 711.]

Pili tiru muḍi keṭṭivechchu	Wears her locks with grace
Chandran valañña tiru nerri mēl	On her crescent shaped forehead,
Mārvinrakiya tāli māla	Wears her necklace, which heightens her charms,
Rāmāyanam kotiya valakal randam	Bracelets worked with scenes from the Rāmā- yanam,
Keiviralkkañjinum ponmōtiram	And rings on her fingers,
Kunnikkuruvotta mukham vadive	Face as smooth and round as the seed of the <i>kunni</i> . ⁵⁰
Āṭa ṇeriññuṭuttukonḍu	And arranging her garments in graceful folds,
Nēriya tōrttonñittu penne	[She] takes a thin cloth
Mēlmunḍu nānnāyi churunnunḍu	And wears it as an upper cloth, [and]
Ēlassariññan ara muṇukki	Fastens the girdle round her waist. ⁵¹
Vemila tinnu rasavum pārttu	Chewing betel and in high spirits [she]
Āna naḍayum naḍannu penṇu	Walks along with the majestic gait of an elephant,
Mōtira kei konḍu mukhavum maṇachu	Shading her face with her bejewelled hand,
Koñji kuṇaṇñāñṇu chellunnunḍu	She proceeds flirting
Paṭippura tannilum chennaḷum	Towards the gatehouse.
Kuṭṭimāṇiyuṭe varavukanḍu	Seeing Kuṭṭimāṇi approaching,
Punchirikonḍu chirichchu Chandu	Chandu smiles with delight.

Chandu is captivated and accompanies her to the house. Seating him on her cot, she bestows great personal attention on him, serves him betel, placing the folded leaves in his mouth. Presently she leaves him and returns with refreshments.

Vellittalika potī tuṭachchu	Cleaning a silver tray,
Vellavil sarkara kadalippaṇam ⁵²	Gets white beaten rice, sugar and <i>kadalī</i> fruit,
Chentanñilannirum koṭṭatēṇṇa ⁵³	Red tender coconut and pieces of <i>copra</i> ,
Vellittalikayil vechchukonḍu	And placing all in the tray ;
Ponnumtalika konḍāke mūḍi	Covers it with a golden tray,
Tariyitta kiṇḍiyil taṇṇirāyi	And with water in a bell-metal vessel,
Chandunṇre arikattu chennu penne	Approaches Chandu.

Inviting him to refresh himself, she gains Chandu's confidence. She wins him over to the side of her uncle, successfully coaxing him to agree to manœuvre the fight to his advantage. At this juncture Arinñōṭeṭ enters the room, and Chandu unties the bundle and shows him the *churikas*. He starts at the sight of the formidable weapons of Ārōmaṇ, and pleads with Chandukutti to save him devising means to turn the fight to his own advantage. He

⁵⁰ The form of the face is compared to the seed of the *kunni* (*Abrus precatorius*). The seed has a small rounded form, and is very smooth and bright.

⁵¹ *Ēlassariññan*, a girdle or chain round the waist, with an amulet. The amulet is made of gold or silver, and is hollow. In it is inserted a thin rolled-up piece of silver plate with charms and magic designs engraved on it. The chain with the amulet is worn sometimes above the garment, as stated here.

⁵² *Kadalī*, plantain fruit (*Musa sapientum*).

⁵³ *Koṭṭatēṇṇa*, the dried kernel of the coco-nut, or *copra*, as it is called.

cleverly suggests that the iron nail securing the handle be removed and a bamboo splinter substituted, soldered over with *ponkaram*.⁵⁴ In return, he offers to give both his niece and daughter to Chandu in marriage with all his property. Taking hold of the hands of his daughter and niece he places them in the hands of Chandukutti. Chandu is tempted and yields, and Arinnôter places 16 gold *fanams* in his hands to bribe the blacksmith to do the foul work. Chandu departs for the blacksmith's house. The blacksmith's wife seeing him coming, spreads a grass mat and serves him betel. She enquires and learns all about his purpose. The blacksmith then appears, and on Chandu explaining everything, he sets to work.

Churikakal nālum kṛtāññu konḍu
Churika kṛṇayile āṇi taṭṭi
Muḷayāni iṭṭu muḥukkunnunḍu
Ponkāram vechchu viḷakkiyallo
Atutāne kṛnunu kollappennuṁ
Kaṇṇūrum kayyāle ninnavaḷum

After sharpening all the four weapons, [he]
Removes the fastening nails
And inserts a bamboo splinter instead, [and]
Solders it over with *ponkaram*.
The blacksmith's wife seeing the foul play,
Stands in dismay with tears in her eyes.

Ārōmar takes formal leave of his father and mother, and his brother and sister before proceeding to the fight. With blessings from the father the procession starts with all pomp and ceremony :—

Āyirattoṇṇōḷam Nāyanmārum
Kīrūredattile Vārunnōrum
Munnilum pinnilum akampāṭiyum
Pāvādayum nalla pakalviḷakkum

Minni parichayum pachappōndi
Āṇṇum natappum nāṭa viḷiyum
Tikkum tirakkumōrāppukalum
Chīnavediyum paṭamurakkam
Nāgapurattūde purappadēnam

With a thousand and one Nāyars
And the Vārunnōr of Kīruridē,
With attendants in front and rear,
With cloth spread on the ground to walk on and
the lamp by day,
Glittering shields and the fencing foil,
Shouts and acclamations of triumph
And great bustle and noise ;
With fireworks and beating of drums,
The procession starts through Nāgapuram.⁵⁵

They had not proceeded far when they see the bad omen of *vannatti mḍṛu*,⁵⁶ which makes them halt for a while. They resume their way, when they see a woodcutter, axe in hand, coming across, and as they proceed further, a branch of a mango tree crashes and falls. They again stop for a short while, and resume the journey when the rustling of a *pīpal* tree is heard. Ārōmar, dismayed at this series of bad omens, gives expression to his fears that the

⁵⁴ Borax.

⁵⁵ Nāgapuram of the present day, in Kadattanad taluk of North Malabar.

⁵⁶ The washerwoman coming with the *mḍṛu*,—a word which literally means a change (of cloth), signifying the clothes which the washerwoman gives for removing pollution, such as that attached by convention to births, deaths, menstruation, etc. *Vannatti* means a woman of the *Vannan*, or washerman caste, who does all the washing for the Tiyars, and supplies the latter and the Nāyars with the necessary *mḍṛu* for all purificatory purposes. It is noteworthy that though the Nāyars have their own washerman, who belongs to the *Vannattan* or *Veluthedan* caste, the latter does not supply the *mḍṛu*, which is done by a woman of the *Vannan* caste. The latter is subordinate to and is under the sole control of the Tiyars. While the women of the caste attend to washing, the men are mostly engaged in devil-dancing.

The omens seen on commencing any journey or undertaking are supposed to augur well or ill, as the case may be, towards its success, and great importance is attached to omens by all classes. Among the ancients who practised this were the Romans, who had a religious college whose duty it was to observe and interpret the signs of approval and disapproval sent by gods in reference to any proposed undertaking.

fates are against him, quoting the incident of Bāli's death. They pass an *Aiyappen kāvu*,⁵⁷ where they make offerings to the deity, and continue their journey until they reach the Vārūnnōr's house. The Vārūnnōr's mother receives them with due ceremony. Sprinkling rice over Ārōmaṇ, she conducts him and seats him in the *tekkina*, and serves betel. She is struck by the figure of Ārōmaṇ and enquires of his parents and wonders if any one born of woman could be found to compare with him. She is surprised that his family should have ever allowed him to engage in the contest. She feels sorry and says that she would rather her son should lose the combat than risk the life of such a noble person. Ārōmaṇ replies that he has made up his mind and that nothing will shake his resolve. Ārōmaṇ grows uneasy at Chandukkuṭṭi's delay in returning, and, after refreshment, he sets out for the blacksmith's house. On his arrival, Chandukkuṭṭi excuses himself by saying that the blacksmith was out and had but returned the previous night. The blacksmith's wife shows the same concern for Ārōmaṇ as she previously evinced, and when the blacksmith makes over the *churikas* to him, she is overcome with grief at the deception practised :—

Kaṇṇirum kayyāle ninnavaḷum
Kaḍa kaṇṇil chōra podiṇṇavalku

She stands mute wiping her tears
Her eyes seeming to shed blood at the
thought of the deed.

A plan for exposing the fraud suggests itself to her. She pleads that ever since she left his country, she has not had the pleasure of seeing a *churika* wielded, and beseeches Ārōmaṇ to flourish it. However much she presses he refuses, remarking that as he is on the point of fighting, he cannot wield it in jest, adding that if she would go later to his house he would with pleasure show her. Failing in her attempt to enable Ārōmaṇ to detect the fraud, she concludes : *Deiva vidhi yā-kum taḍuttukūḍa*, "No one can be wiser than destiny," and, taking the four *churikas* in her hands, invokes God's blessing with a prayer that, despite all the flaws, the weapons may triumph. They return with all expedition to *Kīrāriḍem*. Next morning Ārōmaṇ,

Devāra pūja uḍan kaṇichchu
Aṅgakkurikal Varachchu Chēkōn

Finishes early his morning prayers
And wearing on his person the appropriate marks
in sandal paste,

Virāḷippaṭṭu ṇeriṇṇuḍuttu
Ponnu ariṇṇāḷ arayil pūṭṭi
Virutum *vīryaṇṇala*⁵⁸ kayyil pūṭṭi

Gracefully dons the silk garment,
And over it fastens the golden girdle,
And wears the warrior's bracelet.

The party proceeds in state with all the honours attaching to the *chēkavars* :—

Chēkavarakkulla padavikaḷum
Koṭikkūra tarakal nirattikkonḍe
Ālavattam veñchāmara piṭichchukonḍu
Ponkorakutayume paṭṭukuta
Patineṭṭu vādyamatippikkunnu
Kombum kuṛal dhūli mēlattōḍe
Virāḷi śankhum ūtichchittu

The honours attaching to *chēkavars*,
With flags and banners flying,
With the ceremonial fan and the fly-whisk,
The golden and the silk umbrellas,
To the accompaniment of eighteen kinds of music,
With the blowing of horns and playing of flutes
And sounding of conchs,

the procession starts with the *changalavatta*⁵⁹ fully lit borne in front, the *rājākka!* immediately after, followed by the Chēkōr and the Vārūnnōr and his thousand and one Nāyars in the rear. They reach the city gateway, where all halt. Ārōmaṇ goes and inspects the *aṅgalattū*,

⁵⁷ Small temple. Temples called *kāvus*, dedicated to minor deities are seen in all parts of North Malabar. The Śaiva temple referred to is dedicated to Aiyappen, one of the Śaivite deities.

⁵⁸ *Vīryaṇṇala*—*Vīra-śrīkhalā*, or the chain of valour. For conspicuous valour it is customary to present a silk shawl and a golden chain, which is worn as a bracelet on the right wrist. The presentation is made by the chief, or Rāja, in person, accompanied by due pomp and ceremony.

⁵⁹ Brass lamp with a chain attached.

or fighting platform, erected there, and scrutinising it, detects the flaw in the patched up woodwork. Ârômaṅ sends for the carpenter, Viswakarma of Kolattirinad, who did the work. The latter comes in great fright prepared for the worst, and regretting his indiscretion in listening to Ariṇṇôṭe's evil designs. Ârômaṅ, however, keeps quiet, and asks him to perform the ceremonies necessary for the consecration of the *taṭṭu*, or platform. He accordingly asks for the following articles for *Gaṇapatipūjā*⁶⁰ :—

Nālukālulloru pīṭham vēṇam	A four-legged stool should be placed
Pīṭham mukalil taḷika vēṇam	And over it a brass plate
Taḷika niḥayōlam vēḷeriyum	Filled with cucumbers,
Vēḷiri mīta yoru nālikēram	And over the cucumbers a coco-nut,
Vēḷavil sarkara koṭṭattēṇṇa	Beaten rice, sugar and <i>koṭṭattēṇṇa</i> ⁶¹
Jalagandha pushpavum dhūpam	Flowers, incense and the ceremonial lamp.
dīpam	
Chenteṇṇilannir kadalippaṇam	Red tender coco-nuts and <i>kadaḷi</i> (plantains),
Vēṇṇilatakkayum vēṇamallo	And betel-nuts
Kānikkīṭuvān rāsipaṇam	And <i>rāsipaṇam</i> ⁶² for <i>dakṣiṇa</i> . ⁶³

The *pūjā* being over, Ârômaṅ makes the customary presents to the carpenter. The place is soon thronged with people come to see the fight. As a preliminary, Ârômaṅ gives an exhibition of his marvellous skill to entertain the audience, and the great men assembled shower rich gifts on him in approbation. The real fight soon begins. Ariṇṇôṭe ascends the platform with the help of a ladder, whereas Ârômaṅ makes a leap, alighting gracefully on the platform. They have not been fighting long before Ariṇṇôṭe tries his foul strokes, which Ârômaṅ parries successfully. In the thick of the fight, Ârômaṅ finds to his horror that his weapon has broken in two. He at once realizes that the blacksmith has deceived him, though he is unable to divine his motive. He signs to his cousin Chandu to change the *churika*, when Chandu knavishly says that he has not brought a spare one. He asks the latter to lend him his, which Chandu refuses, remarking that he is as much a *chekoṛ* as himself, and that he cannot lend his weapon. Chandu's treachery flashes on him in a moment. He then addresses Ariṇṇôṭe to suspend the fight until he gets a weapon.

Âyudham ṇanonnu vāṇnikkōṭṭe	Let me get a weapon.
Âyudham illāte kollunnatu	Killing undefended
Ânuṇṇalkkōṭṭume chērchchayilla	Scarcely befits me,
Kalarikkārkkōṭṭume chērchchayilla	Least of all us who belong to reputed <i>kalaris</i> .

Ariṇṇôṭe replies not, but savagely rushes forward and strikes Ârômaṅ who deftly retreats, with the result that the blow, which would otherwise have been fatal, is averted, the weapon just gliding over his body, leaving a slight cut. Enraged at this insolence, and warning Ariṇṇôṭe to defend himself, Ârômaṅ grasps his broken dagger, and fights with greater vigour. Ariṇṇôṭe is unable to withstand him. Ârômaṅ, flourishing his broken weapon, strikes at Ariṇṇôṭe with unerring aim, cutting off his head clean. Ârômaṅ, exhausted, asks Chandu to close the shutters and not to let anybody in. He leans on Chandu, resting his head and closing his eyes with fatigue. Hastening not to let the opportunity slip, Chandu takes hold of the sharp end of the brass lamp, heats it red-hot and thrusts it into

⁶⁰ It is the practice to begin any auspicious work with an offering to the god Gaṇapati, which is still scrupulously observed.

⁶¹ Dried coco-nut.

⁶² See *I.A.*, vol. LXI, p. 11, note 12.

⁶³ Customary presents to Brāhmins.

the side of Ârômaṭ at the place where Ariṇṇôṭeṭ's sword had just scraped his skin. Ârômaṭ starts with sudden pain and gets up, when Chandu springs into the midst of the crowd and makes good his escape. Ârômaṭ unconcerned at his mortal wound, announces his victory, which the Vâṛunnôr receives with acclamation :—

Mûnnum kûṭṭiyâṭṭu veṭiyum vechchu	Gives three shouts of joy with firing of guns.
Ariyittu vârchcha ⁶⁴ kaṛikkunnunḍu	And blesses Ârômaṭ with the ceremonial pouring of rice.
Tandêṛrem kûṭe kaṛikkunnunḍu	And [Ârômaṭ] is lifted up in a palanquin,
Kumbilil kutti paṇam kârchcha vechchu	And money is presented in a folded leaf.
Kayyum piṭichchu vala iṭichchu	And taking him by the hand, is decorated with a bracelet for valour.

After these ceremonies have ended Ârômaṭ discloses his wound, explaining how he is indebted to his dear cousin Chandu for his grievous hurt, whereas Ariṇṇôṭeṭ's sword had but scraped his skin. He then shows to all the knavish work in the construction of the platform, which collapses and falls down before their very eyes. Ârômaṭ gets all the incidents recorded on a palm-leaf, as was the wont in those days, and entrusts it to the hands of the Vâṛunnôr, to be made over to his sister Unṇiârchcha. Ârômaṭ takes leave of all and sets out in procession, with the usual pomp, accompanied by the Vâṛunnôr. Ârômaṭ observes, when nearing his house, that his parents will be shocked to see him being helped along, and boldly walks erect. On approaching his father, he falls at his feet, and tells how his fears have come true ; how Chandu has betrayed his trust, and brought him to death's door. He then calls his brother and asks him to fetch his son from his uncle's house. The boy is at once brought, and Ârômaṭ seating him in his lap, says :

Ivane ni nallavannam rakshikkēnam	" You must take great care of this boy,
Niyallâtivanârum illayello	" He has none but you to look to.
Vidyakalokke pathippikkēnam	" He should be well trained in all arts."

He adds that he has not settled any property on his son, which should be seen to. He sends for a red tender coco-nut, drinks it, takes leave of all his kith and kin individually and asks for permission to untie the dressing. The bandage is then removed and he dies.

Puttûram viṭṭile dukhaññalum	The sorrows and sufferings of Puttûram house
Anantan Orichchâṛkum cholikkûḍa	None but God can tell.

APPENDIX.

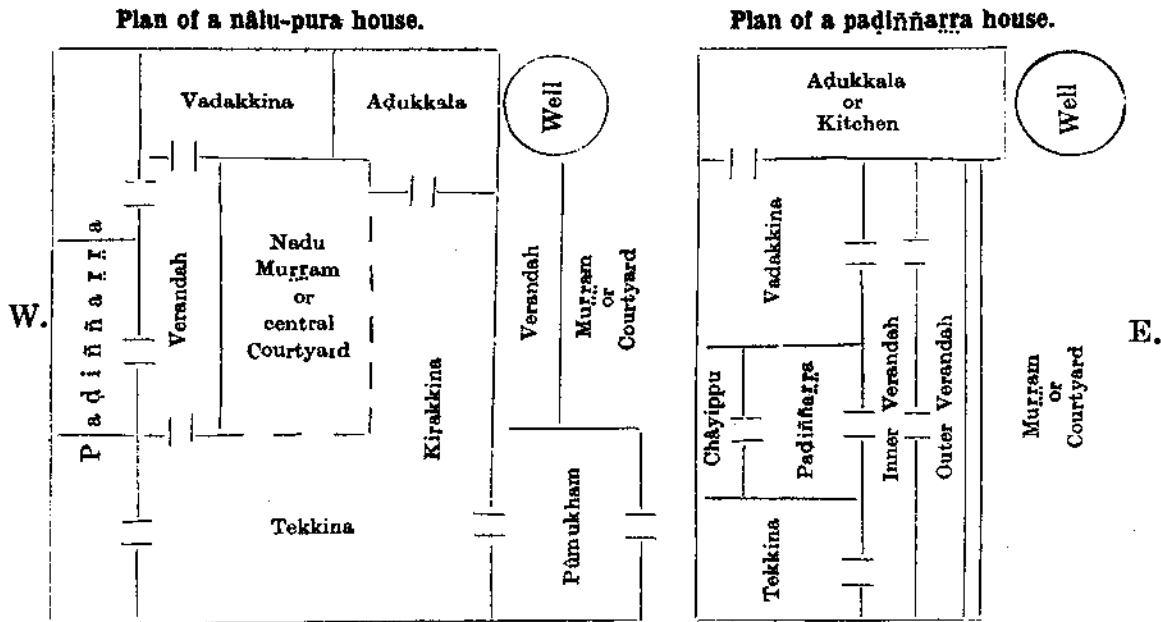
*Note on Malabar Dwelling Houses.*⁶⁵

The several references in this song to Malabar dwelling houses will be better understood from the following description of a typical Malabar house. The most characteristic dwelling house of Kerala is what is called a *nâlû-pura*, literally 'four houses,' built on four sides of a central courtyard, which is open to the sky, the rooms being named after their position relative to the central courtyard, viz., *tekkina*, or the southern room, *vadakkina*, or the northern room, *kirakkina*, or the eastern room, and *paṭiññârṛa*, or the three western rooms, respectively. Every house is by convention regarded as forming part of a *nâlû-pura*, which explains why a house of the smaller type though facing east, as all Malabar houses do, is yet called a *paṭiññârṛa pura*, that being the western and the principal block of the quadrangle in a *nâlû-pura*, consisting of three rooms, with a verandah in front. In a typical *paṭiññârṛa pura*, however, which is the most common type, there is ordinarily a smaller room behind the central room, termed the *chayippu*,

⁶⁴ A coronation ceremony gone through by the Rajas of Kerala, consisting in pouring rice on the head.

⁶⁵ For Malabar dwelling houses, see also *Malabar District Gazetteer* (1908), pp. 139-142 ; *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, vol. III, No. 3, *The Nâyars of Malabar*, by F. Fawcett, pp. 303-304.

or lean-to. Again, besides the inner verandah facing the three central rooms, is another or the outer verandah, with a long-ridged roof, on a beam supported by high pillars.



The central of the three western rooms is called the *paḍiññārri-machchu*, reference to which is frequently made in this song. It is the principal room of the house, the room containing the valuables, and the room sacred to all household ceremonies. *Paḍiññārri machchāra tār tuṛannu* means opening the central western room.

The *kirakkina* and *tekkina* are open halls, or verandahs. The *pūmukham* is the portico, through which is the main entrance. It serves the purpose of a drawing-room. The ancient households described in these songs are of the *nālu-pura* type, which retains the same features at the present day as in the days of old. Each house stands in a compound of its own, which is usually thickly planted with coco-nut and areca palms, jack fruit trees, plantains, etc. As one approaches the house the *paṭippura*, or gateway, stands conspicuous, reached by a flight of steps, leading to it from the bank of the green level paddy fields. The spacious compound is enclosed by a massive bank of earth which hems it in on all sides. A fence of bamboo or spiny cactus lines the entire circuit of the high wall. A broad, smooth walk well rammed and plastered with cowdung and charcoal leads to a broad open courtyard, kept neat and tidy in the same manner, fully exposed to the heat of the midday sun, where may be seen spread out to dry such produce as paddy, pepper, etc. The courtyard, where many a fight may have been waged in the past, is largely used as a recreation ground by the younger members of the household, and as a threshing floor in the harvest season, besides its uses for all social and ceremonial functions. This place is variously referred to in this song as the *maṇḍaka murrām*, *paṭakaḷi murrām*, etc., meaning, respectively, the yard in front of the open verandah, or the yard where the youngsters display their skill in the use of various weapons of war.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA MAHĀKUMĀRAS.

By D. C. GANGULY.

(Continued from page 194.)

Before proceeding to build up the history of the Mahākumāra family out of the above materials, several facts must first be carefully considered. According to the Piplīanagar grant, *Hariscandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman*. The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariscandra's father, Lakṣmīvarman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakṣmīvarman and his son Hariscandra ruled over separate territories.¹⁶ This finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariscandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakṣmīvarman without the intervention of Hariscandra, who again excludes his father Lakṣmīvarman—in the Piplīanagar grant—as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.

The fact that P. M. P. Jayavarman was the immediate successor of Yaśovarman, is borne out by Jayavarman's own inscription, the Piplīanagar grant of Hariscandra dated 1178 A.D., and the Bhopal grant of Udayavarman, 1199 A.D. But the inscriptions of Arjunavarman and Devapāla mention Ajayavarman instead of Jayavarman, as the successor of Yaśovarman. This leads me to think that Jayavarman was identical with Ajayavarman. Nothing is known as to the existence of enmity between Arjunavarman's family and the house of the 'Mahākumāras,' which, as Professor Kielhorn contends, prevented the former

¹⁶ Professor Kielhorn reviews the situation in quite a different light, and draws the following conclusions from the above materials :—

"Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, and Lakṣmīvarman. Soon after his accession (and certainly some time between Vikrama Sam. 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves 'mahārājas.' The third brother, Lakṣmīvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E, he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakṣmīvarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariscandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariscandra, in the grant D., professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Hariscandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of Mahākumāra, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakṣmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman." (I.A., vol. XIX, p. 348.)

Professor Hall propounds another theory regarding the succession that followed the death of Yaśovarman. He says :

"As Lakṣmīvarman sat on the throne with his sire, it is reasonable to suppose that he was the first-born. His father Jayavarman also speaks of himself as if a sovereign ruler. Lakṣmīvarman may have died while Hariscandra was still a child, and Jayavarman have acted as regent on behalf of his nephew, to whom the government eventually devolved from him; if they did not administer it conjointly. Yet it is noticeable that Jayavarman granted away land at one period precisely as if he were the sole and substantive head of the state. Possibly the extreme youth of his ward prevented his being named at the time. Lakṣmīvarman being mentioned by his son, under the title of 'mahākumāra,' and not as king, it may be that he deceased during the lifetime of Yaśovarman. Hariscandra designates himself in a similar manner, where he would certainly have called himself without qualification, sovereign, had he laid claim to undivided power. His complete style, in fact, is that which his father used as prince regent. Policy or some other motive may have dissuaded him from the style of full royalty, his hereditary right. It may therefore be conjectured that Jayavarman was still living in 1179 A.D." (JAOS., vol. VII, p. 36.)

With humble submission to the above two most erudite scholars of Indian history, I beg to differ from them in their views. According to the evidence of the inscriptions, there were two ruling houses of the Mahākumāras. I am inclined to believe that Ajayavarman was the same as Jayavarman. About this time the imperial Paramāra government became obscure, and the whole of Mālwa, with Dhārā, became part of the Gujārāt empire. Consideration of all these points has led me to view the situation in a different light, as has been given above.

from mentioning the name of Jayavarman in the genealogical list of the ruling monarchs of Mālwā. It may rather be inferred that there was a close alliance between the two houses, which subsequently helped the peaceful succession of Devapāla, the son of the Mahākumāra Hariścandra, to the throne of Arjunavarman. If Professor Kielhorn is taken to be right in his assertion, then no reason can be offered why Devapāla failed to mention Jayavarman's name in his inscription. His father obtained his territory through the favour of Jayavarman, over which he himself probably ruled in the early years of his life. As a matter of fact, the names 'Jaya' and 'Ajaya' were used interchangeably in early times. The Cāhamāna Jayadeva, king of Śākambhari, was the immediate predecessor of Arnorāja, who was a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumārapāla. He is mentioned in some of the early records of his family as Ajayadeva.¹⁷ If all these things are taken into consideration, there can hardly be any doubt as to the identity of Jayavarman and Ajayavarman as one and the same king. Keeping these things in view the relation of the Mahākumāras may be traced in the following way. Yaśovarman had two sons, Jayavarman, also known as Ajayavarman, and Lakṣmīvarman. Jayavarman, after his accession to the throne of his father, granted some territories to Lakṣmīvarman's son Hariścandra to administer on his behalf. When Ballāla conquered Mālwā after overthrowing Jayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman wrested a part of the old Paramāra kingdom and established there a government of his own. This shows that there were two houses of the Mahākumāras which were intimately connected with each other and which ruled over different territories.

In the light of the above discussion, I shall now try to narrate the short history of these collateral branches of the Paramāra family. The rulers of these families are justified in calling themselves 'Mahākumāras,' as they were members of the imperial house of Dhārā. But why they continued to bear that subordinate title all through their reigns cannot be clearly explained. It may be suggested that they did not assume the title of independent kingship simply from motives of political expediency, in an endeavour to avoid hostility with their powerful enemies, the Caulukyas.

Hariścandra.

It has been noticed above that Jayavarman began his career as an independent monarch and ruled his dominion between the years 1138 and 1143 A.D. At the same time within this period he entrusted Hariścandra with the government of a portion of his kingdom. Hariścandra continued to rule over his territory even when the imperial Paramāra family was completely overthrown by Ballāla and Mālwā was, later on, conquered by Kumārapāla. At present we have only one copper-plate inscription of Hariścandra's reign, which was found in the village of Piplīnagar, in the Sujalpur pargana, Gwalior State, Central India.¹⁸ It was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Sam. 1235=1178 A.D. Its object is to record that Hariścandra, having bathed in the holy water of the Narmadā, near the temple of the four-faced Mārkaṇḍeśvara, granted two shares of the registered rents of the village of Pala-savāda to the learned Brāhman Daśaratha, son of the learned Sindhu. It is further stated that, on the full moon of Vaiśākha of the same year, he gave the remaining shares of the above village, with the addition of the shares of both customary dues from the bāzār below the fort of Guṇapura, to the Brāhman Malvinu, son of the learned Delu. These grants were communicated to the Government officers, the inhabitants, patels, Brahmins and others of the villages of Mamati and Palasavāda, in the Madāpadra *pratiḍḍāraṇaka* of the Nilagiri *maḍala*, for their information.

Of the localities mentioned above, I am inclined to identify Nilagiri with the modern Nilgarh fort, south of the Vindhya, about a mile north of the Narmadā.¹⁹ Guṇapura seems

¹⁷ JASB., vol. LV, Part I, p. 4, v. 14. Cf. *Prithvīdja-vijaya*, sarga, v. 85.

¹⁸ JASB., vol. VII, p. 736.

¹⁹ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 55B, A. 3.

to have been the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmadā.²⁰ Palasavādā is to be identified with the modern town of Palaswārā, in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency, sixty-nine miles north of Malegaon. I am unable to identify Madāpadra and Mamati.

All this gives us an idea as to what constituted the dominion of Hariścandra. It comprised the western portion of the old Paramāra kingdom, south of the Vindhya. How long Hariścandra enjoyed his territory cannot be definitely ascertained. He ruled at least from 1144 to 1178 A.D. Devapāla and Udayavarman were his two sons, of whom the former seems to have succeeded to the throne. Devapāla later on assumed the sovereignty of Mālwa between the years 1215 and 1218 A.D., after the death of Arjunavarman.

Lakṣmivarman.

Lakṣmivarman, the son of Yaśovarman, was a powerful chief. His elder brother, Jayavarman, seems to have been killed in battle against the Caulukyas of Kārṇāṭa. In that period of transition Lakṣmivarman collected strength and forcibly took possession of the eastern part of the Paramāra empire south of the Vindhya. An inscription²¹ of his reign has been discovered. In Sam. 1200=1144 A.D., on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon, he re-affirmed the grant made by Yaśovarman in Sam. 1191, with a view to increasing the religious merit of his father.

Of the localities mentioned in the record, the village Vadauda may be identical with Vadauda of the Mandhata plate of Jayavarman II,²² where it is described as a village in Mahuadapathaka. Professor Kielhorn is inclined to identify it with the modern village of Burud about three miles north-east of Satajuna, which lies 13 miles south-west of Mandhata.²³ As regards the rest of the localities, I cannot offer any suggestion.

Lakṣmivarman died some time before 1184 A.D. and was succeeded by his grandson Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra.

Udayavarman.

An inscription,²⁴ dated Sam. 1256=1199 A.D., of Udayavarman's reign has been discovered in a field at the village U'jamun, in the Bhopal State. It records that, after bathing in the river Revā (Narmadā), at a place called Guvaḍaghaṭṭa, he granted the village of Gunaura to a Brāhmaṇ named Maluśarman, the son of Yajñadhara. The village granted was situated in Vodaśira forty-eight, belonging to the Narmadāpura *pratiḡāgarāṇaka*, in the Vindhya *maṇḍala*. The *maṇḍalika* Kṣemvarāja was the *duṭaka* of this grant.

Mr. Fleet²⁵ identifies Gunaura with the modern village of Ganora, seven miles south-west of Hoshangābād. Narmadāpura, according to him, is identical with the modern Hoshangābād district, and Guvaḍaghaṭṭa is the present village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmadā. I think the modern Nemawar on the right of the bank of the Narmadā represents the ancient Narmadāpura.

An inscription²⁶ of the reign of one Udayāditya, dated Sam. 1241=1184 A.D., is now lying in Bhopal. Another inscription²⁷ of the same chief, dated Śaka 1108=1186 A.D., is to be found in the 'vidyāmandira' in Bhopal State. In the latter part of the twelfth century A.D., no king of the name of Udayāditya is known to have ruled in Bhopal. The Bhopal grant referred to above bears witness to the fact that about that time Udayavarman was ruling over the Hoshangābād district and a part of the Bhopal State. Under these circumstances, Udayāditya may very reasonably be identified with Udayavarman.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, A. 4. The place is also mentioned in Vākpeti rāja's grant dated V.S. 1036. (*I.A.*, vol. XIV, p. 160.)

²¹ *I.A.*, vol. XIX, p. 351.

²² *E.I.*, vol. IX, p. 121.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁴ *I.A.*, vol. XVI, p. 252.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁶ *JAOS.*, vol. VII, p. 35.

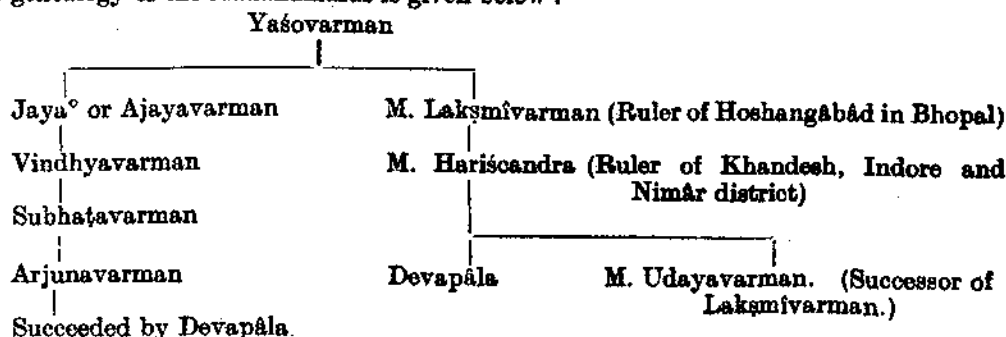
²⁷ *Bhupāle bhāmipāl-o'yam-Udayāditya-pārthivah |*

Tenodan nirmīṭan sthānam vasu-purneśvaraiḥ Śake || (*Ibid.*)

The reign of Udayavarman seems to have extended into the early years of the thirteenth century A.D. Nothing is known about his successors. Devapāla, after his accession to the throne of Mālwa, issued a grant of land in the Hoshangābād district²⁸ in 1218 A.D. This shows that by that time the territory of Udayavarman had passed into his brother's hands.

From all the above circumstances, it follows that when in the fourth decade of the twelfth century A.D., the main Paramāra dynasty was overthrown, and a Gujarāt sovereignty was established in its place, two junior branches of the former house under the designation of 'Mahākumāra' continued to hold sway over the modern districts of Nimār, Hoshangābād and Khandesh. But at last, early in the thirteenth century A.D., a member of this family succeeded to the main Paramāra kingdom, and reunited these branches to the main dynasty.

The genealogy of the Mahākumāras is given below :—



THE VIJAYANAGARA CONQUEST OF CEYLON.

By B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., Ph.D.

WHILE studying Indian epigraphy and other allied subjects under Dr. Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, my attention was kindly drawn by him to certain statements made by Mr. H. W. Codrington in his book entitled *A Short History of Ceylon*. Mr. Codrington writes thus :—"Bhuvanaika Bāhu V. (1372-3 to 1406-7 A.D. at least) reigned in Gampola : he seems to have been little more than a figure-head. A Vijayanagar record of 1385-6 A.D. relates that the prince, Virūpāksha, conquered, among others, the Sinhala, and presented crystals and other jewels to his father Harihara ; this may refer to the kingdom of Jaffna, which in the next century was tributary to the great empire on the mainland."¹ The source of information referred to by Mr. Codrington is the inscription No. 32 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. III, p. 228).

Then again the writer says :—"In 1344 the king of Jaffna [i.e., Sepumal Kumārayā, 'the son, actual or adopted, of Parākrama Bāhu']² held a considerable part of the north of Ceylon, and the last half of the fourteenth century marked the zenith of his power : we have seen that for a short time the overlordship of the island was in his hands. By the beginning of the next century, if not at the end of the preceding, the kingdom was tributary to the great continental empire of Vijayanagar. Nunes states this definitely, and one of the regular titles of the emperor was 'who levied taxes from Ilam'; the Sinhalese poems of the time also constantly speak of the people of Jaffna as Canarese. Valentyn mentions an invasion of the Canarese, that is of the Vijayanagar forces ; it is uncertain whether this was the occasion or the result of the conquest of Jaffna."³

Finally, Mr. Codrington, while dealing with the pluck and endurance of the Portuguese, writes thus :—"It is interesting to speculate what the history of Ceylon would have been

²⁸ *I.A.*, vol. XX, p. 310.

¹ H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

had the Portuguese not ventured to India. There seems to be little doubt that the kingdom of Vijayanagara would have collapsed earlier than it did, and that the south of India and with it possibly Ceylon would have fallen under Muhammadan rule."⁴

I intend to deal with these statements in the light of Vijayanagara history. To start with, we may dispense with the last statement quoted above as an instance of the views of writers unfamiliar with the history of the Muhammadan conquests of Southern India in general and of Vijayanagara monarchs in particular, from the first half of the fourteenth century till the end of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. Apart from the fact that speculation in history is a most undesirable pastime, it is difficult to make out what precisely the writer means when he says that "there seems to be little doubt that the kingdom of Vijayanagara would have collapsed earlier than it did," while dealing with the activities of the Portuguese. From the manner in which the writer speculates about the entry of the Portuguese into India, he would seem to suggest that Vijayanagara owed her stability to the support which she got from the Portuguese. This is far from being historically true. Instead of Vijayanagara acquiring vigour from the wise counsel and wealth of the Portuguese, it was the latter who were enabled to add to their material riches because of their prosperous trade with "Bisnaga," as they called Vijayanagara in those days. In fact, when Vijayanagara was beaten in the famous battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, called in history by the wrong name of Tālikōṭa, Portugal as a maritime power in the East fell too. That is why Faria y Sousa, the Portuguese historian, writes thus:—"The trade of India was this year at a very low ebb, by reason of the desolation of the kingdom of Bisnagar, whose riches are equal to its extent, which is from the borders of Bengala to those of Cinde."⁵ How sadly the blow which Vijayanagara received told also on the Portuguese is related by another writer, Sassetti, "who was in India from 1578 to 1588," and who says—

"The traffic was so large that it is impossible to imagine it; the place was immensely large; and it was inhabited by people rich, not with richness like ours, but with the richness of the Crassi and the others of those days. and such merchandise as diamonds, rubies, pearls. and besides all that, the horse trade. That alone produced a revenue in the city (Goa) of 120 to 150 thousand ducats, which now reaches only 6 thousand."⁶ Couto confirms him:—"By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga India and our State were much shaken; and the Custom House of Goa suffered much in its Revenue, so that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well."⁷ Therefore one does not see how the stability or prosperity of the great Hindu Empire could be affected by the advent of the Portuguese into India. As regards the crushing blow which Vijayanagara received in the battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, and the cause which turned an almost brilliant victory into an unimaginable rout, the student of history cannot do better than read the account of the struggle as given by the Rev. Fr. Henry Heras in his book, *The Araviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*.⁸

We may now examine the second statement made by Mr. Codrington, viz., "By the beginning of the next century (i.e., the fifteenth), if not at the end of the preceding the kingdom was tributary to the great continental empire of Vijayanagara." Nuniz is the authority on whose testimony the writer has based his remark. I venture to suggest that a single statement found in a foreign traveller's account is in itself not sufficient to drive home an assertion, especially when such a statement deals with the title of a king. True, in this case it happens to be Nuniz who has left behind him a very accurate description of Vijayanagara. But one may be more cautious in accepting the opinion or assertion of Nuniz who, although

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-132.

⁵ Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (trans. Stevens), II, p. 252.

⁶ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)*, p. 210 (1900 ed.)

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Heras, *The Araviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, ch. IX, p. 194 f.

he "states this definitely," is not always entirely reliable. These following inconsistencies in the narrative of Nuniz may be noted :—

1. Nuniz opens his account with an initial blunder. "In the year twelve hundred and thirty these parts of India were ruled by a greater monarch than had ever reigned."⁹ Sewell commenting on this wrote :—"This date should be 1330. Nuniz was here about a century wrong."¹⁰

2. Nuniz gives the date of the battle of Raichur as 1522. Sewell remarks :—"I am bold enough to believe, and defend my belief, that when Nuniz fixed the day of the great fight as the new moon day of the month of May, 1522 A.D., he made a mistake in the year, and should have written '1520.'"¹¹

3. Nuniz makes the last days of Prince Virabhadra a tragedy.¹² But in reality Prince Virabhadra was raised to the position of a viceroy.¹³

4. Nuniz relates that Vijaya Bhūpati "lived six years, and during this time did nothing worth relating."¹⁴ But the late Mr. Gōpinātha Rao proved that Vijaya Bhūpati reigned only for six months.¹⁵

5. Nuniz does not mention Madura in the list of provinces.¹⁶ Madura, as is well known, was an integral part of the empire during his days.

6. Nuniz affirms that the Vijayanagara king was a Brāhman. "The king of Bisnaga is a Brāhman; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brāhman....."¹⁷ No authority is required to refute this incredible assertion.

7. Nuniz says that the king never gave receipts to the nobles when they brought revenue to the imperial treasury. "In this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the king settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September. He never gives any receipts to them, only, if they do not pay, they are well punished and ruined, and their property taken away."¹⁸ If tax-collectors granted receipts to the people, as an inscription dated 1558-9 A.D. informs us,¹⁹ we may well assume that the system of granting receipts must also have been in vogue in the capital.

8. Nuniz gives an account of the first family of Vijayanagara²⁰ which is not corroborated, except as regards Bukka and Dēva Rāya, by the inscriptions discovered till now relating to the Saṅgama dynasty.

9. Nuniz pictures to us Achyuta Rāya in the light of a profligate villain. "Which king Chytarao [Achyuta Rāya], after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny. He is a man of very little honesty, and on account of this the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations...."²¹ The Rev. Fr. Heras has shown that Nuniz cannot here be trusted at all.²² A monarch who gave himself up to vice and ease would never have been able to conduct successful campaigns against powerful enemies.²³

These are only some of the inaccurate statements in the account of Nuniz which depreciate the value of his work. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that as regards Dēva Rāya and the tribute which he is said to have levied, Nuniz was perhaps correct, since he is corroborated by other evidence, both Hindu and foreign.

⁹ Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, note (2).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140 f. Mr. B. Veṅkōba Rao defends Nuniz. See his *Life of Vyāsardya by Sōmanātha*, Intr., p. clvii.

¹² Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 319-320.

¹³ Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. XI, Dg. 107, p. 71.

¹⁴ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 302.

¹⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XV, p. 14; *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle for 1921*, p. 104.

¹⁶ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 384, note (4).

¹⁷ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 390.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹⁹ Butterworth and Vēṅugōpal Chetty, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, vol. II, p. 952.

²⁰ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 299 f. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 112.

²¹ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 367.

²² Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2, n. (2).

²³ No. 27 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1911*.

But what may be noted is that a statement by a foreign traveller, especially when it relates to one of the titles assumed by the monarchs, is in itself insufficient for historical purposes. Likewise is a mere assertion in the inscriptions of the Hindu rulers themselves not of any value so long as it is not confirmed by external evidence. Thus for example, an inscription dated Śaka 1530 (1608-9 A.D.) tells us that Veṅkaṭapati Dēva "levied tribute from all countries and from Ḥam (Ceylon)."²⁴ Vīra Pratāpa Śrīraṅga Dēva, we are told in an epigraph dated Śaka 1505 (1583-4 A.D.), "having taken every country was pleased to receive tribute from Ceylon."²⁵ The same is seen in an earlier inscription of the same monarch, dated Śaka 1499 (1577-8 A.D.).²⁶ This activity of Raṅga II in regard to Ceylon is mentioned together with his subjugation of the Kallars and Maravars in Koṅgu and Malai-nādu, according to an inscription dated 1583-4 A.D.²⁷ We are told in an epigraph of Śaka 1490 (1568-9 A.D.) that Vīra Vasanta, i.e., Veṅkaṭa I, conquered Ceylon.²⁸ Even Sadāśiva boasts of having "looted Ceylon," according to an inscription dated Śaka 1486 (1564-5 A.D.).²⁹ Then we have Sadāśiva, son of Raṅgappa Nāyaka Udaiyar, "who received tribute from Ceylon," in Śaka 1469 (1547-8 A.D.).³⁰ There is reference in Hindu literature of about this period to an invasion of Ceylon. Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala and Tirumala, the first cousins of Rāma Rāya, "are given credit for having set up a pillar of victory on the Tāmraparṇi and even to have sent out an invasion to Ceylon."³¹

But these claims of the later Vijayanagara rulers cannot be accepted as authentic, since they cannot be substantiated by independent evidence. All that may be said about such assertions is that the later monarchs continued to prefix among their titles that relating to the conquest of and tribute from Ceylon, in memory of some real conquest of that island that must have taken place prior to their times. We have to find out how many times Ceylon was conquered by Vijayanagara kings.

Let us begin with Nuniz, whose account is certainly of great importance. He speaks of Sāluva Timma—"He is lord of Charamaodel and of Nagapatao, and Tamagor and Bomgarin and Dapatao, and Truguel and Caulin, and all these are cities; their territories are very large, and they border on Ceylon."³²

About Dēva Rāya II. the chronicler relates the following:—"At his death he left a son called Deorao, who reigned twenty-five years.... This (i.e., the revenue of eight hundred and fifty millions of gold) was no great sum, seeing that in his time the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Paleacate (Pulicat), and Peguu, and Tanacary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him."³³

Then there is the account of a son of a "Pureoyre Deoro," called Ajarao: "..... he reigned forty-three years, in which time he was always at war with the Moors; and he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao, and all the country of Charamandell....."³⁴

The fact that the viceroyalty of Sāluva Timma bordered on the coast of Ceylon is no evidence that the island was subject to Vijayanagara. But there is some epigraphical evidence which may enable us to understand the situation better. An inscription dated Śaka 1461 (1539-40 A.D.), found in the Rāja-Gōpāla Perumāḷ temple at Tanjore, informs us that Achyuta Rāya conquered Ḥam.³⁵ According to the late Mr. Veṅkayya, this assertion "had to be looked upon as a meaningless boast not uncommon with the later Vijayanagara kings."³⁶

²⁴ No. 92 of *M.E.R.* for 1923.

²⁵ No. 128 of *M.E.R.* for 1918.

²⁶ No. 134 of *M.E.R.* for 1918.

²⁷ No. 30 of *M.E.R.* for 1905; *Madras Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 52.

²⁸ *Ep. Report for 1899-1900*, para. 82.

²⁹ No. 451 of *M.E.R.* for 1905; No. 129 of 1905; *Archl. Sur. Rept.*, 1899-1900, para. 70; *Madras Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 52.

³⁰ No. 1 of *M.E.R.* for 1919.

³¹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 16.

³² Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

³³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 302.

³⁴ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 301.

³⁵ No. 40 of *M.E.R.* for 1897.

³⁶ *Madras Ep. Report for 1900*, p. 26.

But while noticing the inscriptions of the same monarch at Conjeeveram,³⁷ Mr. Venkayya remarked in the same breath—"They (i.e., the Conjeeveram inscriptions) repeat that Achyuta Rāya planted a pillar of victory in the Tāmbraparnī river, and received the daughter of the Pāṇḍyan king (in marriage). If this is true, his conquest of Ceylon as recorded in the Tanjore inscription cannot be absolutely false."³⁸ Perhaps we may not be far wrong in supposing that Achyuta Rāya, who had conquered Travancore,³⁹ might also have been successful against Ceylon. The affairs in that island were favourable for foreign intervention. In 1521, Ceylon had been divided between the three brothers, Māyāduṇṇē, Rayigam Bandāra, and Bhuvanaika Bāhu. The first received the Province of Sabaragamuva; the second, the Wallāwitti; the third, the Galle and Kalattūra districts, while the seaports were in the hands of Bhuvanaika Bāhu. To make matters worse, there was an independent king over the hill-country; and, then, there was the Zamorin of Calicut and the Portuguese, as allies of the contending parties.⁴⁰ This confusion lasted from 1521 A.D. till 1539 A.D.,⁴¹ when Māyāduṇṇē was forced to make peace. There is nothing improbable in the victorious generals of Achyuta intervening in the affairs of the Ceylon rulers: one is inclined to doubt whether in the early years of Achyuta himself, or perhaps in the last days of the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, there was not an attempt on the part of the Hindu rulers to get some control over Ceylon.

An inscription dated Śaka 1440, Chitrabhānu, says that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya conquered Ilam and every other country, and witnessed the elephant hunt.⁴² From the wrong date of the inscription,⁴³ and from the use of the phrase, "one who witnessed the elephant hunt," we have to conclude that these two claims of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya have to be attributed to one of his predecessors who, both according to Hindu and foreign sources, can be credited with a mission to Ceylon. This was Dēva Rāya II (1419—1446), or his predecessor Vira Vijaya (1412 or 1415—1468 A.D.).⁴⁴

About this time Parākrama Bāhu VI (1412 or 1415—1468 A.D.) was the ruler of Ceylon. Some of the principal events in the reign of this king were the sending of tribute to China in 1436 A.D. and in 1445 A.D., and again in 1459 A.D.; the conquest of Jaffna by Sapumal Kumāraya; the revolt of the hill-country under Jotiyo Sitāno; and finally, the abdication of Parākrama Bāhu in favour of his (daughter's) son, Vira Parākrama Bāhu.⁴⁵ Ceylon was evidently beset with internal dangers.

To revert to Nuniz. He informs us that Dēva Rāya got tribute from the kings of Ceylon, Quilon, Pulicat, Pegu, and Tenasserim. We have, at the present stage of our investigations, no evidence to corroborate the remarks of Nuniz as regards Pegu and Tenasserim.⁴⁶ But about Ceylon the evidence of another traveller happily coincides with that given by Nuniz. 'Abdur-Razzāq, the Persian ambassador, while describing the plot in the Vijayanagara court to assassinate the emperor, says:—"The king then summoned to his presence his other brothers, and all the nobles; but everyone of them had been slain, except the minister, the *Danāik*, who previous to this dreadful tragedy, had gone to Silān. A courier was despatched to summon him, and inform him of what had transpired. . . . When the *Danāik* had returned from his tour, and had become acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparation to celebrate the festival of *Mahanāwī*."⁴⁷

(To be continued.)

³⁷ Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I, pp. 181-2; Nos. 49 and 50 of *M.E.R.* for 1900. ³⁸ *Madras Ep. Report* for 1900, p. 26.

³⁹ *Madras Ep. Report* for 1909, p. 119; *Madras Ep. Report* for 1900, pp. 27-8.

⁴⁰ Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7. ⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² No. 146 of *M.E.R.* for 1903; *Madras Ep. Report* for 1904, p. 19.

⁴³ The date ought to be Śaka 1444 (1522-3 A.D.), *M.E.R.*, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112. ⁴⁵ Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, vol. I, Part 2, p. 175.

⁴⁷ Elliot, *History of India*, IV, pp. 116-7 (ed. Dowson). See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 93, for remarks on *mahanawā*.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, pt. 1 (Jan. 1929).

This issue contains two important articles, namely (1) by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel on the Prakrit inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakonda in the Guntur district, and (2) by the Editor on the stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva found at Nālandā in the Patnā district. The finds at the first-named site are of value from historical, geographical and architectural points of view. The epigraphical records refer to the same southern Ikshvāku dynasty as is mentioned in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions, with certain interesting additional details. Many of the sculptures recovered at this site are of fine workmanship, rivalling, if they do not even excel in some instances, the well known sculptures of Amarāvati.

Dr. Vogel makes some interesting suggestions in connexion with the place names recorded. Some of the readings are, however, still doubtful, e.g., *Yavana* and *Palura*; and it is not clear whether the "*mahāchetiya* at Kaṇṭakasala" refers to the *mahāchetiya* excavated by Mr. Longhurst to the west of the Nāharālabōdu hillock, or to a *stūpa* in some other locality, where Bodhisiri had dedicated a pious foundation. It seems possible that both this Kaṇṭakasala and the Katakasala mentioned in inscription No. 54 in Burgess's *Bud. Stūpas of Amaravati & Jaggayyapeta* (p. 106 and Pl. LXI) refer to the same place. Might this not be Ghaṇṭasālā, to the east of Śrīkākulam, near what appears to have been an old branch of the Kistna, in the present estuary of the river. It is improbable that Ptolemy's "emporium" Kantakossula could have been far from the mouth of the river. On his map he marks it by the coast, and, be it noted, to the east (i.e., north-east) of the mouth of the Maisōlos. Moreover, the alluvium of the delta has probably extended a considerable distance in the past 1800 years. Again, the features of the Nāgārjunakonda site do not seem to fit in with Hsüan-tsang's description of the capital of the *T'e-na-ka-che-ka* country. It is certainly tempting to associate the Śrīparvata mentioned with the monastery in which, according to the Tibetan tradition, Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life, more especially that the isolated rocky hill overlooking the site on the north and north-west still bears the name Nāgārjunakonda, or 'Nāgārjuna's hill'; but the difficulty arises that Hsüan-tsang places Nāgārjuna's monastery to the south-west of the [Mahā] Kosala country, "above 300 li from the capital." The suggestion that the Dōsara of Ptolemy (cf. the Dōsarēnē of the *Periplus*) may be equated with Tosali is important, and, if accepted, will obviate several difficulties that arise in respect of other identifications suggested for Ptolemy's Dōsara.

The chief interest of the Nālandā inscription, as Dr. Hirānanda Śāstrī points out, lies in the fact that it leads to the conclusion that the name of the great ruler who broke the power of the Hūṇas in

northern India in the sixth century was Yaśovarmadeva, and that he was identical with the Yaśodharma of the Mandasor inscriptions.

ANNUAL REPORT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF
H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, FOR THE YEAR
1928-29.

In this report Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, describes in some detail, with admirably reproduced plates, the old forts at Koilkonda and Bidar, which were newly surveyed during the year. Both these sites present aspects of historical and architectural interest, the more salient of which have been indicated in the report. The question of water supply was always of paramount concern in the selection of ancient hill fortress sites, and both Bidar and Koilkonda were well provided in this respect. One of the most striking features of the fort at Koilkonda was the system of water reservoirs, serving each stage on the hill and thus providing independent supplies of water for the garrisons occupying different levels in case intercommunication were cut off.

Several appendices follow the report. In App. A, Mr. N. L. N. Rao gives a transcription, with translation, of an inscription of the year 1551 in Telugu characters on a pillar in front of the gate of Koilkonda fort, the contents of which corroborate the account given by Firishta of the help rendered by the garrison to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in establishing himself on the throne of Golkonda. Mr. T. Sreenivas, in App. B, describes the fort and other monuments at Udgir; while K. Muhammad Ahmad furnishes a note (App. C) on a number of Persian inscriptions at this site. App. D contains a detailed description of an important find of punch-marked coins from the Karimnagar district, of which 39 specimens have been figured on Pl. XVI, which will be useful in the future when the much-needed intensive research into the significance of the signs on this ancient form of currency is carried out.

THE GAVIMATH AND PĀLEIGUNḌU INSCRIPTIONS OF
ĀSOKA, edited by R. L. TURNER, M.C., M.A.,
Litt.D. Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 10,
1932.

These inscriptions, which present another version of Āśoka's Minor Edict, differing in some interesting respects from the seven other records known from Rūpnāth, Sāsarām, Bairāt, Maski, Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅgarāmeśvara, have been published with commendable promptitude; and the Department is to be congratulated on having secured the services of Prof. Turner, who has edited and translated the texts in a very thorough manner, describing at length the dialectal features occurring and recording notes on the phonology and grammar.

Of the two inscriptions, that of Gavimāṭh is complete, while that of Pāṭkiguṇḍu is mostly obliterated, but the characters that remain legible show that it was probably a replica of the other. Fortunately the Gavimāṭh record, like that of Rūpnāth, is also completely legible—all others being defective in this respect. Its most interesting features are that, besides adding a word or two to the Aśokan vocabulary, it maintains the distinction of *r* and *l* (thus differing from the northern group) and is unique in its treatment of Sk. *ṇ*, which appears, both as intervocalic and initial, as *ṇ*. Prof. Turner shows reason for thinking that this writing of *ṇ* represents a reality of pronunciation. This excellent memoir, with its abundance of illustrative plates, has been admirably produced by the Oxford University Press.

Pāṭkiguṇḍu and Gavimāṭh are the names of two rocky hills near Kopāl in the extreme south-west corner of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. Reference has already been made to these inscriptions above (vol. LXI, p. 39), where a map will be found showing this and other sites in southern India where Aśokan inscriptions have been discovered up to this time.

C. E. A. W. O.

THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM PLAYS ATTRIBUTED TO BHĀSA. Translated into English by A. C. WOOLNER and LAKSHMAN SARUP. Vol. I. (Panjab University Oriental Publications, No. 13.) viii + 200 pp. Oxford University Press, 1930.

The thirteen plays discovered some twenty years ago by the late MM. Gaṇapati Śāstri and ascribed by him to Bhāsa have given rise to a lively controversy concerning their authorship. Though prominent authorities like Professor F. W. Thomas still seem to take it for proved that these plays are in some way or other intimately connected with the somewhat nebulous Bhāsa, the researches and argumentations of Messrs. Barnett and Pisharoti have made it tolerably clear at least to the present writer that these works have had nothing whatsoever to do with Bhāsa. But whoever was their author, or even if they be simply stage versions prepared by wholly unknown authors, they are by no means devoid of interest. As for beauties of language and sentiment they cannot, of course, vie with the great plays of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and others; still, although they contain not a few quite insipid passages—as, e.g., the prelude of the first act of the *Pañcarātra*—they are also able to exhibit quite a number of beautiful ones which betray a not inconsiderable poetical genius. Thus it was a very fortunate idea of Professors Woolner and Sarup to join in presenting us with a complete English translation of these thirteen dramas.

The first volume contains the translations of the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana*, the *Swapna-Vāsavadattā*, the *Daridra-Cārudatta*, the *Pañcarātra*, the *Madhyamavydyoga*, and the *Pratimānātaka*. The

translated text makes easy and agreeable reading and generally adapts itself quite closely to the Sanskrit, although there may, in one or more passages, be a very few inadvertences. We shall allow ourselves to make a very few unimportant remarks which are in no way meant to detract from our high opinion of this able piece of work.

P. 111.—The words *agnir...amarottamamukham* are very unhappily rendered by "Fire at the head of the greater deities"; they should be translated "Agni, the mouth of the great gods."

P. 112 (and p. 134).—Read Rudra instead of Kudra.

P. 119.—V. 51 scarcely tallies with the *Mahābhārata*, as there it is stated that Bhīma slew the Kīcakas with the stem of a palm-tree.

P. 134.—In v. 70 we find a *Mādriśuta* (rendered by "Mādrī's sons" in the translation) mentioned, i.e., either Nakula or Sahadeva. Thus the statement on p. 107, that neither of them is mentioned in the play, is not quite correct.

P. 137.—*Apaskara* (which is generally met with in the form *apaskara*) does not mean "car" but rather "wheel," cp. Pāṇini, vi, 1, 149. The problem of this and connected words I hope soon to deal with in another article.

P. 149.—Whether *madhu* in v. 26 means "wine" or rather "honey" seems doubtful (cp. v. 4, where Ghaṭotkaca is described as having yellow (*piṅgala*) eyes).

P. 150.—Why there should be a play on *dirghāyū* and *Vāyu*, I fail to understand; Vāyu, of course, was the father of Bhīma, and the old Brāhman here wishes him an eternal life like that of his own sire.

P. 152.—In v. 43 of Act I, *Śakraḥ Śaktidharaḥ*, of course, does not mean "Indra the Mighty," but "Indra and Skanda."

P. 154.—With the expression *Dhātaraṣṭravana-davāgnih* cp. the quotations from the *Mahābhārata* given in the *VOJ.*, XX, 332 f.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHEOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1929, published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12½ × 9½ in.; pp. vii + 140, with 8 plates in colotype and 10 illustrations in the text. Leyden, 1931.

In this volume the bibliography proper contains references to the contents of 731 periodicals, books and articles dealing with matter of archaeological interest relating to India and Netherlands India, as well as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Japan, arranged categorically under appropriate headings, adding extracts from reviews in the case of the more important matter. The editors continue the commendable practice of prefacing the

bibliography with a brief survey of the most important explorative work carried out during the year "in the domain of Indian archæology in the widest sense." Five special contributions of this nature appear. In the first of these M. Sylvain Lévi describes how he came to interpret the sculptures of the buried basement of the Barabudur by the light of a manuscript of the *Karma-vibhanga* which he had found in Nepal in 1922. In the second M. Victor Goloubew gives a brief account of the clearing of the site of the Prah Khan temple, near Angkor Thom, and of the excavations at Prâ-Kiêu in Annam, now identifiable with the site of the ancient capital of Champa. In the third Dr. J. Pearson describes the results of some recent excavations at Anurâdhapura in Ceylon, where, besides the uncovering of further structures in brick and stone, some potsherds bearing Brâhmî characters of the third century B.C. are said to have been found. The next section reviews the salient results of the explorations carried out by Mr. H. Har-greaves at Mastung and Nâi in Balûchistân, where links were found with the prehistoric "Indus" civilisation. The last section deals with the important explorations by Prof. E. Herzfeld in southern Kurdistan and in Lûristân, especially at sites near Nihâwand, where he has recovered ceramic ware which he thinks clearly precede Susa II, and the date of which he assigns confidently to between 3000 and 2750 B.C. Other objects were found to bear marked affinities to finds from Crete and Ur. The following striking passage quoted from a paper communicated by Prof. Herzfeld to the *Illustrated London News* in 1929 may well be reproduced :—

"It appears that there existed, at the dawn of history, a homogeneous civilisation, created and developed by peoples of kindred race, which extended from the west of Asia Minor, across the north of Syria and Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the whole of the Iranian tableland, as far as to the borderlands of India; a civilisation which was opposed to and different from the oldest civilisation of the alluvial plains of the Euphrates and Tigris basin—namely, that of the Sumerians."

It would appear, further, that Prof. Herzfeld is satisfied that Susa I developed out of the neolithic civilisation of the sites found by him at Persepolis, while Susa II originated from the early bronze age culture of Nihâwand region.

The plates are excellently printed, as hitherto; the index is full and carefully prepared: in fact the whole volume betokens efficiency and scholarship. All interested in Eastern archæology should keep this record on their shelves.

C. E. A. W. O.

ZUR INDISCHEN APOLOGETIK, by HANNS OERTEL.
Verlag von W. Kohlhammer. Stuttgart, 1930.

The authoritativeness and eternity of the Vedas, their revelation by the godhead and other similar questions have been subjects of lively discussion in India from very ancient times. The fullest discussion of them is found in Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*, and among later works, in Śābara's commentary thereon and in Śāyana's introduction to his commentary on the *R̥gveda-saṃhitā*. Less full discussions are found in Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* and also in the *Nyāya-sūtras* and *Sāṃkhya-sūtras* and commentaries thereon. The authors of the two last-named Sūtra works however hold that the Vedas, though authoritative, are not eternal, while the followers of the Mīmāṃsā school (Jaimini, Śaṅkara, Śāyana) hold that the Vedas are eternal. A brief account of the views of all these authors was given by W. Muir nearly eighty years ago in volume 2 of his *Original Sanskrit Texts*.

In the book under review, the author has given a succinct account of the views in this matter of the Mīmāṃsakas. Taking as basis the discussion in Śāyana's introduction, he has rearranged the matter under four headings and supplemented it with details from Śābara's and Śaṅkara's commentaries and Yāska's *Nirukta* in all places where Śāyana has not reproduced them. The author's rendering of the Sanskrit sentences is generally good, but is capable of improvement in some places. Thus, for instance, *bhāvāḥ* (p. 1, n. 2) does not denote 'Wesenheiten' but 'Dinge'; similarly *padārthāḥ* too (p. 3, n. 1) denotes 'Dinge' and not 'Wortbedeutungen'; *ākhyāyikā* (p. 10) denotes 'story' and not 'Dialog'; *pratigraha* (p. 47) signifies 'receipt of gifts' and not 'Empfang von Almosen'; *kim naś chinmam* (pp. 48-50) means 'What is cut off from us?' i.e., 'what do we lose thereby?' and not 'Wie tut das (unserem Argumente) Abbruch?'; and *jarbharī* (*bhartārau*) and *turphartā(hantārau)* do not signify (p. 67) 'die zwei Brüder' and 'die zwei Mordenden,' but 'the two masters' and 'the two slayers.'

Such instances, however, are very few, and on the whole the book is one that may be warmly recommended to readers as conveying a faithful idea of what Śāyana and Śābara have said about Indian apologetics.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by several indexes, one of which (no. III) contains a list of unidentified *Śruti* passages. The passage *ugro ha bhujyam*, that is included therein, stands without doubt for *tugro ha bhujyam*, which is the beginning of RV. I. 116. 3, that relates the story (*ākhyāyikā*) of how the Aśvins saved Tugra. With the unidentified passage *na caitad vidmo yadi brāhmaṇā ud smo*, one should compare *Mait. Sūp.* I. 4. 1 (p. 60, line 3 f.).

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

THE VIJAYANAGARA CONQUEST OF CEYLON.

By B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 219.)

Who was the "Danaik" who went to the frontier of Ceylon? And what was the object of his mission? The word "Danaik" is evidently a shortened form of *daṇṇāyaka*, or *daṇḍāyaka*, the official designation given to a commander in pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara days. The late Mr. Veṅkayya wrote the following: "The mahāpradhāna Lakkanna Udaiyar mentioned in an inscription of Dēva Rāya at Tirthamalai (666 of 1905) was perhaps the same Lakkanna Daṇṇāyaka, 'lord of the Southern Ocean,' mentioned in paragraph 31, Part II, of the last year's Annual Report. The 'Danaik' who was vizier and who went on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon during the reign of Dēva Rāya II (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 74) might also have been the same."⁴⁸ The late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, however, took this assumption in the light of a fact. For Mr. Śāstri wrote—"One of his (i.e., Dēva Rāya's) ministers was Daṇḍāyaka Lakkanna, who is stated to have gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon."⁴⁹ Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his introduction to the *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* by Mr. Satyanātha Iyer, writes: "The next time that the viceroyalty of Madura comes into prominence is under Dēva Rāya II, when we hear of two brothers, known by the names Lakkanna and Mādanna, in charge of the whole of the Tamil country, the former held high office at headquarters, probably with the government of Madura as his province, the administration of which he carried on by deputy. At one period about 1440 he is found in the south, and is given the title of 'Viceroy of Madura,' and 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' From this high commission Lakkanna was recalled back to the headquarters, after a defeat sustained by the imperial armies at the hands of the Muhammadan Sultans of the Dekkan, to reform the army, and to reorganise the resources with a view to final victory. It is apparently this Danaik (Daṇḍāyaka) that is spoken of in such glowing terms by the Muhammadan traveller, 'Abdur-Razzāq, who was in Vijayanagara in 1442-1443."⁵⁰ Mr. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri also writes to the same effect: "Lakkanna justly styles himself the 'increaser of the wealth of Dēva Rāya, and *saptāṅga-rājya-varḍhana-kalādhara* and *unnata keṣeya* (intimate) friend of Dēva Rāya.' We know from other sources that he conquered Ceylon and Gulbarga."⁵¹

On what grounds this identification of Lakkanna with the Danaik mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāq rests cannot be made out. Evidently the lead given by the late Mr. Veṅkayya has been implicitly followed. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar does not give the source of his information.⁵² The two brothers, Lakkanna and Mādanna, were no doubt governors over the Tamil country during the latter part of their career: but we may acquaint ourselves with their history since it will be of some use to us hereafter. Lakkanna comes into prominence as the great minister in charge of the Mūlbāgal kingdom in 1416 A.D.⁵³ In 1428 A.D. Lakkanna Odeyar granted a *dharma-sāsana* to Siṅgarasa's son Annadāta.⁵⁴ In 1430 A.D. he was still (under Dēva Rāya) governor over Mūlbāgal.⁵⁵ In the next year we have some information about his lineage: the epigraph styles him as well as his brother Mādanna, Heggade-dēvas of

⁴⁸ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1906, p. 64.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* for 1916, p. 139.

⁵⁰ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his introduction to Mr. S. Iyer's *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 6.

⁵¹ Śrīkanṭha Śāstri, *Indian Antiquary*, LVII, p. 78.

⁵² The authority obviously is the Pāṇḍyan Chronicle, as given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS.*, I, p. 37. Cf. Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty*, pp. 107-8.

⁵³ *Ep. Car.*, X. Mb. 7, p. 72. There is a Lakkanna Odeyar mentioned from about 1397 A.D. till 1402 A.D. in the reign of Harihara II, *Ep. Car.*, IV. Hs. 46, p. 88; *Ep. Car.*, V. Cn., 175, p. 201; *Mysore Arch. Report* for 1911-2, p. 47. If this dignitary could be identified with the general we are dealing with, the latter must have been quite old when he terminated his official career as "Lord of the Southern Ocean."

⁵⁴ *Ep. Car.*, X, Kl. 104, p. 31.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Bp. 72, p. 152.

the Vishnuvardhana *gōtra*, Vommāyamma's sons Lakkanna Daṇṇāyaka and Mādanna.⁵⁶ Another inscription of the same year repeats the same information, but gives to Mādanna the rank of a *daṇṇāyaka*.⁵⁷ In 1433 A.D. Lakkann Oḍeyar was placed over Tēka,⁵⁸ which in the next year he made over, by order of Dēva Rāya, to Sāluva Gōpa Rāya.⁵⁹ In 1435 A.D. both Lakkanna and Mādanna appear in their capacity of *oḍeyars*.⁶⁰ From 1416 A.D. till 1435 A.D., therefore, Lakkanna is mentioned only as a great minister,⁶¹ *oḍeyar*, and *daṇṇāyaka*.

Now he has been identified with the 'Danaik' mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzāq solely because he was in charge of the southern division as the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.' It seems this is enough to prove that the conjectures of the late Mr. Venkayya were correct in the main. But I do not believe that such an identification is tenable. The point to be noted is whether Lakkanna could ever have been in the Vijayanagara court in 1442-1443 A.D., when the "guilty prince" was almost on the point of assassinating the emperor. This brings us to the history of Lakkanna as the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' (*dakṣiṇa-samudrādhipati*). The earliest date given to him as the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' is Śaka 1360 (1438-9 A.D.), when a gift was made for the merit of his brother Mādanna Oḍeyar.⁶² He is given the rank of a minister in this record. From that date till Śaka 1366 (A.D. 1444-5) he was 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.'⁶³

The question that may be asked is whether Lakkanna was the vizier whom the emperor summoned when his life was in danger. 'Abdur-Razzāq is our main authority in this matter. He gives us an account of the malicious attempts made by certain Hormuzians to bring him under the displeasure of the emperor, and then speaks of an expedition that was sent against Gulbarga: "About this time the *Danāik*, or minister, who had treated me with the greatest consideration, departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulbarga, of which the cause was, that the king of Kulbarga, Sultān Alāu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Rāi, and the murder of the principal officers of State, was exceedingly rejoiced, and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message....." (which was a demand for 700,000 *varāhas*, with war as an inevitable alternative).

Some more information is given about this 'Danaik' in a later passage: "The king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brāhman *Danāik* a person named Hambah Nurir, who considered himself equal to the *vazīr*."⁶⁴

When did this plot to assassinate the emperor take place? This can be determined by ascertaining where 'Abdur-Razzāq was when he narrated the story. He was then at Calicut. He had set out on the 21st of May 1441,⁶⁵ and eight days after touching at the port of Saur,⁶⁶ he reached Calicut. He was in Calicut from the close of Jumāda-l-ākhīr till the beginning of Zī-hijja⁶⁷—that is to say, from Sunday, 4th November 1442, till 2nd April 1443.⁶⁸ That he was not at the Hindu capital when the dastardly incident took place is clear from what he says: "At the time that the writer of this history was detained at the city of Kālikot, an extraordinary and singular transaction occurred in the city of Bijānagar."⁶⁹ The date of his

⁵⁶ *Ep. Car.*, Mb. 96, p. 100.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Mb. 2, p. 71.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Bp. 87, p. 154.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Mr. 1, p. 154, n. (1).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Mr. 4, p. 156.

⁶¹ No. 866 of *Mad. Ep. R.* for 1905.

⁶² No. 141 of *M. E. R.* for 1903; *M. E. R.* for 1904, p. 18.

⁶³ No. 28 of *M. E. R.* for 1913; No. 566 of *M. E. R.* for 1914, dated Śaka 136 (2) expired, Raudra; *M. E. R.* for 1905, pp. 22, 50; No. 100 of *M. E. R.* for 1911, dated Śaka 1366, Rudhirōdgārīn.

⁶⁴ Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶⁸ Swāmikanṇu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, V, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁹ Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 115.

arrival at Vijayanagara is thus given by him : " The author of this history, who arrived at Bijānagar, at the close of Zi-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him."⁷⁰ That is to say, he was in Vijayanagara on Tuesday, 30th April 1443 A.D.⁷¹

From the above we conclude the following:—

- (a) that the attempt on the life of the emperor took place between November 1442 and April 1443 ;
- (b) that the ' Danaik ' was immediately summoned by the emperor by means of a courier ;
- (c) that the ' Danaik ' was a Brāhman, and that he had gone to the frontier of Ceylon prior to the incident mentioned by ' Abdur-Razzāq ;
- (d) that the ' Danaik ' had gone on a tour, which he terminated to hasten at once to the royal presence ;
- (e) that he soon after led an expedition against Gulbarga ; and
- (f) that during his absence a mean and low Hindu officer was appointed as his substitute.

We have to see whether these facts agree with the few facts which we have gathered about Lakkanna Dānāyaka. We know that Lakkanna was the ' Lord of the Southern Ocean ' from 1438 A.D. There is no evidence to suggest that he was ever recalled in 1442-3 A.D. by the emperor from his southern command. The fact that he was an intimate friend of the emperor has nothing to do with our attempts to identify him with the ' Danaik ' mentioned by ' Abdur-Razzāq. The Persian ambassador certainly does not enlighten us on the intimacy which existed between the minister (' Danaik ') and the emperor. The latter summoned the former because he was the only one who had escaped the sword of the assassins. This leads us to infer that the ' Danaik ' must have been in the vicinity of the Court. But ' Abdur-Razzāq is positive about the courier having been despatched to the ' Danaik,' and about the latter having gone on a tour. This seeming inconsistency does not invalidate the evidence of the Persian ambassador. The fact that the ' Danaik ' was within an appreciable distance of the capital is significant. Could a general placed in the extreme south of the peninsula have hurried to the capital to save the life of his master when the latter was amidst a band of assassins ? We have only to realize the nature of the medieval conveyances and roads to understand the impossibility of Lakkanna ever having been near the emperor at the critical moment. Moreover, the ' Danaik ' is mentioned by ' Abdur-Razzāq as having gone on an expedition to Gulbarga. If the expedition is placed between 1443-44 A.D.,⁷² and if Lakkanna is identified with the ' Danaik ' of the Persian ambassador, it cannot be seen how Lakkanna could have led an army against Gulbarga in the north and have been in the south almost at the same time. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Dēva Rāya II must have had more than one Dānāyaka whom he could despatch to Gulbarga. Finally, we may dispense with the idea that the ' Danaik ' of ' Abdur-Razzāq was Lakkanna when we examine the community to which the latter belonged. Lakkanna is said to have been of the Vishnuvardhana *gōtra*, and the son of Vommāyamma. In what sense the name of Vishnuvardhana is here introduced, whether he is the famous Vishnu of the Hoysalavamsa, cannot be determined ; but there is no denying the fact that if Lakkanna was indeed a Brāhman, his *sūtra* and *śāka* would have been given, especially when his *gōtra* has been mentioned in the inscription. How far a Heggade-dēva could be termed a Brāhman is also a matter that is questionable. And if Lakkanna really belonged to the family of the Hoysalas, it is not improbable that he came of a stock that was not Brāhman. These considerations lead one to the conclusion that the ' Danaik ' of ' Abdur-Razzāq cannot be identified in any sense with Lakkanna

⁷⁰ Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 112.

⁷¹ Swāmikanu, V, p. 88.

⁷² Firishṭa confirms the Persian traveller about this expedition. Firishṭa, trans. Briggs, II, pp. 430-434.

Dannāyaka, although the latter was a great friend of the emperor, a minister, a general, and the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.' I think that the vizier mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzāq was Iranna Dannāyaka, who is called in 1415 A.D., the great minister and 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.'⁷³ There is nothing improbable in Iranna Dannāyaka having been present at court when the guilty prince was put to death by the infuriated mob; although it must be confessed that for the present we have no evidence to affirm that he was a Brāhman and that he was despatched to Gulbarga. If it could be proved that Iranna was the minister-general referred to by the Persian ambassador, then the mission which took him to the frontier of Ceylon is to be placed in 1415 A.D., or thereabouts, a date which falls within the reign of Vira Vijaya, the predecessor of Dēva Rāya II.⁷⁴

The causes which prompted Iranna Dannāyaka to go to Ceylon can only be conjectured for the present. There was the need of preserving the interests of the pearl trade in the south, and there was the question of consolidating the effects of the earliest conquest of Ceylon made by a Vijayanagara prince.⁷⁵

It was under Virūpāksha that Ceylon was conquered. This fact is gathered from inscriptions as well as literature. The situation in that island was not unfavourable for the Vijayanagara rulers. The northern part of Ceylon including the port of Puttalam was under the king of Jaffna. A Muhammadan pirate was the master of Colombo. The capital was distracted with civil commotion, the kingdom being ruled by a senior and a junior sovereign at the same time. There was the strife between the great minister Alagakkōnāra and Ārya Chakravarti, the king of Jaffna, during the reigns of the kings Jaya, Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV, and Vikrama Bāhu III. Matters did not improve with the accession of Bhuvanaika Bāhu V. Then we are told that in the course of the conflict between Vira Bāhu (I) and Vira Bāhu II, Vira Alakēśvara fled to India.⁷⁶ Whether this flight of Vira Alakēśvara had anything to do with the appearance of Vijayanagara troops in Ceylon is a point that can only be determined by future research. It is not improbable that Vira Alakēśvara might have sought the help of the only powerful Hindu king of southern India, the Vijayanagara monarch. However that may be, there are inscriptions which mention the conquest of Ceylon, and the tribute levied from that island, by Prince Virūpāksha. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva, Paṅguni, 10, informs us that Virupanna Odeyar, son of Harihara, levied tribute from Ceylon.⁷⁷ Evidently this Virupanna can only be Virūpāksha, son of Harihara II. In the drama called *Nārāyaṇa-vīlāsa* composed by that prince, it is said that he planted a pillar of victory in the island of Simhala.⁷⁸ But the two important inscriptions of this prince relating to the conquest of Ceylon are the Ālampūdi plates of Śaka 1305 and the Ariyūr plates of Śaka 1312. In the former we are told that having conquered the kings of Tundira, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya and the Simhalas, he presented crystals and other jewels to his father.⁷⁹ The date of this grant is thus given—"... in the Śaka year one thousand three hundred and five, on the lucky day of the auspicious time of the Pushya Sankrānti in the Raktākshin year."⁸⁰ The cyclic year, however, does not correspond to

⁷³ *Ep. Car.*, IX, An. 85, p. 119.

⁷⁴ Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112. Here we may guess that the "Ajarao" of Nuniz may have been a corruption of Vijaya Rāya.—B. A. S.

⁷⁵ The relations of a famous Vijayanagara viceroy, Viśvanātha, with Ceylon, together with other matters relating to that island, will be dealt with in a subsequent paper on "The Foreign Policy of the Vijayanagara Kings with the Neighbouring States."—B. A. S.

⁷⁶ Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁷⁷ No. 375 of *M.E.R.* for 1917.

⁷⁸ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 53.

⁷⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 228.

⁸⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 229.

1305.⁸¹ It is doubtful whether we have to ascribe this event mentioned in the Ālampūṇḍi plates to the end of Śaka 1306. The other document, the Ariyūr plates, also mentions the conquest of Simhala-dvīpa. This record is dated in the Śaka year 1312.⁸² The drama *Nārāyaṇa-vilāsa* and the Ariyūr plates, therefore, agree in ascribing the conquest of Simhala-dvīpa to Virūpāksha. But strangely enough in the Śōṛaikkāvūr plates of the same prince, dated Śaka 1308 (1386-7 A.D.), no mention is made of the conquest of Ceylon at all.⁸³ The reason for the silence of the engraver of this record, which is dated earlier than the Ariyūr plates and later than the Ālampūṇḍi grants, is not quite apparent. That, however, does not confute the evidence supplied by the three inscriptions and the drama written by Virūpāksha himself. There is reason to believe, therefore, that Simhala-dvīpa was subject to Vijayanagara in the days of Virūpāksha; and it is this fact which is commemorated in the inscriptions of the later Vijayanagara monarchs who appended the title, 'One who levied tribute from Īlam,' to their names.

TO THE EAST OF SAMATATA.

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

OF late, MM. Padmanātha Bhaṭṭācārya Vidyāvinōda has published a number of papers in various journals¹ on the identification of the six kingdoms to the east of Samatata (roughly speaking, south-eastern Bengal), as were heard of, but not actually visited by Hiuen Tsang, on account of their being 'hemmed in by mountains and rivers.' The conclusions arrived at by him as to the last three of these, viz., *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*, and *Yen-mo-na-chou*, which he identifies respectively with Manipura State, Bhāmo, and Jambudvīpa, or Lower Burma, appear to be wholly beside the mark, and may safely be discarded, for we now possess definite knowledge of what was intended by '*Mo-ha-chan-p'o*.' But this constitutes no reason why we should withal throw overboard the results of his investigation as to the first two, viz., *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo*, restored as Śrī-kṣētra, and *Ka-mo-lang-ka*, restored as Kāmalāṅkā. In case of the latter, in particular, it is worse than idle to deny its being the same as Comilla, alias Kām-lāk, alias Kāmalāṅka.

So far as *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo* is concerned, Mr. Bhaṭṭācārya has not merely accumulated arguments, but adduced substantial proofs as well, to identify it, or retain its original identification, with Sylhet, as against Prome, which is the version of the rival theory that held the field in the meantime. The description given is that it is to the north-east of Samatata, and situated on the borders of a great sea.² The only difficulty of accepting it as one with Sylhet had been to obtain first-hand evidence that the vast marshes, called *hāḍr*,³ in and

⁸¹ The late Mr. Veṅkayya, who edited these plates, said—"The Raktākshin year does not correspond to Śaka Sāhvat 1305 but to 1307 current."—*Ibid.*, p. 225, n. (4). According to Sewell, the cyclic year for Śaka 1305 is Dundubhi; for Śaka 1306, Rudhirōdgārin; and for Śaka 1307, Raktākshin.—*The Siddhantas and the Indian Calendar*, Table LX, p. 186. But see Swāmikanṇu Pillai,—Śaka 1305, Dundubhi till the end of March; Śaka 1305, April, till Śaka 1306, March, Rudhirōdgārin; Śaka 1306, April till March, Śaka 1307, Raktākshin; Śaka 1307, April, Krōdhana begins.—*The Indian Ephemeris*, IV, pp. 368-370. For other considerations against the Ālampūṇḍi plates, see Veṅkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 226.

⁸² T. A. Gōpinātha Rao, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 12, where the date is fully discussed.

⁸³ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 299. For the difference between the Śōṛaikkāvūr plates and the Ariyūr plates, see *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 14. The lines beginning with *Śrī-Kṛishṇa* up to *bhūpatih* are not found in the Śōṛaikkāvūr plates.

¹ *JRAS.*, 1920, p. 1 f.; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1326 (B.S.), pp. 1-18; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, March 1928, pp. 169-178; *Ib.*, 1928, p. 254 f.; *Hindustan Review*, July, 1924, pp. 444-46, etc.

² *Records*, Beal, II, pp. 199-200; and *Life*, Beal, p. 132.

³ Probably from *sāḍr* < *sāyar* < *sāgara* = sea.

about the district, constituted a sea both in form and in name. The evidence has, however, come, all other things apart, from the Bhâtêrâ copper-plate grant of Gôvinda-Kêśava, which contains the significant expression, 'Sâgara-pâścimê,'⁴ and more conclusively from a sixteenth-century Bengali production, viz., the *Caitanya-maṅgala* of Jayānanda, wherein the name of the sea (*samudra*) is distinctly given as 'Dhōla.'⁵ It may be added that reference to the Dhōla-samudra is also made in the Bengali *Śunya-purāṇa* of Rāmāi Paṇḍita.⁶ The extent of the sea is unknown, but the *Dêśâvalivivrti*, a geographical work composed by Jagannātha Paṇḍita in Bihâr, as late as in the seventeenth century, informs us, in its description of Assam, that 'blue water exists constantly in the western region of Gauhâṭi' (*Gôhâṭtâṭ pâścimê bhâgê nîl=âdrau vartatê sadâ*),⁷ too.

M. Louis Finot's reply⁸ to Mr. Bhattachârya, on this point, is neither effective nor edifying. He likes to cling to the 'Prome' theory, already rejected by Mr. Watters⁹ on the grounds that Prome neither answers to the given direction from Samatata, nor is it situated on the seaside. In insisting, none the less, upon its identification with Prome, one has only to fancy, as does M. Finot, that the frontiers of the 'kingdom of Prome' might have, in the pilgrim's time, reached to the sea, and a mistake might have crept into his record of the direction; but this, we must agree, does not make the case any the stronger. On the contrary, it shows how one labours under the impression that the 'great sea' in question must refer to the Bay of Bengal; and in the case of M. Finot, this is rendered the more explicit by his statement that, "this may not well suit Prome, but much less does it apply to Sylhet, which is twice as distant from the sea as Prome."¹⁰

As regards *To-lo-po-ti*, restored as Dvârapati or Dvâravati, Mr. Bhattachârya essays to identify it with Hill Tipperah, while the former identification was with Ayudhia,¹¹ the old capital of Siam. But if *Ka-mo-lang-ka* is assuredly Comilla, the identification of *To-lo-po-ti*, to the east of it, with Ayudhia becomes untenable. Furthermore, the foundation of Ayudhia is said to have taken place in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. 'Sandowê,' which the Rev. S. Beal suggests,¹² is also not a plausible solution. Fortunately, however, the clue to its identification has been found in some old Bengali works. In his poem to the '*Lôr-Candrâṇī-o-Satī-Mayanâvatī*,' the author, a Muḥammadan, Daulat Qâzî,¹³ gives an account of his patron, Ashraf Khân, at whose instance he undertook the composition of the work, and of the king Runtadharma Sudharma (1622-38 A.D.) of Arakan, known in the history of Burma as Thiri Thudhamma, a powerful prince, whose minister (*pâtta*) was Ashraf Khân, and during whose reign Manrique, the Portuguese missionary, arrived in Arakan. Rôsânga, the capital of Runtadharma, is stated to have been situated to the east of the Karraphuli, a river that takes its rise in the Hill Tipperah region, and at the mouth of which stands Chittagong. From Rôsânga, the king Runtadharma once went on a pleasure trip, accompanied by his retinue including Ashraf Khân, till he reached a city, 'Dvârâvatī by name, which lay by the side of a forest and resembled in magnificence even Dvârakâ, the city of Kṛṣṇa,'¹⁴ and there the king continued to hold his court for a length of time. Thus a beautiful city

⁴ Published in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. See p. 282, l. 38.

⁵ Edited by N. Vasu, published by the Vāṅgīya Sâhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, p. 8.

⁶ Edited by N. Vasu, p. 24.

⁷ *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS. in Library, As. Soc. Bengal*, by MM. H. P. Śâstrī, vol. IV (History and Geography), 1923, p. 53.

⁸ *JRAS.*, 1920, p. 451.

⁹ *On Yuang Chuang*, II, pp. 188-189.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1926, pp. 113-115, where Sir Richard C. Temple has given a table of identifications.

¹² *Op. cit.*

¹³ *Vāṅgīya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1312 (B.S.), p. 244.

¹⁴ *Vana-pâśe nagara ēka Dvârâ-vatī nâma Kṛṣṇêr Dvârikâ jêna ati anupâ (a) ma.*

called Dvârâvatî, lying on the eastern bank of the Karnaphuli, and evidently towards the north, was in existence down to seventeenth century A.D. Again, its position, as being continuous with the Tipperah region, is clearly indicated by a couplet occurring in a MS. of the so-called *Parâgali Mahâbhârata*, composed probably between 1522-25 A.D.,¹⁵ which purports to say that Hussain Shâh of Bengal, styled 'the lord of the five Gaudas,' bestowed (the governorship of) Tripurâ and Dvârikâ (i.e., Dvârâvatî) upon Parâgala Khân,¹⁶ his general, whose patronage the poet of the work enjoyed. It further seems likely that the city served as a 'door land' to Hill Tipperah from the south or south-east, for in another MS., viz., that of a Bengali translation of the *Mahâbhârata* by Jaimini, a verse of a similar nature reads that a king of Gauda, whose name is given as Sultân Alpalêncana, conferred the governorship of the door-land (*dvâra*) of Tipperah¹⁷ upon one of his officers.

Hsien Tsang's information was that the kingdom of Dvârâvatî was to the east of Kama-lânka, precisely what we find in respect of this Dvârâvatî, and we may without any great risk of error suppose that this is the kingdom referred to by the pilgrim. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Bhaṭṭâcârya's conclusion, though not his arguments, makes a near approach to truth.

Still to the east of Dvârâvatî was *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, restored as Îśānapura, which cannot be located with precision, but a kingdom having had Dvârâvatî and Mahâ-campâ (*Mo-ha-chan-p'o*) to its west and east respectively must needs be supposed to have covered a more or less extensive part of Upper Burma or North Indo-China, or of both, of the modern atlas. It requires, however, to be noted that I-tsing in his *Nan-hae-k'hi-kwai-niu-fâ-chu'en* makes no mention of Îśānapura; according to him, eastward of Dvârâvatî, on the extreme frontier, is the country of Lin-i¹⁸ (Campâ, or, more correctly, the southern portion thereof).

It is generally believed that Îśānapura is Cambodia, and the fact that "Îśānavarman was reigning there probably at that very time or a few years before it,"¹⁹ lends colour to the belief; but the belief itself does not accord with reality. Even accepting it to be true, we would be constrained to regard *Yen-mo-na-chou* as identical with Yavadvîpa or Java, or as a fabulous island in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*,²⁰ both being equally absurd.

Modern researches have made it irrefragably certain that Mahâcampâ (I-tsing's *Chan-p'o*), although its extent varied at different periods, corresponds roughly to 'the southern portion of Annam, comprising the provinces of Quãng-nam in the north and Binh-Thuan in the south with the intervening country.'²¹ A very important part was played by Campâ in the political and religious history of Further India from the third to the fifteenth century A.D., when its power was crushed by the aggressive Annamites, and it still holds the distinction of being the country possessing the earliest Sanskrit inscription in Further India, viz., that of Vo-can, which dates from the second century A.D. The foundation of the first Hindu dynasty of Campâ, probably sometime between 190 and 193 A.D., is associated with the name of Śrīmāra, identified with Kiu-lien (G. Maspero, *La Royaume de Champa*).

The position of Campâ being definitely established, it becomes easy to affirm that *Yen-mo-na-chau* (Yavana-dvîpa, the island of the Yavanas) to its south-west, represents Cambodia, the ancient Kâmbôja, and the Funan (*Poh-nan*) of I-tsing²² and other Chinese accounts. Girt by the sea on three sides, why it has been called a *dvîpa*, or island, may be explained

¹⁵ *Vanṣīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1334 (B.S.), pp. 166-168.

¹⁶ *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali MSS. in the Vanṣīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, by Munṣī Abdul Karim, vol. I, No. II, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Vanṣīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1313 (B.S.), p. 182.

¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 197.

¹⁹ *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, by Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Cal. Univ., 1928, pp. 257-258.

²⁰ Beal, *Records*, II, p. 200 and notes.

²¹ Sir Charles Elliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921, vol. III, p. 137.

²² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 197.

by a statement of Ma-twan-lin : " Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near Fu-nan (Siam) and Lin-i (Tsiampa), it is only separated by a narrow sea." ²³

Fu-nan, in the words of I-tsing, is ' the extreme southern corner of Jambudvīpa.' His remark that ' the people of this country were formerly naked savages ' ²⁴ goes to suggest that the so-called ' country of the naked men ' which was visited by the two Chinese priests, Taoulin and Hwui Ta ²⁵ (both after Hiuen Tsang and before I-tsing), in the course of their voyage to India, is but Fu-nan or Cambodia. The former went from it to Tāmralipti. In the *Kathā-Sarita-Sāgara* of Sômadêva, ²⁶ we read of a Brâhman of Ujjayinī, named Vidûṣaka, who came to Tāmralipti, on the coast of the Eastern Sea, and there embarked on board of a merchant-ship for Karkôṭa-nagara, but was led by circumstances to arrive in the *Nagna-rājya* (kingdom of the naked men) from which Karkôṭa-nagara is said to have been a week's journey or voyage ; this *Nagna-rājya*, therefore, is most probably identifiable with Cambodia. In connection with the latter priest (Hwui Ta) we have the following account of ' the country of the naked men ' : " For two or three *lis* along the eastern shore there were nothing but cocoanut trees and forests of betel vines. The people, when they saw the ship, came alongside in little boats with the greatest clamour ; there were upwards of 100 such boats filled with cocoanuts and plantains, they had also baskets, etc., made of rattan ; they desired to exchange these things for whatever we had that they fancied, but they liked nothing so much as bits of iron. A piece of this metal two fingers length in size would buy as many as 5 or 10 cocoanuts. The men here are all naked, the women wear a girdle of leaves ; the sailors in joke offered them clothes, but they made signs that they did not want such articles. This country according to report is south-west of the district of Sze-ch'uan The men are not quite black, of middling height, they use poisoned arrows, one of which is fatal." ²⁷

It is manifestly due to their barbarous habits and manners that the deriding epithet ' Yavana ' was applied to them. The *Daśakumāra-carita*, or ' Adventures of Ten Princes,' of Daṇḍin tells us that the coast of Dāmalīpta (or Tāmra-lipti) used to be frequented by the sea-going vessels of the Yavanas, ²⁸ and relates how a Yavana, Rāmêṣu by name, sunk in the distant sea a ship of one of the princes who sailed from Tāmralipti, besides making several other references to their acts of atrocity. The very name ' Rāmêṣu,' applied to a Yavana, it is curious, reminded the late MM. Haraprasāda Śāstri of King Rāmêses of Egypt, whose memory, he believed, was probably alive to some extent till the date of the composition of the work, ²⁹ which he would ' not hesitate to place in the second century A.C.' ³⁰ The received opinion, according to the theory of Prof. Wilson ³¹ and Dr. Bühler, ³² however, is that the allusion is to the Arabian or Persian traders, for it could not likely be applicable to the Greeks. But, nevertheless, the Cambodians are, to all appearance, the Yavanas of the *Daśakumāra-carita*. It may also be recalled here that a Chinese priest of the latter half of the seventh century A.D., who arrived at Tāmralipti, was ' attacked by robbers at the mouth of the river,' and ' barely escaped with his life.' ³³ It may not improbably be that these robbers were the Yavana or Cambodian pirates, and if so, this would serve as one reason why Daṇḍin should not be ascribed to a period long before 600 A.D. ³⁴

²³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 16.

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 197.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁶ Ed. Hermann Brockhaus, vol. I, Leipzig, 1839, p. 271 f.

²⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 195-196.

²⁸ N. S. P. ed., 6th *Ucchḍa*, pp. 155-163, 176-177.

²⁹ *Varṇāya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1321 (B.S.), p. 256.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1332 (B.S.), p. 200.

³¹ H. H. Wilson's ed., London, 1846, p. 148, footnote 2.

³² G. Bühler's ed., Bombay, 1873, p. 41, notes.

³³ *Life*, Beal, Intro., p. xxxv.

³⁴ Cf. Keith's *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1927, pp. 70-72.

THE GĀY-DĀNṚ FESTIVAL : THE CULT OF THE MOTHER GODDESS.

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L., D. J. COLLEGE, MONGHYR.

I HAVE suggested that the *gāy-dānṛ* festival is a relic of some ceremonial sacrifice offered in the past to the Corn Goddess ; especially because of its close association with the worship of the goddess Kālī, the terrible Mother Goddess, and also with her Lakṣmī and Alakṣmī, and the celebration of the Feast of Lamps, or the *dīdāṇī*. But the past has been forgotten, and what is understood now is that the festival conduces in a mysterious way to the benefit of the cattle (*supra*, vol. LXI, pp. 1-3).

In Bengal there is current a peculiar mode of worshipping Lakṣmī, the Corn Goddess, which is also associated with the Feast of Lamps and certain processes which are supposed to conduce to the benefit not only of the cattle, but also of the household. This particular worship is offered by women only and is called *gārśī vrata*, a corruption of *gārhasṭhya* (household) *vrata* or *gāru vrata* (*gāru* from *ghara* ?).

Let me here give a summary account of the *gārśī vrata* as it is observed in the several districts of Bengal.

In the Narail subdivision of the Jessore district, the Bagerhat subdivision of the Khulna district and in some parts of Nadia district the ceremony is observed by every Hindu family in the latter part of the night preceding (i.e., in the early hours of) the *saṃkrāntī* day in Kārtika. Men and women leave their beds long before dawn, light a fire with *pāt* (jute) stems, sit round it for some time, and then apply *ghṛī*, tamarind, etc., to their lips. They say that this practice prevents cracking, and preserves the smoothness of their lips during the forthcoming winter.

In the districts of Pabna, Dacca, Noakhali, Bakarganj, Maimansingh and Faridpur, and some other parts of Nadia the *vrata* is celebrated by Hindu women of all classes on the *saṃkrāntī* of Āśvina, generally early in the morning, but in some places at noon also.

A remarkable feature of the worship in some cases is the disfiguration of an earthen image of Alakṣmī, whose nose and ears are cut off, after which Lakṣmī is ceremonially installed in the house. In Faridpur and Bakarganj the *kathā* (legend) of Lakṣmī is recited, after which the *purohita* worships the goddess. The *pājā* offerings consist of *khēśāri dāl* (খেসারি দাল, *Lathyrus sativus*), plantain, cocoanut, kernel of *tāla* (*Borassus flabellifer*), *sapṇā* (সপনা), *kumrā* (কুমড়া, a gourd growing in the rainy season) and *uri* (উড়ি) or *boro* rice. No produce of the ploughshare should form an offering. Sugarcane molasses are therefore excluded. In many places the ladies who perform the *vrata* eat the grains of *chīnā* (*Panicum miliaceum*). Children light stems of *pāt* (jute), and smoke them like cigarettes.

In Vikrampur the *gārśī vrata* is called the *gāru vrata*. In the small hours of the Āśvina *saṃkrāntī* day all rise from their beds, and blowing a conch, they light a torch of *pāt* sticks with which they make a circuit of the house, while elderly women recite a doggerel charm :

জোক পোক বাহির হ,
লক্ষী আসুক ঘরে ।

that is,

Out ye vermin (lit. leeches and worms),
Come Lakṣmī into the house.

Uttering this *mantra*, they take the light into all the rooms and then place it on the bedroom floor, where they roast green tamarind and apply the pulp to their lips as a protective charm against their cracking in winter. On this day the Hindus do not eat grains produced by the use of the ploughshare, or even fish caught in a net. It is their belief that unless they eat *śāluṅka* (*Nymphaea Lotus*) and *khēśāri dāl*, Alakṣmī will enter the house. In the evening the ladies light lamps all round the house.

In Nadia they beat a winnowing fan with a jute stem (পাঁকাটি, পাট-কাটি) and recite the following doggerels :

- (a) রাই সরিষা বেড়ার ফুল,
বা রে মশা গাঙের কুল ।
(b) এ বাড়ীর মশা মাছি ঐ বাড়ী যা,
ও বাড়ীর লক্ষ্মী ঠাকরুণ এই বাড়ী আয় ।

in which the mosquitoes are conjured to depart from the house and betake themselves to another house or cross the village river, and the goddess Lakṣmī is invited to enter. In the Hugli district children beat the winnowing fan to drive away the mosquitoes in the morning following the Kali pūjā day.

In Nadia and Faridpur another doggerel is recited on the occasion :

- আখিন যায় কার্তিক আসে,
মা লক্ষ্মী পাটে বসে :
ওল ওল ওল,
মহাদেবের বোল ॥¹

No produce of tillage is used. The cows and other animals of the villagers, e.g., sheep and goats, are well fed, bathed in the river and then made to cross it. Straw braids are hung on, or tied to, the jack-fruit trees, in the belief that this act promotes their fertility.

Although in other parts of the country the worship is regarded as that of Lakṣmī, in eastern Maimansingh it is recognised as a sort of worship offered to the dead mother-in-law. The following account has been taken from the Bengali magazine, *Pravāsa*, of 1330 B.S. The *vratā* is performed on the Āsvina *saṃkrānti* day. In the courtyard of the house a small tank is dug, and on its eastern side a rice plant and a *mān-kachā* plant (*Alocasia indica*) are planted. At the four corners and the four sides respectively are placed images of four crows and four kites made of rice-paste. On the western side is placed an effigy of a pig. Then a female figure with a baby on its lap is made of rice-paste and placed under the rice and *mān-kachā* plants. This is regarded as the representation of the mother-in-law. On a large wicker-work platter are arranged eight kinds of vegetables and all kinds of pulse (*dāl*), with the entire paraphernalia of cooking, and the platter is laid before the effigy. A *naivedya* (offering) is also placed there. The female votary then draws water from the tank and makes the effigy of her dead mother-in-law drink it. After the *vratā kathā* is recited, the effigy of the pig is sacrificed, and it and all the images (of crows, kites and mother-in-law) are buried in the tank. The *dāl* and vegetables together with grains of *chínā* (*Panicum miliaceum*) are cooked and eaten by her.

The above proceeding is strongly reminiscent of the primitive Mother Goddess found in the neolithic graves, e.g., of Crete and neighbouring places. Crows and ravens are associated with death. Mackenzie remarks that "the ravens take the place of the doves as the birds of the Mother Goddess."² Eagles and their congeners, the kites, are similarly associated with her. The female figure with the baby in its lap reminds us of the terracotta figurine described by Jackson in his paper entitled "Archæological Research at Patna": "With the possible exception of a single fragment, a small shaven head, it is noteworthy that every one of the terracotta human figurines or fragments which have come to light represents the

¹ I do not understand the meaning of the second couplet. From my inquiries regarding the *gāy-ḍān* festival at Wārisaliganj in the district of Gayā, I came to learn that *ol* (*Colocasia antiquorum*) is given to the cows to eat. We have already seen (*supra*, vol. LX, p. 190) that the Oraons give slices of *ol* to their cattle on the occasion of the Sohrai festival.

² *Myths of Crete and pre-Hellenic Europe*, p. 290.

form of a woman. There are several of very different sizes which represent a naked woman in a sitting posture, in one case holding a baby in her arms. This specimen is exactly similar to one recently found at Buxar, and the head in both cases is curiously primitive in type. One of the terracotta plaques is particularly interesting because it is identical with a specimen found by Spooner at Kumrahar, and because only three days later the Bulandibagh excavation yielded the upper half of another. The resemblance is so complete that all three have probably been produced by the same mould, and it seems as if this figure must be a representation of the Mother Goddess or similar female worship cult evidently diffused at Patna."³

The placing of the effigy of the female under the rice and *mān-kachā* plants is suggestive of her being associated with the spirit of vegetation, and she may be regarded as a Mother Goddess. The sacrifice of the pig effigy recalls the pig sacrifice in the worship of the primitive Mother Goddess. A pig was sacrificed to the Cretan Mother Goddess, though pork was taboo in Crete. The pig is equally an abomination to the Hindus, and it is not easily understood why a Hindu housewife should sacrifice it in effigy in the worship of her dead mother-in-law, unless the latter be regarded as the representation of a Mother Goddess. It seems that there has been in this worship a mingling of two ideas, viz. (1) of a burial ceremony and ancestor-worship, and (2) worship of the Mother Goddess Lakṣmī. It is remarkable that the housewife does not eat rice (popularly called Lakṣmī in Bengal), which becomes a sacred taboo on the day of worship (as books become a sacred taboo to us on the day of worship to Sarasvatī), but eats other grain.

Chindā and *urī* are regarded as growing wild and are not included among the produce of the ploughshare. *Urī* is the Sanskrit *nivāra*, or *trṇadhānyam*. It is a wild rice, the grains of which, when ripe, fall of themselves, and can be gathered and brought home (Yogesachandra Raya's *Bengali Dict.*, p. 482). *Boro* rice grows wild in marshes. *Chindā* was originally wild, though it is now cultivated in many places.

It has been seen that women are the officiants at the *gārsī vrata*, or the worship of Lakṣmī, Mother Goddess, the giver of food. Even in the hunting stage of human history, while men were occupied with the chase to find animal food, their women folk grew corn in the forest clearings. Bishop Whitehead says: "The fact, too, that agriculture among primitive races was the business of women rather than of men, as it is among the savage races of the present day, probably led to the village goddesses being at first worshipped by the women rather than by men."⁴

In the worship of the so-called dead mother-in-law there is a faint suggestion of her resemblance to the Cretan Mother Goddess. There is no doubt that the cult of the Mother Goddess prevailed throughout India, and particularly in Bengal, where the Tāntrik cult flourished so vigorously. Excavations in Bihār have revealed the existence there of a very ancient cult of the Mother Goddess. In the Patna Museum there is a terracotta female figure with a serpent, from Basārh, which strikes one as having a strong resemblance to the Cretan representation of the Mother Goddess. Many female figures and representations of females with hands clasped on the breast or resting on the hip, wearing scanty costume of archaic type, huge round ear-rings or, more rarely, wings (which Sir John Marshall ascribes to Mesopotamian influence) were discovered at Basārh.⁵ Jackson describes a very curious figure found at Patna of an animal with small projections or feet, a snake's head and woman's body. He writes⁶: "This figure, being entire, solves the puzzle regarding the nature of several though larger fragments, both of the head and the hour-glass shaped body, which have been found at Basārh, Buxar, etc., and the theory may be advanced that it was intended to represent a Nāgini."

³ JBORS., vol. XIII (June, 1927), pp. 126-127.

⁴ Whitehead—*The Village Gods of South India*, p. 150.

⁵ A.S.I.A.R., Eastern Circle, 1913-1914, Excavations at Basārh.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

In his interesting article, *Remains of a Prehistoric Civilization in the Gangetic Valley*,⁷ Dr. Banerji-Sāstri has given an account of terracottas of the chalcolithic period found in his excavations at Buxar. The figurines are of females and are of two types, (a) finished and (b) crude, the former wearing the hair in a variety of fashions, with elaborate head-dresses, and heavy ornamental ear-rings, etc., some presenting in head-dresses of volute-like smooth horn type a resemblance to examples from Harappā. "The cruder types are highly characteristic of the Mohenjo-daro and Sumerian types." There is a female figure with a child at the breast. Dr. Banerji-Sāstri says of the Buxar terracottas: "A study of these terracottas may suggest a clue to the ultimate cradle of the Sumerian and later civilizations of Western Asia. Of the two predominant types, the crude Series B, Nos. 1-7, may be compared with the crude figures in Sumer and Sindh; the highly finished and subtle types of Series A, Nos. 1-20, with pre-Sumerian, Eridu and the Ægean. The Buxar and Ægean Art, so sharply contrasted with the Sumer and Sindh simplicity, can be traced back to an earlier epoch; and the Asura may be equated with the pre-Sumerian Accad people of Assyria...."

Numerous terracotta figures representing nude females with elaborate head-dresses and ornaments have been discovered in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro. Sir John Marshall says: "They can hardly fail to be identified with the figures of the Mother Goddesses familiar in Mesopotamia and countries further to the west." Many similar objects, some of them of symbolic significance, discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā link these places in a civilization of the chalcolithic period styled the "Indus civilization." Sir John writes: "That the Indus civilization described above extended over Baluchistan and Waziristan as well as over Sindh and the Panjab has now been established; and there is evidence to show that it extended eastward over Cutch and Kathiawar towards the Dekhan. Whether it embraced Rajputana and Hindusthan and the valley of the Ganges remains to be proved." The finds at Buxar, Basārḥ and Patna seem to supply the evidence.

The burial of the mother-in-law in the tank somehow suggests to me the figure of a female outlined on a small gold leaf found in the deposit of human bones and charcoal in a burial mound at Lauriyā-Nandangaṛḥ opened by Dr. Bloch. He identified it with the burial mound (*śmaśāna*) described in the Vedic ritual, and the female figure with the Earth Goddess referred to in the Vedic burial hymn, "but both this interpretation and the date (seventh or eighth century B.C.) hazarded by the explorer for these mounds must be regarded as tentative only."⁸ I doubt if there was any Vedic ritual involved; but even if there were, the influence at work seems to be pre-Aryan, for in the Vedic theology goddesses play little part, and Pṛthivi is a faint character.⁹ There is evidence of the existence in Champaran of the cult of the Mother Goddess. What is more striking are the names, Lauriyā-Nandangaṛḥ, where the mound was opened, and Lauriyā Āraraj, probably associated with the *laur*, or phallic or pillar cult. The Aśokan pillar at Basārḥ is also similarly associated, as I learnt from inquiries from a man on the spot in 1927. The association of the Aśokan monolithic pillars with the phallic cult seems to suggest the earlier existence of this cult in India. Dr. J. H. Hutton, in his lecture on 'The Stone Age Cult of Assam,' delivered at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1928, suggested that "the erection of the prehistoric monoliths takes the form of *lingam* and *yoni*." He thought "that the Tāntrik form of worship, so prevalent in Assam, is probably due to the incorporation into Hinduism of a fertility cult which preceded it as the religion of the country."¹⁰ In the course of examination of the Sanskrit words *lāṅgala*, *lāṅgula* and *līṅga*, which he traces to Austro-Asiatic sources, Prof. Przyluski remarks: "It is more probable that the Aryans have borrowed from the aborigines of India the cult of *līṅga* as well as the

⁷ *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, vol. III (1930), pp. 187-191.

⁸ *C.H.I.*, p. 616; *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-1905.

⁹ *C.H.I.*, p. 105.

¹⁰ *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta University Publication, 1929). Intro., pp. xvii-xviii.

name of the idol (Śiva). These popular practices despised by the Brāhmins were well-known in old times."¹¹ At Mohenjo-daro were discovered curious ring stones and some phallus-like objects—the latter somewhat resembling in form the so-called 'Chessmen' pillars of Assam, possessing a religious character symbolical of the agents of generation, the worship of which goes to a very remote age in India. Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda says: "Sir John Marshall proposes to trace the cult of the phallic emblem of Śiva to the chalcolithic period by recognising in the 'Chessmenlike' objects and ring stones found at Mohenjo-daro *lingas* and *Yonis* respectively."¹²

There are certain features common to the worship of Lakṣmī in the *gārśī vrata* and that of Lakṣmī on the Kālī pūjā day. Take, for instance, the expulsion of Alakṣmī. In the Monghyr district on the *bhūta caturdaśī* day the Hindus make an image of cowdung representing *Alakṣmī* or *Dariddar*, and drag her out and humiliate her, suiting the action to the rude chant of the magic doggerel: *Lachhmī ghar, Dariddar bahār.*

Similarly in the Hugli district an effigy of cowdung representing Alakṣmī is made and, after a sort of perfunctory worship, it is made over to the children, who drag it outside, chanting loudly the while:

অলক্ষী বিদেয় হয়,
লক্ষী আসে ঘরে ।

In many places in Bengal on the night of Kālī pūjā (*amāvasyā*) first Alakṣmī is worshipped by the householder and, after her expulsion, Lakṣmī is installed in the house. This is also formally enjoined in the Bengali *pañjikā*: *Pradoṣe Śrī Śrī Lakṣmī o Alakṣmī pūjā.*

The dread aspect of Lakṣmī is Alakṣmī; her worship is therefore significant on the day of the worship of the great Mother Goddess, Kālī. And the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* supports this: "The *gupta-rūpī* Devī, the Devī who is 'unmanifested,' takes the three forms of Lakṣmī, Mahā Kālī and Sarasvatī. . . . As giver of wealth and prosperity she is Lakṣmī, and as destroyer of wealth and prosperity, Alakṣmī or Jyesthā Devī." On both the occasions of *gārśī vrata* and Kālī pūjā there is

- (1) the worship of the Mother Goddess on the last day (as once reckoned) of the year;
- (2) the illumination;
- (3) ancestor worship in (a) *dīpānvitā pārvāṇa śrāddha*, offered to the *pitṛs* or ancestors on the *bhūta caturdaśī* day, and (b) reminiscence in the form of worship of the dead mother-in-law in the account of *gārśī vrata* from eastern Maimansingh;
- (4) securing welfare to cattle;
- (5) recital of doggerel verses to drive out vermin.

I am reminded of similar circumstances attendant on the annual ritual of Osiris celebrated on the Egyptian new year's day in the worship of the cow-headed Isis, the Mother Goddess, and the nocturnal illumination, commemorating the dead ancestors (cf. the lighting of the celestial path of the ancestors of the Hindus on the *dīvālī* day) who revisit their old homes once a year.

In the Birbhūm district on the day following Kālī pūjā a small rude hut is made of straw, bamboos, jute and dried flowers of *sara* (*Saccharum arundinaceum*), which is then burnt down: I do not remember the details of the ceremony, which I saw in my childhood. An account is given in *Man in India* (vol. III) of the burning of human effigies of straw in some parts of Bengal on the last day of the Bengali month of Kārtika, which is known as *bhūl* or *bholā*, the purport of which is to kill vermin, and promote vegetation. What is the significance of this bonfire on the day following the Kālī pūjā and the last day of Kārtika, which

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

¹² *A.S.I. Memoir* No. 41, p. 36.

are respectively the days of the *gây-dān*, and *gārśī vrata* festivals? I think this represents a particular form of sacrifice to the Mother Goddess with a view to promote fertility of crops.

During the Holi festival also an effigy is burnt. Effigies are also burnt in bonfires in Europe, and sometimes the pretence is made of burning living persons. The burning of the effigy seems to be a survival of the ancient custom of sacrificing by fire the human animal, which symbolised the spirit of vegetation. In ancient Egypt and Sumer originally the king himself was killed as a sacrifice for vegetation. The king was the best victim, for he was the divine son of the Mother Goddess. The Osiris and Tammuz rites furnish evidence on the point. "The evidence, therefore, suggests," says Perry, "that human sacrifice was specially associated with the great Mother Goddess, and with the sun-god, and that the earlier phase was that in which the king himself was the victim."¹³ Later on, a subject, a captive or some other victim was substituted, e.g., in ancient Greece and Rome, in the rites of Thargelia, Saturnalia, and so on. In modern times the sacrifice was simulated in the burning of effigies. Ashes from the bonfires in India (e.g., *holi*, *bhūl*, *bhōl*, etc.) and Europe are conveyed to the fields for destroying vermin,¹⁴ preventing blights and promoting the fertility of the crops, besides averting ill-luck and disease. In other words, the remnants of the victim immolated are conveyed to fields in the same manner as shreds of flesh torn from the Meriah (and in ancient times the Dionysian and Osirian victims) to promote the growth of crops.

From the human representative dying in the character of the god of vegetation the passage was easy to his vicariously suffering for man and bearing the entire burden of his sins manifested in his sorrows and misfortunes. The idea of the scapegoat became complete, and in a later age of mercy and civilization when the savage brutality of old gradually came to be mitigated, effigies and substitutes were allowed to take the place of the living originals. Effigies representing the old year had to bear the burden of the sins of the entire year, and were tried, shot or (and) burnt (cf. the burning of the *Saṃvat*); or else human representatives of the old year (e.g., in Tibet) or even animals had to bear the sin of the community and were driven beyond the boundary. The ancient Egyptians heaped their sins, past and future, on the sacred cows and bulls, and then got rid of them by killing the animals. Cocks, goats and pigs were similarly believed to carry away the sins of the community. The taking the cattle for the *gây-dān* generally outside the village (*baṭṭ*) (cf. the *Sohcrai* festival of the Oraons), driving the cattle across the river in the *gārśī vrata*, and dragging the cart to the village boundary in the Pallallamma worship—all suggest transference of the sin of the village beyond the boundary. The driving away of Alakṣmī and the installation of Lakṣmī in her place has its close parallel in the ceremony of the human scapegoat in ancient Greece known as "the expulsion of hunger," when the slave was beaten with the rods of *agnus custus* and turned out of doors with the words: "Out with hunger and in with wealth and health."¹⁵ Possibly the pig in the *gây-dān* takes away the vices of the cows (and of the villagers) on the new year's day, and with its sacrifice are extinguished all influences harmful to vegetation.

There are points of contact between the Indus civilization and that of pre-dynastic Egypt (e.g., in respect of faience sealings) and that of Sumer (e.g., in the Mother Goddess cult). It would be interesting to investigate the connexion between the ancient Mother Goddess cult of India and that of Europe.

¹³ *The Children of the Sun*, pp. 222, 223.

¹⁴ 'Insect Pests and some South Indian Beliefs,' in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XVI, p. 19.

¹⁵ *The Golden Bough*, p. 578.

THE INITIAL DATE OF THE GĀNGEYA ERA.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purdattva-vichakshana*.

MANY attempts have been made by scholars to ascertain the initial year of the Gāngeya Sāṃvat, but they have failed because they had not sufficient material to work upon. Several new inscriptions having recently come to light, we are in a position to fix it more accurately. Mr. R. Subba Rao has written a series of articles on the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga in the pages of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*. The latest, "The History of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Kalinga," appeared in Volume V, Part 4 of that journal. Mr. Rao has discussed the matter at length and met the arguments of his predecessors on this vexed question. Unfortunately he, too, has failed to hit upon the correct initial year, although he has come very near the truth. We shall presently see that his failure was due to his taking a doubtful starting point and not testing his conclusion with some of the facts disclosed in the inscriptions.

We have based our conclusion on the following unassailable data :—

1. The Nadgām plates of the Gaṅga Mahārājādhirāja Vajrahastadeva (III), Lord of Trikaṅga, giving the genealogy and the chronology of his predecessors.¹

2. The Simhipura copper-plate grant of the Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi, dated the Gaṅga-Kadamba era 520, in the reign of Devendravarma (-Kāmārṇava), son of Anantavarma (-Aniyaṅkabhīma-Vajrahasta II).²

3. The Chicacole grant of Gaṅga Mahārāja Indrarvarman of Kalinga issued in the Gāngeya era 128, in connection with a gift made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīra.³

Now it is worthy of note that the first of these inscriptions, viz., the Nadgām plates of Śaka 979 of Vajrahastadeva III gives Śaka 960 as the date of the coronation of that Gaṅga king. Some details specified about this date enabled F. Kielhorn to make the necessary calculations, and he was of opinion that this coronation date corresponds to Sunday, 9th April 1038 A.D. Further the same Nadgām plates specify the number of years during which Vajrahasta, the donor, and his predecessors each reigned. This enables us to give below a chart showing the genealogy from Anantavarma-Aniyaṅkabhīma-Vajrahasta II to Anantavarma-Vajrahasta III, together with the number of years each reigned in terms of A.D.

1. (Anantavarma-)Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhīma II

35 years

(980-1015 A.D.) = 902-937 Śaka.

2. Devendravarma-Kāmārṇava

 $\frac{1}{2}$ year (1015-16 A.D.)

3. Guṇḍana

3 years (1016-19 A.D.)

4. Madhukāmārṇava

19 years (1019-38 A.D.)

5. (Anantavarma-)Vajrahasta III.

Accession in Śaka 960 = Sunday, 9th April 1038 A.D.

The above table shows that No. 2, Devendravarma, ruled in 1015-16 A.D. From the Simhipura grant of Dharmakheḍi we learn that this king, Devendravarma, ruled in 520 Gaṅga-Kadamba era. Now it is admitted that the Gaṅga-Kadamba Sāṃvat and the Gāngeya Sāṃvat are one and the same era. As Devendravarma ruled for only six months, 520 Gāngeya era must coincide with 1015-16 A.D. This being so, the initial year of the Gāngeya Sāṃvat cannot but correspond to (1015-16-520=) 495-96 A.D.

The Chicacole grant of Indrarvarman, dated 128 Gāngeya era, records a gift made on account of a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīra. Now, according to our calculation, Gāngeya era 128 corresponds to (128+495-96=) 623-24 A.D. On a reference to the Table X, p. 55, of Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, we find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīra in 624 A.D. This confirms the conclusion that the Gāngeya era started in 496 A.D.

Mr. Subba Rao thinks that the starting point of the Gāngeya Sāṃvat is 494 A.D., but this does not satisfy the above test. According to his view, 128 Gāngeya era corresponds

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 189. ² *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, vol. III, p. 179. ³ *I.A.*, vol. XIII, p. 120.

to 622 A.D., but there was no lunar eclipse in the month *Mārgaśīra* in this year or in any of the fourteen preceding years. It is rather strange that Mr. Subba Rao should fail to avail of this test, although he himself noticed that Fleet remarked that the 'clue to the date might perhaps be found in the mention of the eclipse of the moon in Indravarma's grant of the 128th year.' He has committed another mistake in not basing his starting point on the coronation date of Anantavarman Vajrahasta III, as given in the Nadgām plates, which he himself admits are "approved by all scholars as historical and trustworthy." He has, on the other hand, wrongly assumed the date of coronation of Vajrahasta II to be Śaka 901, and has quoted Mr. Ramdas as his authority.⁴ But Mr. Ramdas wrote that Dharmakheḍi, the donor of the Mandasa grant, "must have been crowned in Śaka 901."⁵ Mr. Rao took it for his overlord Vajrahasta II. According to this date, the interval between the accessions of the two Vajrahastas (Śaka 901-960) was 59 years, whereas according to the Nadgām plates the difference is $(35 + \frac{1}{2} + 3 + 19 =) 57\frac{1}{2}$ years. This discrepancy should have roused the suspicion of Mr. Subba Rao in regard to the accuracy of his assumption of the date of accession of Vajrahasta II.

Now let us see whether our date can satisfy other astronomical data found in the plates of the Gaṅga kings hitherto discovered. The plates dated the 51st,⁶ 134th,⁷ 221st,⁸ 304th,⁹ 351st¹⁰ and 397th¹¹ years of the Gaṅgeya era record grants made on account of solar eclipses. They correspond to 547, 650, 717, 800, 847 and 893 A.D., respectively. Referring to Table X of Pillay's *Indian Chronology*, we find that there were solar eclipses in the years 547, 650 and 800 A.D. As regards the remaining three dates, solar eclipses took place in the immediately preceding years. It is well-known that solar or lunar eclipses may take place in the same year as that of a copper-plate grant or even one year previous, as we see from a critical study of the inscriptions, but of course no grant can possibly be issued in regard to an eclipse which has not yet taken place. So these astronomical data do not go against our conclusion. Whereas if we accept Mr. Subba Rao's date for the commencement of the Gaṅgeya era, we find that there was no solar eclipse in 304 Gaṅgeya era (corresponding to 798 A.D.), nor in the preceding year.

BOOK-NOTICES.

PREHISTORIC CAVE ART IN INDIA.
MEMOIR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 24,
Rock Paintings, by RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN
GHOSE.

Prehistoric cave paintings occur in many parts of the world. They have been studied in Western Europe, in South America, and in many parts of Africa. They often give considerable information to the student of the prehistory of the particular district where they occur. They can roughly be grouped under two heads: (1) naturalistic or semi-naturalistic, (2) conventionalised or symbolic. It used to be considered that in regard to cave art similar styles in different regions necessarily meant that a similar culture was responsible for them in the two areas. Especially was this thought to be true for case (2). So many different kinds of conventionalisation or symbol can be devised that it was deemed unlikely that two different cultures would independently invent the same signs to portray the various objects and information they desired. Later investigation has suggested that the above dogma, though probable in many cases, is not necessarily always valid. For example the frequent similarity of certain symbols in South American

rock-shelter art with those occurring under similar conditions in South Spain in the Copper Age is striking. Yet it is quite impossible to postulate any connection between the two localities in that remote period.

That cave paintings occur in Central India has been known for a long time. Reproductions from paintings in Singanpur cave appear in Panchanan Mitra's book, *Prehistoric India*, which was published in 1923. Unfortunately in this work there seems to have been some rather careless proof-reading, and several European and other sites, illustrated to show their similarity to the Indian finds, appear labelled as themselves Indian. As a result there developed in some people's minds a perhaps rather sceptical attitude in respect to these Indian cave drawings. Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghose has, therefore, done a good work in re-examining the whole matter and in publishing the results of his new and extensive explorations. The book is clearly written and well illustrated.

There are four districts where the cave paintings here described occur: (1) on the left bank of the river Sanjai, 16 miles north-west of Chaibāsa in

⁴ *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. V, pp. 266 and 274. ⁵ *JBORS.*, vol. XVII, p. 180. ⁶ *I.A.*, vol. XII, p. 275.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 309. ⁸ *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. II, p. 187. ⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18.

¹⁰ *I.A.*, vol. XIV, p. 11.

¹¹ *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. II, p. 180.

Chotâ Nâgpur, (2) near Naharpâli, a small station on the main Bengal-Nâgpur railway, (3) in the valley of the Son in the Vindhya, Mîrzâpur dist., accessible from the town of Ahaurâ, (4) about 2 miles from the town of Hoshangâbâd. The paintings consist of animals, men and signs. The colour, as a rule, appears to be red or reddish-purple, though a brown pigment was sometimes used. The style is mainly naturalistic, though signs and patterns occur.

Stone implements were collected at or near the sites, though it does not appear that any really systematic excavation was undertaken. This is to be regretted, as the finds, as illustrated, represent a very "mixed bag." Plate XII (b), No. 22, for example, is apparently Lower Palæolithic in age and comparable with many similar specimens belonging to Series 1 (see *Antiquity*, Sept. 1930), which have been found in the re-deposited laterite of the Madras area: Plate XII (a) on the other hand is almost certainly much later in date and possibly to be referred to Series 4. Although the author in cataloguing the specimens has labelled many as Palæolithic, it is not perhaps always certain that this appellation is correct. Much further work in India's earliest prehistory is necessary before comparisons with cultures from other far-distant areas can be reasonably attempted. Probably, too, it would be advantageous if more collections of material from outside India could be distributed over the country for comparative purposes. This could have been easily arranged if a stupid law—as it seems to the outsider—did not make it difficult to export duplicates of archaeological specimens out of India.

At any rate the author has done a fine piece of work, even if it would appear as yet dangerous to attempt any correlation of this Indian cave art with that found in Europe or Africa. He has given us a monograph of facts which are of great interest and will prove of even greater importance as our knowledge increases.

M. C. BURKITT.

DJAWA, bi-monthly journal of the *Java Institute*, published at Jogjakarta, Java. (July 1931 to June 1932.)

The latest numbers of *Djawa* give proof of the continued activity of the Java Institute (of which H. H. Prince Mangkunagara VII, of Surakarta, is the President and Raden Adipati Professor Dr. Husein Djaya liningrat, the Chairman) in bringing important articles before the public and stimulating critical discussions, not only in respect of the antiquities and past institutions of Java, but also of all aspects of living Javanese culture. And since in Java, as in other eastern countries, modern civilisation is rarely far divorced from past developments, both sides of this Institute's activities blend harmoniously.

As a means of judging of the changes which western contacts are bringing about among the Javanese, Dr. Th. Pigeaud's survey of *Javanese Literature during the last forty years* is most useful. The author points out that by the commencement of the nineties of last century the older generation of Javanese scholars, whose work was entirely steeped in the traditions of the past, had died out and a new period had commenced. Western schooling and the fact that especially the more cultured among the Javanese increasingly came to use Dutch as their vehicle, tended to produce a set-back in the development of Javanese literature, even though respect for the traditional past was never lost. Gradually, however, especially owing to the enlightened support and personal interest of several of the Javanese Princes, both in Surakarta and in Jogjakarta, a keener study of and a more active production of Javanese literature revived. By a happy coincidence, articles devoted respectively to the 40-years jubilee of H. H. Prince Pakubuwana X, Susuhunan of Surakarta, and the 25-years jubilee of H. H. Prince Pakualam VII, of Jogjakarta, give one an opportunity to judge of some of the ways in which these Rulers and their predecessors have stimulated interest in and the study of Javanese literature, art and antiquities.

Music, the drama and dancing are regularly dealt with in *Djawa*. In recent numbers Mr. H. Overbeck has devoted some interesting critical notes to Dr. Rassers' *The Origin of the Javanese Drama*, whilst Mr. and Mrs. Brandts Buys-Van Zyp, whose studies in Indonesian music are well known, supply an interesting, illustrated account of "earth-harps" and other string instruments in which the strings are stretched over holes in the ground and provided with ingenious sounding boards of various kinds. A *propos* of the Balinese musicians, whose delightful *gamelan* music was enjoyed by thousands at last year's Colonial Exhibition in Paris, the Dutch musical critic, M. Matthys Vermeulen, and Dr. Jaap Kunst, the musicologist to the Dutch East Indian Government, break a couple of lances with enthusiasm and vehemence, leaving the reader with the strong desire to hear some more of the charming Balinese music for himself. The essential features and the wide popularity of *Sundanese Dances* are dealt with by Raden Ibrahim Singadilaga on the basis of an article in Sundanese by M. Suriadiraja and I. Adiwijaya.

With regard to ancient customs and traditions, further articles appear from the work of the late Haji Hasan Mustafa on *The Adat* (i.e., traditional) *Customs of the Sundanese*, while Raden Sujana Tirtakusuma proves the survival to our day of some of the ancient customs in his description of the solemn procession of the sacred *Blue Banner*, which was held last January in the city of Jogjakarta in order to mitigate, so it was faithfully believed by those who urged the holding of this rare ceremony,

the scourge of plague in Kota Gedé, once the capital of the empire of Mataram, now a market town of some little importance in the Sultanate of Jogjakarta. Another aspect of ceremonial processions is dealt with in Dr. Th. Pigeaud's review of recent works on the *Garebegs in Jogjakarta*.

A remarkable example of the survival of Indian influences even in the Muhammadan art of Java is provided by Dr. K. C. Orucq in his description of three carved wooden and gault panels in the Kraton Kasepuhan at Cheribon. These panels, which bear the Javanese equivalent of the year 1827 A.D., are covered with pious Muhammadan inscriptions, but curiously enough include two *Cakesa* figures, the one standing on a lion, the other seated on an elephant. These figures are drawn much as they would have been, had they been produced in the transition period of the sixteenth century, instead of in the nineteenth. The clouds, certain parts of the ornaments and the lions give the impression of Chinese motives, but these are in fact dexterously made up out of the ornamental Arabic lettering.

Among other publications of the Java Institute announced in *Djâwâ* are a *Pictorial History of the Civilisation of Java*, with text in Dutch, English and German; an important study of the mountain people of the *Tengger* by J. E. Jasper; the complete works of the late Prince Mangkunggara IV (3 vols.); *Madurese Music* by Mr. and Mrs. Brandts Buys-Van Zyp and *Living Antiquities of West Java* by B. van Tricht.

In the face of all this activity, much of which is of distinct interest to the student of Indian archaeology and art, it seems a pity that the language barrier renders almost the whole of this work inaccessible to most British or Indian students. Seeing that *Djâwâ* from time to time contains translations of articles of interest to Javanese students which have appeared in England or in India (e.g., *The Makara in Indian Art*, by D. Ghosh, from the *Calcutta Review*) one wonders whether it would not be possible to establish relations between the Java Institute and kindred societies in England and India which would enable such part of their publications as is of especial interest to the students of Indian archaeology, art or literature, to be made available in English, either in full or by way of summaries.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

HISTORY OF ORISSA, vols. I-II, by R. D. BANERJEE.
R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.

The author of this valuable work needs no introduction. By his prolific writings on Epigraphy and Numismatics he has placed ample materials at our disposal for the reconstruction of the ancient history of India. But he was not a mere Archaeologist. He was also a historian. His book, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, clearly shows that he could digest epigraphic and

other materials into a consistent history of a Province. What he did for Bengal in Bengali he has now done for Orissa in English. This latter work, however, is to the former what a macrocosm is to a microcosm. It may not be original in conception, but is certainly gigantic in execution. It is true that so far as the first volume is concerned he has been anticipated by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in his *Orissa in the Making*, but taking into consideration the whole period beginning from prehistoric times down to the British conquest of Orissa, the latter book bears no comparison to the stupendous work done by Banerji. Every one of the chapters in his volume reads well and is packed with information; and one cannot help regretting that the author of this work did not live to see its publication.

It should not, however, be supposed that there can be no differences of opinion in regard to the views Banerji has propounded or even that he has not in some cases—fortunately for us very few—fallen into blunders. So far as the earlier part of his first volume is concerned his work is of far better quality. But continuous history of Orissa begins with the mediæval period, that is, after the death of Harṣha. He does not seem to have taken equally great pains over this period, and we will specify a few instances to show what we mean. Fortunately for us the first volume of Dr. Hem Chandra Ray's work entitled *The Dynastic History of Northern India* has just come to hand, and chapter VII thereof treats of the "Dynamics of Orissa." There is thus much in common between the two books and this serves admirably for the purpose of comparison. It is not our object here to institute any detailed comparison. It will be quite sufficient if we turn to chapter XIV of vol. I of Banerji's work which gives an account of 'the Somavamśi Kings of Kosala, and compare it with what Dr. Ray says about the same subject in his book. Here Banerji adopts the view of Rai Bahadur Hiralal that the Somavamśi princes of Trikalīṅga are descendants of the Somavamśi kings of Śrīpura. The only argument in favour of it is that both are Somavamśi, that is, belong to the lunar race. But, by itself, this is a dangerous argument, because in that case we have to suppose that the Rāthods of Jodhpur and the Śisodiyās of Udaipur pertain to the same clan, because both are Śūryavamśi. Nothing, however, is more untrue. Rai Bahadur Hiralal is no doubt right when he says that Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavāgupta denote the official titles (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 187, n. 1) borne by father and son from among the Somavamśi kings of Trikalīṅga, but perhaps he goes too far when he asserts that the proper names Mahāśiva and Bhavadēva in the dynastic list of Śrīpura are similar official titles. These names, be it noted, are Mahāśiva and Bhavadēva, not even Mahāśiva and Mahābhava, and not Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta, which alone can rightly be taken as official titles. The

latter titles again alternate regularly in the case of the kings of Trikalīnga, but Mahāśiva and Bhavadeva occur each only once in the case of the other rulers. These last again, as is quite clear from their inscriptions, belonged to the Pāṇḍava family, and it is not quite clear why the kings of Trikalīnga make no mention of this family name even once in their records, if they were really descended from the former. There is, in fact, nothing to show that both these sets of rulers pertained to one family or clan, as suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, or, long before him, by Cunningham (*ASIR.*, vol. XVII, pp. 17, 85 and 87). Dr. Hemchandra Ray has thus done well by not blindly following in the footsteps of his predecessors. But Banerji holds that the first king of this dynasty is Mahābhavagupta-Janamejaya, and not his father Śivagupta. He, however, ignores in this connection an attribute occurring in the Jaṭeśiṅga-Dungrī (Sonpur State) Plates published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in *JBORS.*, vol. II, p. 52 ff., which were issued by Mahāśivagupta-Yayātideva, successor of Mahābhavaguptadeva. The former speaks of himself here as *svabhūjopārjita-Trikaliṅga-ādhipati*, 'Lord of the Trikalīnga (country) acquired through his own arms.' Evidently he was the first king of the dynasty of Trikalīnga, and must be taken as the father, not the son of the Mahābhavagupta wrongly taken as the first king by Banerji. It is true that the Jaṭeśiṅga-Dungrī Plates couple the titles of the supreme ruler not only with the son of Mahāśivagupta but also with the father, Mahābhavagupta. The first, however, made himself the founder of the Trikalīnga family. The father no doubt was an overlord, but must have ruled elsewhere. There is a nominative termination after *svabhūjopārjita-Trikaliṅga-ādhipati* which has been ignored, but which shows that it is an epithet of Mahāśivagupta. The transcript of Mr. Mazumdar is quite clear on this point, and is in entire agreement with the facsimile which accompanied his article. As regards what Banerji has said about Yayātikēsari, we have now to correct and supplement it in the light of the Ratnagiri and Balijhari Plates printed in *JBORS.*, vol. XVI, p. 209 ff., and vol. XVII, p. 15 ff. But it is no fault of these scholars if their books do not contain the information supplied by these inscriptions, because these were published after their books were printed.

Similar differences of opinion are possible also in regard to the accounts given by Banerji of the other dynasties of the mediæval period, such, e.g., as the Karaṣ. My views about them all will be found in the *Genealogical Lists* that will follow my *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, which is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Suffice it to say here, that Banerji has allowed himself to be obsessed with the transcripts and interpretations of his predecessors, notably the late MM. Haraprasād Sāstri. To mention one instance,

the Bhīmnagarigadh Plato of Tribhuvana-mallā-devī, edited by this last scholar, has the following in lines 17-18: *devi-Purāyi-devyā śrī-Gosvāminyā*, '(who was entreated) by Gosvāminī Purāyi Devī,' and *nāthava suchiram dhāray=aināṣ* 'like a lord, rule the kingdom' (*JBORS.*, vol. II, pp. 422-3, and 426). A reference to the facsimile would have convinced Banerji that Haraprasād Sāstri's reading and translation were both wrong. In the first place, *devi-Purāyi-devyā* is wrongly read for *devi pur=āpi devyā*. It will thus be seen that there was no such person as Purāyi-devī as assumed by Sāstri and Banerji. Secondly, *nāthava* is an obvious misreading for *tath=aiava*, and it is not quite clear how such a Sanskritist as Sāstri translated *nāthava* by 'like a lord' as if it was *nāth=iva*.

There are different scholars who have specialised in the different periods of Indian History. Thus there are some who are experts in the Hindu, some in the Muhammadan, and some in the British, period of India. But there is hardly any scholar who has handled the three periods of Indian History. The only exception perhaps was R. D. Banerji. This will be assented to by any student who pores over his *History of Bengal*, and particularly his *History of Orissa* which is the subject of this review. Similarly he was an all-round archaeologist. That he was an expert epigraphist and numismatist was known to every student of archaeology. But that he was also some authority on Art and Architecture will now be conceded by every body who reads chapters XXIX and XXX of his book. Both of them, especially the latter, are profusely illustrated. The reproductions are the best that can be made in India. In any case they are superior even to those of the present publications of the Archaeological Survey of India. Now, even in these chapters there is ample scope for honest differences of opinion, some of which only we will point out here though very briefly. The first of them deals with Mediæval Architecture. He refers us to a Hoal inscription which speaks of four types of architecture, namely, Nāgara, Kālīnga, Drāvida and Veśara. Hitherto the temples of Orissa had been assigned to the Nāgara type, but he now dubs them as Kālīnga, and bases the distinction merely on the difference of the spire, even when the *śikhara* of the Orissa temples is not materially different from that of the Nāgara style. Both have the curvilinear *śikhara* which indicates one type of spire. The Orissa spires are thus variations of one theme. No case has therefore been made out in favour of the Orissa temples being of the Kālīnga, as distinct from the Nāgara, type of architecture. Again, Banerji attempts not only a novel denomination, as we have just seen, but also a novel chronology as we shall show. The earliest and the latest temples are recognised by him in conformity with the established opinion. But between these two he introduces a 'second' group simply on the

ground that it has no *jagamohana*. From all other features, however, such as curvature of *sikhara*, style of ornamentation, relation of decoration to architecture and so forth, it is clear that temples without a *jagamohana* were not a group by themselves but were a variation contemporary with or posterior, as the case may be, to the first group. Again, this first group of temples Banerji considers to be represented by (1) Paraśurāmaśvara at Bhuvanēśvar, (2) the twin temples of Gaudharādi in the Baudh State, discovered by him, and (3) Mukteśvar (Bhuvanēśvar) in chronological sequence. The stylistic considerations do not, however, support his placing the Gandharādi temples prior to Mukteśvar, and perhaps the partiality of the discoverer for his discovery may be accountable for it.

The subsequent chapter deals with "Plastic Art." Very rightly the sculptures of Utkala are considered apart from those of Kaliṅga. The former are analysed with considerable insight and assigned to fairly well-substantiated periods, though in the latter group the treatment is a bit superficial. It would be unfair to blame an author for these shortcomings of his posthumous publication. Although they lack consistency of treatment, they are courageous attempts, offer many suggestions and place many new problems before the student.

In spite of the differences of opinion such as those noted above, it cannot be denied that the work of R. D. Banerji is of extreme interest and much value. And it is not possible to thank Babu Ramanaṇḍ Chatterji sufficiently for helping the publication of such a work. It is devoutly hoped that other Indian journalists and publishers will follow his worthy example by arranging for the publication of original works on Indian History by the serious students of this subject who find it well-nigh impossible to bring them out themselves as Kubera has just now fled away from Bhāratavarsha, leaving Sarasvatī forelorn.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

A STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS, by S. K. CHAKRABORTTY, M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh. Published by the author, 1931. Rs. 5 or 8s.

This little book is a useful digest of the present knowledge of the indigenous coinage of India up to the third century A.D., with special reference to Northern India. It has been prepared after a careful study of the literature on the subject, but not apparently with much personal acquaintance with the actual coins. The most notable omissions from the list of authorities used are Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* edited by E. Thomas, a book which is still the main authority for certain classes of ancient Indian coins, and the series of papers by Professor Rapson on Ancient Indian Coins and Seals, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* after his valuable book in Bühler's *Grundriss*.

A preliminary chapter on the evolution of coinage, taken from well-known authorities is followed by one dealing with the problem of the origin of coinage in India. Here the author combats, as most scholars have done, the argument by Professor Bhandarkar in his Carmichael lectures, 1921, that

money was coined in India as early as the third millennium before Christ. If this theory were correct it would be strange that such a valuable discovery had not spread westwards and that no traces of it had remained except in literature. Following Cunningham, Professor Chakrabortty thinks that Indian coinage may have begun as early as 1000 B.C. and he holds that its origin cannot be later than 800 B.C.

A chapter on weights and denominations which summarises the information in the Sanskrit classics is not altogether clear; and another on the metrology of the coins themselves is also not well arranged. It is not correct to conclude (p. 68) that India had not progressed to the stage of gold coins before the Kushānas. Gold coins of the successors of Alexander are known, though rare. The absence of silver coins of the Kushānas is due not to the linking of gold to copper (p. 79), but to the existence of a copious amount of silver coins in the country, which had been struck by the predecessors of this dynasty. A similar blank, but in the copper coinage of northern India, is to be observed in the seventeenth century. Kushāna copper coins evidently had a long currency as the worn condition of specimens show, and they were probably still existing during the Gupta period, and obviated the necessity for fresh coinage then. It is most improbable that copper was ever a mere token currency in the period dealt with (p. 80).

In the undeveloped condition of the country about the beginning of the Christian era it is not difficult to account for the variations in weights by defects in manufacture, rather than by attempts to measure small and casual variations in the relative values of metals. Moreover, the published material does not give a sufficiently long series of weights on which to base final conclusions. Fresh light on these questions may soon be expected when the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient coins is published. It should also be of great assistance in dealing with the question of the authority which issued the punch-marked coins (chap. VI), on which the author takes the later view, that these are state and not private coins.

The most valuable portion of the book is the last chapter, in which there is a brief summary of the classes of coins which occur, and an analysis of their types with full references to the authorities. This is a method which has had fruitful results in the dating of Greek and Roman coins, and deserves to be pursued. A few notes on these may be offered. Dr. V. A. Smith's reading of 'drama' on the Yaudheya coins (p. 223) is not supported by the coins themselves, and the equation to the Greek drachm is improbable. *Bhāgavata* on the Auḍumbara coins may mean 'worshippers,' as on the Gupta silver coins, and need not refer to a god (p. 161). Cunningham's reading of *Ārāṇāyā* on the coins of Gomitra is probably incorrect (p. 175). The identification of three elephants with riders on a type of Muttra coin (p. 203) is due to imperfect specimens, and the device is really a trident with garlands hanging from it. The name read doubtfully as Ghosha on another Muttra coin (p. 202) should be Siva Ghoṣa, a satrap.

R. BURN.

INDEX.

Sc. stands for the Supplement *The Scattergoods and the East India Company* (continued from vol. LX), pp. 115—202.

I.A.V. stands for the Supplement *On The Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars* (continued from vol. LX), pp. 57—102.

- '*Abdu'l-qhāfār* (Abdell Gaford) .. Sc. 202
'*Abdur-Razzāq*, on Vijayanagara history 219,
223—225
ibkalālnī (flood season of April to August) .. 88
accent, clause and word stress-accent in
Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars I.A.V. 73, 74
Achyuta Rāya (Chyitarao) .. 217, 219
Acta Orientalia, and the *Buddha's jālalakṣana* 200
Acts of Judas Thomas 159
Adam Pir of Sakro 87
Adams, Robt. .. Sc. 123, 127, 128, 131, 145, 146
Addison Sc. 168, 170, 173
Adichanallur, ancient burials at .. 21, 22
Adiyans, a Wynad tribe 174
Affleck, Gilbert Sc. 167, 172, 175, 178, 182,
186, 198
Agasti and the *gotras* 54
Agathodaimonos (Great Nicobar) .. 37
Ahriman, story of 200
Ahuramazda, and the Achæmenian kings .. 200
Ain-i-Akbarī, and the maund .. 8, 24
Airikipa (modern Eran), note on the name .. 159
Aislabie, Sir Wm., 'Gen.' Sc. 116, 124, 125,
128, 129, 131, 143, 146, 154
Aiyangar, S. K.—
The Mahābhārata, a Critical Edition .. 118
The Mahābhārata, The Southern Recension .. 119
A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manu-
scripts in The Sarasvati Library, Tanjore .. 138
Ajayapāla of Gujārāt 192
Ajayavarman, Mahākumāra .. 194, 212, 213
Alakṣvari (Rūpa) Bhawānti 127
Alakṣmi, and the *gāyatrī* festival 231, 235, 236
Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh (of Gulbarga) and
Deva Rāya II 224
Albert, Henry Sc. 134, 135, 148, 154
Alexander the Great and Gedrosia 98
Alexander's passage of the Jhelum .. 183—185
alphabets and pronunciation of M.I.A.Vs.
I.A.V. 57—69
Alvarez Sc. 173
Amity Sc. 115, 116, 123—128, 131, 132, 134,
136, 137, 144, 146, 151, 154
Amohini tablet of Mahākshetrāpa Śodāsa .. 100
Amoy junk, the affair of the .. Sc. 152, 159—161
Amuṣhyāyapaṣ, Śarmans (clan names) of the
Nāgar Brāhmanas .. 41, 62, 61, 62, 65, 69
Anandapura (Vadnagar), Brāhmanas of 41;
(Nagara) 46, 47, 65, 68
Anasrahta, k., and the Nāt-Hlāung temple,
Pagan 175, 176
Andhan ji Māri, building w. of Hilaya .. 87, 90
aṅgam (single combat) 12, 76, 112—115
Angria, pirate, corsair, .. Sc. 130, 191, 196, 202
Ann (Anne) .. Sc. 136—138, 151, 152,
155, 158—161, 185—188
Anna batchies, Anna ketchies. See Aunna
ketchies.
Annual Bibliography of Indian ..rchæology for
the Year 1929 (book-notice) 221
Annual Report, Archaeological Department of
H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions for the Year
1928-1929 (book-notice) 220
Angua (and Lingua, Chinese firm at Canton),
Sc. 117, 119, 120, 137, 138, 142, 144, 160,
161, 182, 191, 202
Anseam (Asion) and Siam 91
Aornos, 'Rock' of, identification of .. 131
Apabhramśa dialect I.A.V. 100, 102
Arabella Sc. 115, 133, 156
Arabic character, Persian form of the .. I.A.V. 67
Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report
for the Year 1926-27 (book-notice) .. 79
Do. do. for 1927-28 180
Archæologische Mittheilungen aus Iran, and re-
search on Sakastān, etc. 137
Archiv Orientalni, on Central Asian loan-words 201
Areca (nut, leaf-nut) and *puga* 182
Arjunavarman, Mahākumāra .. 194, 212—215
Arlond, Capt. Ed. Sc. 125, 129, 138, 143, 146
152, 153
Armenians as freighters, compensation not
allowed to Sc. 151
Arrian on Alexander's passage of the Jhelum .. 183
ārṣa and *gotra* 61
Arthasāstra and women's property .. 149
aruna (Hittite 'sea') and Varuṇa .. 18
asamāna-gotrātva 55
asamāna-pravarātva 55
Asoka and the Buddha relics 17; edicts of, re-
cently discovered at Kopāl 39, and at
Erragudi 80; pillars of, and the phallic
cult 234. See also inscriptions.
Assyrians in Asia Minor, c. 2000 B.C. .. 201
astrology among the Malayālis 112
A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, by
S. K. Chakraborty (book-notice) .. 242
Aśvalāyana on the adoption of *pravaras* .. 53
Aśvalāyana Śrautasūtra on marriage .. 54
asvamedha, sacrifice, performed by Puṣyamitra 102
atlas (satin) Sc. 132
Aṭṭipēṇḍi (complete purchase of freehold land) 114

- Anne ketchies (possibly a coarse cloth made at Unā) 31
 Aurengzeb Sc. 152
 Aurora, corvette 38
 avatāras of Viṣṇu, at Pagan 178, 179, 197, 198
 Averilla Sc. 139
 Ayodhyā, Śuṅga inscrip. at 102
- Bābur, his 'maund of Hind' 5, 7, 8
 Badagas and the Nilgiris 172, 173
 Bājirāo in Mālwā and Bundelkhānd 161
 Ballad of Kerala 9—12, 72—77, 112—116, 150—154, 205—211
 Ballāla (Hoysala) overthrows Yaśovarman
 Paramāra 192, 213
 Belūchistān, Sir Aurel Stein on physical changes in 88, 99, 180—182
 bandeja (Span. silver tray) and bandaza Sc. 132
 Banerji, R. D., *History of Orissa*, vols. I, II .. 240
 Banjarmasin (port in S. Borneo) .. Sc. 195
 Bannū identified with Fa-la-na 182
 bārabhuñḍr mūlk, a term applied to Bengal .. 51
 Barabudur, sculptures at 222
 Barbe, missionary to the Nicobar isls. 38
 Barnes, Miles Sc. 169, 170, 183
 Barrington Sc. 115, 116, 125, 133—136, 149, 152, 162, 164
 Bauddhāyana on marriage 54
 "Bagal Nād" and Wynad 171
 Beās, riv., early course of the 166—169
 Beauvoir, Osmond Sc. 119—121, 130, 147, 148, 152, 156, 168, 170, 173, 198
 Becker, Col. A. (inventor) Sc. 168
 Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte. Heft 6. by W. Kirtel (book-notice) 160
 Bengal, the Kāyasthas of, and the Nāgar Brāhmanas 41—55, 61—72
 Bennett, Capt. Ab. .. Sc. 115, 133, 134, 148
 Benyon, Ber. Sc. 116, 128, 137
 Benyon, R. Sc. 187
 Bernerd, Mr. Sc. 149
 Berriman, Capt. Ch. .. Sc. 116, 126, 135, 149
 Bhandarkar, D. R., on R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, vols. I-II 240
 Bharukaccha (Broach) 18
 Bhāsa, thirteen Trivandrum plays attributed to 221
 Bhāskara Ravivarman, Tirunelli c.p. grants of the reign of 172
 Bhimnagarigadh plate of Tribhuvana-mahādevī 241
 Bhoja, Paramāra k. 192, 194
 Bhrgu and Broach 18
- Bhūtiṅyas of Bengal and the Mughals .. 51
 Bijdragen tot de Taat, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, translation of the old Javanese Rāmāyana in 137
 birch-bark MS., early, important find of, near Gilgit 60
 Birkhead, J. Sc. 168—170, 172, 185
 Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) 216, 217
 Blenheim, East Indiaman Sc. 129, 165
 Blue Banner procession in Java 239
 Boca Tigris (Tiger's Mouth), entrance to the Canton river Sc. 196
 Bodham (Boddam), Capt. C. .. Sc. 115, 119, 136
 Bodhisiri, an upāsikā, and Nāgārjunakonda .. 187
 Bombay, Kāyasthas of 51, 68
 bomboe (? bamboo palanquin) .. Sc. 150
 Bongré, M. Edmé Sc. 161
 Bonita (Bonetta) Sc. 126, 162, 165—167, 172, 174—179, 181—183, 185, 186, 188, 191, 193—195, 200, 201
 Bonneau (Bono) M. Sc. 118
 Bonnell, Jer. Sc. 186
 Bonner, Capt. L. Sc. 125
 Bonnerjea, Biren, D.Litt., and the possible origin of the caste system in India 85
 Bon Nevas (The Boa's Nova's) Sc. 139
 Boone, frigate Sc. 194, 196
 Boone, Chas. Sc. 115, 128, 136, 138, 139, 164—166, 163, 164, 187, 201
 Boone, Capt. T. .. Sc. 190, 194, 196, 197, 201
 Boukephala and Jalāpur 185
 Boulton, Capt. R. Sc. 185
 Bouchier (Boucher), R. Sc. 115, 136, 138, 139, 144, 145, 148, 158, 159, 161
 Bouverie Sc. 146, 152, 154, 155
 Brabourne, J. Sc. 124
 Braces, the (shoals at the mouth of the Hūgli) Sc. 127
 Braddyll (Bradell), R. Sc. 150, 152, 168, 173, 198
 Bradshaw, Jane Sc. 168, 170, 173
 Brāhmakṣatriya, meaning of the term 52
 Brāhmaṇ Empire, the, founded by the Śuṅgas 101
 Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, relative positions of, in Ceylon 85; as hearers 101
 Brāhmanism, revival of, under Puṣyamitra .. 101
 Brāhmaṇs, survival of the caste 51
 Brāhmaṇs. See Nāgar Brāhmaṇs.
 Brahmāvarta, site of 164, 165
 breda do marr (edible seaweed) Sc. 192
 bride-price 195, 196
 British, annexation of the Nicobar isls. by the 56—58
 Britannia .. Sc. 133, 134, 148, 162, 167—189
 Broach, the ancient Bharukaccha 18
 Browne, Eliz. Sc. 154, 164, 173
 Brussels Galley .. Sc. 170, 194, 198, 200, 201
 Buddha, ninth avatāra of Viṣṇu 102; and women in monasteries 125; relics of, and Aśoka 17; in The Mahācetiya at Nāgārjunakonda 190—192
 Buddhism and the Kaliyuga 101; in S. India 186, 187, 189; tantric, in Bali 137

- Buddhist *stāpa*, remains of, in Tōr-dhērai .. 181
 buffalo sacrifice in Salem city .. 143, 144
 Bulkley, Ed. Sc. 128, 136
 bull, humped, figures of, found in Makrān .. 97
Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient,
 Tome (XXIX), (1929), (book-notice) .. 162
 burial, urn-burial and cist-burial in S. India
 21, 22, 197
 Burkitt, M. C., *Prehistoric Cave Art in India*
 (book-notice) 238
 Burn, Sir R., *A Study of Ancient Indian Nu-*
numismatics (book-notice) 242
 Burnistone, Car. Sc. 156
 Burnistone, Ch. .. Sc. 130, 156, 166, 173, 199
 Burnistone, D. .. Sc. 116, 128, 130, 146
 Burnistone, J. Sc. 131
 Burnistone, S. .. Sc. 115, 181, 182, 184
 Burud, NE. of Satajuna, and Vadauda .. 214
Bussorah Merchant Sc. 115, 134
- Calicut Merchant* Sc. 162
 Cālukyās of Gujerāt and the Paramāras of
 Mālwa .. 192—194, 213, 214
Cambridge Sc. 160, 162, 200
 Campbell, Hugh Sc. 189
 Cānakya on woman 148
 Candragupta II, Mathurā pillar inscrip. of .. 117
 'Captain Chinaman.' See Chan Younqua.
Cardigan Sc. 147, 150, 164, 170
 Cardoza (Curdozar), Fran. .. Sc. 187, 188
 Carnarvon Sc. 182
 Cartlitch, Wm. Sc. 168, 170, 175, 176, 198, 200
 Cartlitch, Wm., jun. .. Sc. 198, 200
 Catcha, ketchies (coarse cloth) 31
Catherine (Katherine) Sc. 127, 158, 162
 cattle (corn and pig, connection between) and
 the *gāyāṅga* festival .. 1—3, 231, 235, 238
 ceremonial dances of the Sinhalese .. 19
 Cerne, Father, S.J. Sc. 162
 Ceylon, the Vijayanagara conquest of 215—
 219, 223—227
Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G., vol. II,
 Part 2, Archaeological Summary, by A. M.
 Hocart 160
 Chakraborty, S. R., *A Study of Ancient Indian*
Numismatics 242
 Chamatkarapura (Vadnagar) and the Nāgars 62
 Chamba copper-plates, and the term *karana-*
kāyastha 49
 Chamberlayne, Fran. .. Sc. 151, 175—178,
 182—184, 198
- Champinga (massage), use of the word by Mundy 91
 Chāmtisiri, Ikhāku princess, and the *Mahā-*
celiya at Nāgārjunakopda .. 186, 191, 192
 Chan Younqua ('Captain Chinaman') Sc. 127,
 132, 142, 189—191, 193—195
 characters used for I.A.Vs. .. I.A.V. 66
 Charebockhra (a strong drink), Mundy's use of
 the term 32
 Charles XII of Sweden Sc. 184
Charlotte Sc. 190, 194, 196, 201
 Charpentier, Jarl
Indices and Appendices to The Nirukta .. 161
Critical Studies in The Phonetic Observations
of Indian Grammarians 201
Thirteen Trivandrum Plays Attributed to
Bhāsa 221
 Chautang river and the Jumna 168
chēkavar (hired combatant) 12, 72—74, 113, 208
chēkor. See *chēkavar*.
 Chenāb river, course of the .. 166, 169
 Chēramān Perumā, k., and the *chēkavars*
 113, 114, 152
 Chetput, Madras, ancient soak-pits at .. 21—23
 Chetti Brothers, Madras merchants Sc. 115,
 119, 128, 132—136, 148—150, 152
 Chettis and Edanādan Chettis, Wynad tribes
 174, 195—197
 Child, Mr. J. Sc. 121
 Child, Sir R. .. Sc. 169, 186, 187, 200
 child sacrifice. See human sacrifice.
Chinnapatam Sc. 115
 Chopard, missionary to Nicobar islands .. 38
 Chundraconas (muslin), and Chandrakona .. 31
 Cintra *pradasi* of Sāraṅgadeva 117
 civilization and the status of women .. 145
 Clarke (Clerke), Jarvis Sc. 165
 Clarke (probably), Jarvis Sc. 121
 Clarke, Capt. J. Sc. 139, 159
 Cliff, Capt. Sc. 153
 Cocks, Leo Sc. 197—200
 coffee grown in the Wynad 171, 196
coffalo and *foufel* 182
 coinage in India 242
 coins, bearing Brāhmaṇ Kāyastha surnames
 64; Persian, from Māri Morāri 86; of *Era-*
kana 159; from Nāgārjunakopda .. 186
 Cojee Petrus (*Khwāja Petrus*) Sc. 115
 Cole, Wm. Sc. 128, 129, 155
 Colebrooke, Wm. .. Sc. 175, 176, 197, 198
 Collett, Capt. J. Sc. 128, 129, 131
 Collett, Jos. Sc. 143, 190
Concord Sc. 117, 118
 concubinage 148
 conshin (red sandal wood) Sc. 192
 consonants, conjunct, in M.I.A.Vs. .. I.A.V. 87
 convicts in the Nicobar isls. .. 155—158
 Conyers, Sir G. Sc. 157
 Cooke, Thos. Sc. 190
 Cooper, J. Sc. 148, 151, 187

- Coorg 170; and Haidar Ali 173
copper-plate inscriptions. See inscriptions, copper-plate.
Corbett, H. (called Dr.) Sc. 115
corn (cattle and pig) and the *gāyāṇṇ* festival 1—3, 231
Cornwall, Capt. H. Sc. 124
Cotton, Sir H. E. A., C.I.E., *Journal of The Bombay Historical Society* 40
Count (Comte) Toulouse Sc. 170
Craddock, Capt. C. Sc. 125, 136
Cranganore, Tiyyar and artisan settlement in .. 114
crasis or vocal *sandhi* in M.I.A.Vs. I.A.V. 93—98
Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians by Siddheshwar Varma (book-notice) 201
Crommelin, M. A. Sc. 146, 149
Crompton, Capt. M. Sc. 194
Crook, Mr. Geo. Sc. 140
Curgenven, Frances Sc. 149, 152
Curgenven, Peter Sc. 152, 186, 190, 191, 194—196, 201, 202
Curtius, on Alexander in the Panjāb .. 183—185
- Dabar-koṭ mound, Loralai district 181
Dalglish, Capt. A. Sc. 134
"Danaik" (a form of *danḍāyaka*=*danḍāyaka*) 223—225
danḍāyaka, *danḍāyaka* and "danaik" .. 223
Danes and the Nicobar isls. 38, 57, 58
Dardic languages, nasalization in I.A.V. 101, 102
Dartmouth Sc. 140
Daryā Pir (the 'River Saint') at Tali Makān, near Lāhorī Bandar 87, 88
Dasht-i-Tāūs in Yāsin, find of ancient jewellery in 103
Davenport, Hen. Sc. 128, 142
Deane, J. Sc. 175
death rites, Kerala 11, 12
Debal and Lāhorī Bandar 86, 88, 89
Defonseca, Alvaro Sc. 150, 152
de la Force (Forse), Eliz. Sc. 145, 202
de la Valette, J., on *Djāwā* 239
Delton, Fran. Sc. 134
de Matt, Joāo, Sc. 132, 137, 189—191, 193, 195
Demeter, sacrifices to 2
demonstratives, Dravidian, table of 30
denasalization and nasalization in M.I.A.Vs. I.A.V. 99—102
Deniser, P. Sc. 136
- Derby* Sc. 190
de Saa, Padre Sc. 115, 133
deśavāṇi (Malabar, ruler of a *deśa*) .. 11, 75, 115
Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in The Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, by P. P. S. Sastri, M.E (book-notice) .. 138
deśya survivals in M.I.A.Vs. I.A.V. 100
Devak, the Marāṭha, and totemism 99
devaka, common, with botanical and other equivalents 106—111
Devapāla, Mahākumāra, Harasudā grant of 194, 212, 213, 215
Devarāja, c. p. grant of 135
Deva Rāya 217, 219
Deva Rāya II 218, 223
Devavarma, Kadamba-Yuvarāja, copper-plate grants of 137
Devī, the several forms of 17
Dhanadeva, date of 102
Dhārā and the Paramāra Family .. 212, 213
Dhārejah in Sindh 88
Dharmāditya, two copper-plate grants of .. 41
Dharmasūtra on marriage 54, 55, 61, 71
Digambara Jainas, age of the sect, etc. 124—126
Dilāwar, Alexander at 184
Dionysus and sacrifices 1, 2
dīdā festival and the *gāyāṇṇ* .. 1—3, 231
Divī isl. Sc. 184
diving machine Sc. 158, 173, 174
Dixon, Thos. Sc. 115, 133, 148
Djāwā (July 1931 to June 1932) (book-notice) 239
Dolben Sc. 115, 119, 133, 134, 136, 146
Domoko and Sir A. Stein 59
Dong-son necropolis, suggested date of .. 162
donkey, the, as a beast of burden 25
Douglas, Capt. C. Sc. 119, 141, 143
Dravidian languages, the interrogative bases of 3—5, 25—30; palatalization in .. 141, 142
Dubois (Dubois), M. Sc. 197, 198
Duke of Cambridge Sc. 124, 125, 129—131, 134, 137, 140, 144, 146, 149, 152, 154, 157, 168—170, 184
Dupree, M. Sc. 133, 148, 162
Dvārāsamudra and Halebid 137
Dvārāvati and *To-lo-po-ti* 228, 229
- Earth goddess, the, and the 'mother goddess' 98
'earth-harps' in Java 239
Eaton, Barrington Sc. 157
eclipse, an, in the time of Aśoka 17

- edicts of Aśoka, recent discoveries of 39. See also inscriptions.
- Elizabeth* Sc. 146, 176
- Elwick, N.* Sc. 198
- English, the, take possession of the Nicobar isls. 38
- English, Mrs.* Sc. 163
- Enthoven, R. E., C.I.E.*
- Selections from The Peshwa Daftar, Nos. 1 to 12, 40; Nos. 13, 14, 15* 161
- Review of Philosophy and Religion, vol. II, No. 1, March 1931* 99
- epenthesis (umlaut) of vowels in M.I. A.Vs. I.A.V. 82—88
- Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, pt. I (Jan. 1929), (book-notice)* 220
- Epigraphic Notes and Questions (contd. from vol. XLII, p. 258) 101—103
- Eraka, Airaka (a serpent)* 159
- Eran, vil., in Korwāl in Mālwa, the Svabhoga-pura of Samudra Gupta* 159
- Esece* Sc. 168—170, 172, 193, 194, 202
- Estonia and the boar sacrifice* 1
- Europeans and the Nicobar isls.* 38, 56, 58
- Evans, John, Bp. of Bangor and Meath* Sc. 156, 164
- Fa-la-na (of Hsüan-tsang), identification of* .. 182
- Falkenbridge* Sc. 162
- family, five stages in the history of the 145, 148
- fan (portable) of *Khāṭai* [Cathay], 'Abdu'r-raz-zāq's mention of the article 33
- Farmerie, Kath.* Sc. 181, 180—185
- Favochio, Manuel* Sc. 138, 139
- Feake, Sam.* Sc. 175
- Febos, John (Joam) Gomes* Sc. 128, 129
- Fenwick, Ed.* Sc. 117, 118, 121, 122, 136, 140, 143, 158, 159, 161, 163, 164, 180, 184, 186, 198, 200, 201
- figurines, terracotta, from Makrān 96—98
- Firuz Tughlaq, his issue of the pie* 31
- Forbes, Arabella* Sc. 130
- Forbes, Frances* Sc. 173, 174
- Forbes, Francis* Sc. 173, 174
- foufel (areca)* 182
- Foulkes (Faulks), Mr. Robt.* Sc. 140, 150
- Four, and multiples of four, computation by .. 18
- Fowke, Randall (or Randolph)* Sc. 185, 197, 198
- Francis, Ben.* Sc. 154, 155
- Fraser (Fraser), Wm.* Sc. 128
- Frederick* Sc. 141
- Frederick, Thos.* Sc. 115, 116, 120, 124, 125, 128
- fufal (Ar.) and pūga-phala* 182
- Fu-nan (Poh-nan of I-tsing), identification of* 229, 230
- funeral customs in Makrān, evidence of .. 96
- Futteh Islam, attacked by the Nicobar Islanders* 58
- Gaia, earth gooddees* 2
- Galathea, Danish corvette* 38, 58
- Gāngeya era, initial date of the* 237
- Ganora, vil., and Gunaura* 214
- gantun, guntin (gantang, a Malay measure)* Sc. 195, 196
- gārśī vrata (also gāru vrata), a form of worship by women* 231—236
- Gauda, the Brāhmins of* 45, 46
- Gauri Devi and the pig* 2
- Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Vikramāditya* .. 100
- Gautamash and Pāṭikigundū Inscriptions of Aśoka, by R. L. Turner, M.C. (book-notice)* 220
- Gay, Susanna* Sc. 135, 148
- gāyāṇr festival* 1—3, 231—236
- Gedrosia, Sir Aurel Stein's exploration in* .. 96—99
- gender, the neuter, in Hindi dialects* .. I.A.V. 100
- geography, cultural, of the Wynad, notes on* 170—174, 195—197
- George* Sc. 148, 149, 151, 188
- Ghaggar, riv.* 163—165, 167
- Ghosuṇḍi inscription of the second century B.O.* 203—205
- Gill, Capt. Wm.* Sc. 176
- Glegg, Capt. H.* Sc. 164, 170
- Glover, Sam.* Sc. 141
- Goālās, Bihārī, and the pig sacrifice* 1
- Godfrey, Peter* Sc. 169, 170, 200
- Godfrey, Capt. Peter* Sc. 142, 170, 199, 200
- gods of the Nāt Hlaung temple (Pagan, Burma)* 175—179, 197—200
- Godurpura and the ancient Gupapura* 214
- gold, in the Wynad 196; Chinese method of assaying* Sc. 122
- Gondophares of Taxila and St. Thomas* 159
- goont, tangun, q.v.*
- gotra (and dr̥ga), note on the words 61; the system* 70, 71
- Gough, Capt. H.* Sc. 118
- grab (Ar. ghurāb, square-rigged Arab vessel)* Sc. 130
- Grainger, Capt. R.* Sc. 147, 150, 162
- Grantham* Sc. 129, 131
- Green, Capt., hanged on a charge of piracy* Sc. 156
- Greenough (Greenhaugh), Capt.* Sc. 149, 151
- Grey, Mich.* Sc. 124
- Griffeth, Miss* Sc. 193

- Gādnaphar (Gondophares) 159
 Gujarāt, Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of 45; (Lāṭa)
 47, 62, 63, 65—70
 Guptas, the Imperial, administrative system
 of 42
 Guru Dayānāth, disciple of Pīr Patho-Guru
 Gorakhnāth 90
 Gwynn, probably John Sc. 133, 134
 Gyfford (Gifford), Wm. Sc. 127
 gymnosophists, Indian, and the Digambara
 Jainas 122
- Haensal, missionary to the Nicobar isls. .. 38
Hai-shan, hysam (heysan), sea-slug Sc. 127, 192
 Hāji Abū Turāb, tomb of 88
 Hakpā or Wāhindah, extinct river .. 165—168
 Halebid, and the ancient Dvārasamudra .. 137
 Halkiwani Nālā, branch of the Jhelum .. 183
 Hamilton, Capt. Wm. Sc. 148
 Hamley (Hamly), Peter Sc. 169, 170
 Hammurabi, the *Codes* of, and the position of
 women 145
hang (or *hong*) (hough), a row of rooms,
 hence a 'factory' or residence Sc. 118, 203
 Hanmer (Hanmor), Capt. J. Sc. 168, 170, 173
Hanover Sc. 168—170, 200
hāor (marshes in E. Bengal) and *śāor* .. 227
Happy Return Sc. 176
 Harappā, recent work at 79, 80
 Hariścandra (Mahākumāra) 212—215
Harivamśa (*Mahābhārata* (and the Puṣyamitra
 revival 101
 Harley, Robt., Earl of Oxford Sc. 142
 harmonic sequence in vowels I.A.V. 86
 Harnage, Mr. Sc. 189—191, 194—197,
 201—202
 Harriot (Heriot), Robt. Sc. 115, 133, 148
 Harris, Thos. Sc. 164—167, 169, 172, 176—179,
 181, 183, 185, 186, 189, 191, 193—196, 201, 202
 Harrison, Ed. Sc. 116, 117, 119, 123, 124, 126,
 135, 137, 139, 144, 149—159, 161, 168, 170, 190
 Harrison, son of Edward Harrison Sc. 118, 126, 128
 Harry, Capt. J. Sc. 166, 167, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178
hartl (yellow arsenic, orpiment) Sc. 123, 124
Hartford Sc. 182
 Hātaka, cp., and Ngari-Korsum 68—70
 Hātakesvara, deity of the Nāgar caste 45, 68, 70
 Hayward, Thos. Sc. 176
Heathcote Sc. 165
 Hébert, Chevalier Sc. 115, 133, 134
 Hedges, Mr. Sc. 142
 Hellam, Fran. Sc. 135, 136, 140
- Henwood, Thos. Sc. 197, 198
 Herriott Sc. 115, 133, 136, 148
 Hester Sc. 138—140, 142
 Hicks, Capt. Z. Sc. 170, 173
 Hide, Mr. Sc. 143
 Hill, John Sc. 128, 129, 146, 155
 Hindu marriage customs 54, 55
 Hindu society, an inquiry into the position
 of women in 145—149
 Hindu temple in Burma 175
History of Orissa, vols. I, II, by R. D. Banerji
 (book-notice) 240
 Hoadley, Ben., Bp. of Bangor Sc. 156
 Hobday, Mrs. Sc. 164
 Hobson-Jobson, notes on 31—34, 91—95
 Hocart, A. M., *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section
 G., vol. II, Part 2, Archaeological Summary 160
 Holden, Capt. Sc. 157
 Hopkins, Hugh Sc. 197, 198
 Horden, Robt. Sc. 163, 176, 179, 184, 188, 190, 197
 Horden, Mrs. Sc. 176
 horsanna (possibly *khazāna*) rupees Sc. 145
 horse trade in Vijayanagara 216
 houses (dwelling houses) of Malabar, note
 on 210, 211
 Hsiang-tsang, Asoka legend recorded by 17;
 and Multān 87, 90; and the Jainas 123, 124,
 227—229
 Hudson, Capt. R. Sc. 118, 121, 122, 136
 human sacrifices 2; in India 3; survivals
 of 236
 Huns, the 161
 Hunter (possibly Capt. J.) Sc. 197, 198
 Hunzā-Nāgar, SW. of Kashmir, and the Nāgar
 people 69, 70
 Hursagkalamma in Kish, ancient seal found
 at 18
 Hurst, Capt. Wm. Sc. 126, 132, 139
 Hutchinson, Capt. Wm. Sc. 194
 Hydaspes, the Jhelum riv. 183
 hypergamy 147
 hysam (*bêche de mer*, the sea-slug) Sc. 192
- Ibn Baṭūṭa and Sind 87, 89, 90
 Ikḥāku dynasty, S., inscrip. of, and Nāgar-
 junakonda 166, 187, 220
 Ikḥāri (Bednūr) Rājas of the Kanara coast .. 173
 Īlam (Ceylon) 218, 219
 images in the Nāt-Hiāung temple, Pagan
 176—179, 197—200
 India (and the East) in current literature 17, 77,
 137, 200

- India (of Megasthenes) 80; and the Mlecchas 101; and St. Thomas 159; (? Indus Region, or NW. India) 159; the geography of, in the Purāṇas 160
- Indian maunds. See maunds, Indian.
- Indian Studies, No. 3 41—55, 61—72
- Indices and Appendices to The Nirukta*, by Lakshman Sarup (book-notice) 161
- Indra, suggestions on the origin of the name .. 78
- Indus river 165, 168; old sites in delta .. 86—90
- 'Indus culture' at Harappā 99, 234
- Indus Valley seals, script of the 18
- Inscriptions :—
- Ajayagadh of Bhoja 48
- Ālampūṇḍi 226, 227
- Amarāvati 186—188, 190—192
- Amohini tablet of the reign of Śodāsa .. 100
- Ariyūr 226, 227
- of Arjunavarman 194, 212
- of Aśoka 39, 80, 220, 234
- Besnagar 204
- Brahmagiri 39, 40
- Brāhmī (two, from Kopbal) 39
- Brihatprashthā grant 64
- Deopārā of Vijayasena 52
- of Devapāla 194, 212, 215
- of Deva Rāya II 223, 224
- from Dhod (Udaipur) 49
- E. Chālukya 82, 83
- Erragudi (of Aśoka) 80
- Gāhādavāla charters 49
- of Gautamiṣṭra Śātakarṇi 204
- Gaviṁath (of Aśoka) 220
- Ghoṣūṇḍi 203—205
- of Govindacandra 48
- Gupta 69, 159
- Gurmāh of Jayādityadeva II 48
- Harihara II (Vijayanagara) 102
- Harsaudā 194, 212, 215
- Hāthigūṁphā 122, 124
- Holal 241
- of Ikṣhāku (S.) dynasty 186—188, 190—192, 220
- Jaggayyapeta 220
- from Jaṅga-Rāmeśvara 39
- of Jayavarṁadeva Paramāra 193
- of Jayavarman 212
- Kanarese 39
- of Kapileśvara of Orissa 19, 20
- of Karṇarāja of Kakaira 103
- Kirāḍu 135, 136
- from Koilkōṇḍa Fort 220
- Komarti grant 64
- of Kumārapāla 65
- of Lakṣhā Maṇḍal temple 64
- of Lakṣmapasena 52
- of Lakṣmivarṁadeva 193, 214
- Mandasa of Dharmakheḍi 238
- Mandasor 102, 103, 220
- Māndhātā plate 194, 214
- from Maski (Raichūr dist.) 39
- Mathurā (Kharoṣṭhī) 69
- Mathurā of Candragupta II 117
- Mathurā of Huvīṣka's reign 205
- Mysore 172
- Nadgām plates of Vajrahastadeva III 237, 238
- Nālandā (stone) 220
- Nānāghāt 204
- from Nandāsā (Udaipur) 101
- Nāsik (of Puṣumāvi) 159
- Nepalese 83
- Pāḷikūṇḍu of Aśoka) 220
- of Parāntaka 81, 220
- Piplānagar 193, 194, 212, 213
- Prakrit (Guntur dist.) 180
- Prakrit (Nāgārjunakōṇḍa) 220
- Puruṣottamadeva (of the reign of) 20
- from Rāja Gopāla Perumāl temple .. 216, 219
- rock (three) 39, 40
- of Rudradāman (and of his daughter) 203, 205
- Sanskrit (incomplete, from near the Phimā-nākās) 162
- Siddāpura 39, 40
- Siyadoni 82, 83
- Śoṣaikkāvūr 227
- Śunga (at Ayodhyā) 102
- Tamil 175, 176, 198, 199
- Tejpur (of Vanamālavarmadeva) 45
- Tippera of Lokanātha 44
- of Udayāditya (two) 212, 214
- of Udayavarman 212, 214
- Valabhi 41, 43, 45, 65
- Vijayanagara 118, 119
- of Virūpākṣa 226
- of Vo-can (Sanskrit) 229
- of Yaśovarmān 214
- Copper-plate :—
- of Ballālasena 41
- Barrackpur (of Vijayasena) 52
- Belāvā (of Bhojavarmān) 64
- Bhāṭerā (of Govinda Keśava) 228
- Bhopāl (of Udayavarmadeva) .. 194, 212, 214
- Chamba 49
- of Chāramān Perumāl 114, 115
- Chicacole (of Indravarmān of Kaliṅga) 237, 238
- Cintra *prastāvi* 117
- Dāmodarpur 42, 49, 51
- of Dharmāditya 41
- from Dhod 49
- from Faridpur (four) 41, 43, 51
- of Gopacandra 41
- Khālimpur 46, 47, 50
- of Lakṣmapasena 41
- of Lakṣmidharmadeva 198
- Marmuri 40
- Neulpur (of Subhakarā) 44
- Nidhanpur (of Bhāskaravarman) .. 43, 44, 49
- Pāla 47
- Paramāra 193

- Rānganj 50
 of Samācaradeva 41
 Sañjan 48
 Sena 41, 60
 Simhipura 237
 Tirunelli 172
 of Yaśovarmadeva Paramāra 193
 intonation in M.I.A.Vs. .. I.A.V. 75, 76
 Iruvattunādu, early home of the *chēkavays* .. 113
 Isāna (Isāna-Nāgara), author of the *Advaita-prakāśa* 45
I-shang-na-pu-lo (identifications suggested) .. 227, 229
 Isila (of the Siddāpura edict) 40
 Izham (Ceylon) and the *chēkavays* .. 113, 115
 Izhavars and Ceylon 113
- Jackson, Jos. Sc. 185, 200
 Jackson, Capt. P. Sc. 170, 194, 197—200
 Jeffna and Vijayanagara 215, 219
 Jahāngir and the maund 5—8
 Jaina Sects, antiquity of the 121—126
 Jalālpur and Alexander the Great .. 184, 185
 Jardin, Capt. Villemont. See Villeaumont.
 Jāṭosingā-Dungri (Sonpur State), plates of
 Mahādivagupta-Yayātidēva 241
 Jayaswal, K. P., *Ārtikā and Sāñchī* 160
 Jayavarman Paramāra, Mahākumāra 192, 193,
 194, 212—214
 Jenkinson, Thos. Sc. 187, 188
 Jennings, Wm. Sc. 118, 128, 137
Jerusalem Sc. 196
 jewellery, ancient, found in Yāsin .. 103—106
 Jhelum, river 169; Alexander's passage of
 the 183—185
 John and Elizabeth Sc. 115, 133, 150, 154, 156
 Johnston, E. H.
*Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und
 Geschichte* 160
Kumudvatīprakaraṇa 202
 On the Ghosāṇḍī inscription 203—205
 Jones, Ed. Sc. 115
 Jones, Capt. J. Sc. 124, 137, 139, 159, 160
 Joseph Sc. 187—189
 Joseph, T. K.
St. Thomas in Parthia or India? 159
Areca, Leaf-nut 182
*Journal of The Bihar and Orissa Research
 Society*, vol. XVI, Pls. III and IV, September
 1930 (book-notice) 100
Journal of The Bombay Historical Society,
 vol. III, pts. 1 and 2 (book-notice) .. 40
Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society, October
 1931, on Tibetan Documents concerning
 Chinese Turkestan 201
- Journal Asiatique*, October-December 1930,
 references to India in 137
Journal Asiatique, July-September 1931,
 Mazdean Cosmogony and Cosmology .. 200
 Jamunā river 163, 166, 167, 168
 Jung Shāh, tomb of 90
 Junkceylon, isl. Sc. 126, 127, 132
Jyeshtha-Kāyastha (an official) 43, 51
- Kādara, Wynad tribe 174, 195
 Kadattanād (in N. Malabar) and the Izhavars 113
 Kāfir jo haṭ (the infidel's shop) at Tharro, near
 Gujo 87, 89
 Kaimāḍi (Malabar, a chief) 9—11
 kalari (gymnasium) 114, 115
 Kalari *bharambhar* (deity presiding over
 gymnasia) 115
 Kalhaṇa on the Kāyasthas 49—51
 Kālī and the pig 2; and Selli-amman 143;
 and the *gāyḍān*, festival 231, 235
 Kaliyuga, the 101
 Kalki (Viṣṇuyāśas) advent of 101, 102
 Kāma Kupps, *kanakkapillai* Sc. 115
Kāmarūtra (Pārādārika section) of Vātsyāyana,
 on Brāhmapas entering the zenana .. 45, 46
 Kammālans (artisans) and Chēramān Perumāḷ 114
Ka-mo-lang-ka and Kamalaṅka (identification of) 227
 Kanaladis, Wynad fire-walkers 195
 Kandar Kas (torrent bed in Salt Range) 184, 185
 Kāṅḍā in the Sewālakh Hills (the old Nagar-
 kot) 46, 68
 kaṇi (an auspicious sight) 11
 Kantakosula (of Ptolemy) near the mouth of
 the Kṛṣṇā 187, 220
 Kapilendra and Kapileśvara of Orissa .. 19
 Kara, family of Orissa 44
karana-kāyastha meaning of the term .. 49
karāṇika and Kāyastha 48
 Karimbālans, Wynad tribe 174, 195
Karnatak Historical Review, vol. I, notice of
 contents 137
 Kāśmīri language, opensthes of vowels in
 I.A.V. 83, 84
 Katherine (Catherine) Sc. 126, 127, 142
 Kāṭhiāwār, Nāgar Brāhmapas of 41, 45, 62, 63,
 65—70
 Kāyastha, suggested original meaning of the
 name 47, 51—53
 Kāyasthas of Bengal and the Nāgar Brāhmapas
 41—55, 61—72
 Koble, Capt. Wm. Sc. 187—189

- Kent* Sc. 147, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157
- Kerala*, a ballad of 9—12, 72—77, 112—116, 150—154, 205—211
- Kesar*, Capt. C. .. . Sc. 138, 143, 170, 174, 180
- Ketās*, n. of the Salt Range (= Simhapura) .. 64
- ketchies* and *catcha* 31
- Keti Bandar* 88
- Khārān*, exploration in 98
- Khārro* (= salt wastes of the lower Indus Delta) 89
- khārōdr* ('donkey-load'), N. Indian weight 8, 25
- khāḍī* (cot), a light bedstead Sc. 152
- Khādmatiyā*, identified with 'Mewras' 95
- Khwāja Petrus*, Parsee merchant Sc. 115
- kindeleroe*, *rundellere*. See *Roundel*.
- kindi* (a water vessel) 10
- King George* Sc. 156, 170, 172
- King William* Sc. 184
- Kirādu* inscription of the time of Chālukya Kumārāpāla and his feudatory Paramāra Somēśvara, dated V.S. 1218 135, 136
- Kirtel*, W., *Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte* 160
- Kish*, find of human remains at 79
- Kōh-i-Khwāja* (in Sīstān), excavations at .. 78
- Kois* of the Godāvari Agency, and their practice of iron smelting 138
- Kopananagara*, probably the old name of *Kopbal* 39
- Kopbal* or *Koppal*, discovery of two Aśokan Rock Edicts near 39
- Kōttayam* and the *Wynad* 172, 173
- Krita*, the years so called, or the origin of the *Vikrama Era* 101—103
- Kṛitayuga* 101
- Kṣatriyas* (as a caste), disappearance of the 51, 52; marriage among 55, 61; of N. India, surnames of 63, 64
- Kulli-damb*, site of an early settlement 96, 97
- Kumārī-pūjā*, the 17
- Kumārāpāla*, Chālukya k., *Kirādu* inscription of the time of, dated V.S. 1218 135, 136; conquest of *Mālwa* by 192, 213
- Kumudavattprakarāṇa*, a query 202
- Kunduvatiyans*, a *Wynad* tribe 174, 195
- Kuricchans*, a *Wynad* tribe 174, 195, 196
- Kurumbars*, *Wynad* tribes 174, 195, 196
- Kuśika*, founder of a line of teachers 117, 118
- Kyfin*, Wm. Sc. 145, 146
- Lakkana*, viceroy of *Madurā*, etc., under *Deva Rāya II* 223
- Lakkanna Dappāyaka* (lord of the Southern Ocean), suggested identity of 223—225
- Lakṣmīnārāyan* *Harichandan Jagadeb*, *Kapilendra* and *Kapileśvara of Orissa* 19
- Lakṣmadeva*, *Paramāra k.* 192—194
- Lakṣmī* and the *gāyāṇī* festival 231—236
- Lakṣmīvarman*, *Paramāra Mahākumāra* 212—215
- Lakulīśa*, last incarnation of *Mahēśvara* 117
- lalang* grass, uses of 157
- Lāl Dēd*, the wise sayings of 13—16
- Lallā-Vākyāni* (the wise sayings of *Lāl Dēd*) 13—16
- lampasses* (brocaded silks) Sc. 200
- Lane*, *Laur.* Sc. 173, 175—177, 198, 200
- Langelier*, *Abel* Sc. 134, 135, 141
- Langelier*, *Eliz.* Sc. 151, 152, 154, 163, 164
- Lāṭa* (*Gujarāt*) 47
- Lazaro*, *Khudja Aratoon* Sc. 189, 195, 196
- levirate* (a marriage custom) 146, 148, 153
- Lewis*, *Rev. G.* Sc. 115, 116, 120—122, 128, 139, 140, 156, 163, 167—170, 172—175, 178—182, 185, 198, 200
- Lewis*, *Capt. S.* Sc. 170
- Lingāyatism* (*Vīra-Saivism*) 172
- Lingua* (and *Anqua*), Chinese merchants Sc. 142, 144, 160, 161, 182, 191, 202
- literature*, current, and *India* 77, 137, 138, 200
- Livesay*, *Mr.* Sc. 115, 119, 134, 139
- lizard*, the desert lizard of *Sind* 87
- Lock*, *Sam.* Sc. 173, 174
- Lo-jen-kuo* (of *I-tsing*), the *Nicobar* isls. .. 37
- London* Sc. 124, 129, 188
- Long*, 'Padre' Sc. 149
- Lōralai* district of *Balūchistān* 96, 97; jewel find in 103
- Loyall Bliss* Sc. 117, 118, 122, 136, 138
- lunar* cult in *India*, traces of 17, 18
- Lytton* (*Litton*), *Capt. G.* Sc. 131, 146—148
- Mādāna*, commander under *Deva Rāya II* 223, 224
- Madano Saluto* Sc. 189
- Maderas*, *Lewis* Sc. 115, 133, 148
- Magians*, religion of the 200
- Mahā-Airaka* (*Airaka*), probably the founder of the *Airikiyas* 159, 160
- Mahābhārata* 101, 102; and woman's position 145, 149
- Mahābhārata*, A Critical Edition, by *Dr. V. S. Sukthankar* and others (book-notice) .. 118
- Laccowries* (piece-goods, made at *Lakkhaur*) .. 32
- Lāhori Bandar*, present aspect of site, old *Rāj-pūt-Baloch* cemeteries near 86, 89
- Laidmager*, *Capt.* Sc. 162

- Mahābhārata*, The Southern Recension, critically edited by P. P. Sastri (book-notice) .. 119
- Mahācampā* (*Chan-p'o* of I-tsing), identification of .. 229
- Mahācetiya*, the Great *Stūpa* .. 186, 191, 192
- mahākṣapatalika*, use of term .. 48
- Mahāvira*, and the practice of nudity 121—124; and marriage .. 125
- Mahipāla* (Devarāja) .. 135
- Māi Garhi* (the 'Red Lady') .. 87
- Malabar 170—172; and Tipū Sultān .. 173
- malaria in Nancowry penal settlement .. 165
- Malayālam household customs .. 73, 74
- Malayālis, the, and the Wynad .. 172
- Mālwā, conquests of .. 192, 213, 214
- Man, Mr. E. H., and the Nicobar isls., his report on the Penal Settlement on Nancowry 56, 57—59, 155—158
- Mānasa, l., and the Nāgar race .. 68, 70
- Māndhātā, c.p. inscrip. of Devapāla .. 194
- Māṇḍalam* (period of ceremonies) .. 115
- Manoranjan Ghosh, Rai Sahib, *Prehistoric Cave Art in India* .. 238
- Manu, on woman .. 147, 148
- MSS., important find of early birch-bark, near Gilgit, by Sir Aurel Stein 60; Sanskrit .. 138
- Margaret* .. Sc. 125
- Māri-amman (village deity) .. 143
- Māri Morāri .. 86, 89, 90
- Mārkaṇḍa riv. .. 164, 165
- Marlboro'*, *Marlborough* .. Sc. 128, 159, 161
- marriage, Nāyar forms of 9, 116, 150; among the Kāyasthas 53—55, 61, 62, 71, 72; and woman's position in society 145; eight Hindu forms of 146, 147; Malayāli forms of .. 195
- Marshall, Sir John, *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for the Year 1926-27* .. 79
- Martin, Capt. J. .. Sc. 170
- Martin, Capt. .. Sc. 155; (M.) Sc. 159
- Mary* .. Sc. 128, 148, 151, 154, 157, 187, 200
- Mary Ann*, galley .. Sc. 194
- Mathews (? Matthews), Sir G. .. Sc. 120, 124
- Maubert, John .. Sc. 132, 135, 137, 144, 145, 148, 150, 152, 153, 157, 158, 162—164, 168, 173, 176, 187, 188, 191, 194, 197—201
- maunds, Indian
- Agra (two) .. 24, 25
- Akbari .. 5—7
- Arab (= 2 *riṭl*) .. 8, 24
- artillery .. 7
- Bābur's 'maund of Hind' .. 5, 7, 8
- Balasore .. 23
- 'bazaar' .. 23, 24
- Bengal .. 23, 24
- Bengal (near Hūgli) .. 24
- Bihār .. 23
- Delhi .. 24
- 'factory' .. 23, 24
- of Garinsir .. 8
- Gujarāt .. 24
- Hindūstāni .. 5—8
- Hūgli .. 23, 24
- Irān .. 5, 7, 8
- of Irāq .. 5, 6
- of Jahāngir .. 5—8, 23
- of Khurāsān .. 5, 7, 8
- of Meghnā, and E. of .. 23—25
- official .. 24
- Patna .. 23
- of Qandahār .. 8
- Shāhjahāni .. 23, 24
- Southern .. 24
- of Tabriz .. 8
- Wilāyat .. 5—7
- Mauryas, the (Moris) .. 66
- Mecke, Adrian .. Sc. 144, 190
- Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* by Barbara C. J. Timmer .. 80
- Mehi-damb, prehistoric settlement at .. 96, 97
- Mellish, John .. Sc. 172, 175, 178
- Memoirs of The Archæological Survey of India*, Nos. 37, 42, by Sir Aurel Stein .. 180
- Mercury* .. Sc. 131, 133, 147, 148
- Meriah sacrifice, the .. 23
- Mesopotamia and Mohenjodaro, links between 79, 80
- metathesis of vowels in I.A.Vs. .. I.A.V. 82
- Mewras (Meoras), natives of Mewāt .. 95
- Middleton, Phil. .. Sc. 139
- Middleton, Capt. Wm. .. Sc. 188
- Minter, Capt. .. Sc. 147, 148, 150, 152, 154
- Missionaries, Moravian, and others, in the Nicobar isls. .. 38, 57, 58, 156
- Mlecchas, the 101; and Puṣyamitra .. 102
- Mo-ha-chan-p'o* (identification of) .. 227, 229
- Mohenjo-daro and Mesopotamia, links between 79, 80
- monogamy .. 147
- Monson, Sir Henry .. Sc. 181, 183
- moon, the, and female divinities .. 17
- Moors (Muhammadans) as freighters, compensation not allowed to .. Sc. 151
- Moreland, W. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* (book-notice) .. 80
- Moris (Paramāra sub-division, the Mauryas) .. 66
- Morrice* .. Sc. 164, 200
- 'Mother Goddess,' and the earth-goddess, 97; and the *gāyānī* festival .. 231—236
- Mountague, Ed. .. Sc. 128, 129
- Muhammadans and the Jains 126; (Moors) Sc. 151
- mūla-vigraha* (cell-image) .. 143
- Mullā Mauj Daryā and Daryā Pir .. 88
- Nāḍapuram* (ancient *Nāgapuram*) .. 207
- nāḍuvāri* (Malabar, ruler of a *nāḍ*) 10, 114, 115
- Nāga dynasty, and the Airikīpas .. 160
- Nāga worship in Kashmir .. 68, 69

- Nagar (Nagarkot=Kāṅgdā, home of the
Nāgar Brāhmanas) 46, 68—70
Nāgara Apabhraṃśa and the Nāgar race 65, 66
Nāgar Brāhmanas and the Bengal Kāyasthas,
41—55, 61—72
Nagara 46; (Vadnagar) 65; (Ānandapura) .. 68
Nāgara-Brāhmandā, meaning of the term 45, 46
Nāgarchāli dialect 67
Nāgarī character and the M.I.A.Vs. .. I.A.V. 65
Nāgarī-lipi (meaning of the term) 67
Nāgārjuna and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa .. 187, 220
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in S. India, Great Stūpa
at 186—192, 220
Nagardjya (kingdom of the naked men) .. 230
Naish, Capt. J. Sc. 137, 141, 197, 198
Na-ka-lo-ho (of Hsüan-tsang=Nāgar) 69
Nakkavaram (Land of the Naked, the Nicobar
isls). 37
Nallamelai hills and Śrīpārvata 187
Nancowry Harbour, British Penal Settlement
at 57—59, 155
Nandana pass and Alexander the Great .. 185
Nanney (Nanay), Mr. W. Sc. 145
Naravarma, Paramāra k. 192—194
nasalization and denasalization in M.I.A.Vs.
I.A.V. 99—102
Nāt-Hiāung temple (Pagan, Burma) and its
gods 175—179, 197—200
Naupur (vil. w. of Gilgit cantonment), important
find of ancient MSS. there by Sir Aurel
Stein 60
Navasākhās, the, and caste rules 61, 62
Newton, Capt. Ch. Sc. 118, 119, 121
Newton, Capt. G. Sc. 173, 174, 180
Ngari-Korsum and Hāṭaka 68, 69
Ngao-Lu bronze drum 162
Nicobar Islanders and their country, remarks
on the 34—38, 56—59, 155—158
Nicobar Islands, the names of, details regarding 34
 meteorology 35
 rainfall 36
 history 37
 convict settlements in 155—158
Nightingale, Sir Robt. Sc. 165, 186
Nigraṇtha (meaning of the term) 124
Nikaia, tn., founded by Alexander the Great .. 185
nilavilakku (ceremonial lamp) 10
Nilgarh Fort (and ancient Nilagiri) 213
niyoga, the practice of 147
Novara 38
nudity among the Jains 121—125
numismatics, ancient Indian 242
Nunes, on Vijayanagara 215—219
Nunsaroes (piece-goods) and Navaśāri 31
Nyāyakandali of Śrīdhara and the Kāyasthas 50
Nyāyapraveśa of Dignāga 78
Oadham, Catesby Sc. 163, 175, 176, 197, 198
Oertel, Hanns, *Zur Indischen Apologetik* .. 222
Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I.
 India in Current Literature 17—19
 Recent Discoveries of Edicts of Aśoka .. 39
 *Sir Aurel Stein's Recent Experiences in Chinese
 Turkestan* 59
 *Important Find of Early Birch-Bark MSS. near
 Gilgit* 60
 India in Current Literature 77—79
 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
 for the Year 1926-27* 79
 Sir Aurel Stein in Gedrosia 96—99
 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research So-
 ciety*, vol. XVI, Pts. III and IV, September
 1930 100
 India in Current Literature 137, 138
 Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, vol. II,
 Pt. 2, *Archaeological Summary* .. 160—162
 *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême
 Orient*, Tome XXIX 162
 *Annual Report of The Archaeological Survey of
 India* :
 No. 37, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan
 and Northern Baluchistan*, by Sir Aurel
 Stein 180—182
 No. 42, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt
 and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, by Sir Aurel
 Stein 180—182
 India and The East in Current Literature .. 200
 Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, Pt. I (Jan. 1929) 220
 *Annual Report, Archaeological Department of
 H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions, for the
 Year 1928-29* 220
 *The Gavimath and Pātkigundū Inscriptions of
 Aśoka* 220
 *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for
 the Year 1929* 221
Olibanum, gum (resin) from the tree *Boswellia
 serrata* Sc. 119, 134
omens, significance of 207
Orissa, Brāhmanas of 41, 43, 44, 47
Orissa, history of 240
Orme, Alex. Sc. 134, 135, 145, 148, 194
Orme, S. Sc. 194
Ormond Sc. 115, 117, 118, 122, 133, 148
Ormuzd, story of 206
Osborne, Capt. J. Sc. 170, 200
Osiris, and sacrifices 2, 235, 238

- Osvāle, marriage among the 55
 Ouldham (Oldham), Capt. J. .. Sc. 148, 151
- Pabbi hills, and Alexander the Great 184
padavis of Bengal Kāyasthas 52, 53
 Pagan, ancient culture and civilisation of .. 199
 Page, Sir Geo. Sc. 181
paika and the pie 31
 Pain, Thos. .. Sc. 122, 143, 156, 163, 172, 202
 Pālas, known as Kṣatriyas 52, 63
 Palaswārā (the ancient Palaśavādā) 214
 palatalization in the Dravidian languages 141;
 in Sanskrit 142
 Pāpan (Malayālam caste of musicians) 72
 Pañchakhaṇḍa (Sylhet) 43, 44; and Hāṭakē-
 vara, Brāhman of 45
Pañchavādra-vāriyam, (significance of the
 term) 81—85
Pañchavārti (meaning of the term) 83, 84
Panchkula, *Panchkalshi* (mixed castes) 94
pandakkāran (torch bearer) 143, 144
 Pāṇini, lost phonetic *sūtras* of 18
 Paniyars, a Wynad tribe 174, 196
 Panjāb and Sind, river courses of 163—169
 Papera, Popra, mainland town, N. of Junkcey-
 lon Sc. 127
 Paramāra Mahākumāras, history of the
 192—194, 212—215
 Paramāras of Kirādu 135
pardesi. See *Purdesees*.
 Pardoa (Port.), gold coin from W. Indian
 mint Sc. 116
 Parrot, Capt. Ab. Sc. 128, 129
 Parthia, was St. Thomas in ? 159
 Patala (of Ptolemy), suggested identification of .. 88
Pāṭaliputrakūṭ and *Nāgarakūṭ* 46
pateca (Port.), probably the Hindi *paṭakā*, a
 sash Sc. 151
 Pathiyans, a Wynad tribe 195
 Pauzacour, suggested error for Pañchalar,
 Pañchakula 94
 Peacock, Capt. Eu. .. Sc. 123, 124, 128, 129, 131,
 141, 164, 183
 Peirson, Capt. Ed. Sc. 179, 180
 Penal Settlement, British, established in Nan-
 cowry Harbour 38, 56; Mr. Man's report on
 the 57—59, 155—158
 Penguin isl. (Pengwin, Robben isl.) .. Sc. 153, 154
 Pennicott, Wm. (and Cocks) .. Sc. 170, 199, 200
 Perambair, ancient burials at 22
 Persian alphabet (=Arabic character) I.A.V. .. 67
 Pescaria (Port., the coast of Tinnevely) men-
 tioned by Fitch 31
 Pescqhanas (*peshkhāna*) 31
- peshkhāna*, very early use of the term 31
Peshwa Daftar, *Selections from the* .. 40, 161
 Phenix, Ed. Sc. 159
 Phipps, madam Sc. 136
 Phipps, Wm. .. Sc. 116, 119, 123—126,
 128, 129, 131, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141,
 144, 146—149, 152, 153, 157, 162, 179, 180, 187
 phonology of M.I.A.Vs.—
 Word Stress-Accent I.A.V. 69—73
 Clause Stress-Accent I.A.V.
 The Stress-Accent in Bengali I.A.V. 73
 Tone I.A.V. 74
 Intonation I.A.V. 75
 Vowels I.A.V. 77—93
 Crisis, or vocal *sandhi* I.A.V. 93—99
 Nasalization and Denasalization I.A.V. 99—102
 Vowels in detail I.A.V. 102
 Phrypp, Capt. R. Sc. 141
 pie (smallest Anglo-Indian copper coin), sug-
 gested derivation of the word 31
 Piece-goods, notes on fabrics mentioned, but
 not defined, in Yule's list of 31
 pig, the, its association with cattle and
 corn 1—3, 232, 233, 236
 Pinnell, Capt. J. Sc. 194
 Pinnell, Capt. R. Sc. 159
 Pir Patho-Guru Gorakhnāth (of Pir Arr) 87, 90
 piracy by the Nicobar islanders 56, 58
 Piscaria (Pescaria) 31
 Pitt, G. Sc. 200
 Pitt, Capt. W. G. Sc. 155
 Pitt, Mrs. Sc. 169
 Pliny, on Alexander in the Panjāb 183
 Roduval, Vasadeva, Travancore Archaeological
 Department, Administrative Report .. 162
 Pollock-saug and Pollock-sag (H. *pālak-sag*) .. 32
 polyandry 146
 polygamy 132
 polygyny 147; in modern India 148
 Pommelo, Pampelmosses (largest of the orange
 tribe) and the *saddphal* 32
pondi (a dancing foil) 113
 Poros, k., Alexander's victory over 183—185
 Port Blair, and the Nicobar isls., sickness in
 56—58, 155—158
 Porto Grande (Chittagong and Meghnā
 estuary) 23
 Porto Piqueno (Sātganv and Hūgli estuary) .. 23
 Portuguese, the, and Vijayanagara 215, 216
 potoca (*pateca*) Sc. 149, 151
 pottery (urn-burial and domestic), fragments
 at Chetput 21, 22; from Mohenjo-daro and
 from Sindh 80; from Gedrosia 96—98; from
 Waziristān 181
 Powney, Capt. J. .. Sc. 115, 133, 161, 187, 190
 Prakrit, the vowel-scale in I.A.V. 102
 Prashnorās (Nāgar Brāhman division) .. 65
Prathama-Kāyastha (official title) .. 42, 51
Prathama-Kulika (official title) .. 42, 43
praticarya (suggested meaning of the term) .. 17

- Prehistoric Cave Art in India*, Memoir. Archaeological Survey of India, No. 24, by Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh (book-notice) .. 238
- prehistoric settlements in Gedrosia, evidence of 96
- Pretender, the Old .. Sc. 155, 156, 184
- Prince Eugene Sc. 170, 183
- Prince Frederick Sc. 156, 162
- Proby, Wm. Sc. 128, 129
- pronunciation, and alphabets of M.I.A.Vs. I.A.V. 57—68
- Prosperous Sc. 188, 189
- puṣṭamuri* (chief Nāyar form of marriage) 9, 10
- pūga-phala* (fruit of the areca-palm) and *fufal* 182
- Pugh, J. Sc. 169, 170, 197, 198
- Pulayans, a Wynad tribe 174
- Pulo Aor (Awar, La Ore) isl. off Johore Sc. 119
- Punch (the beverage), and charebockhra .. 32
- punch-marked coins (Indian) 242
- Punkah (H. *pankhā*, large swinging fan), earliest description of 33
- Punsarce, Pasaare (H. *paṣārt*), Mundy's use of the word 33
- Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*, the 17
- Purāṇas, the, and Puṣyamitra 102; geographical description of India in 160
- Purdesees (H. *pardeśī*, foreigner), Barbosa's use of the word 33
- Pustapāḍī* (official title) 42
- Puṣyamitra and Brāhmanism 101, 102
- putchuk ('oostus' root) Sc. 125, 149, 150, 152
- Putton ketchies, a coarse cloth, perhaps so called because made at Pātan in Gujarāt .. 31
- Puttūram (Malayālī house) 112, 114
- Pyke, Isaac Sc. 154
- 'Pytchy' Raja, W. Kottayam prince 173, 196
- raṣipāṇam* (gold fanams) 11, 209
- Raverty, Maj., and the Panjāb rivers 166, 167, 169
- Rāvi, riv., course of the 166, 169
- Rawlins, Capt. R. Sc. 173, 194
- Raworth, John Sc. 117, 118, 123, 136, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 148, 151, 157—159, 161
- Recovery Sc. 152
- Redshaw, Wm. Sc. 162
- Review of Philosophy and Religion* (book-notice) 99
- Rhea, earth goddess 2
- Richards, F. J., on *Travancore Archaeological Department*, Administrative Report .. 162
- Rising Sun* Sc. 119
- river courses of the Panjāb and Sind .. 163—169
- Roche, Mr. Sc. 197
- Rochester* Sc. 119, 143
- Rosen, Pastor, missionary in the Nicobar isls. 38, 58
- Roundel (obsolete, the umbrella) early uses of the word 33
- Ṛṣi Pir and Rūpa Bhawānī 127
- Ṛṣis, the eight, and the *gotras* 70, 71
- Rudradāman, inscrip. of 203
- Rūpa Bhawānī (a great hermitess of Kashmir), life of 127—134
- rupees, the, of Murshidābad 23; horsanna Sc. 145; Surat Sc. 148, 150
- Russell, J. Sc. 143
- Russon, J. Sc. 185
- Ryan, Capt. A. Sc. 143
- Saa (Sa), Padre de Sc. 145, 148, 151
- sacrifices, various 1—3; human 2, 3, 236; buffalo, 143, 144; ceremonial, relics of 231, 233, 236
- Saddāphal* (of Bābur, *Citrus decumana*) and the Pommelo 32
- Sadgopas, the, and caste rules 61, 62
- St. Andrew Sc. 151
- St. George Sc. 184
- St. John Island (Changcharan) Sc. 117
- St. Mares (Mar Mares) 159
- St. Thomas in Parthia or India 159
- śāḍis*. See *syce*.
- Śaka era, and its founder 100
- Śaka language, where was it reduced to writing? 78
- Śaka-Śātavāhana history, problems of .. 100
- Salem city, buffalo sacrifice in 143
- śalū* (twilled red cotton) Sc. 115
- Samācāradeva, c.p. grant of 41
- Samāna, tn., and Samianna 34
- Queen Sc. 169, 170, 187, 200
- Raghananda (*Udvāhatatva* of), and caste rules 61, 62
- Raichur, battle 217
- Rāṣiṇā, formerly a *jāgīr* of the Mahārājas of Jodhpur 18
- Rāja Gopichand of Sehwan and Pir Patho .. 90
- Rājputa, Kṣatriyas 52; and marriage 55
- Rākṣasa-Taṅgaḍī (Tālikota) battle 216
- Ramaden, Mary Sc. 150, 152, 162, 163, 176
- rangoes (beads of rough corallian) Sc. 186

- Samataṭa, to the east of 227—230
sāmbān (Pariah sacrifice) 143, 144
sambandham (marriage by consent) 195
Saṅkaraṇa 203, 204
Sāuchi, suggested meaning and derivation of the
 name 160
sandhi, vocal (crisis) I.A.V. 93—98
sindhya vilakku (hanging lamp, Kerala) 73
 Sanskrit, palatalization of back-stops in 142
 Sanskrit MSS. in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library,
 Tanjore 138
San suar do mar (Port. sea-slug) Sc. 127
Santa Cruz Sc. 187, 194
Sapādalaṅka (Sawālekh), the Brāhman of 46, 92
Sāraṅgadeva 117
Sarasvatī rivor 164
Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore 138
Sarbatane (blowing tube for arrows), use of
 the term by Varthema 33
Sardesai, Govind, and the publication of the
Poshwa's Dattar 161
Sarfoji Rājā and the *Sarasvatī Mahal Lib-*
rary 138, 139
Sarmans (name-endings) of *Nāgar Brāh-*
mans 41, 52, 61, 65
Sārthavāha (official title) 42
Sarum Sc. 174, 180
Sarup, Prof. Lakshman, Indices and Appendices
to the Nirukta 161
Sastri, P. P. S.
The Mahābhārata; The Southern Recension 119
A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manu-
scripts in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library,
Tanjore 138
Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the relation between
 pig, cattle and corn 1
Śātavāhana chronology 100
Satyāśraya, W. Chālukya k. 40
Saunders, Capt. Wm. Sc. 115, 119, 128
Savery, Capt. T. Sc. 171
Sawālakḥ (Sapādalaṅka) 46
Scattergood, Ann (s) Sc. 201
Scattergood, Ara. (w.) Sc. 119, 135, 147, 156, 174
Scattergood, Ara. (d) Sc. 147
Scattergood, Caro. (d.) Sc. 134, 135, 147
Scattergood, Eliz. (d.) Sc. 130, 140, 156,
 161, 173, 181, 184, 201
Scattergood, Eliz. (s.) Sc. 201
Scattergood, Eliz. (aunt) Sc. 168, 173
Scattergood, Fran. (d.) Sc. 146, 150, 152,
 176, 179, 180
Scattergood, J. Sc. 115—202
Scattergood, Kath. (d.) Sc. 161
Scattergood, Maria (d.) Sc. 154
Scattergood, Roger (u.) Sc. 162, 170, 181,
 182, 185, 186, 199
Scattergood of Ellaston, Roger Sc. 179
Schism Bill Sc. 183, 184
 script, of the Indus Valley seals 18: the Nā-
 garī 65, 66
 scrivan (clerk, writer), a very early use of the
 word 33; Sc. 196
 sculpture, of Pāla and Sena periods, charac-
 teristics of 109
 seals of the Indus Valley 18
 seemul, sembal (the 'Silk Cotton-tree,' *Bombax*
malabarica), very early reference to the 33
Sellāndi, village deity 143
Selli-amma, village deity 143, 144
 Sena dynasty 50; defeat of the 51; Kētriyas 52, 63
Senāni dvijā (Pugyamitra) 102
Seng-ha-pu-lo (of Hsüan-tsang)=*Simhapura* 64
ser (a weight), Akbari 23, of Patna 23, 24
Severn Sc. 123, 124
Shāh 'Ālam II, and the vil. of Rāisānā 18
Shah Allum (Shaw Allum) Sc. 148, 149, 151;
Shallam Sc. 162
Shāhbāsh, early use of the expression 34
Shāhi-tun pre-historic settlement at 96
Shaikh Jhāryo 88
Shaikh Patho deoli (Pir Patho) 90
Shaikh Sarinān of Nāngwa 87
shakarkand, correct meaning of the word 93
Shameeana, Semianna (an awning or tent, Pers.
shāmyānu), early references to, and possible
 derivation of 34
Shampoo 91
Sherbourne (Anne) Sc. 123, 148, 160
Sherbourne (a second of the name) Sc. 123, 124, 133
Shih-li-chā-to-lo, identified with Śrīkṣetra
 (Sylhet) 227
Shireenbāf (Pers. *shirinbāft*), fine cotton stuff,
 Barni's use of the word 91
Shoegoose, Shawgoose (Pers. *siyāghosh*), lynx 91
Shola Nāyaks, Wynad jungle folk 174
Siāh-damb, prehistoric settlement at 96, 97
Siam, derivation of the name 91
Simhalas, Virūpāksha's conquest of the 215
Simhapura and the Varmans 64
Sind and Panjāb, the river courses of 163—169
Sindhurāja, Paramāra k. 135
eingārā, Finch's very early use of the word 91
Sinhalese, ceremonial dances of 19
siribāf (*siriḍāf*), see *Shireenbāf*.
Sitwell, Fran. Sc. 165, 167
Sitwell, Geo. Sc. 143, 174, 175, 183
Śiva, in Nāt-Hlāung temple, Pagan 176
Śivālik (Sans. *Sapādalaṅka*), suggested etymo-
 logy of the name 92, 163, 165
Small, Capt. D. Sc. 142, 143, 146, 154, 163,
 170, 184
Smith, Vincent, and Indian rivers 165, 166
Soak-pits, ancient, at Chetpur, Madras 21—23
Somadeva, on the Kāyasthas 49
Somers Sc. 115, 124, 129, 134, 141, 149
Somśvara, Paramāra k., Kirāḍu inscrip. of
 the time of 135, 136
sororate 146
Srautasūtras on marriage, etc. 54, 55, 61, 71
Śrīparvata, the Nallamalais 167

- Stanhope* Sc. 155
Starke, J. Sc. 163, 164
Stein, Sir Aurel, on the Kāyasthas, 49, 50; his experiences in Chinese Turkestan in 1930, 59, 60; in Gedrosia, 96—99; note on a find of ancient jewellery in Yāsin .. 103—106
Sterling, Wm. .. Sc. 116, 123—125, 130, 146, 149, 155
Stratford Sc. 187
 stress-accent, tone and intonation in M.I.A.Vs. I.A.V. 69—76
Stretham Sc. 118
stridhana, described in the *Arthasāstra* .. 149
stri-dhanam (bride price) in Kerala .. 116
Stringer galley Sc. 139, 159, 161, 179
Stūpa, the Great, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in S. India .. 186—192
stūpas 188, two varieties of .. 189, 191
Subhatavarman, Mahākumāra .. 194, 215
Subi (S. Natuna) isl. off Borneo .. Sc. 195
Success Sc. 115, 155, 176, 189
Śūdras and caste rules 61; in the Kali Age .. 101
Suktagēn-dōr, pre-historic settlement at .. 96
Sukthankar, Dr. V. S., and others, *The Mahābhārata*, A Critical Edition .. 118
Sumerians and the Indus Valley, 18; their wide civilisation .. 222
Sumpitan (Malay blowpipe) as described, unnamed, by Jourdain .. 92
sun worship in India .. 17
Sunderland Sc. 193, 194, 198
Śuṅgas, the, and the Brāhman Empire .. 101, 103
Surat, reference to, in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* .. 92
Surwaun (camel-leader, Pers. *surwān*), very early use of the word .. 93
Susa, I and II, origin and development of .. 222
Susannah Sc. 158, 159, 161
Sutlej, river 163, 165—169
Suttee (H. sati) 93
Suvarṇagiri of the Brahmagiri edict .. 40
Śvetakeṭu and woman's freedom .. 145
Syce (=groom), use of the word in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* .. 93
tdli-kattu (Malabar) wedding 195
Talipot, Albirūnī's mention of the tree .. 93
tandān (leader of the community, in S. Malabar) 114
tangun (a Tibetan pony), Mundy's use of the name 93
tdrī (Talipot palm leaves) 94
Tārim basin, geographical observations in, by Sir Aurel Stein 60
Tārnā, plain, referred to, by Ibn Baṭūṭa .. 89
Tashreef (Arab. *tashrif*, 'honouring'), very early European use of the term 94
Tawke (Talke), Capt. J. Sc. 145
Taxila and Alexander 183
tea-planting in the Wynad 171, 197
Temple, Sir R. C., tribute to his work in the Andaman and Nicobar isls. 79
terracotta, Pallava, a sample of 23
terracotta figurines, from Makrān .. 96—98
Thambhanwāro Masjid and other sites on lower Indus 86—90
Tharro near Gujo, 87; and Patala (in Sindh) .. 88
The Boa's Nova's (Bon Nevas) Sc. 139
The Four Brothers Sc. 115
Theobald, Thos. Sc. 161
Thirteen Trivandrum Plays Attributed to Bhāsa, translated into English by A. C. Woolner and Lakshman Sarup, vol. I (book-notice) .. 221
Thisleworth Sc. 142, 146, 154
Thomas Sc. 115
Thug (phāṇel-gar) 94
Timmer, Barbara C. J., *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* 80
Tīpū Sultān and the English 173
Tirthika (Tirthiya), meaning of the word 123, 124
Tirunelli temple, c.p. grants .. 171, 172, 196
Tiyars, marriage among the 150
toaches (iron pots, kitchen utensils) .. Sc. 183
Tobin, James Sc. 143, 153, 154, 170, 199, 200
To-lo-po-ti (identification of) 228, 229
Tomson, Mr. Sc. 151
 tone, intonation, and stress-accent in M.I.A.Vs. I.A.V. 69—76
Tope-khana, topconno (Pers. *top-khāna*), early use of the word 94
Tōr-dherai, cinerary deposit at 103
Toshacoma (Pers. *toshakhāna*) 94
Totemism and The Marāṭhā devaks 99
Townshend Sc. 168, 170, 172—174, 180
Travancore Archaeological Department, Administrative Report for 1929-30 162
Treaty of Mangalore 173
Treaty of Seringapatam 173
Trenchfield, Ann Sc. 122, 180, 181, 183
Trenchfield, Elihu Sc. 115, 118, 121, 122, 125, 134—136, 140, 141, 149, 150, 152, 156, 163, 164, 186—188, 198, 201
Trenchfield, Eliz. Sc. 115, 118, 121, 122, 125, 134, 136, 140, 141, 149, 152, 156, 157, 163, 180, 186

- Trenchfield, J. Sc. 122, 146, 152
 Trenchfield, Rich. Sc. 122
 Tripervata, suggested identification with Hale-
 bid 137
Triplicane Sc. 187—189, 194
Tripurasundarī, pūjā 17
Trivadore Sc. 188
 Tuckavee (Ar. *taḡdūt*), Firsihta's use of the
 word 94
Tughlaqs, the, and Tatta 87
 Tulli, Capt. Tim. Sc. 148, 149
 Tulumād and the *Chēkarāṣ* 116
 Turkostan, Chinese, Sir Aurel Stein's experi-
 ences there, in 1930 59
 Turner, N. Sc. 147
 Turner, Prof. R. L., *The Gavelnath and Pāḷi-*
gundū Inscriptions of Aśoka 220
- Udayāditya, Paramāra k., 192—194; and
 Udayavarman 212, 214, 215
 Udayapar inscriptions of the 12th century 192, 193
 Udayavarman and Udayāditya 212, 214, 215
umlaut (epenthesis) Sc. 82—86
 Ummattūr, chiefs of, and the Vijayanagara
 empire 173
 Upenāgava Apebhramśa, and the Nāgar race 65
upa-rāja (Pāli) and Upper Rojer 94
 Upper Rojer (for heir-apparent) 94
 Uridavans, a Wynad tribe 195, 196
 urn-burial in S. India 21, 22, 197
Useful Tables (Prinsep's) 23, 24
utsava-vigraha (festival image) 143
- Vadakkan pīṭṭu* (the songs of N. Kerala) 9
 Vadsuda, vil. 214
 Vāḍnagar (Ānandapura), 41, 46, 47, 62, 65
 Vadre, Hieronimo De (M. Deverage) Sc. 168
 Vaidyas and Kāyasthas 52—54
 Vaisīyas, their disappearance as a caste,
 etc. 51, 53, 55, 61
 Vaishnavas, very early mention of the sect 95
 Vannatti, the, and the washerman caste 207
 Vantnaestriat, Capt. P. Sc. 194
edra-gaṣṭi, meaning of the term 83—85
edram, different meanings of the word, 82—85
edychcha (a coronation ceremony in Kerala) 210
edriyam, and 'committee,' also 'president,'
 'chairman' 81
 Varma, Siddheshwar, *Critical Studies in The*
Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians 201
- Varmans (Yādava Varmans) of Bengal 63—65
 Varuṇa, g., and *aruna* 18
 Vārūnōḥ (he who rules) 72—76, 208, 210
 Vasiṣṭha on marriage 54
 Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) in inscrip. 203, 204
vdarāṣana and *vdāvāṣana*, meaning of the
 terms 122
 Vernaculars, on the modern Indo-Aryan
 I.A.V. 57—102
 Victory pillar on the Tāmraparṇī 218, 219
 Vijayanagara conquest of Ceylon 215—219,
 223—227
 Vijāñeśvara and the Kāyasthas 53
 Vikrama Era, origin of the 101—103
 Vikramāditya, and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi
 100; (traditional) and the Samvat years 101
 Villeaumont (Velleaumont) Jardin, Capt. G.
 Sc. 170, 197, 198
 Vindhya-varman, Mahākumāra 215
 Vira-Saivism in the Kanarese co. 172, 173
 Virāpāḥa, conquest of Ceylon by 215, 226, 227
viśayapati (official title) 42, 51
viśaya-vyavahārin (district officials) 51
 Viṣṇu, in Nāt-Hlāung temple, Pagan, 175—177;
avatāras of 178, 179, 197, 198
Viṣṇu-smṛiti, and the term Kāyastha 47, 48, 51
 Viṣṇuśāśas as Kalki 101, 102
 vowels in M. I. A. Vs.
 addition and elision of I.A.V. 77—81
 epenthesis or *umlaut* I.A.V. 82—86
 harmonic sequence I.A.V. 86
 change of quality I.A.V. 87—93
 Crasis or vocal *sandhi* I.A.V. 93—99
 nasalization and denasalization I.A.V. 99—102
 in detail I.A.V. 102
- Wāhindah, the Hakrā river 165
 Wake, J. Sc. 145, 186
 Walker, Ben. Sc. 162
 Walker, Fran. Sc. 150—152, 154
 Wallis, Bagnall Sc. 168—170
 Wallis, Capt. R. Sc. 189
 Warre, Flor. Sc. 154, 157
 Warre, Will. Sc. 116, 119, 128, 137
 Way, Thos. Sc. 150, 152
 Weld, Capt. Wm. Sc. 116
 Weld, Mr. Sc. 133, 148
 wells, ancient, at Chetput 21, 22
 Wendey, Revd. J. Sc. 119, 120, 130, 143, 147,
 148, 152, 156, 168, 173, 181, 182, 184, 198, 199
 White, Capt. J. Sc. 194
 Wigmore, Anne Sc. 156

- Wilkinson, J. Sc. 202
 Wilkinson (Wilkinson, probably Jon.) . . . Sc. 187
William Sc. 186—188
 Williams, Capt. R. Sc. 148
 Williamson, J., Sc. 140, 150—152, 154, 175,
 176, 179, 182, 185, 186, 191, 194
 Wilson, Capt. Sc. 188
 Wiltshire, Thos. Sc. 149, 155
 Wiltshire, Wm. Sc. 146
 Wima Kadphinas and the Śaka-ana 100
 Winter, Capt. J. Sc. 184
 Wirttemberg Sc. 194, 200
 women, four kinds of, 149; an inquiry into their
 position in Hindu society 145—149; (Jaina)
 spiritual emancipation of 125
 Wood, Matt. Sc. 115
 Woodhouse, Steph. Sc. 188, 189
 Woolley, Thos. Sc. 176—178
 Woolmer, A. C., and Lakshman Sarup, *Thirteen
 Tricandrum Plays Attributed to Bhāsa* . . 221
 Wotton, Capt. Thos. . . Sc. 150, 152, 154, 155
 Wright, Capt. R. Sc. 170, 183
 Wright, Mr. Sc. 120, 200
 Wybergh, Capt. C. Sc. 188
 Wyche, Ber. Sc. 128, 129, 134, 146
 Wyche, Geo. Sc. 124, 125, 129, 137,
 140, 144, 149, 150, 153
 Wynad, notes on the cultural geography of the
 170—174, 195—197
 Wynad, ancient burials in the 22
 Yaboo (horse from Afghanistan), Foster's use of
 the word 95
 Yādava Varmans (Varmans) 64
Yājñavalkya 51, 54, 55
Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, containing the earliest
 mention of the term *kṛyastha*, 43, 47, 50, 51,
 53—55, 61
 Yak, the animal referred to, but not named by
 Fitch 95
Yakya (*Yeshkun*) 69
 Yāsin, note on a find of ancient jewellery in, 103—106
 Yaśovarman, Paramāra 212—214
Yeshkun, language of the Nāgars of Hunza-
 Nāgar 69
 Zervan, g., and the Manichaeans 200
 zenana, Brāhmins entering the 45
Zur Indischen Apologetik, by Hanns Oertel
 (book-notice) 222

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 32.]

China voyage. Scattergood's first voyage to China in the *Bussorah Merchant* with Edward Jones. See pp. 65-78.

Mr. Lewis. The Rev. George Lewis. See p. 85.

Cojee Petrus. Khwāja Petrus. See p. 88.

Nina Chittee. Naina Chetfi. See p. 88.

Vincattee Chettee, Mutaball Chettee. Venkata Chetfi, Mutta Bāla Chetfi. See p. 89.

2. Mr. Dixon. Thomas Dixon. See p. 87.

3. Mr. Harriott. Robert Harriot or Heriot. See p. 88.

4. Capt. Bennett. Capt. Abraham Bennett. See p. 89.

5. Padre de Saa. See p. 87 and note on p. 88.

6. The *Herriotts* voyage. See p. 87. For Capt. Wm. Weld and the Chevalier Hébert, see p. 88.

The *Arabella*. See p. 87.

The *John and Elizabeth*. See p. 87.

Mr. Frederick. Thomas Frederick. See p. 87.

7. Ship *Thomas*. See p. 89.

8. Comrapha Conicoply. ? the "Comcophā Connicoply" (Kāma Kuppa, *kanakka-pillai*) of document No. 23a (p. 87) and note on p. 89.

9. Dr. Corbett. This must be Henry Corbett (the "Dr" seems to be an error), who came to India in the *Success* in 1711 and again in 1715 as a free merchant. See p. 89 and *Early Annals of Bengal*, II, Pt. I, 356, 371.

Mr. Bouchier. Richard Bouchier, a free merchant.

Ship *Samers*. See p. 107.

12. Lewis Maderas. See document No. 29.

13. Adventure to Siam. The *Chinnapatam*, Capt. John Powney, sailed for Siam on 20 May 1713 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

14. Capt. Willy Saunders. Captain William Saunders was a shareholder in the *Amity*.

15. Ship *Ormond*. The *Ormond*, Matthew Wood commander, sailed for China and Mocha on 28 May 1713 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

Mr. Livesay and Captain Bodham. William Livesay, supercargo of the *Dolben*, died at Calcutta on 15 November 1719 (*Early Annals of Bengal*, II, Pt. I, 28 n.) Captain Charles Boddam commanded the *Dolben* which sailed from Madras for Bengal on 4 June 1713.

Shalloes. *Sālā*, twilled cotton of a red colour, commonly known as Turkey red. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Shalee.

16. the *Barinton*. For the *Barrington*, on which Scattergood's brother, Elihu Trenchfield, was supercargo, see p. 88. She arrived at Fort St. George from Bengal on 3 March 1713 and sailed for Bombay on 9 October (*Fort St. George Diary*).

The Church. The churchwardens of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, who were trustees for Scattergood's young sister-in-law, Sarah Burniston.

Capt. Poney. Captain John Powney of the *Chinnapatam*.

The *Four Brothers*. See p. 89.

Hing. *Asafetida*.

Pardoes. Pardoas was a Portuguese term for a gold coin from the native mints of Western India. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, for the derivation and history of the term.

The next document, a letter from the Madras owners of the *Amity* to William Aislabie, sent to Bombay by the *Barrington*, explains the purport of her voyage.

[33]

To the Honble. William Aislabie Esqr.

Honble. Sir, When Messrs. Phipps and Scattergood went from hence for China in ship *Amity* we promised them to lodge directions with your Honour concerning our part in the said ship and stock; tis impossible for us to foresee what account the present voyage will render or whether there is a probability that a second undertaking will succeed, but if your Honour thinks there is sufficient encouragement when you have perused the accounts of the present voyage and seen what the cargo renders at Suratt, if you and the gentlemen now concerned on your side are willing to sett another voyage a foot, we will endeavour to do our parts here, but as silver is the cheif ingredient, the more you can send us the liklier we are to succeed.

There will be a necessity for valuing the ship on account of adjusting with such persons as will or cannot be concerned in a second voyage; this we leave to your Honour &ca. owners, if you think fitt, or else we will do it upon her arrivall here.

Wee cannot tell whether rosomalloes and the usuall druggs will turn to account for another voyage, but your Honour may venture to provide as much cotton as the ship can conveniently carry, which never fails to yeild a profittable account. The supra cargoes, when they arrive, will be best judges if there is any thing else in your parts that will turn to better account then silver.

Wee desire our severall proportions of the dividend of this present voyage may be sent upon the ship in dollars, if att the usuall price or thereabouts, or otherwise in Suratt rupees. If the ship wants any thing to be done to her, it will be proper to do it before she comes here. We desire you will please to communicate this to the supra cargoes upon their arrivall, and are, Honble. Sir, Your most obliged servants,

Fort St. George, 8th October 1713.

Veria copia, attested by us
DOUGLAS BURNISTON
W. STERLING

E. HARRISON
THOS. FREDERICKE
WM. JENNINGS
BERNARD BENYON
WILLIAM WARRE
GEORGE LEWIS

The *Amity*, Captain Charles Berriman commander, sailed for China on 20 May 1713 (*Fort St. George Diary*), but Scattergood's promised letter to his wife from Malacca is not extant and we have no further news of him until after his arrival at Canton in August 1713. It was only after he had sailed from China, at the end of the year, that he sent an account of the voyage, together with details of the business transacted, to Governor Harrison.

[34]

[20 November 1713.]

To the Honble Edward Harrison Esqr.
President for the affairs of the Right Honble.
English East India Company on the
Coast of Chormandell and West Coast of
Sumatra and Governor of Fort St. George.

Honble. Sir, After a long and tedious passage in the streight of Mallacca, we did not arrive Canton before the 22d August. We made land on the 2d, judgeing it to be the Islands of St. John, where mett with a violent storme at North and North-east, which drove us back into 19 degrees. It continued three days, in which we lost our long boat and split some sailes and damag'd some of our cotton that was between decks. Thank God it was no worse. We touched at Maccoa, when heard that there was two French ships at Wampo from Peru, which made us stay there three or four days to goe in company of the *Loyall Bliss* and the *Concord*, a seperate stock ship, which delay made the *Ormond* arrive before us three or four days, she goeing for Canton directly.

I ask't the Padrees at Maccoa (Abbott Corderoes companions) if they had any gold to spare. They told me it was all at Canton in Padre Seru's hands. When I came there, Padre Seru told me he had about 20 or 30 shooes. It cost him 5 above touch, and that if I pleased he would let me have it for that price. I thank'd him and told him that I could buy it something cheaper. So the Padres kept their gold to serve your Honour the next voyage.

On our first arrivall at Canton had but an indeferent prospect of makeing a good voyage, all Surratt goods being low, especially cotton; no copper, and sugar at 2t. 8m., tho it fell to 2. 6 a little before we went. The reason that the merchants gave why cotton was so low was the famine that had been there. Rice was sold at 5 tale a pecull but a month before we arrived and everything else in proportionable. All the poor people was up in a mutiny and were for robbing all the Hounghs. The Manderins giveing them rice and makeing all the merchants contributing their quotas kept them quiet.

By our accounts your Honour will see how we sold and bought our goods and do not question after all but shall make a 40 per cent. voyage, except the gentlemen withdraw and sell the ship for a song, which I hope will not happen. By Mr. Raworth your Honour will receive the ballance of your account in gold and a chest of tea marked EH No. 1. I desired Inqua to gett it, telling him it was for your Honour. He told me it should be the best that could be gott and that he would not gett anything by it. So that if it does not give satisfaction, your Honour must blame Inqua. In the chest are four potts, No. 1, 2, 3, all of a sort, No. 4 something worse.

Your embroidery I spoke to Inqua likewise to gett them done. He told me that no body would work them under 50 tale a peice, the work being so full, so I bespoke but one peice on a sky color, and that could not be finished in our time. I desired Mr. Fenwick to receive it and send it to your Honour by the way of Batavia, which I hope may come safe to your hands.

Your coteh could not put off with our goods, Anqua and Linqua offering us but one tale a pecull, and after a months tryall sold it for 4t. 5m. to Chounqua, takeing other goods in return. And as for your Honours rosumalloes, it was such sad stuff that nobody would give more then 30 tale a pecull, but selling some of our goods with it and takeing goods,

gott it off for 40. I will give your Honour an account of your insense when I come back from Surratt.

Mr. Harrison is very well. I kept him to weigh goods, &c., and generally carried him with me to the merchants that he might be acquainted with them, but I could not for the hart of me keep him to writeing as I would have done. He has a great mind to be a saylor, for he is generally in the top one of the first. He had rather hand a reef then write and syfer.

At Canton we was mightily frighten'd with the news of Monsieur Bono, hearing that he design'd to lye of Polo Auer or in the streights mouth, which made us stay a few days to go in company with the *Concord*, that if we had mett with him we might secure our gold at least, and did not know but by seeing Captain Newtons originall pass from the French King and the news that he could informe him of a sasation of arms might induce him to let us goe, for we had not one paper of news, neither from the *Bliss* nor the *Concord*, the first telling us that they left all at Batavia and the other brought none out.

By Mr. Raworth have sent your Honour some hams, would have sent you some geese but here being no ships to take them in, made me let it alone, designing to make it up in Surratt sheep when I come back. As for tea, I know your Honour has better then I can send you.

I remain with all respects

Your Honours most obedient humble servant

[Copy, unsigned]

December 20 [1713].

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 34.]

Islands of St. John. Chang-charan (St. John Island).

The *Loyall Bliss*. A Company's ship of 350 tons, commanded by Captain Robert Hudson.

Which delay made the *Ormond* arrive before us. For the *Ormond* see note (15) on document No. 32. She sailed from Madras eight days after the *Amity*.

The Hounghs. Houngh is Scattergood's rendering of *hang* or *hong*, a row or series of rooms. The term was applied to the "factories" or residences of foreign merchants in the western suburbs of Canton. It is still used at the present day to indicate a mercantile firm. I am indebted to Mr. W. Perceval Yetts for this information.

Mr. Raworth. John Raworth, free merchant.

Mr. Fenwick. Edward Fenwick, supercargo of the *Loyall Bliss*, who subsequently married Scattergood's step-sister, Elizabeth Trenchfield.

Monsieur Bono. This must be the Monsieur Bonneau who, in January 1712/13, was reported to be in the Straits of Malacca with a squadron of ships, and to avoid whom, Capt. Harry Gough of the Company's ship *Stretham* was ordered to sail from China to Fort St. George via Batavia (Consultation at Fort St. George 6 July 1713).

Polo Auer. Pulo Aor (Awar, La Ore), an island off the coast of Johor.

Captain Newton. Captain Charles Newton of the Company's ship *Essex*.

Sasation of arms. The Peace of Utrecht, 31 March 1713, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession.

Scattergood's accounts, kept in Canton, give details of purchases from the Chinese merchants Anqua, Pinqua and Chounqua. These include stockings, taffeta, fans, tea, tea-tables, porcelain, "images," seed pearls and coral. The olibanum in which he and Edward Harrison had equal shares produced, after payment of customs and expenses, 295 tales. By the sale of 25 "parsells of pearles" he made a profit of 1227 tales, and the goods in which he and William Phipps were jointly interested realized 11892 tales. He also disposed of consignments for private individuals, among them the Chetti brothers at Madras,

In the meantime Arabella Scattergood kept a watchful eye over her husband's affairs as the following document shows.

[35]

To Messrs. Livesay and Boddam.

Gentlemen, Mr. Scattergood having subscribed two thousand rupees to the stock of the *Dolbin*, and ordered Mr. Willy Saunders to make good that sum to you, but he being unfortunately lost and all that was with him, I have by this conveyance of Captain Douglas sent down fourtien hundred and twenty Surrat rupees, which beleive will make good the subscription, having payd Mr. Warre one hundred and twenty nine pagodos odd fanams upon this account, which please to advise me the receipt of. If there shou'd be any deficiency or overplus, desire you wou'd give me the account at your return.

Wishing you a good voyage, am, Sirs, Your humble servant

A. S. [ARABELLA SCATTERGOOD].

Fort St. George, Sept. the 30th
1713.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 35.]

Willy Saunders. See note (14) on document No. 32. No details are forthcoming of his death.

Captain Douglas. Captain Charles Douglas, supercargo of the *Rochester* in 1710 and of the *Rising Sun* in 1712.

Mr. Warre. William Warre, a member of Council at Fort St. George.

Besides his report to Governor Harrison, before leaving China, Scattergood wrote to his attorneys in London, the Rev. James Wendy and Osmond Beauvoir, and to his mother Elisabeth Trenchfield.

[36]

To the Revd. James Wendey

[13 November 1713]

Sir, This serves only to acquaint you that I am still alive and drudging on to live, being lately come from Surratt and Madrass to this port, both places contributing in sending me a supercargoe here, so that now I belong to Bombay as much as to Madrass, by which you may see how stockes are decreased from the last place. However, I hope to make a good voyage, both for my imployers and myself, if the French don't run away with me, for I hear that there is some of them in our way.

I was mighty glad to meet with my old friend Fenwick. We often talk of our friends in England and drink their healths, in which number you may be asured you are included as one of the cheife.

As for Madrass news, I can not very well informe you, or at least not so well as you may hear from Padre Lewis, who goes home this year. I hope you received my letters by Mr. Beauvoir and have made up accounts with Sir George Mathews and paid off Mr. Wrights bill of exchange that I drew on him. I hope to continue comeing here one or two voyages more, which may enable me to enjoy your good companey in England.

In the interim I remain Your most humble and most oblidgeed Servant

[Unsigned]

P.S. By Mr. Fenwick have sent you 4 catties of good Bohee tea which I hope you will except off.

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT NO. 36.]

My letters by Mr. Beauvoir. See document No. 22b.

Scattergood's letter of the same date to Osmond Beauvoir, his agent in England with the Rev. James Wendy, is much more detailed. The portions omitted have already appeared in Scattergood's letter to Harrison (Document No. 34).

[37]

MR. BEAUVOIR,

[13 November 1713]

Sir, I hope a few lines may not be a miss from the place you have so often been at, to the advantage of Madrass and yourself, to acquaint you how matters stand here. China this year has suffer'd mightily by famine, especially all the southern provinces . . . by which means all goods that we brought from Surratt were very low and the China commodities at a great price (except gold which is at one or two above touch dollar silver), by reason no ship from Madrass this year for gold; and I believe they will hardly be able to send a ship with a large stock again, or at least in a great wile. I made a shift to squeeze out by the joynt interest of Bombay and Madrass and hope to make our employers about 30 per cent voyage, and had made more if our Surratt goods had sold better and could have gott copper,

which this year was not to be had. The merchants tell me that the next year will be a great deal better, they haveing orders from the Emperor to open the tutenough and gold mines, which will make those two comodities pretty plenty . . .

Your old freinds Linquah and Anquah are brave and hearty still, and carry on allmost all the business, but I think they do not play us fair in some things. You will hear Captain Newton rail at them and Captain Hudson and Fenwick praise them as much. And as for Inquah, he has not done one hundred tales worth of business this year, neither with the French nor English. In short, Linquah and Anquah does all the grand, and Comshaw, Chounquah and Pinkee all the less.

Mr. Clark writes from Amoy that that port will become good again. They have taken off all the Manderins petty duties and uses him very well, and goods at very moderate prices.

By Mr. Child have sent you 4 catties of Congo tea which hope you will except off

remain your humble servant

[Unsigned]

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 37.]

The place you have so often been at. Osmond Beauvoir spent several years in India as a free merchant. He was at Canton in 1710.

Mr. Clark. Probably Jarvis Clarke with whom Scattergood corresponded later on.

Amoy . . . will become good again. For conditions of trade at Amoy in the early eighteenth century and the extortions to which Europeans were subjected, see Morse, *The East India Company trading to China*, Vol. I, chapters xii, xiv.

Mr. Child. John Child who subsequently engaged in the Ostend trade.

[38]

[13 November 1713]

Honoured Mother, I received a letter by Captain Hudson from you which gave me a world of content to hear that you and the rest of our family were well, and pray God to keep them so till I can have the happiness of seeing you all together which will be a joyfull day to me, which I hope will not be long. Till then I live in hopes.

Mr. Lewis writes me that he will certainly goe for England this year. From him you will hear the latest news of Madrass, so shall not trouble you in this. I am now upon my departure for Surratt, where if I arrive safely, hope to make a good voyage both for my employers and self, and if I can goe another voyage to China, hope to gett a handsome competency to goe for England; but if I should fail, will goe with what little I have.

My brother Elihu, I beleive, has write you how matters goe with him. I hope to meet him at Surratt where we will consult for both our future benefitt in voyages.

By Mr. Fenwick, my old friend, I have sent you 4 catties of very good Bohee tea, a gold snuff box, 6 fanns and my image made hear, which I hope will be acceptable. Everybody tells me it is like me, but you may easily see if it is so or not by looking in the glass.

Please to give my love to my brother and sisters and tell them that by Mr. Fenwick have sent by [my] sisters each 2 catties of good tea and six fanns, and my brother Jack a gold headed cane.

I am now just upon my departure for Surratt, from whence shall not fail to write you. In the interim, I remain, Honoured Mother, Your most dutifull son,

J. S.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 38.]

My image. It is unfortunate that no trace of this has been found.

My brother and sisters. Jack, Elizabeth and Ann Trenchfield, children of Scattergood's mother and her second husband Richard Trenchfield. The elder son, Elihu, was still in India at this time.

By Captain Hudson of the *Loyal Bliss* and his supercargo Edward Fenwick, who sailed to England via Batavia, Scattergood sent "twenty peices of gold" to be forwarded thence to his wife at Surat, and before sailing from Canton, in addition to the letters printed above, he also wrote to the Rev. George Lewis informing him that "we shall goe from this place in company of the *Ormond* for Moca in two or three days, having completed all our business," and to his relative Thomas Pain giving a good report of his son Tom who "begins to make an excellent tarr."

During this second visit to China, it is likely that Scattergood paid close attention to the Chinese method of assaying gold and the notes given below probably belong to this period.

[39a]

4 penny weight in silver is carrot in gold or 1 carrot in silver is 4 gr. in gold or 1 gr. in gold is 4 penny weight in silver.

To essay, allaways put $\frac{1}{2}$ silver to the gold, except the gold be courser and be allayed with silver, then you must put the less silver.

[Endorsed] About an Assay of Gold.

[39b]

To reduce fine gold of 100 Touch.

dwt.	oz.	Touch	Touch
2 of Standard silver to 10	fine gold	of 100	will be 99
2 of Standard silver to 10.	. . . gold . . .	99	will be 98
1 of Standard silver to 10.	. . . gold . . .	99	will be 97 $\frac{1}{2}$

Vint.

100 oz. gold of 93 Touch reduc'd to 87 $\frac{1}{2}$ requires 5 oz. 10 dwt. dollar silver or standard silver.

The produce of the *Amity's* cargo to China was invested in goods saleable at Bombay and Surat, e.g., quicksilver, tutenaga (spelter), alum, sugar candy, ivory, aniseed, hartal (yellow arsenic, orpiment), preserved ginger, eagle-wood, camphor, China root and Chinese porcelain, amounting to a total of 47,263 tales. Besides the goods shipped on behalf of the owner, the supercargoes (Scattergood and Phipps) made investments on their own account in the above and other commodities, to the amount of 5,594 tales. In addition, Scattergood lost no opportunity of making use of the vessels leaving Canton before the *Amity* to consign gold to his various agents with instructions for its conversion into silver currency, diamonds, etc.

There is no record of the *Amity's* departure from China, and when next we hear of Scattergood he is on the Malabar Coast on his way to Surat and Bombay. The letter which follows (No. 40) bears no date, but was evidently written at Telichei at the end of January, or early in February, 1714, for there are sundry accounts and bills of exchange dated there on the 1st of the latter month.

N.B.—To facilitate reference, the notes to this and succeeding documents are numbered in round brackets.

[40.]

To the Honble. Edward Harrison Esqr. Governor of Madras &c.

Honble. Sir

I did myself the honour to write you by Mr. John Raworth⁽¹⁾ and gave you an account of our China transactions, which I hope your Honour have received long since, so I shall not trouble you to repeat in this, only to acquaint your Honour that we arrived Callicutt the 20th instant without touching any w[h]ere in our passage. We changd all our Owners gold there and brought Mr. Adams to this place to procure us what pepper we can take in, and the remainder he gives us bills for Bombay and Surat.⁽²⁾

We were in hopes to have heard from your Honour either from Anjengo (where the Cheife⁽³⁾ sent us a boat informing us that he had no letters for us) or at Callicutt, but since we dont, hope shall not fail at Bombay; otherwise I shall be mightily at a loss in managing the Madrass concern in our stock, for I presume 20,000 rupees will be drawn out on this side, and I reckon the ship will be put up to sail either at Bombay or Surrat, if we cannot agree to value her.

Mr. Phipps and myself designes, if possible, to sett out again to China in this ship, and if we can hire another ship very cheap and gett subscribers, to send her to Amoy, so that your Honour, if you like of our project, hope will come in; if not, hope shall gett some of your dollers for China to buy gold, and your last private adventure coming out so well incorages us to hope to carry more on the same account.

We sail this day for Bombay in company with [the] *Sherbourne* and *Severne*.⁽⁴⁾ Captain Peacock⁽⁵⁾ passed by this port two days before we arrived, and by a letter that I have received from Mr. Sterling⁽⁶⁾ presume they may make near an hundred per cent. which is very extraordinary as times goe. I hope shall not be long before we arrive Bombay, when if any opportunity presents, shall not fail to write your Honour how all matters goe. In the interim remain

Your Honours most obedient humble servant
J. S.

[Notes on Document No. 40.]

(1) See Document No. 34, p. 117.

(2) Robert Adams, Chief of the Company's factory at Telichei, The bills alluded to are dated there on 1 February.

(³) John Brabourne was Chief of the factory at Anjengo, situated on the Malabar Coast, south of Quilon.

(⁴) The *Sherbourne* mentioned here was not the Company's ship, commanded by Captain Henry Cornwall (which was taken by the French in 1710 and subsequently released), but, like the *Severne*, was a privately owned vessel. The *Sherbourne* under Captain John Jones reached Fort St. George from Surat on 1 June 1714, and the *Severne*, with Michael Grey as supercargo, on 17 May (*Fort St. George Diary*, 1714).

(⁵) Captain Eustace Peacock had just returned from a successful voyage to Persia in the *Somers*, and Scattergood had cause for thinking the result "very extraordinary" since his own share in the venture was between 70 and 80 per cent. The ship sailed from Madras for England on 18 July 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(⁶) William Sterling, one of the supercargoes of the *Somers*. The other was George Wyche, with whom Scattergood was associated in the *Amity's* second voyage to China.

While Scattergood was making his way up the Malabar Coast in January-February 1714, a letter was despatched to him by his attorney in London, Sir George Matthews, with an account of the trust he had undertaken after the voyage from Persia in 1708 (see pp. 57-61). Sir George was "very sorry to see the dismal accounts you give of the trade in gennerall in India" and hoped "now there is a peace with France" that it "will nott bee so precarious." By the account enclosed we find that Scattergood had received £1337. 10s. on his "bottom-ree" of the *London* and that there had been purchased and sent out to him a "stringe of diamonds," a chest of French wine and a chest of beer.

Scattergood landed at Bombay some time in February 1714 and there found letters from Governor Edward Harrison, Thomas Frederick and the Madras owners of the *Amity* empowering him to make a second voyage in her if the Bombay owners were willing. These, as Scattergood wrote to Frederick in March, "not only send our ship but have hired the *Duke of Cambridge* [a Company's ship] for Amoy for 18,000 rupees for the whole voyage, the stock to be 100,000 rupees," shared by William Aislabie, Bernard Wyche, William Phipps and Scattergood, with an option to Thomas Frederick of 10,000 rupees.

From Bombay Scattergood made his way to Surat, where he found only low prices obtainable for his cargo, and whence he wrote a characteristic letter to his late colleague William Phipps.

[41.]

Mr. Phipps, Sir,

This comes by Captain Peacock who can informe you what a dismall markt we are come too and what trouble I undergoe in this cursed place, which makes me weary of staying in India any longer. I designe this shall be my last voyage that I am now goeing. Yesterday I had all the merchants in the factory and they offerd me but 65 rupees for my quicksilver, 8 for tutenaugh and 5½ for pepper ready money, and at the same time told me that if I had above 200 pecull of quicksilver and 1000 pecull of tutenaugh, they would not give me so much. I denied stiffly of haveing any more, so was forced to turn them all away without coming to any conclusion, but this morning mett again and was told by them all and other friends that they would offer the utmost of the markt and that after they had bought they would sell again to any body for an anna profit per maund. So after abundance of trouble I sold for these following prices—800 maunds quicksilver, includeing our 20 pecull, for 72 rupees; 4000 Do. tutenaugh for 9 r. 4 a.

all the pepper for	.. 5 : 12	} ready money.
hartoll	.. 17 : 8	
camphire	.. 20 :	
sugar candy	.. 37 :	
cardinums	.. 35 :	

They will give but 2 rupees for China root and 7 rupees for our annisead,⁽¹⁾ which I have not sold yett, and our China ware, now the Mocca ships are gone, they blow upon 'em,⁽²⁾ but hope to sell round⁽³⁾ for 50 per cent.

The remainder of our quicksilver and tutenaugh designe to bring to Bombay and desire the Generall &ca.⁽⁴⁾ to buy for the same price to make an end of our unfortunate voyage. I am asure[d] they may gett the interest of their money and some profit after the rains, for then there goods will in all likeliwood rise.

I am sorry to send you such a dismall account, but Captain Cradoock's ship⁽⁵⁾ ruined our voyage. They brought for themselves and on freight above 1000 maunds of quicksilver, which is enough for Surratt for one year. I begin to have racking thoughts about our two ships for China the next year and am afread we shall make but sorry hand of it, comeing to one port and bringing the same goods.

Surratt not being now as formerly,⁽⁶⁾ here is little or noe money stiring, Captain Bonner⁽⁷⁾ finding [it] very difficult to raise money to pay us, tho the money lyes in Rustome &ca. hands at interest; for all that, they can not gett it in.

I have secured cotton for our two ships, but when it will come, God knows; that commodity rises very much. No good putchuck⁽⁸⁾ to be had, nor can I gett little or noe money at respondentia. Am afread I shall be put to it to raise my subscriptions to the two ships. I have not bought one rupees worth of pearl yet, nor I cannot tell if I shall buy any or noe, it being very dear.

This is all at present and I wish it had been better, but let the world run as it will, I shall allways remain

Your humble servant

J. S.

Pray give my humble service to all friends. I am in hopes to sell our opium for about 320 rupees a chest. I hope you will not pay to the Generall 2 [*sic*, ? too] now we make so bad a voyage.

[Notes on Document No. 41.]

(1) These goods were the private investment of Scattergood and Phipps.

(2) Blow upon 'em. i.e., discredit, belittle them.

(3) Hope to sell round, i.e., indirectly, in a roundabout way.

(4) William Aislabie and Council at Bombay.

(5) Captain Christopher Cradoock, commander of the *Barrington*, on which Scattergood's stepbrother, Elihu Trenchfield, was supercargo.

(6) Since the rise of Bombay and the transfer of the Presidency to that port, the former settlement had declined in importance.

(7) Captain Lawrence Bonner of the *Margaret*.

(8) *Saussurea Lappa*, the 'costus' root of the ancients.

In spite of his lamentations the sale of the *Amity's* cargo did not turn out so badly as Scattergood had predicted, for he admitted that there would be 25 to 30 per cent. profit, after allowing for the high cost of the hire of the vessel, Rs. 40,000. The *Duke of Cambridge*, however, was obtained for only Rs. 18,000, so much was expected of the second venture. This ship was commanded by Captain Edward Arlond with William Phipps and William Sterling as supercargoes, while George Wyche was associated with Scattergood in the *Amity*.

From Surat, besides the letter given above and others to Thomas Frederick and William Aislabie repeating his complaints of the badness of trade, Scattergood also wrote on 22 March

to Governor Harrison in the same strain, bemoaning the low prices then current and the difficulty of obtaining adequate assistance: "I am here almost hurried off my legs, the time being short, having no body to assist me but Mr. Harrison, whom I keep tightly to business; the place being very hott and business lyeing so far asunder makes my fatt corse [*sic*, corpse] melt finely, but not my respects and duty, which I shall allways retain to your Honours person and service."

At the same time Scattergood wrote to Phipps telling him that he could not reach Bombay before 20 April "by reason that our cotton cannot come down much before that time," and urging him to have everything ready "that we may not tarry long in Bombay." He adds that dollars are very scarce and dear; however, I bought some, but how to run them I cannot tell." This remark shows that Scattergood, like other traders of his day, was not above evading the regulations which forbade dealing in bullion without express permission from the Company. He was to experience the same difficulty in shipping silver from England on the *Bonita* some three years later.

While busying himself with the *Amity* and her cargo and posing as an overworked individual, Scattergood yet found time to set on foot private adventures on his own account. It appears that he and Captain Berriman, with whom he had made his last voyage to China, had become joint owners, with her master, Captain William Hurst, of the *Katherine* and that it was proposed to fit the ship in Bengal and send her to Junkceylon for tin and "Heysan" and it is not improbable that it was for this purpose that Scattergood secured the recipe "To cure Hysom" and the "Description of the Island Junkzelone" already printed on pp. 76 and 103. The *Katherine* arrived at Fort St. George from Fort St. David (Cuddalore) on 4 April 1714 and sailed to Bengal on the 12th of the month (*Fort St. George Diary*), but we hear very little more in the *Papers* of Captain Hurst and his experiences at Junkceylon.

[42.]

[Surat, April 1714.]

Captain Hurst, Sir,

Captain Berryman, you and I being concern'd each 1/3d of ship *Katherine*⁽¹⁾ and stock, which is 5000 pags., and you proposing to go to Bengall, there to fitt said ship very well with all things wanting, as small arms, guns, &c., and there to lay out the stock in such goods as are proper for Junkceylone,⁽²⁾ we recommend you to go out from Bengal very early. Be sure to put your ship in good posture of defence, for which reason you must carry with you a few Europeans and all the Lascars Portuguese, for you know there are abundance of rogues about Junkceylone, so that you must be always upon your guard and keep a good look out.

When you come to Junkceylone, you must sell your goods for tin and gett of that commodity as much as you can.

There is a sort of fish which is like a large horse leach, called by the Portugues Sam Suca de Mar and by the Chinese Heysan.⁽³⁾ They generally live upon rocks, and great quantities are to be had near Popperah.⁽⁴⁾ The Chinese cure these and send them to China. The way to cure them [is] as per directions delivered you.⁽⁵⁾

You will, I presume, meet with a great many China men at Junkceylone that can give you very good directions about them and will cure them for a small matter. Be sure to see them very well dried before you pack them up. You must take notice that the black sort, which are small, are double the price that the white are. This sort you must gett as much

as possible [of] and fill your ship with them. The black sort are worth about 5 to 6 P [? pagodas] per pecull at Malacca and the white about 3.

I shall take all possible care I can to send a sloop from Malacca with some Chinamen in her to assist you in making or procuring the said Sam Suca de Mar or Heysan.

After you have loaden your ship with tin and that fish, you must proceed to Malacca, where you will meet letters from me, but take care that you do not stay too long at Junk Ceylone. At Malacca you must apply your self to the Captain of the Chinemen,⁽⁶⁾ to whom I shall recommend you. Deliver all your fish to him, and he will give you, in truck, sugar, canes and rattans. After you have done your business at Malacca, proceed to Anjengo to sell your canes, rattans, &c. to Mr. Gifford,⁽⁷⁾ or at Callicut to Mr. Adams for pepper. Your sugar you must sell as well as you can, in the room of which load pepper &c. for this port.

Mr. Scattergood will take care to write you from all places if he meets with anything for your advantage and give you further orders.

We are [Unsigned.]

P.S.—When you arrive in Ballasore Road, if you can't get a Pilote and the wind should blow very hard that you think yourself in danger, you may venture to carry the ship over the Braces⁽⁸⁾ yourself.

[Here follow "Directions how to cure the fish called Sam Suca de Mar or Hysan," which are almost identical with those given on p. 78, with the following addition.]

I don't question but you'll find some people at Junk Ceylone that understand these things very well, which you must employ. Be sure to carry torches and some allum along with you.

[Notes on Document No. 42.]

(1) The *Katherina* (or *Catherine*) was a "country" ship, plying between Madras and Bengal and often employed to carry the Company's packets.

(2) See p. 105, n. 1.

(3) *Hai-shan*. See note on p. 78. *San sucar do mar* is the Portuguese term for the sea-slug or sea-leech, *lit.* sea-sucker.

(4) That is Papera or Papra, a town on the mainland to the north of the island of Junkceylon.

(5) See p. 78.

(6) This individual, whose name is given later as "Chan Younqua," acted as Scattergood's agent at Malacca.

(7) William Gyfford, factor at Karwar. He succeeded Adams as Chief of the factory at Anjengo and was murdered there by the natives in 1721. See Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, III, 406.

(8) Shoals at the entrance of the Hugli. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 167.

The remainder of the time spent by Scattergood in Surat was occupied in obtaining goods for China and in enlisting subscribers to the second voyage. By the end of April 1714 he was again in Bombay where he found that the sale of the portion of the *Amity's* cargo left there had been effected, and it was thus possible to allocate to the owners their dividends.

[43.]

[1 May 1714]

The Owners of Ship *Amity* their Dividend.

Madraas Owners.	Principall.	Surratt Dividd.	Bombay Dividend.
The Honble. Edwd. Harrison Esqr.	.. 16500. —	14297. 48. 80	5693. 11. 745
William Frasier ⁽¹⁾ Esqr.	.. 4950. —	4289. 20. 167	1707. 61. 445
Mr. Thos. Fredericke	.. 16500. —	14297. 48. 80	5693. 11. 745
Mr. Henry Davenport ⁽²⁾	.. 9900. —	8578. 41. 155	3415. 58. 89
Mr. Edward Bulkley ⁽³⁾	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	1138. 40. 1223
Mr. William Jennings ⁽⁴⁾	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	1138. 40. 1223
Mr. Bernard Benyon	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	1138. 40. 1223
Mr. Edward Mountague ⁽⁵⁾	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	1138. 40. 1223
The Revd. George Lewis	.. 6600. —	5719. 06. 63	2277. 17. 665
Colloway Chitty	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	1138. 40. 1223
Mr. Charles Boone	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	2277. 17. 665
Do. for Capt. Saunders deed.	.. 3300. —	2859. 35. 52	
Mr. Wm. Warro	.. 4950. —	4289. 20. 167	1707. 61. 445
Mr. Jno. Scattergood	.. 14500. —	12564. 44. 92	5003. 06. 275
Bombay Owners.			
The Honble. Wm. Aislabie Esqr.	.. 23300. —	19930. 13. 41	7935. 60. 93
Bernard Wyche Esqr.	.. 10000. —	8665. 19. 119	3450. 26. 56
Mr. Robert Adams	.. 5000. —	4332. 41. 149	1725. 13. 25
Mr. William Proby ⁽⁶⁾	.. 10000. —	8665. 19. 119	3450. 26. 56
Mr. William Phipps	.. 10000. —	8665. 19. 119	3450. 26. 56
Mr. John Gomes Febos ⁽⁷⁾	.. 8000. —	6932. 15. 131	2760. 21. 09
Capt. Eustace Peacock	.. 4000. —	3466. 7. 155	1380. 10. 94
Capt. Jonathan Collett ⁽⁸⁾	.. 5000. —	4332. 41. 149	1725. 13. 25
Mr. Duglass Burniston	.. 2000. —	1733. 3. 167	690. 5. 47
Capt. Parrott ⁽⁹⁾	.. 2000. —	1733. 3. 167	690. 5. 47
Mr. Hill ⁽¹⁰⁾	.. 2000. —	1733. 3. 167	690. 5. 47
Mr. Cole ⁽¹¹⁾	.. 1000. —	866. 33. 174	345. 2. 113
		155109. —. —	61762. 23. —

[Notes on Document No. 43.]

(1) William Fraser, member of Council and Acting Governor at Fort St. George 1709-1711, returned to England in the *Mary* in Jan. 1713 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(2) Henry Davenport, member of Council and Warehousekeeper at Fort St. George, returned to England in the *Marlbro'* with the Rev. George Lewis and Charles Boone. The ship sailed 21 January 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(3) Edward Bulkley, former Paymaster and member of Council, resigned his post on account of ill health in January 1714, and died at Fort St. George on 10 August of that year (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(4) William Jennings, a member of Council at Fort St. George. In 1714 he ranked next to the Governor, Edward Harrison.

(⁵) Edmund (not Edward) Mountague, who had served the Company for some years in Madras and Fort St. David, sailed to England in the *London* on 18 September 1713 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(⁶) William Proby, late Chief of Surat Factory.

(⁷) John (Joam) Gomes Febos, a Portuguese merchant trading at Surat and Bombay, with whom Scattergood had business relations up to 1717.

(⁸) Captain Jonathan Collett, commanded the Company's ship *Grantham* which reached Fort St. George from Bombay 8 May 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(⁹) Captain Abraham Parrot commanded the Company's ship *Blenheim* which sailed to Bombay and Surat in 1712 (*Marine Records*, Logs, Vol. 697C).

(¹⁰) John Hill, a Bombay merchant, member of Council, and a personal friend of Scattergood who styles him in one of his letters "Emperor" Hill.

(¹¹) William Cole, also a member of the Bombay Council and a crony of Scattergood who writes of him as "King Cole."

On 30 April 1714 Scattergood and his co-supercargo, George Wyche, received the following letter from the Bombay shareholders in the voyage of the *Amity* and *Duke of Cambridge*.

[44.]

30 April 1714.

To Messrs. John Scattergood and George Wyche
Gentlemen

Having subscribed to the stock and block of ship *Amity* to the amount of ruprs. 68069 for our proportion towards a voyage to Canton [in] China, the rest of the stock to be made up by the gentlemen of Madras, we committ our subscription and entire management of the voyage to your cares and judgment, no ways douting but in all conjunctures you will follow what in probability ought to turn to our greatest profit and advantage.

The farther to induce your dilligence in this affair we allow five per cent drawn out of the produce of our stock in China to be devided in manner following, vizt. three per cent to Mr. John Scattergood and two to Mr. George Wyche, the same we are allsoe willing and [sic ? in] the same manner to be devided on your sale at Surrat, assuring our selves whylst your own interest is so strongly link'd with ours you will persue itt as far as itt will goe. We are your freinds.

WILLM. AISLABIE.

BERND. WYCHE.

WILLM. PHIPPS.

JNO. HILL FOR ROBERT ADAMS.

Bombay Aprill the 30 1714.

The *Amity*, with Scattergood on board, arrived at Fort St. George on 19 May 1714, and the same day the *Somers* under Captain Mastace Peacock also arrived from Bombay (*Fort St. George Diary*). The next three weeks must have been a time of feverish activity and Scattergood's wife and children could have had little of his society before he sailed again on 10 June. Copies of ten letters written by him during this short period and numerous accounts are extant. Of these it is only possible to print sufficient to show his inexhaustible business activity and the extent of his investments. The supercargo of the *Duke of Cambridge* had even less time at Madras, for that ship arrived from Surat under Captain Arlond on 22 May and sailed for Amoy on 3 June 1714.

[45.]

Madras 28 May 1714.

Honoured Mother,

I received your kind letter for which I return you my most dutifull thanks and for the care you are pleased to take with my daughter Betty.

I am now just return'd from my last China and Surrat voyage and am goeing on another, from when shall write you at large, which may reach your hand as soon as this. I hope shall have the happiness of seeing you in two or three years more, my last voyage comeing out very well.

Please to give my service to all frends and tell them that I shall write them from China. I have wrote to my Attornies Messrs. Wendey and Beavoir to pay you all the charges you have been at for my girl with a bundance of thanks. I beg your prayers and blessings may attend me where ever I goe, remain

Your most dutifull and most affectionate son

J. S.

Madrass the 28 May 1714.

[46.]

Madras 5 June 1714.

Dear Cousin Duglass⁽¹⁾

My wife received your letter by me and money by Sterling,⁽²⁾ but the Dele a bitt of any list or directions what to doe with it. So she designes to give it all away to the Church to pray for your conversion from all folly and heedliness. But, however, to sett all things write, I desired her to provide 12 shirts and smocks for your father and mother, some chints for your sisters and handkercheifs and neckcloths for the rest of your family.

I hope to be on the Mallabarr Coast in December next where, if you should send your grab⁽³⁾ that you had last from Angary,⁽⁴⁾ I shall be glad to meet her if your occation will permitt. You need not send down any stock, for I shall have gold enough to load her up, and for your part I will take but 10 per cent respondentia. If you please, I will take $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of her provided you are reasonable in the valuation; but pray let me hear from you on the Mallabarr Coast with a price current of Bombay and Surat.

I am now just upon the goe, so please to give my service to your lady &c. freinds, remain

Your affectionate kindsman and most humble servant

J. S.

Madrass the 5th June 1714.

[Notes on Document No. 46.]

(1) Douglas Burniston, son of Charles Burniston, was a cousin of Arabella Forbes (*née* Burniston), Scattergood's wife.

(2) William Sterling, supercargo of the *Duke of Cambridge*.

(3) Grab (Ar. *ghurāb*), a square-rigged Arab vessel. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Grab.

(4) Conagee (Khānhūji) Angria, the noted corsair of the period. Whether the vessel in question was acquired by purchase or capture does not appear.

[47]

[4 June 1714]

Honble. Sir [Wm. Aislable](¹)

I do myself the honour to write you this to acquaint you of our arrivall here the 19th of the last month. We have changed all our Rupees for Dollers with the Governor for the same rate as the Dollers would make in coynning them into Rupees, by which we save 4 per cent. coynage. Mr. Phipps changed his at Pondecherry much at the same rate. The Governor(²) was pleased to come in 16500 Rupees into the Stock, 10000r. under me and 6500 in his own name, and 5000r. for Mr. Adams, by which means the *Duke of Cambridge* Stock was increased 11500r. more then it was in Bombay. Captain Peacock and Collett will sale the 15 of July next.⁽³⁾

Here arrived a small Seperate Stock ship from England called the *Mercury*, Captain George Lytton,⁽⁴⁾ that came out in October last, who informs us that next year will come out 2 shippes to your Honour out of which I hope you will save us some Dollers if your Honour dont deprive us of your good company at Bombay. But if I shall not have the happiness of seeing your Honour at Bombay hope (as your Honour once told me) you would leave some small share of your money to employ the *Amity* one voyage more, by which means hope to be enabl'd to meet your Honour in England, for I am resolved to goe after another voyage. I would fain leave of the sea, it being very tiresome to me if I could perswade my wife to come to Bomhay to live there but for 2 or 3 years the most; but all the reasons in the world wont prevail, for she says she shall surely die if she comes, tho at the same time she says that if she was sure your Honour would continue, that would perswade her more then anything else, but why she should remove from hence when she is to goe for England so soon as in two years she cant understand, when she flatters herself to enjoy your Honour[s] company for which she express[es] great concer[n]ment.

If your Honour do goe for England, hope you will not forgett Mr. Burniston[']s business(⁵) with the Company, and whatever you shall spend on that account I'll oblige myself to make good my share of the expences.

Mr. Phipps sayled yesterday(⁶) and I shall goe in 3 days more. I have no more to add but to wish your Honour all health and happiness and a good voyage if you goe for England, remain

Your Honours most affectionate brother and most obliged humble servant

J. S.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 47.]

(¹) Brother-in-law of Scattergood's wife and head of Bombay Factory.

(²) Edward Harrison, Governor of Fort St. George.

(³) Captain Eustace Peacock in the *Somers* and Captain Jonathan Collett in the *Grantham* actually sailed for England on 18 July 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(⁴) The *Mercury*, under Captain George Lytton, arrived at Fort St. George on 29 April 1714, having touched at Fort St. David on her way. Her burthen was 215 tons and she carried a licence to trade, under the Act of 1698, up to the value of £3007. On 2 June she sailed for Batavia and carried a letter from Madras to the Company's settlement at York Fort, Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(⁵) The business relating to John Burniston, Scattergood's father-in-law, who died in Bombay in 1704, and whose indebtedness to the Company was the cause of much correspondence before his affairs were settled.

(⁶) This settles the date of the letter as 4 June, since the *Duke of Cambridge* sailed on the 3rd of the month (*Fort St. George Diary*).

In addition to the goods he shipped on his own account at Surat, Bombay and Madras, Scattergood planned to have a further consignment ready to take in at Malacca through the means of his agents, John de Matt, probably a half-caste Portuguese, and the " Captain Chinaman " already mentioned in Document No. 42.

[48]

[June 1714]

Senr. John de Matt,

I desire you to make up accounts with the Captain China man Chan Younqua, as his vessells comes in from abroad, and whatever is my share of goods, receive, and hire some good goedown and put them up, first weighing them and racking. Pray doe me justice in the accounts and do not let the Captain Chinaman put you [of]f with delays, but immeadiatly make up accounts and receive my share and keep it on one side.

The canes that you and Captain Chinaman are to give us, pray see that they do not want in their length and gett them in as soon as possible that we may not be put of with delays. As you receive the cane[s], lock them up in a goedown.

All sorts of goods that you can gett cheap that is fitt for China, buy up for my account and keep them ready weighed of and racked in a goedown and I will be answerable for their cost.

Captain Hurst will be here from Junkselone. I have recommended him to you and China Captain to assist him in what he shall want to buy. The China Captain has promised me [to] buy up all the canes that he can gett both long of 32 inches and short of 29 and tells me that I shall have them as they cost, which put on board Captain Hurst, and when I come from China shall make up accounts.

[Unsigned]

Of the accounts belonging to this period, those dealing with Scattergood's own concerns are the more interesting. On the 29th May there was a sale of his goods, including " woemens stockings, China silk, paper gold," pieces of silk and " China bandaza " (? *Span. bandeja*, salver, tray; or possibly for ' bandana.' These were purchased in small quantities by numerous buyers and realized 243 pagodas. Then there are accounts with the Chetti brothers giving particulars of their investments in the *Amity*. On 3 June there was another sale of Scattergood's investment consisting of piece-goods from China and Surat—*allas* (satin), a " rich sash " velvet, bird's eye, taffeta and damask—all sold in small lots, amounting to 402 pagodas.

There are also receipts for goods carried to China for private individuals, to be sold in Canton, and silver to be exchanged there for gold.

As on the two previous occasions of his voyages to China Scattergood left minute instructions with his wife, with whom was now associated John Maubert, acting as his attorneys. The following document should be compared with No. 32 in order to form an estimate of the increase in Scattergood's investments between May 1713 and June 1714.

[49]

[— June 1714]

ACCOUNT OF WHAT MONEY I HAVE ABROAD AND WHAT I OWE, WITH PROPER INSTRUCTIONS
TO EACH VOYAGE, TO MY WIFE AND MR. MAUBERT MY ATTORNIERS IN MY
ABSENCE, *vizt.*

N 1. [In] Mr. Mauberts hands a parcell of rubies as per invoice	..	375. -	
Muttaball under me	.. .. .	68. 18	
			306. 18

Sell these for what you can gett.		
N 2.	Lent to Mr. Dixon att respondentia on the <i>Dolben</i>	300. -
3.	Lent to Capt. Bennett to Pegue 103 pags. at 25 per cent which he has had three years, therefore must pay 75 per cent.. .. .	103. -
He is now on shore, therefore make the best agreement you can; he tells me that before he goes he will clear the account or pay the most part of it. ⁽¹⁾		
4.	Lent to Manila under Padre de Saa 500 pags. at 30 per cent .. 650. -	
	received	452. 22
		197. 14
which was to be paid last year with the respondentia and made the bargain that if he did not pay that year then he was to pay double respondentia, but the Padrey will inform you about that affair.		
5.	Remains of the <i>Herriotts</i> voyage to Surratt with Messrs. Weld and Harriott, in the hands of Monsr. Hebert at interest; my share is 406 Surrat rupees at 330 per pagos. 100 [is]	125. 1
This [? There] is some money that was left of the <i>Harriotts</i> stock with Weld and Heriott was super cargo's; it was lent to the French att Surratt and they drew bills on Hebert att Pondicherry; he axcepted the bills but desired the money might lye att interest, and there it is still; my share is as above.		
Lent at respondentia to England on the <i>Arabella</i> at 13s. 6d.		
	Per Pagoda.. .. .	500
	50 Per cent.. .. .	250
		750
	Do. on the <i>John and Eliz.</i> at 14s. per pag. is	500
	55 per ct.	275
		775 1525. -
N 6.	Adventure to Manila on Lewis Maderos consigned to Dec Pree, 3 bales of piece goods, 3512 $\frac{3}{4}$ Surratt rupees, as per invoice	1091. -
7.	Adventure to Siam consigned to Cap. Powney 646 rups.	200. -
8.	Concern'd in ship <i>Ormond</i>	500. -
9.	Do. in the <i>Brittania's</i> stock ⁽²⁾	500. -
10.	Lent to Mr. Gwynn ⁽³⁾ at respondentia on said ship	400. -
11.	Concern'd with my brother in the <i>Barrington</i> ⁽⁴⁾	2000. -
12.	Do. in the <i>Sherbourne</i> ⁽⁵⁾	1000. -
13.	Sent to England on the <i>Mercury</i> ⁽⁶⁾ at respondentia at 13s. per pagoda	1000. -
14.	Sent to Batavia in the <i>Mercury</i> 8 chests of opium to sell there, if sold before the Europe China ship goes for China the money to be sent me, if not he is to take it at respondentia at 35 per cent: the opium valued at 90 pags. per chest	720. -
In the Governor ⁽⁷⁾ hands part of a chest of opium being $\frac{1}{4}$ of a chest; when he sells his opium he will pay you the q[u]arter part.		
In Muttaballs ⁽⁸⁾ hands remains 3 bales of shawles qtg.		
	32. 19 ps. at 46 ps. per corge	1515. 22
	the 3 bales package	3. -
		1518. 22

In Bombay remains of the <i>Sommers</i> voyage ⁽⁹⁾ in piece goods in Mr. Bernard			
Wyches hands, my share about 7000 rus. at 327 per 100	..	..	2171. 9
15. Lent at respondentia to Mr. Alexander Orme ⁽¹⁰⁾ to Muscatt	..	..	1500. -
16. he is to pay me 500 pags. on agreement of Olibanum as per his contract	..	..
17. Concern'd with Mr. Livesay on the <i>Dolben</i> ⁽¹¹⁾ 2000m. at 350 rs.	..	..	571. 12
18. Sent to Batavia 30 shoes of gold which hope will come on the <i>Dolben</i> at 115	..	..
pags. per shoe	..	..	3450. -
19. Mr. Hollam ⁽¹²⁾ owes me as per his accountt current	..	..	62. 24
20. My ballance of the acct. currt. in the <i>Amity</i>	..	..	6433. 16
Do. in the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>	..	..	2344. 25
The China man owes me 35 tale about	..	..	30. -
21. Lent Mr. Phipps at interest	..	..	500. -
22. Left with Mr. Langelier a parcell of China ware as per account ⁽¹³⁾ which may	..	..
amount to about	..	..	300. -
23. Mr. Alberts debt ⁽¹⁴⁾ as per paper N 23 which I have bought for	..	..	55. -
I carry with me in goods in my chest as chints, piece cloth &c.	..	..	200. -
			29001. 33
Taken up at interest			
Condapa Pauca Nina Chitty ⁽¹⁵⁾	300. -
Trevor Chitty ⁽¹⁵⁾	500. -
Trepasure Mar Chitty ⁽¹⁵⁾	300. -
Colloway Chitty ⁽¹⁵⁾	1000. -
Mr. Maubert	..	..	1000. -
Do.	..	..	300. -
Mr. Trenchfield	..	..	1000. -
			4300. -
Oweing to my wife for my daughter Carolina ⁽¹⁶⁾	75. -
for 14 patches of chints at 9 per [patch]	..	..	126. -
for a chints bed ⁽¹⁷⁾	60. -
			4561. -
			24440. 33

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 49.]

(1) Captain Abraham Bennett appeared before the Council at Fort St. George on 13 September 1714 and made a statement regarding the effects of Francis Delton who had died at Pegu.

(2) The investment in the stock of the *Brittania*, commanded by Captain Alexander Dalgleish, a "seafaring inhabitant" of Fort St. George, must have been made during Scattergood's brief stay at Madras. The ship sailed for Siam 16 June 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(3) Probably John Gwynn, late purser of the *Bussorah Merchant*. See p. 67.

(⁴) See 16 of Document No. 32, p. 115. In the previous year Scattergood's interest in the *Barrington* was only 500 pagodas.

(⁵) See Document No. 40, note (4).

(⁶) See Document No. 47, note (4).

(⁷) Edward Harrison, Governor of Fort St. George.

(⁸) Mutta Bāla Chettī.

(⁹) See 9 of Document No. 32, p. 115.

(¹⁰) Alexander Orme, like Scattergood, a free merchant.

(¹¹) See Document No. 35, p. 119.

(¹²) Francis Hellam, mate of the *Amity*. He quarrelled with Captain Berriman and left the ship at Canton.

(¹³) The "Account," delivered to Abel Langelier and referred to in the next document, is dated 8 June 1714.

(¹⁴) Scattergood had taken over from Henry Albert, a free merchant of Fort St. George, a debt owing to him by Susanna Gay.

(¹⁵) Kondappa Pākka Naina Chettī, Tiruvar(?) Chettī, Tiruppaalur Mara Chettī, Kalavay Chettī.

(¹⁶) Carolina, Scattergood's second daughter, born in 1710.

(¹⁷) Chintz hangings (canopy, curtains, etc.) for a four-post bedstead.

[49]

To Mrs. Arabella Scattergood and Mr. John Maubert.

The Account above are what money I have and carry abroad and what I owe. I would have you to pay off all my interest notes as fast as you receive my money, and if any money left in your hands and a good voyage offers good respondentia in the country in good secure hands, you may lett it out or send it abroad, but I would have you by all means either to lett at respondentia or buy diamonds for England to the amount of about three thousand Pagodas, as you may judge which will turn to the best account; but if you lett any money, pray take care who you lett it to, that he be a secure man, for now a days a greatt many comes out that are not worth a groat.

I have left with Mr. Langelier a parcell of China ware which desired him to sell at outcry or otherways which may turn to the best account; believe if he sold $\frac{1}{2}$ at a time and to make 4 sales it may sell better. Those marked P.S. are betwixt Mr. Phipps and me; his share pay my wife, but keep account what she receives.

I have dellivered 10 chests of opium to the Governour, but his share will not come to no more then 9 chests $\frac{1}{2}$; the other quarter the Governor promises to pay my Attornies (when the opium is sold) in Pagodos. The proportion of opium is 14 chests for 10000 rs. The Governor was concerned 7000, which comes out to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Do. I have paid for Mr. Hellams account 62P. 21fa. 60 ca., as per his account current, which pray receive of him, as soon as you see him, with the interest.

I owe my wife for account of my daughter Carolina 75pa., which pay her when you can. I have bought of Mrs. Gay a debt of Mr. Alberts of 72 Tales I mace which he owes her, and has promised as per his letter to her to interest her in his private adventure to Mocca. So when the ship comes safe here, gett the said money and the adv^a. [? advance]. She sold one of his wives headresses for 40 rs., which must be deducted out of his account, not out of the principall, but out of the profit and principall. Pray keep my account in the book Dr. and

Cr. Mr. Bulkley sold me a note, No. 5, but forgott to endorse it, which pray gett done per first opportunity.

I have subscribed to the China voyage 1000 Pagodas, but having no money my brother¹ promises me to gett 1000 Pags. at interest for me, which he says must be paid within 2 months after, which, if you can, must comply with. Hope Captain Boddam will arrive before that time⁽²⁾ and bring my gold with him, for I order'd Captain Hudson and Mr. Fenwicke⁽³⁾ to deliver it to Mr. Peter Deniser and [blank] Colster, which if they have not sent it, you must write to Batavia to those men about it. Mr. Fenwicke and Captain Hudson promised me to write me from Batavia and the Cape with their receipts. If Mr. Hellam comes here, he can inform you about the matter.

Pray write to Mutaball Chitty to sell the shawles,⁽⁴⁾ but not under price. I sold mine here that was worse for 46 pags. per corge. Hope he may gett me more, but not to preci[pit]ate the sale. When he has sold them, desire him to send the money by bills or some good opportunity.

I owe my wife for 14 patches of chints, at 9 pa. per patch, 126, and for a chint bed 60 ru., which pay her as soon as you can. I have drawn a bill on my wife for 24.6, being for a draw back of the *Heriotts* voyage from Persia, which pay and take a receipt. If you want money, my brother can supply you with 2 or 300 Pagodas at interest upon occasion.

Pay my wife for house expences one hundred Pagodas now and a month or two hence another hundred, and afterwards if she wants more, let her have whatever she wants. She will want some money to pay for things that Madam Phipps buys. Lett her have what she wants on that occasion and keep an exact account, and pray lett me hear from you to Malacca, Anjengo, especially the last place, and write me what price Surratt goods be att here and what will be wanting, and all the news, how the Governor stands affected towards a new voyage, &c.

I have exchanged notes No. 24 with Mr. John Raworth() for 100 Tale weight of gold of 93 touch, and when he comes here receive the money of him. I have given him the like note to pay him the like summe when I arrive safe at Zeylone or the Mallabarr Coast.

I have no more to add but remain

Your affect. husbant and most humble servt.

J SCATTERGOOD.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 49.]

(¹) Elihu Trenchfield, supercargo of the *Barrington*, commanded by Captain Christopher Craddock, which arrived at Fort St. George from Surat on 2 May 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(²) Captain Charles Boddam, commander of the *Dolben* (see Document No. 35) did not reach Madras until December 1714 (*Ibid.*).

(³) Captain Robert Hudson of the *Loyal Bliss* and his supercargo Edward Fenwick sailed for England via Batavia before the *Amity* left Canton.

(⁴) These shawls had been left by Scattergood with Mutta Bāla Chetṭi at Pondicherry, on his way back from Bombay in May 1714.

(⁵) John Raworth, like Scattergood, a free merchant "not constant inhabitant" of Fort St. George. He was then bound for Amoy, with Richard Bouchier, as supercargo of the *Ann*.

On the eve of the departure of the *Amity* for China the following letter was addressed to her supercargoes by her Madras owners.

[50]

9 June 1714

To Messrs. John Scattergood and George Wyche

We have added to that stock the Gentlemen of Bombay put on board you the sume of 71150 Surrat rupees, which makes your outsett from this port to be rupees 139219.

We have little to add to the instru[c]tions given you att Bombay only to desiere you to keep a very good look out and avoid speaking with any ship you meet with at sea, being apprehenceve that there be pyrates abroad, and to prevent your falling into there hands should there be any cruizing about the Streights, we think it adviseable upon your arrivall att Malacca that you agree with some trusty person there to send a small vessell to lye for you against your return from China att such please [sic] you shall appoint, in order to give you the necessary intilligence.

As to the providing your cargo for Surrat, we leave it intirely to you, beleiving you will govern your selves in that affair as youl find suits most to our advantage, and for your commission, we agree to the same the Gentlemen at Bombay have given you. We wish you a good voyage and are Sir

Yours freinds and servants

EDWARD HARRISON.
WILLM. JENNINGS.
BERNARD BENYON.
WILLIAM WARRE.

Fort St. George
June the 9. 1714.

PS. In case that the *Ann*, Captain John Jones, (') should not arrive in Canton and that you here no news of hir arrival in Amoy and you should gett away so early from Canton that you can touch here without loss of your passage to Surrat, in such case we hereby order you to touch here.

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT NO. 50.]

(¹) The *Ann* sailed from Fort St. George for Amoy on 28 June 1714 and did not return until February of 1716.

The " Invoice of goods and merchandize laden on board the *Amity* bound from Surratt [and] Madras to Canton " amounted to Pags. 16074 and consisted mainly of pearls, and silver. As in the previous voyages, a considerable amount of goods was carried for private individuals and separate ventures of the freighters.

Scattergood had succeeded in underwriting a considerable proportion of his share in the *Amity*, the shares being taken up by his friends in Madras and the native merchants there.

There is again a gap in the *Papers* and we have no details of this third voyage to China. We know that the *Amity* must have touched at Malacca, as there is an account between Scattergood and John de Matt dated at that place on 22 July. After that, little time was lost on the way, for the next document deals with purchases at Canton in September from the Chinese merchants, Anqua and Linqua. Other merchants dealt with in the same month were Comshaw and " Pinkee Winkee alias Chonqua." The articles purchased were of the same nature as before. Scattergood acquired twenty " shoes of gold " weighing 236 oz. 5 dwt. 18 gr. " of 93 touch," on his own account from Captain James Naish, for which he drew bills of exchange on his wife and John Maubert telling them " if you should not have so much money of mine ready," to " gett it att interest for [me] from Surat."

At the end of September he wrote to his late colleague, William Phipps, then supercargo of the *Duke of Cambridge*, with information of his own doings and advice regarding trade at Amoy.

[51]

Mr. William Phipps.

Sir,

I received yours of the 3d the 25th instant and your other of the 15th yesterday. I heartily congratulate your safe arrivall at Amoy but am very sorry to hear that goods are so scarce to be bought, but hope still that you will be able to compleat your business by the middle or latter end of December. I do not remember rightly when you are obliged to goe away by your contract with the Company; but tis my oppinion that you had better goe away by the time the contract mentions, only with sugar, sugar candy and gold, rather then to stay to indanger your passage and pay God knows how much demorage.

I hear that copper, tutenaugh and quicksilver are little or none to be had. As for China ware, tis not worth carring, so that, as I said before, you had better goe with sugar and gold. I wrote 3 letters adviseing y[ou] when we arrived and what we had done, which hope have reached your hands long agoe. We are now loading our ship, and Anqua and Linqua tells me that we shall be gone with Captain Kesar⁽¹⁾ by the first November. Our cargoe will consist in copper, Jappan and Tunkin, 2000 Peculls, tutenaugh 500, quicksilver 200, allom 300, sugar 2000, and some other trifles, as China root, &c.

Tell Mr. Raworth that the *Bon Nevas*, Favolchs ship, will goe for Madrass by the middle of December⁽²⁾ and carry a great deal of goods for the Coast, as well their owners as freight, here being 3 or 4 Arminians that freights a great deal of gruff goods⁽³⁾ upon her.

I am sorry to hear that Captain Arlond has been ill, but hope he is quite recover'd before this. I have gott for him a chest of Mountain⁽⁴⁾ which I shall leave at Mallaca, if I can, for him. We are now here 3 English ships with ourselves and 2 French. As for news, Mr. Naish⁽⁵⁾ tells me that he has wrote all that he knows, so shall not trouble you in that subject. I shall not faile of writing you as occasion offers, in the mean time remain

Your most humble servant

J. S.

Canton 29th September 1714.

P.S. Tell Captain Arlond that by my virgin silver I lose 250 tale, it comeing out so much less then sycee in melting it, which I have done, and tryed 3 or 4 people. Some peices is good sycee; other 2 and 3 touch less, and one peice came out in the essay but 69 Touch, all-most half being quicksilver which run away in smoke.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 51.]

(1) Captain Charles Kesar commanding the Company's ship *Hester* which reached England in May 1715 (*Marine Records, Logs*).

(2) The *Bon Nevas* or *Bonos Novis*, belonging to Manuel Favochio (Favochio) arrived at Madras from Macao on 21 February 1715 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(3) Gruff goods, coarse, heavy goods.

(4) A variety of Malaga wine, so called because made from grapes on the mountains.

(5) James Naish, second mate of the *Loyal Bliss*, appears to have remained in China when that ship sailed to England in 1713.

Scattergood wrote also to Captain Arlond on the same date in a similar strain. He complained that he was "cursedly mauled of" in his virgin silver on which he expected to lose about 250 tales. He added: "I designe to gett this account attested by all the persons that was att the melting of it to see if I can gett any satisfaction at Pondecherry, but I fear it will be to noe purpose."

At this time also Scattergood wrote to his friends John Raworth and Richard Bouchier, supercargoes of the *Ann*, at Amoy.

[52]

[Canton 29 Sept. 1714]

To Messrs. John Raworth and Richard Boucher

Gentlemen

Your two letters of the 3d and 15th instant I received, one yesterday and the first two or three days before. I heartily congratulate your safe arrival at your desired port of Amoy and hope it will answer your expectations in everything, tho' I hear that goods are something scarce and dear, but if you buy gold cheap, it will doe. That commodity is at 100 doller silver here, by reason that the Chuchin China jonks are not arrived. Here is now 2 French ships bound for Peru and two English ships for England and our selves. I have spoke to the Gentlemen⁽¹⁾ about your proposition of touching at Maccoa if they could make it worth your while, but they answer they have not above an 100 shooes to send to Madrass, and if they had more they could not send then on your ship except you was to be at Moccoa before they went, to give them a bill of loading, which will be impossible, for Mr. Middleton's ship⁽²⁾ goes with us by the beginning of November; and as for leaving any money with a person at Moccoa, they tell me that they can not answer it. So you may rest satisfied and goe to Mallacca without touching here: besides I hear that Favochio sends his ship the *The Boa's Nova's*,⁽³⁾ on which will goe a great deal of goods, as tutenaugh and quicksilver, for besides what he sends on his own account, there is 3 or 4 Armenians that came from the Menilla the last year that will freight a quantity of those goods for Madrass.

I received all the letters that you mention and have deliver'd them. The Padres return thanks for your care and trouble. Mr. Lifesay⁽⁴⁾ not being here, I return you his letter again. He will make a miserable hand of it, not being able to sell one chest of opium at Batavia. I wonder when you sent me so many letters of other peoples you should keep mine from Governor Harrison. I can not tell what orders I may have in it to write you and to gett an answer from you, which I might by this conveyance, after which I can not stay to gett any answer from you from any other letters that I shall write you, for I shall certainly goe away by the beginning of November. I have allready half my goods aboard.

I write you no Europe news by reason you heard all at Madrass by the *Averille*⁽⁵⁾ but I miss your good companey very much here, but business comeing on so fast keeps me imployed: otherwise I should miss your good companey very much here.

Pray give my service to Capt. Jones &c. freinds, remain

Your most humbel servt.

J. S.

Canton the 29th [Sept.] 1714.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 52.]

(1) Apparently the commanders of the English ships (of which the *Hester* was one) are meant.

(2) Philip Middleton, who had come to China as a passenger in the *Hester*, and later served as supercargo in the *Stringer Galley*, commanded by Captain John Clarke.

(3) See Document No. 51 and note (2).

(4) William Livesay, supercargo of the *Dolben*.

(5) The Company's ship *Averilla*, Captain Robert Hurst, arrived at Madras on 20th June (*Fort St. George Diary*), before the *Ann* with Raworth and Bouchier sailed for Amoy.

On October 1714 the Rev. George Lewis, who had returned to England, wrote news of his family to Scattergood who, however, did not receive the letter until April 1715.

[53]

[London, 27 Oct. 1714.]

To Mr. John Scattergood

Sir,

I did not purpose to write to you by this conveyance when I first heard of it : but afterward, considering that a letter by this ship, which I presume may arrive in Aprill, was more likely to meet you in Fort St. George then a letter by the January ships, which will not arrive before June or July, I made use of the opportunity. Your letter from China by the *Bliss* I received in Santa Helena and likewise the pott of thea you sent me by Mr. Fenwick, for which I return you my thanks. I likewise thank you for the good account you give me of young Jones⁽¹⁾ and I am sorry I have no better of Mr. Hellam.⁽²⁾ But Mr. Phips and the Captains haughty humour and his morose temper were not likely to agree long together. Upon my arrival in England I found your Mother, two sisters and your pretty little daughter⁽³⁾ in good health. She is a very fine child indeed, and such as you may be proud of. She hath had the small pox since I came to London, but they are well over with her, and the child goes about and is not at all disfigured. Your brother John looks sickly and is so. And I am wholly of opinion that it [is] his best way to go to India. I have made it my business to find out Mr. George Crook, whom I mett with, and having examined into the business of the hinging,⁽⁴⁾ find he had not the money, but that Mr. Smith sold the hinging to a merchant in Hugely, received the money just before the ship saild, and paid it to Mr. Foulkes, as in his letter from Anjengo Smith writes to me. I now write to Mr. Williamson about it, and shall write to him more at large by our Bengall ships, and do now offer him that, provided he pays the money to my order, I will be answerable for the same, and bear him harmless. And I would advise you to do the same, and likewise all the concernd, of which pray advise them. This with my respects to your self, your lady, Mr. Elihu Trenchfield &ca. family (whom I heartily command to the Divine Protection) is all at this time from

Sir

Your affectionate friend and most humbele servant
GEORGE LEWIS

London October the 27th 1714.

[Endorsed] Recd. the 9 of April 1714/15.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 53.]

(1) This must be "little Jones," evidently a protégé of the Rev. Geo. Lewis, whose death is recorded in the next document.

(2) See note (12) on Document No. 49.

(3) Elizabeth, Scattergood's eldest daughter, who had gone to England with her grandmother Eliza-both Trenchfield.

(4) This refers to Scattergood's claim on the estate of Robert Foulkes, for which see p. 80.

Scattergood's letter to the Rev. George Lewis, written at Canton and given below, crossed the one printed above.

[54]

[Canton, Oct.—, 1714]

To the Revd. George Lewis,

Revd. Sir,

Your kind letter from the Cape I received by the *Hester* the 1st of September last, being the day I arrived this place. I heartily congratulate your safe arrivall so farr on your way and hope the rest may be as pleasant and safe. I presume you have heard by your Madrass letters of our arrivall there and makeing a 28 per cent voyage. I am here again on the same account, only Mr. Phipps that was with me before, is gone to Amoy on the *Duke of Cambridge*, Captain Arlond, and Mr. George Wyches (Mr. Wyches at Surat his brother) is with me.

I have allmost concluded our business here and shall be goeing in three or four days more and hope shall make a pretty good voyage. Weither I shall be able to gett another to this place I can not tell. However, I will make all the interest I can, for I would fain come one more to pinn the baskett.⁽¹⁾ But if I should fail, I designe, God willing, to come to England as soon as possible, when hope to enjoy your good companey which will not be the least of my happiness there. I left my brother Elihu at Madrass goeing on the same ship and same Captain to Bengall, and from thence to Surratt, where hope to meet him. He with the rest of our freinds where all well when I came away, but by Mr. Raworth who is arrived att Amoy I hear that Mr. Langelier and poor old Glover⁽²⁾ are dead. As for other news, you will hear better from Captain Peacock or Captain Phrip⁽³⁾ who were allmost ready to saile when I came away.

Poor little Jones is dead.⁽⁴⁾ He died here on the 17th instant of a feavour. I miss him mightily, he being a great help to me in my business. He left nothing but a few old cloaths. The 50 Pagodas that you order'd me to give him with the profitts, I shall deliver again to your attornies att Madrass.

By Mr. James Naish I have sent you a large pott of the best tea I could procure here, which he has promised me to deliver you without any trouble, which hope will be exceptable as comeing from, dear Sir,

Your most humble and most oblidged servt.

J. S.

[Canton Oct. 1714.]

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 54.]

(1) That is, 'conclude the matter' or 'finish the business.'

(2) Samuel Glover, like Scattergood, a free merchant, was buried at Fort St. George on 19 June 1714 (*Madras Burials*).

(3) Captain Eustace Peacock of the *Somers* and Captain Richard Phrypp of the *Frederick*, both Company's ships.

(4) See note (1) Document No. 53.

In November, before leaving Canton, Scattergood wrote an account of the business transacted to William Phipps at Amoy.

[55]

[Canton, 6 Nov. 1714]

Mr. William Phipps

Sir,

Yours of the 18th past came safe to my hands, as likewise of the 3rd by your express,⁽¹⁾ which I answered, and am mightily concerned to hear you received but 2 letters from me, that of the 1st of September and the 29th. I have wrote you now five letters, the 1st of September (the day I arrived), and then a few days after giving you an account how I agreed for my cargoe, and then a short letter to informe you of Capt. Duglass,⁽²⁾ that of the 29 in answer to yours,⁽³⁾ and this. However, I shall write in this, being my last, everything that I know of news and about our cargoe, &c.

First, I begin with our cargoe which is all aboard and consists of these following goods little more or less—

Sugarr	..	2000	at	2T. 7M. 5C.
Sugar Candy about	..	200	„	4 : 5 : -
Copper Jappan	..	800	„	12 : 5 : -
Do. Tunkin	..	150	„	11 : - : -
Tutenaugh	..	600	„	7 :
Allom	..	400	„	1 : 1
Quicksilver	..	160	„	44 :

About 5 or 600 Peculls of the above said goods belonging to ourselves, the captain and ships companey.

I have laid out every bitt of the owners stock in goods. Our cargoe is sold for these following prices

		T	M
Cotton	..	5 :	3
Lead	..	2 :	3
Putehuck	..	15	
Rosumalloes	..	30	

The putchuck I was oblidged to let Linqua and Anqua have at his own prices, being but little.

My gold I bought at sundry prices 98, 100 and 102 doller silver.

I have made a great bustle about our loss last year of our quicksilver,⁽⁴⁾ have been before the Hoppo and Manderins of Justice. Chounqua assisting me we have gott 11 rougues in Limbo. They have confessed that they stole the quicksilver out of our boats. We gott them bambood severall times and twice torter'd by squising ther leggs all most to peices to make them confess their comrouges [comrades], but as for money, they offer but 200 tale [*sic*, tale], pretending they are poor, and what they stole they sold for very little ad have spent it. However, I leave them in custody to the manadgement of Chounqua who has given me 50 peculls of tutenaugh and promises me that if he can gett any more out of the rougues then the 50 peculls of tutenaugh comes too, he will give it us the next year.

I have spoke to Comshaa about your debt and offer'd him the nine tale you order'd me, but he protests it was 22, so desires you to pay it to his corispondent that he will write to receive it.

You write me for news. As for Europe, I know very little off : only we are at peace abroad and goeing to gather by the ears at home. We have heigh Church and low Church amongst us as last year, but now both partities [*sic*] beleive the pretenter⁽⁵⁾ will come in, and Captain Duglass makes no doubt of it. He says that Harley⁽⁶⁾ has gone so farr that he must goe further to secure his head. As for India news, he tells me that the Generall⁽⁷⁾ stands fast and every body else in their respective posts. I have asked severall times about you, but he protests he knows nothing of you and that he never heard your names mention'd in England.

There is two ships order'd for the Indian Coast, which is the *Katherine*, Captain Godfrey, and the *Thistleworth*, about 200 tonns, Captain Small ⁽⁸⁾; they have some silver, but how much he can not tell. As for Persia, he says he hears of no alteration. Madrass, you know by Mr. Raworth, but I cannot tell if he inform'd you that Mr. Davenport stands very fair of the Government the next year if he will come out.⁽⁹⁾ Mr. Hedges⁽¹⁰⁾ is made President of Bengall.

The two French ships are bound for Peru and Duglass for England. He has freighted some green cloth that he could not sell here upon us for Surratt. Captain Kesar and we shall sail from Wampho the 10th instant. This is all the news that I can hear of.

I wrote Captain Arlond and Mr. Tobin the 29th September and gave the former an account that I had some wine for him which I designe to leave at Mallacca or Anjengo, but I do not know if he has received my letter. I am extremely concern'd that you meet with so many difficulties at Amoy. I wish we had come our old voyages and left the *Duke of Cambridge* to goe for Batavia, but what can not be help'd must be bore with, tho after all, if you truck your goods for sugar and sugar candy and lay out your money in gold, you will not make a very bad voyage, but pray take care you do not stay late for your own security, for if you lose your passage, the greatest lose will be on your self in loseing time.

By this I take leave of you and the rest of my freinds, to whom pray give my humble respects and wish you and them all health and happiness and a happy meeting, remain

Your most H. S.

J. S.

P.S. Your Europe letters and a 5 catty pott of the best tea I could procure for your lady I deliver'd Mr. Naish.

Canton the 6th November 1714.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 55.]

(1) These letters are not extant.

(2) Captain Charles Douglas is apparently identical with the Charles Douglas, supercargo of the Company's ship *Rochester* in 1710. He and George Sitwell in a ship whose name does not appear seem, like Scattergood, to have been trading in China as free merchants.

(3) Of the letters enumerated, only that of 29 September exists. See Document No. 51.

(4) See P.S. to Document No. 51.

(5) James Stuart, the "Old Pretender," hero of "The Fifteen" Rebellion.

(6) Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, who lost his post as Treasurer on account of his sympathy with the Jacobites. The news of the death of Queen Anne, in August 1714, had not then reached India.

(7) William Aislavie.

(8) The *Catherine*, Captain Edward Godfrey, and the *Thistleworth*, Captain Daniel Small, were both Company's ships.

(9) This rumour had no foundation in fact, for the Governorship of Fort St. George fell to Joseph Collet in January 1717.

(10) Robert Hedges had succeeded John Russell as President in December 1713.

Among the private purchases made by Scattergood in Canton, we find noted 10 orange trees (costing 1 tael, 3 mace), 120 packs of cards at 3 canderines the pack and a "tea pott to keep tea water warm," that is, a samovar, the precursor of the thermos, which cost him 3 taels, 4 mace.

While on the eve of departure from Canton Scattergood found time to write several more letters, his correspondents being his mother, sisters, uncle, and his friend Thomas Pain in England. To his mother he sent tea and "fine chintz" and to his two step-sisters each three pieces of the same. The goods were entrusted to Captain Kesar of the *Hester* who promised "to gett them a shoare" without paying duty, "if you doe him the honour to call at his house. He lives within 2 or 3 doors of Stepney Church. You may gett Mr. Fenwick, Padre Wendey, or some other of your friends to gallant you there. His Pursar, Mr. Hide, has a large pott of tea for my mother. If you speak to the Captain, beleive he will gett the tea ashoare too, for he is an excellent man for running things ashoare." To his sisters Scattergood added: "I hope amongst you that you tutor my girl well, for I expect on my arrivall to find her a very genteel little woman, almost ready for a husband that I shall gett her."

The following account is the last document extant before Scattergood sailed for Canton.

[56]

ACCOUNT CURRENT GENERALL.

[1714]

To the Nett amount of our Invoice .. 5594. 5. 4. 8.	By the Nett amount of our account sale .. 11892. 2. 1. 4.
To gold of touch 93 Ta. 820. 3. 9. 3. at 97 .. 7957. 8. -. 9.	By Commission Vizt. on the Stock .. 2853. 6. 7. 6
To Do. provided by Mr. Scattergood 218T. 3m. 9c. 3c. at 96½ .. 2107. 5. 4. -. .	on Mr. Wyches 31. 7. 4. -. Govr. Harrison &ca. .. 264. 4. 4. 9
	3149. 8. 6. 5.
	By Profitt and loss 549. 3. 1. 8.
	By John Scattergood his particular account received of Anqua 40. -. -. .
	Do. for 2 chests Syrash (1) .. 28. 5. -. -. 68. 5. -. .
Tales. 15659. 8. 9. 7.	15659. 8. 9. 7.

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT No. 56.]

(1) Wine from Shiraz, Persia.

On 8 December 1714 the *Amity* reached Malacca and some of her cargo was delivered to Adrian Meeke to be transmitted to Madras by the first opportunity, together with a letter from Scattergood to his wife and John Maubert, dated 14 December, with a list of the goods and the names of the consignees.

William Phipps had been less successful at Amoy than Scattergood at Canton as the following letter shows.

[57]

Mr. John Scattergood

[15 January 1714/15]

Sir

Besides the misfortune of leaving a considerable debt behind us, I shall be forced to carry back with me upwards of three thousand tale, little gold being in the place and that so adulterated and dear I'me afraid to meddle with it; and as I believe Meers. Raworth and Bou[r]chier⁽¹⁾ will not be able to compleat their business here, they will be obliged to go to Macao to lay out the remainder of their stock, where at that time of the year gold must be had cheap, I have therefore left for your accountt in Meers. Raworth and Bouchiers hands three thousand tale to be invested for you in gold and carry it with them to Madrass, which I judge that you will be better pleased with than that I should bring you your silver back again.

I am

Your most humble servant

WILLM. PHIPPS.

Ship *Duke of Cambridge* in Amoy Harbour
the 15th Janry. 1714/15.

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT NO. 57.]

(1) John Raworth and Richard Bouchier, supercargoes of the *Ann*.

The next mention of Scattergood is in February 1715 when he had reached Calicut, where he handed over a bulse (or packet) of diamonds to the Chief, Robert Adams, for transmission to William Kyffin. From Calicut Scattergood sent a letter to his wife and John Maubert, repeating what he had written to them from Malacca and adding further information.

[58]

[Calicut, 6 Feb. 1714.15.]

To Mrs. Arabella Scattergood
and Mr. John Maubert.

This serves to acquaint you of my arrivall here [Calicut] the 25th last past.

[Here follows a copy of the letter dated Malacca, 14 December 1714.]

The foregoing is a copy of what I wrote you from Malacca which, with all the gold, I hope you have receiv'd a long time agoe. All your letters being carry'd away by my brother to Bombay, I can not tell what to write or how matters stand in Madrass. I took up some money at respondentia of Padre Paul de Saa, for which I was to pay him 23 per cent to the Malabar Coast by my attornies at Madrass. Therefore pray do not faile to pay him as you will find by the bond. If you have not so much money by you, take it up at interest, but by Captain Talk⁽¹⁾ have sent you 30 shoose of gold.....which pray gett coyned or sell it as it will turne to the best account. Pray buy up all the dollers you can gett, for it is no matter weither I goe to China or not. If I doe not goe, I can send the money there.

By Captain Talk I have sent you a large tubb of China ware.....which he will deliver you, and if you have 2 ps. of broad and 2 ps. of narrow ribbons by you, deliver it him for Mrs. De La Forse.⁽²⁾ I have agreed with Mr. Orme⁽³⁾ about his forfiture. He has ordered his attornies to pay you four hundred Pagodas as per his inclosed letter. I inclose like wise a bill of Mr. Wake⁽⁴⁾ for two hundred Pagodas drawn on Mr. Nanny,⁽⁵⁾ which pray receive.

I have no more to add but remain

Your most affect. husband and humble servant

Callicutt

the 6th Febry. 1714 15.

P.S. I have given to Captain Talke one hundred sixty five horsanna rupees⁽⁶⁾ and have desierd him to gett me 20 ps. of fine long-cloth. When he comes to you, make up the accounts and pay him the bailance.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 58.]

(1) Captain John Tawke commanded the *Ann* (or *Anne*) which vessel arrived at Fort St. George from Calicut on 10 April 1715 (*Fort St. George Diary*). There were three ships of the name on the coast of India at this date. That under Capt. John Jones had sailed to Amoy on 29 June 1714. (See note (1) Document No. 51.)

(2) Elizabeth De La Forse, a daughter of Scattergood's cousin, Thomas Pain, and wife of Captain De La Forse.

(3) Alexander Orme. See Document No. 49, note (10).

(4) William Wake, a free merchant of Fort St. George.

(5) William Nanney, factor in the Company's service at Fort St. George.

(6) Mr. W. H. Moreland suggests that 'horsanna' probably stands for *khazāna*. For the use of *h* to represent the guttural *kh*, cf. Mundy's 'Hismetkeare' for *khidmatyār*. Among the *Bowrey Papers*, in the accounts of the *Rising Sun*, 1705, is the entry: "Received of Mr. Scattergood 332 Rs. Horsan: is current Rs. 361."

At Calicut, as in the previous year, expenses were incurred on account of the ship and bills were drawn by Robert Adams, the Chief, on John Hill in Bombay. From Calicut the *Amity* sailed to Surat, where she must have arrived before 25 March, when there is an account of Rs. 580 for " what supplied " her there.

In Surat the crew was paid off and discharged, the wages bill, up to 20 April 1715, amounting to Rs. 2672. Immediately after, Scattergood probably left for Bombay, for we find him there early in the following month. The *Duke of Cambridge* had preceded him at that place, where she arrived on 18 April, and her commander at once sent a protest against his supercargoes to the Council (*Bombay Public Consultations*). This protest set forth that by the terms of his charterparty Captain Edward Arlond should have been despatched for England by 31 January 1714/15 and that he held the Council at Bombay answerable for all losses the Company might incur by the delay in India.

Captain Arlond's action placed the Council in a difficulty, since the ship had been let on easy terms for her voyage to China and several members of the body were shareholders in the venture. After deliberation, a reply was drafted stating that demurrage was due to the ship " to the time of her dispatch," that the Company would be answerable for all damages " that may happen by reason of her detainure " and that a cargo for Europe would speedily be ready.

After a further debate it was decided, in view of the late arrival of the *Duke of Cambridge* " and her now proceeding to Surat barr to unlade her China cargo," to detain her and her consort, the *Thistleworth*, until after the monsoon. Two days later, the supercargoes, Wm. Phipps and Wm. Sterling, also sent a protest to the Council, complaining that Captain Arlond had disregarded their orders to proceed directly for Surat, and that now he " refused going up to the barr, alledging it to be hazardous to the safety of his ship which would be a very great detriment to the freighters in loosing the sale of their cargo." In consequence, the captain was ordered to proceed to Surat " without delay," but if he found his situation dangerous it was left to his discretion to leave " the barr " although " his China cargo be not unladen," and this is exactly what happened, for on 7 May 1715 the ship " imported from Surat barr not having delivered all her cargo," and Phipps and Sterling sent in a second protest for the loss sustained on this account. In August 1715 Captains Arlond and Small were directed to get their ships (the *Duke of Cambridge* and *Thistleworth*) in readiness for lading for England, but when the ships sailed, in November, they had but " pitiful cargoes."

We have no means of knowing what Scattergood thought of the disastrous voyage to Amoy since nothing on the subject has survived among his *Papers* beyond references to the settlement of the accounts of the ship. His chief concern while in Bombay seems to have been connected with the brigantine *Elizabeth* which he had purchased at Surat, but had left the subsequent sale of the ship and her cargo of *damar* (pitch) in the hands of Thomas Wiltshire, Chief of the Factory. From the documents in this connection, we learn that the *Amity* had been disposed of at Surat and some of her crew transferred to the " brigantine." The dividend on the former ship, payable to William Aislabe and Bernard Wyche respectively (two of her Bombay owners), was Rs. 29516 and Rs. 17709.

Before the end of May Scattergood sailed for Madras, having left a consignment of tea in the charge of M. A. Crommelin, a factor, who wrote on 24 May that he had disposed of a portion to Captain Daniel Small of the *Thistleworth*. It was probably in the *Dolben* or *Bouverie*, in both of which he was interested and both of which reached Madras on 2 June 1715 (*Fort St. George Diary*) that Scattergood took his passage. Here he found his wife's cousin Douglas Burniston and a fourth daughter, Frances, born in the previous February. His younger step-brother John Trenchfield also arrived from England a month later. On the 8th of June he wrote to Thomas Wiltshire about his concerns at Surat, and by that time he had fully decided to return to England, as is shown from the following letter to his attorneys there, containing directions regarding the false dealing of Captain Lytton.

[59]

[Fort St. George, 28 June 1715.]

Messrs. Osmond Bavuoir [Beauvoir] and Revd. James Wendey.
Gentlemen,

This serves only to advise you that I have sent by Captain Richard Grainger⁽¹⁾ three bulses of diamonds.....value[d] at 1870 Pagodas. Their invoice and bill of lading is inclosed. I hope to see you in a month or two after this ships arrivall in England, designing to come on the *Kent*, Captain Minter, so shall not enlarge: only desire you to speake to Captain Litton⁽²⁾ about my opium that I sent with him. The story is this.

I sent with Captain Litton 8 chests of opium which he was to sell for the moste he could, and after deducting 8 per cent freight and comision he obliged himselfe to take it at respondentia at 35 per cent, recknowing [sic] a Dutch doller at 4 shillings, but instead of that, he buys gold with the produce of my opium at a high rate and leaves it at Mallacca, by which I have lost about 300 dollers. I have sent you home his obligation for that business, which pray demand of him. He served Mr. William Phipps the same. I would beg you to talk with his father about it, and what he does in reason I would beg you to doe the same.

I will not trouble you more but remain

Your most obliged humble servant

J. SCATTERGOOD.

Fort St. George
June the 28th 1715.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 59.]

⁽¹⁾ Captain Richard Grainger, commander of the Company's ship *Cardigan*, which sailed for England on 17 July 1715.

⁽²⁾ Captain George Lytton of the Separate Stock ship *Mercury*. See Document No. 47 note (6) and (14) of Document No. 49.

By September 1715 Scattergood had made all arrangements for his departure from Madras with his wife and two daughters.

[60]

[12 September 1715]

Mr. John Scattergood

Dr.

Pags. fa. ca.

To Permission of Passage for himself, his Wife and two daughters Arrabella and Carolina Scattergood, on ship <i>Kent</i> ⁽¹⁾ for Great Britain at 26 pag. per head	104.	-.	-.
To fees at 1 pagd. per head	4.	-.	-.

Pags. 108. -. -. .

Fort St. George
12 September 1715.

N. TURNER, Secry.

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT No. 60.]

⁽¹⁾ The *Kent*, a Company's ship, commanded by Captain Lawrence Minter, had arrived at Fort St. George from England on 7 April 1715 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

On 13 September the passage money was paid.

[61]

[13 Sept. 1715.]

Received of John Scattergood the summe of five hundred Pagodas on account of his wives two children and three servants passage diet and accomadations on the ship *Kent* to England. Wittness my hand in Madrass this 13th Sepr. 1715.

LAW. MINTER.

With John Maubert, whom he left in charge of his affairs in India, Scattergood concerned himself, before his departure, in a parcel of diamonds valued at 13,800 pagodas and also 500 pagodas in each of the ships *Shah Allun* (*Shaallem*) and *George*, both "Country" ships. The former, commanded by Richard Williams, sailed for Bengal on 17 September, and the latter, commanded by Timothy Tullie, for Surat on 5 October (*Fort St. George Diary*). Scattergood also sent a consignment of eagle wood by William Hamilton in the *Mary* for sale at Mocha.

For the fourth time Scattergood drew up a statement of his affairs to leave with his attorney, John Maubert.

[62]

[— September 1715.]

An Account of what money I have a broad and what left behind me in goods &c. and what I carry with [*sic*] on the *Kent* to England with me *Vizt.*

In Mr. John Mauberts hands a parcell of rubees as per invoice	.. .. .	375.		
Mutaballa Chitte under me	.. .. .	68. 18.	306. 18.	—.
Lent Mr. Dixon att Respondentia	.. .. .		300.	—.
Captain Bennetts bond	.. .. .		103.	—.
Sent to Manella under Padre De Sa and he under the Governor 500 with 30 per cent Respondentia	.. .. .	650.		
I have been paid the first devidend	452. 22. (1)			
and the second	83. 30. 60.	536. 18. 60.	113. 17. 20.	
When the remains will be paid the Governor can informe you and Lewis Maderas the Padres executors. ⁽²⁾				
Remains in the <i>Herriotts</i> voyage when Messrs. Wild [Weld] and Herriot was super cargoes	.. .. .		125.	—.
In the French hands att Pondicherry 406 Surrat Rupees; the Governor talked something about receiveing the mony in France; pray tauk to the Governor about it and what you judge best that doe.				
Remains in England in Messr. James Wendy & Osmond Beavoir hands 237£ 7s. in pagodas	.. .. .		527. 24.	—.
Sent to Mocca with Captain Hamilton and Oldham ⁽³⁾ a chest of Agala wood, poiz. 75, valued att pagodas	.. .. .		100.	—.
In the <i>Ormond</i> stock, concern [ed] 500 pagodas. I have ben paid the 1st devidend, the remainder judge about..	.. .. .		400.	—.
An adventure that Mr. Albert carried for Mrs. Gay which I bought the note ⁽⁴⁾		55.	—.
Remains of the <i>Britania</i> Stock ⁽⁵⁾		100.	—.
In the <i>Sherbons</i> Stock	.. .. .		1000.	—.
Mr. Phepps left with Mr. Raworth and Boucher when he came away Tale 3000 to buy gold	.. .. .		3000.	—.
Adventure to Maniella consigned to Dupree in goods to the amount of Rupees 3512½	.. .. .		1091.	—.
Respondentia to England on the <i>Mercurey</i> with Captain Litton	.. .. .		1000.	—.
Respondentia with Mr. Orme	.. .. .		1500.	—.

He is to pay me more above the obligation 500 but agreed	400.	—	—
In the <i>Barringtons</i> Stock under Brother Elihu Trenchfield ⁽⁶⁾	1000.	—	—
In Captain Greenoughs Stock ⁽⁷⁾	1000.	—	—
In <i>St. George</i> Captain Tullie	500.	—	—
In <i>Shawelam</i>	500.	—	—
In <i>Shawallam</i> att Respondentia ⁽⁸⁾	300.	—	—
Remains in Bombay of the <i>Somers</i> Stock in Mr. B[ernar]d			

Wyche hands in goods &c. rupees	6649.		
Governor Harrison under me as 7 is to 20 ⁽⁹⁾	2317.		
		1444.	—

Mr. Wyche promised to sell all the goods and then remitt the mony to Mad-rass; whatever he remitts on the *Somers* remain, the Governor must have 7/20 out of it.

In Mr. Mark Anthony Cromlins hands in Bombay remains of mine 6 pecull of Bohe tea which he promised me to sell for my account for what he can⁽¹⁰⁾ and send the mony to Mr. Thomas Wiltshere in Surratt, my Atturmy on that side, but you must pay Padre Long the produce of $\frac{1}{2}$ a pecull; that quantity belongs to him.

Tea mine $5\frac{1}{2}$ pecull at 150 rupees per pecull	825.	0.	
Mr. Long	75.	0.	

In the *Duke of Cambridge* Stock I was concernd 10000 rupees; Mr. Phipps has paid me the principall 10000, but hope the proffett may be 1500 rupees which lyes in Mr. Sterling⁽¹¹⁾

N.B. I left with my Atturmy Mr. Thomas Wiltshere a brigenteen with a good quantity of damer in it to dispose of⁽¹²⁾; the dammer $\frac{1}{2}$ part belongs to Mr. George Wyche, $\frac{1}{4}$ belongs to Captain Berriman, $\frac{1}{4}$ belongs to me.

I hope the damer and vessell will fetch at least 3000 r.	1000.	—	—
--	-------	---	---

N.B. I have sent with Captain Tim: Tullie of the *George* eight large parle to Mr. Wiltshere; in the book [?] they cost me 175 rupees each, which is rupees 1400, makes about

I have left with Vinkatte [Venkata] Chitte and Raga [!Raja] Chitte ps. potocas ⁽¹³⁾ of sundry peeces 135 valued at	565.	—	—
---	------	---	---

Shauls No. A 84 pieces att	45.	180.	
No. E $\frac{1}{2}$ ps. att	40.	288.	
		477.	—

Course and old, 16 pieces	8.	—	—
-----------------------------------	----	---	---

		1040.	—
--	--	-------	---

Potchuck I leave in your hands 93 bales, pz. neet 54 : 15 : 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ att. 45 pagodas per candy, 2465 : $\frac{1}{2}$ of this belong to Mr. Wyche,⁽¹⁴⁾ the other $\frac{1}{2}$ being mine

	1232.	18.	—
--	-------	-----	---

This potchuck please to sell nex year as well as you can for our joynt account, and if you cant dispose of it, send my halfe to China as an adventure—Mr. Wychs $\frac{1}{2}$, follow his orders which he has left in case of his absence to Mrs. Curganven.⁽¹⁵⁾

I leave likewise a parcell of sead pearl, 4 bundells, cost in Surat rupees 495, 165. -- --.
This pearl please to sell on my account ; if not, send to China as an adventure.

On board Captain Wotton⁽¹⁶⁾ I shipd 10 bales when I came from Surrat, for which I paid freight [and] received but 9 ; a bale, No. 10, was lost, containing 41 pieces of Surrat velvett, the prime cost in Surrat 419 Rupes, which pray enquir about it when he comes from Bengall and gett him to pay itt if posable ; you musd [sic] examine what became of it ; see Mr. Mechems⁽¹⁷⁾ note.

Is a note from Nina Chitte, Chachall Chitto, Vuse Chitte and Rangapa⁽¹⁸⁾ for putchuck 15e : 10m : 11 li : at 45 pagodas 698. 14. 12.

Sold 26 July : the mony to be paid in 4 months ; when you received the mony, bring to Mr. G. Wyche account 109 : 12 : 74, being the ballance of his account, as you well see per his account current in this book.

I deliver silver *vizd.*

3 casters, 7 spoons, 1 large ladle, weight 74 ozs. 10 dwt.

In Mr. Mauberts hands remains a small parcell of china ware.

In two small bags containing 4 watches and a parcell of small rubes &ca. which sell for the best you can.

On Captain Grainger ship *Cardigan*⁽¹⁹⁾ have sent 3 bulses of diamonds as per invoices and bill of loading, No. 6. 7. 8 amounting to 1870. -- --.

On Captain Minter ship *Kent* 4 bulses No. 2. 3. 4. 5 as per invoice and bill of loading amounting to 4695. 11. 40.

I carry a long with me on[e] bulse No. 1 amounting to 2878. 18. --.

Concernd under Mr. Maubert in 2 bulses consignd to Messr. Alvaso Defon-see[a] and Roger Bradill⁽¹⁰⁾ as per his note 2000. -- --.

30904. 17. 72

I leave my daughter Fanny⁽²¹⁾ with Mrs. Ramsdon.⁽²²⁾ I have agreed with her for 5 pagodas per mounth and to find all manner of cloaths and to pay the 2 nurses wagers, which please to pay. I have given her my small palenkeen but she promises me to make the child a silver porringer. When the child is fitt to goe for England, send her as soon as possable, especially if a good weomen goes, such as Mrs. Walker⁽²³⁾ or any other.

My wives palenkeen, pull the silver of before you sell it. I belive it the best way. Mr. Way⁽²⁴⁾ was telling me he wanted a bomboe.⁽²⁵⁾ The rest of my house furniture that is left, carry to your house and sell att your pleasure. Mrs. Walker has promised me to helpe you in the sale ; there is a large Bengall matt which cost about 40 rupees in Bengall.

I writt to Bengall to Mr. Williamson to be my Atturney there⁽²⁶⁾ ; [you] may write to him and if he will except of it, remitt about 10000 rupees to him to imploy in such things as he judges convenient and send him a letter of Atturney by the power of yours. Mr. Faulks that died in Bengall sold some things on the account of the frighter *John and Elizabeth*⁽²⁷⁾ : I have write to desire him to pay me my share ; I was concernd in that stock 3000 pagodas ; I wrote to my brother Trenchfield about it who can informe you better when you see him.

Next year, when my mony comes to your hands, after my debts are all paid, send to Mr. Williamson 10000 rupees and home about 2000 pagodas; the rest imploy in stock or respondentia as you judge most for my advantage.

Memorandum: dont forgett to send home the bills of loading in your hands of mine and Mr. Chamberlin to send home on sundry shippes.

The Governor has forgott to pay me my $\frac{1}{4}$ part of a chest of opium that he owed me on account of the opium I deliverd him the last year, and he has a great many receipts, which please to aske for. Mr. Tomson will deliver them up, for I doe not care to lett any thing stand out.

I have deliverd Mrs. Ramsdon a slave girl called Christiana, which I have desired her to sell to the shipping for Manealla or any Portugees &ca., and orderd her to pay you the mony.

I have likewise delivered you a note signd by Mr. John Raworth for to deliver me 100 Tale worth of gold on the safe arrivall of ship *Ann.*⁽²⁸⁾ When she comes you may speak to Mr. Raworth about [it], for I have given him such another on our ship *Amity*, so it will signify nothing. I have left with Mrs. Walker a very small parcell of China ware [which] she will tell you of when you talk with her about [it], and with Mrs. Langelier⁽²⁹⁾ my cott⁽³⁰⁾ and curtins to sell for my account.

If my two brothers[s] should want any mony to carry on any voyage forward, pray assist them what you have of mine and hope you will doe the same of yours

(Signed) J. SCATTERGOOD.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 52.]

(1) Up to this point the entries are the same as in Document No. 49.

(2) Padre Paulo de Saa died at Madras in August 1715.

(3) See p. 148. The *Mary* seems to have been commanded by both John Ouldham and William Hamilton. On 1 July she arrived from Fort St. David under Ouldham and in September her Muhammadan and Armenian freighters petitioned the Council for reparation for damage sustained to their goods. The affair was referred to "those Gentlemen that have been most conversant in the cases of freighters on English ships, as Messrs. John Scattergood, Benjamin Walker, Capt. Wm. Hood and Capt. Richard Williams. They all in general declare that they never knew any damage allow'd to Moors or Armenian freighters, let it arise any ways whatsoever.....and to make this matter more clear Mr. Scattergood declares that there were a great number of the freighters bales damag'd on the *St. Andrew*, Capt. Thos. Greenbaugh, that time he was supracargo of her to Surat, and nothing allow'd for it" (*Consultation at Fort St. George*, 13 September 1715). Captain John Ouldham died at Madras in the following December.

(4) See Document No. 32 note (14).

(5) In the previous year the amount on this ship was Rs. 800.

(6) In the previous year the amount was Rs. 2,000.

(7) This seems to be a sum remaining for the voyage of the *St. Andrew*.

(8) For the *George* (not *St. George*) and the *Shah* (*Shaw*) *Alum*, see p. 148.

(9) These figures differ from those in the previous year in Document No. 49.

(10) See p. 146 for this transaction.

(11) This is the only reference made by Scattergood to the result of the voyage of the *Duke of Cambridge*.

(12) See p. 146.

(13) Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham suggests that "potoca" represents Port. *pateca* (see Delgado's *Glossario*), which itself probably represents Hindi *patākā*, or *patikā*, the former meaning a sash or waist-cloth, and the latter a turban-cloth.

(14) George Wyche, supercargo of the *Amity*. There was much trouble about this putchuck (used for Joss-sticks) later on.

(15) Frances, wife of Peter Cargenven, Scattergood's companion in Persia in 1706.

(16) Captain Thomas Wotton of the Company's ship *Bouquerie* which sailed from Madras for Bengal on 18 June 1715 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(17) I have failed to trace this individual, who is not again mentioned.

(18) Naina Chetty, Chenchala Chetty, (?) Vasu Chetty and Rangappa.

(19) See Document No. 59, note (1).

(20) Alvaro Defonseca and Roger Bradyll, London merchants.

(21) Frances, Scattergood's fourth daughter, born in February 1715.

(22) Mary Ramsden, widow, who died at Fort St. George in August 1717.

(23) Frances, widow of Thomas Walker, who died c. 1713.

(24) Thomas Way, a free merchant of Fort St. George.

(25) A bamboo palanquin is apparently meant.

(26) James Williamson, member of Council in Calcutta.

(27) This affair had dragged on since 1708. See Scattergood's letters on the subject to Messrs. Russell and Boone in 1712 (p. 80).

(28) The *Ann* returned from Amoy on 14 February 1716, having seized a Chinese junk in retaliation for the "innumerable hardships and impositions" received at the hands of the Mandarins (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(29) Elizabeth, widow of Abel Langelier, factor, who died at Madras, 26 June 1714 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(30) Cot, *kāḍḍ*, a light bedstead.

From the above some idea of Scattergood's varied investments can be gathered, and it was well for him that his attorney, John Maubert, had recently received permission to "lay down the service" of the mint in which he had hitherto been engaged, and had thus more leisure to attend to his client's affairs. On 19 September 1715 the *Kent*, with Scattergood and his family, set sail for England. The log of the vessel is in existence and thus an account of the voyage is available. But before following Scattergood to the Cape and St. Helena, letters from his two step-brothers in India, written in December 1715, when both were in Calcutta, may be noted. Elihu Trenchfield begged Scattergood's assistance in getting his brother Jack's "fortune" sent out to him for investment in India. He had found Bengal "very healthfull" and after his voyage to Surat, whither he was then bound in the *Barrington*, intended to "visit it two or three years longer, when hope to be in a capacity to bid India adieu." John Trenchfield's letter dealt chiefly with the "troublesome weather" encountered in his passage to Bengal, where he found that the inhabitants "make it pleasanter than Madras." He also was about to sail for Surat at the time of writing.

One more document, dated December 1715, after Scattergood had left Madras, is also extant. It was sent by his attorneys in London, Osmond Beauvoir and the Rev. James Wendey, to show how they had invested his money in their hands. "Ingotts" sent out in the *Aurengzeb* amounted to £268, and coral in the *Recovery* to £225; an East India £100 bond was purchased for £102 and he was "interested in discounting bills at 6 per cent to the value of £800."

The log of the *Kent*, commanded by Captain Lawrence Minter, is among the *Marine Records* at the India Office (317B), and from it we learn that the Captain received his "despatches for Europe" on 14 September, that his passengers came aboard on the 15th and that the ship "weighed from Fort St. George" on 19 September 1715. On 28 December she anchored off St. Helena, where she remained until 20 January 1715/16. While at St. Helena, Scattergood wrote to Captain Arlond of the *Duke of Cambridge* on business matters, and gave his own account of the voyage and the action of the captain.

[63]

Captain Edward Arlond, Sir,

I wrote you to Bombay by severall overland conveyances giveing you an account of our safe arrivall at Madrass, coyning your gold and laying it out again in diamonds, some betelas and shifts, and shirts for Captain Cliff,⁽¹⁾ which hope all came safe to your hands.

I was in hopes to [have] had the happiness of meeting you at the Cape of Good Hope and thought all along that we should touch there, but I can not tell how our Captain, after he went in so farr into the bay that the Fort and towne were all open and we within two miles of the ships, bore away for this place [St. Helena]. Tis true that the wind was against us and some times had it in gusts, but he might easily have turn'd it in or come to an anchor under Penguin⁽²⁾, where we went by a small Dutch sloop that lay at an anchor there.

We had a pretty good passage here. We came to this place from Madrass in 14 weeks and 3 days and mett with pretty good weather. Only near [!] we had a very violent storme, that obliged us to heave some lumber over board and cut our main topmast by the board to ease the ship.⁽⁴⁾ The Captain had a few of his bales damaged and your bale was just touch'd. Mr. Phips⁽⁵⁾ and every body perswaded me to leave your bale and the two small bundles of shirts and shifts for you here, because if I carried them to England, they must all goe into the Companys warehouse and to pay duty for them there, [and there] would not much to be gott, whereas if they goe by you, you can find some way or other to gett clear. So I have left them with Governor Pike⁽⁶⁾ as per inclosed notes⁽⁷⁾ and have left orders with him that in case you did not touch here, then to send them home on some ship consigned to you ; so that you being arrived before them in England,⁽⁸⁾ might contrive some way or other to gett them ashore with the least charges.

Your other things I carry with me and shall take care to deliver them to your attorney, Captain Cliff. Mr. Mauberts accounts attested I have left you inclosed, as likewise my accounts of your bale and two bundles. I hope they may give you satisfaction. Your gold was all coyned, which is the best for your advantage, and respondentia not being to be had, I left the diamonds to be invested by Mr. Maubert, as he being the proper person for it, I carry them with me without registering or putting you to the charge of two per cent to the captain, as I have done by all my own.

I have no more to add, but wishing you all health and happiness and a happy meeting in old England and letting you know that all captains are not the same aboard as ashore, remain

Your most humble servant

J. S.

St. Helena the [!] Janry. 1715/16.

P.S. Give my humble service to the Generall, Captain Small and honest Tobin.⁽⁹⁾

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 63.]

(1) Perhaps identical with the Captain Cliff who commanded the country ship variously spelt *Jadamiah*, *Jaditchmah*, *Jailatchme*, *Jay Latchemay*, *Zealatching*, in which Scattergood had an interest. The ship arrived at Fort St. George from Surat on 2 June 1716 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(2) In the log the Captain's reasons for not putting at the Cape are thus given : " December the 10th 1715. This morning Cape Good Hope bore NEbN, about 4 leagues off shore, fine fresh gales and pleasant wheather ; a great western swell. Att noon Penguin [Island] NEbN, 3 miles off shore ; little winds. As we came open with the Bay, we found itt blow very hard and very likely to hold, by the gathering of the clouds over the Table Land. We fetchd within 3 miles of the ships, haveing the Fort open ; we could not

carry sail blowing so hard and unwilling to run the resque of loosing an anchor. Being all in good health and in want of nothing, I bore away for St. Helena."

(3) Penguin Island, now known by its Dutch name, Robben (Seals') Island.

(4) The storm occurred on 13 October 1715 and is thus recorded in the log: "Fresh gales and squally from 10 last night. In the morning began to blow. Att 9 itt blew a violent storm and the sea running in heaps. Shiped a great deal water, and the ship labouring vory much was forced to lay a hull and flung over board what trade on the main deck, and in the forecastle we had 2 or 3 carriages and other trade floated over the gunhill."

(5) William Phipps, late supercargo of the *Duke of Cambridge*.

(6) Isaac Pyke, Governor of St. Helena 1714-1719.

(7) The "notes" merely refer to the bale and bundles mentioned in the letter.

(8) The *Duke of Cambridge*, Captain Arlond's ship, arrived in the Downs on 1 June 1716 (*Letter Book*, vol. 16, p. 1).

(9) William Aislabie, who had returned to England in the *Duke of Cambridge*, Captain David Small, commander of the *Thistleworth*, and James Tobin, purser of the *Duke of Cambridge*.

On 20 January 1715/16, "haveing refresht" his men and "done all things necessary to be done to our ship," Captain Minter "weighed" from St. Helena for England. Ten days later the *Kent* anchored off the island of Ascension and the captain "sent in the pinnace a turtleing." On 1 February is the entry: "We have turnd 27 turtle butt gott on board butt 7 of them. Wee stavd the pinnace all to pieces endeavouring to gett off more."

On 23 February 1715/16 occurred an event not recorded in the log, namely the birth on board the *Kent* of Scattergood's fifth daughter, Maria. The remainder of the voyage was uneventful. On 6 April an "Irish hoy, 19 days from Cape Clear, bound to the West Indies," was encountered and from her came the news that "itt was peace," or, in other words, that the Treaty of Utrecht had been concluded. The news was confirmed on 9 April by a "small ship" from Bideford. On 19 April the *Kent* anchored in the Downs, whence no doubt her passengers got on shore as quickly as possible and made their way to London by coach.

Among the *Papers* are several letters written to Scattergood while he was on the high seas. Elizabeth Browne thanked him for agreeing to act as her attorney on his arrival in England; Elizabeth Langelier reminded him of his promise to assist "the widdow and fatherless"; his agent in Calcutta, James Williamson, reported the difficulty of clearing up the accounts of the *John and Elizabeth* and declared he would invest the Rs. 10,000, which Scattergood proposed to send to Bengal, to the best of his ability.

By the *Bouverie*, Captain Thomas Wotton, which sailed from Fort St. David for England on 6 February 1716, Henry Albert sent an account of a trading venture to Mocha in which Scattergood was interested. He reported that "Mrs. Warre is gone home upon the *Mary*, alsoe severall other passengers, but not of note," and further, that news had arrived "lately of Mr. Boon being arrived upon the Coast Mallabar, goeing to take possession of the Government of Bombay." This was Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay 1716-1720.

Other letters include one from the Chinese merchants Lincoa and Anqua at Canton, thanking him for his kindness "to our China men which went passengers on your ship [the *Amity*]," and one from Mrs. Frances Walker giving the current news of Fort St. George.

From Surat Benjamin Francia wrote with the Bombay news of the time.

[64]

Worthy Sir,

I was honoured with yours from Fort St. George dated Sept. the 13th 1715 wherein you complain of Norgurs⁽¹⁾ chetting you in the pearle. When I received yours Mr. Wilshere was gone for Bombay and he had them delivered him there and sent them up by Mr. Sterling. He and I sent for Norguar and told him what you wrote and showed him the pearle you sent back. He told us he would take them againe at the price you gave for them, so had noe more to say to him. I suppose Mr. Sterling will write you a bout itt for he since told me Norguar⁽¹⁾ had given him full sattisfaction on that account, and that by inquirey they ware worth neare the mony, so that I believe he has dun you justice.

As for your velvets, I am heartely sorrey you should be so served as to luse them, for by all inquirey here they certenly went on board Captain Wootons ship,⁽²⁾ but I hope are this you have gott some account of them.

Wee have great alteration in these parts since the New Governor⁽³⁾ arrived, and I dout not but he will make trade flurriish on this side India. He has sent Sterling and Martin in two separte ships, but Joynt Stock, to China,⁽⁴⁾ the whole being 172,000 rupees and Captain Pitt is gone to Persia and Bengall.⁽⁵⁾ Poor Cole⁽⁶⁾ is dead at Bombay and Wilshere⁽⁷⁾ is likely to marry the widow. He has refused the Companys servis, tho it was offered him. Mr. Hill⁽⁸⁾ is goeing to settle a factory at Moco and Mr. Clerke⁽⁹⁾ is ordered downe to Bombay and I am in hopes to stay here. I beleive itt may lay in your power to serve me in England and I dout not your good will to doe itt, and I cant but take this opertunity to return you many thanks for all former favours received.

I have not to add on[l]y that I am Sir

Your humble servant

BENJN. FRANCIA

Sarat Feby. the 2, 1715/16.

[Addressed]

To Mr. John Scattergood Merchant
to be left at the Secretarys Office att the
East India House in Leadinghall Strett
London.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 64.]

(1) The name is perhaps Nagar, one of the firms with which Scattergood dealt being Nagar Dâs Lachhmi Dâs.

(2) The *Bouerie*, Captain Thomas Wotton, sailed from Madras in February 1715/16 and arrived in the Downs in August of that year.

(3) Charles Boone, who was styled President and Governor, the title of "General" being discontinued.

(4) I can find no record of this transaction either in the Consultations subsequent to President Boone's arrival at Bombay on 26 December 1715 or in the Despatches to England.

(5) Captain Wentworth George Pitt of the Company's ship *Stanhope* which was "let on freight" to Surat, Persia, Madras and Bengal for rs. 20,000" (*Bombay Abstracts*, I. 219).

(6) William Cole, who had held office in Surat Factory and was summoned to Bombay by President Boone to be fourth in Council. He arrived on 13 January (*Bombay Pub. Cons.*) and died there on 26 January 1715/16 (*ibid.*).

(7) Thomas Wiltshire, who was also summoned from Surat Factory, was entrusted with the office of Collector of Customs at Bombay (*ibid.*, p. 218), but at a Consultation, held on 23 January 1715/16, he declined the office and confirmed his intention of resigning the Company's service.

(8) John Hill, fourth of Council at Bombay.

(9) Jarvis Clarke, who was summoned from Surat to take up the office of "Receiver of the Revenues and Overseer of the Outworks" (*Bomb. Abs.*, I. 218). Hill and Clarke were sent to Mocha with the Company's ships *Succes* and *Anne*, on 21 March 1715/16, to settle a factory there, as it was considered that goods could thus be bought cheaper than by means of supercargoes on vessels making only a short stay (see *Bombay Abstracts*, I. 227).

In February 1715/16 also, several other letters were addressed to Scattergood from England. His attorneys in London, Osmond Beauvoir and the Rev. James Wendey, reported to him the result of their efforts in his behalf with regard to the settlement of the estate of his mother-in-law, Carolina Burniston. Scattergood's share, or rather that of his wife, amounted to £314. 18. 6, for which his attorneys were compelled to accept a bill payable at the end of six months, for, "if we should go to law, a thousand difficulties might be started . . . and you would be engaged in a chargeable, long, and perhaps endless suit in Chancery."

By the same ship, the *King George*, Scattergood's step-sister, Elizabeth Trenchfield, sent an illspelt missive with the news of the day: "We have had sad disturbance hear . . . but wee thought thay ware pritty well over, but now wee hear that the Pretender [James Stuart] is landed in Scotland and God onely knows when thare will be an end put to all this trowbles." She added the information that John Evans, Bishop of Bangor was transferred to the See of Meath and that "Been Hoadley [Benjamin Hoadley] as got the sea of Bangor."

The *King George* and *Prince Frederick*, outward bound ships, were also the bearers of other letters which Scattergood could not have received until the following year. His mother wrote of the welfare of his daughter Elizabeth, then in her care. Anne Wigmore informed him of the receipt of his share of the cargoes of the ships *Arabella* and *John and Elizabeth*. Charles Burniston, his wife's uncle, sent a long letter of complaint regarding the Scattergood's attitude in the settlement of the Burniston estate, and this was followed by one from the Rev. James Wendey on the same subject, enclosing a note to Arabella Scattergood enlarging on the charm of her daughter Betty (or Elizabeth). The Rev. George Lewis was also loud in his praises of Scattergood's young daughter. He had little doubt that if Scattergood made a fourth voyage to China, with the help of Governor Boone, his "good friend," he would "raise a very plentiful estate." The Rev. gentleman added some useful hints for travellers from India to England. These, however, arrived too late to be of service to the passengers in the *Kent*:

"If this should happen to meet you in Fort St. George, give me leave, who have so lately come before you, to give you some directions, how to fitt your self for your voyage home. Of shirts and sheets made up and fouled in the voyage, and of Bengall quilts stitche, you may bring a good quantity. Chints, bring none, except a night gown, or what your Lady hath made up for her own wear. Arrack is a good commodity both on board and a shore. What you design for your own use in England, let it be putt in cases or caraboys [carboys], for what is in casks is liable to be abusd. Of China and Japan ware you may bring a small chest, containing plates and dishes and the furniture of a thea table. Of thea they will suffer little or none to pass without paying of dutys, and therefore, without it be some that is very good for your own use &c., I would not advise you to bring any. A couple of Japan scrutores [escrittoires], one at least you may bring; the more old and rustic they appear, the better they will pass. And there are here those who will make them look like new. In fine, I did not find the King's or the Company's officers so hard as they were represented. But when you come to the Downs, do not attempt to bring anything with you over land in the coach, but barely your necessaries, for the officers upon the road will take them from you."

Thomas Pain, Scattergood's cousin, furnished further details of the rising in favour of James Stuart: "The rebels in Scotland are most of them disperst and kill'd and I supoas som will bee hanged which may in some mesur make up for their murder of that honest man Captain Green. I supoas what remains due on that account you may look upon as lost, moast of the persons concernd beeing dead." The reference to the hanging of Captain Thomas Green on a charge of piracy in 1705, is interesting. For the story, see Sir Richard Temple's *New Light on the Tragedy of the Worcester*. Pain also commented on the severe winter of 1715-16: "The rigour of the season is pritey well abated but most part of Europe have suffard by it."

A letter from Elihu Trenchfield dated Surat 23 March, written in case he missed his stepbrother at Bombay, contains directions for him to receive the amount of certain respondentia bonds due to Trenchfield, and these also failed to reach the addressee for many months.

Of accounts at this period we have one by John Maubert, Scattergood's attorney in Madras, with payments and receipts from September 1715 to April 1716 showing a credit balance of pagodas 3350. 11. 59, and others dated in Bombay noting sums expended on his behalf for tea, packing, etc.

The first news of Scattergood after his arrival in England, April 1716, is on 28 July of that year, when his friend William Phipps, who had also returned to England, wrote to him from his country house at Haywood (? Heywood, Westbury, Wilts), addressing the letter "To Mr. John Scattergood at his house in Devonshire Street, near Queen's Square, London." Scattergood had therefore settled down near his mother, Elizabeth Trenchfield, who resided in the adjoining Square. A week later Phipps wrote again to the same address.

[65]

Heywood the 6th August 1716.

Mr. Scattergood, Sir,

I received yours of the 4th this morning, do thank you for the advice you give me of the arrival of the *Mary*⁽¹⁾ and near approach of the other India ships, and for the news you have learnt from them. I am a little concerned you mention nothing of Raworth,⁽²⁾ as you have too great a concern to omitt enquireing particularly after that voyage: pray give me account what you hear of it. What letters comes for me in my absence I have desired Mr. Barrington Eaton to take up for me; he lives at Sir Gerard Conyers in Austin Fryars; if therefore you hear of any letters for me please to direct them thither. I purpose to be in town in a fortnight. Please to give my service to Mrs. Warre⁽³⁾; the arrack I have received and observe what you have paid Kennedy.

With the tender of mine and familys respects to you and yours, I conclude Sir, your humble servant

WILLIAM PHIPPS.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 65.]

(1) The *Mary*, Captain Richard Holden, arrived from Madras on 27 July 1716.

(2) John Raworth, supercargo of the *Ann*. Both Scattergood and Phipps were interested in the voyage of that ship to China and Phipps was anxious to learn the outcome of the seizure of a Chinese junk by Raworth in retaliation for injuries received at Amoy. For an account of the incident see below, Document No. 66.

(3) Florentia Warre, widow of William Warre, member of Council at Fort St. George, who died there on 6 May 1715. She and her daughter returned to England in the *Mary* (*Fort St. George Diary*, May 1715 and Feb. 1716).

It is at this period that John Scattergood's name is found in connection with the East India Company. At a Court of Directors held on 5 September 1716, it was ordered that "Goods mentioned in the accompt of Joann Scattergood value forty-eight pounds twelve shillings and three pence be deliver'd him he paying into the Treasury thirty-five pounds and eight pence due thereon" (*Court Book*, vol. 47, p. 108), and at a Court held on 16 November the "request of Mr. John Scattergood being read," it was "ordered that he have liberty to send out to Fort St. George by the *Duke of Cambridge* a black servant named Kerwina, he paying the charge of her passage" (*Court Book*, vol. 47, p. 182). The "black servant" was evidently an attendant on Mrs. Scattergood in the *Kent*. Again, at a Court held on 28 December it was "ordered that Mr. John Scattergood may send out the value of two

hundred and fifty pounds to Mr. John Leg of Council at Fort St. George so as one tenth part thereof be in English product " (*Court Book*, vol. 47, p. 228).

That Scattergood lost no time in turning the goods, particularly the precious stones, that he had brought and sent from the East, into money is shown by an account between him and Robert Dingley, silversmith and jeweller, in June 1716, wherein the sale of "brilliant" and a "rose diamond" to various people (among them the Duchess of Marlborough) is recorded. The stones realized £1555. 10. 0 and Scattergood expended more than half that sum on the cutting of others and making them up into necklaces, earrings, etc., during his stay in England. John Maubert's account of expenditure for Scattergood in Madras up to the end of the year 1716 also includes the cost of registering a bulse (packet) of diamonds sent by the *Catherine*. At the same time Scattergood was making large purchases of "elephants teeth" (ivory) and was shipping dollars to China to be invested in gold.

That any new venture excited his interest is proved by his investment, in October 1716, in "Collonel Beckers Wreck Machine," in which he purchased three shares for £99. This Company, which was formed for the purpose of experimenting with what is elsewhere called a "diving machine" for raising wrecks, was apparently doomed to failure, and Scattergood later on realized that he had little chance of recovering his money. A search at the Patent and Public Record Offices has revealed mentions of Colonel Andrew Becker's invention "for raising ships from the bottom of the sea," patented on 10 February 1715, but unfortunately no specification of the device is extant.

One more letter addressed to Scattergood in 1716 is worthy of note, as it gives details regarding the affair of the Amoy junk, in addition to those furnished by Dr. Morse in his account of that incident (*The East India Company Trading to China*, I. 150-153). The writer of the letter is an old friend, Edward Fenwick, and a portion of the document (which is omitted) is occupied with a request to Scattergood to use his influence in the writer's behalf for a favourable reception of his addresses to Scattergood's step-sister, Elizabeth Fenwick.

[66]

Canton October 10th 1716.

To Mr. John Scattergood, Dear Sir,

Hearing of your return to England since my coming to India, I cannot omit this first opportunity of congratulating you upon it. Honest industry and perseverance seldom fails of success, and so your great pains and fatigues many years in these parts, having met the reward of a plentiful fortune, you'll now be doubly happy in enjoying the company and conversation of the best mother and sisters that ever man had. From the long true friendship that has bin between us, I believe I need not take much pains to assure you no one alive rejoiceth more at it, and wishes a longer continuance of your happiness. . . .

I left the Downs the 29 Janry. in company with the *Susannah*, and arriv'd at Battavia the 23 May following, but the other ship⁽¹⁾ did not come in there till 18 days after. We left Battavia the 13 June (having bin barbarously treated there by the Dutch, little better than if we were enemys) and ankor'd in Macao Road the 13 July, where at our arrivall we were surpriz'd with news from the Portuguez that the English in generall were forbid the trade of this country in all ports, and that we could not proceed to Canton without the utmost hazard of being seiz'd. This was occasion'd by a ship call'd the *Ann* belonging to Maddrass, Raworth and Boucher supra cargoes, being at Amoy last January, and meeting some ill treatment there, for which they could have no redress from the Government, they all retir'd to their ship, and boarded a large junk loaden ready to sail for Battavia and carry'd her away

with them. This news soon reaching the Emperors ears at Pekin had procur'd the above order (as the Portuguese said) to make reprisal on all our nation. You may easily believe we were now in great perplexity what to doe, as well to contrive the safety of the ship as to re-establish this so beneficiall a branch of the Company's trade. At first I writ to Anqua to come down to us, haveing carry'd the ship into Typa,⁽²⁾ but he delaying it a good many days, I resolv'd to goe up my self to Canton, which I did privately, in a small sampan alone. When I came there I found the news confirm'd of the junks being taken, but Anqua told me, when he heard of our arrivall, he immediately acquainted the Vice Roy with it, and gott his promise for the protection of the Port, as coming from another place, consequently we could not be concern'd in that affair; and haveing other assurances that it was so, I order'd the ship up to Wampo [Whampoa] where all the other English, as they arriv'd, came afterwards, and none of us have mett any molestation since on that score. The demands here for the junk is 80,000 Tale, and if there is not immediate care taken to make the matter up, I believe it will be very dangerous for any English to come hither, either Companys or private ships hereafter.

The junk was carry'd to Madrass⁽³⁾ where she and her cargo were sold, and the money lyes now in Governor Harrison's hands; there are many other particulars about this story too long to trouble you in a letter, but I have writ the Company very fully about it, and doubt not they'll give proper directions about it to preserve their trade.⁽⁴⁾

We are now 22 sayl of ships at this port, of which 6 are French from Peru, all with very large stocks, which makes every sort of goods so scarce as well as dear, the like was never before in any year; gold is now 112 sicee and at present not procureable at that price; if it does not fall, I am afraid I shall be forc'd to carry away a good deal of silver uninvested, and at soonest I cannot hope to dispatch hence before the latter end of January or beginning of February; these casualties in trade could not be foreseen, but now I am out I must make the best on't.⁽⁵⁾

I hope you'll excuse my being so troublesome to you by this long letter, but as you are well acquainted in the country, I tho't proper to give you some account of our preseat circumstances here.

So with my humble service to Mrs. Scattergood, I have nothing more to add but wishes for our happy meeting and that I am, Dear Jack, your most affectionate humble servant

ED. FENWICKE.

[Endorsed Mr. Edward Phenix *[sic]* letter to me.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 66.]

(1) Edward Fenwick was one of the supercargoes of the *Marlborough*, commanded by Captain Matthew Martin; the *Susannah* was commanded by Captain Richard Pinnell, the "other ship" being the *Stringer* galley, commanded by Captain John Clarke.

(2) Tai-ping harbour.

(3)

The Affair of the Amoy Junk.

"In 1715," writes Dr. Morse (*op. cit.* I, 150), occurred an affair at Amoy which might have had serious consequences for all English ships visiting Chinese ports. The private trader *Anne* from Madras arrived at Amoy in 1714. . . . She was detained there, without completing her trade, for fifteen or sixteen months; and in January 1715 (1716) occurred the events which are thus recorded in a report by the Madras Presidency to the Court." Dr. Morse then quotes from an abstract of the Madras General Letter of 29 August 1716. The proceedings in Consultation at Fort St. George, however, earlier in the year, contain details not given in the letter.

The arrival of the *Ann* (or *Anne*) at Madras on 14 February 1715-16 is thus chronicled in the Fort St. George Diary:—

"Ship *Ann*. Captain John Jones Commander, Messrs. John Raworth and Richard Bouchier supra cargo's, arriv'd from Amoy and brought in company with them a China junk fully laden for Batavia

towards making their owners satisfaction for the innumerable hardships and impositions they received from the Mandarines there, who forced them off the shore, and protected the merchants that had a considerable part of the stock remaining in their hands."

(*) Some of the "other particulars" of the story are to be found in the *Fort St. George Consultations* of 1716. On 16 February the captain and supercargoes of the *Ann* were examined—

"Why they have ventured upon so bold and unusual an enterprise as bringing away a laden junk with them from the harbour of Amoy. They answered that after having been detained the whole year round and suffered innumerable hardships and impositions, they were at last forced out of the harbour by the government, without a possibility of obtaining justice for a great part of their stock remaining in the hands of the merchants that were imposed upon them by the Mandarines, and had no remedy left but by righting themselves in the manner they have done."

On 23 February they produced:—

"A narrative of the barbarous treatment they received in Amoy from the merchants imposed upon them by the Government, and from the Government themselves, to the truth of which they offer their oaths, together with the evidence of a Christian linguist entertained in their service who was bred under the missionaries in China, and employed upon all occasions between them and the Mandarines. To the said narrative they likewise annex a stated account of the real damages to the owners by the foresaid usage, amounting to pagodas 26070, 31 fanams, 18 cash."

At the same time the owners of the *Ann* supported the claims of the supercargoes. The Council agreed to defer the consideration of "this important affair" until the arrival of the *Dartmouth* from Canton. Meanwhile, it was ordered that the cargo of the junk should be landed and properly protected.

On 9 and 19 April drafts of letters to be sent to Batavia and Malacca were approved. These advised the commanders of any ships bound to China, that might touch at those ports, of the treatment received by the *Ann* in 1715.

On 29 August the Madras Council reported the affair to the Court of Directors. The letter, of which only a summarized version survives (*Coast and Bay Abstracts*, II. 52-54), is quoted, as stated above (with slight omissions), by Dr. Morse and is again reproduced here for the sake of continuity in the story:—

"Have had a great deal of trouble by an unhappy accident at Amoy.

"The *Anne*, formerly the *Sherborn*, went to Amoy anno 1714 with 60,000 pagodas stock and upwards; had the Mandarines promise of free trade: the ship *Cambridge* traded also; on this they appointed their own creatures only to deal with both ships.

"The *Cambridge* with much ado got away in time to save her passage to Bombay, after bearing many civil impositions and leaving 4 or 5,000 tales behind, which the Chinese promised to make good and the *Anne's* supra cargo's were to receive.

"The *Anne* though by contract was to be dispatched in season, yet was kept all the year round and suffered many great abuses, and though the Vice Roy of the province ordered the merchants should clear accounts and dispatch her, yet the Mandarines, partners with the merchants, drove the supra cargoes from the shore and the ship out of the inner harbour, though the merchants owed them 26,000 tales, besides other damages.

"On this the *Anne* detained a laden junk bound for Batavia hoping thereby to get justice.

"The Tituck [? Tsung-tuk] promised by a messenger that satisfaction should be given, which waiting for, 40 war junks of men and 40 boats with combustible stuff came to destroy them, which a China messenger discovered through fear of being destroyed thereby. The *Anne* with difficulty got under sail, cutting her cable, and towed off the junk too far for the fire boats to follow, then came to an anchor in hopes of an accommodation; but the war junks beginning to fire at them, were forced to put to sea; and both the *Anne* and junk arrived at Madras 14th February.

"This disaster concerns them on account of the Company's trade to China, for as to that from Madras, better to forbear, considering what they have suffered for so many years. The Jesuits, who best know China, say this must turn to the benefit of the Europeans trade when the Emperor knows it, as he will, and will punish the Mandarines.

"Have endeavoured to prevent ill consequences to the trade of Canton and advised the whole of the Company's ships at Batavia. Believe the Mandarines of one province will not mind what is done in another. Have sent a French gentleman well skilled in the Mandarin language to Macao to concert with the English ships how to carry on the trade.

"Have wrote to Leauqua and Anqua at Canton about this affair, that have sold the junks cargo because perishable, but have kept an account to restore when receive satisfaction.

"Will do all they can to prevent prejudice to the Company; the damage to the merchants is pagodas 26,070 : 31 : 18, of which one half to the President."

It seems that only the "perishable" goods on board had been sold at the date of the letter, for on 27 September 1716 Raworth and Bouchier petitioned the Council at Fort St. George for leave to sell the cargo of the captured junk, in order to satisfy "the respondentia creditors" who were "very pressing."

In para. 64 of their letter to the Court of 9 October 1716, the Council again alluded to the affair of the Chinese junk (*Coast and Bay Abstracts*, II. 55-68)—

"They refer to Consultations of several dates and divers letters in their books for a full account of bringing the junk from Amoy; were necessitated to do as they did; the produce of the junk and cargo ready to be paid into cash; forced to send home the tea because the Company restrain the quantity in private trade and would not let the Lisbon Interloper have any; desire the net produce may be applied to accommodate affairs, and kept the account apart, or as the Company shall direct; have for form valued it at 30 pagodas the pecull."

The outcome of the incident in China is narrated by Dr. Morse (*op. cit.* I. 151-3): "The Chinese officials at Amoy were dismayed at the result of their action and hastened to report the affair to Peking in such a way as to throw a favourable light on their own conduct—

'The Tytuck wrote the Emperor that an English ship on pretence of trade, had staid a great while in that port, till at last, finding a proper opportunity, she seized a junk which had completed her cargo—without telling him that this English ship was [a] private trader from Madras, or what grievances the supercargoes had met with, to put them to such a proceeding. The Emperor, upon this first notice, despatched a messenger to Amoy with a commission to enquire into the cause of it. Thus he came to a knowledge of the whole matter; and finding his own people the first aggressors, he disgraced several Mandareens and imprisoned one more immediately connected with the native merchants, who withheld the remains of the investment due and contracted for, and seized all his estate.'

The Peking government was manifestly sensible of the wider issues involved; and the Company's agents were no less deeply impressed by the danger to English trade, and to their own operations in particular, through the impulsive act of a private trader."

Dr. Morse then goes on to tell how Captain John Powney was empowered to settle the cost of the junk with the Chinese. He further narrates the action of Monsieur Edmé Bongré, the "French gentleman well skill'd in the Mandarin language," in conjunction with Linqua and Anqua, the powerful Chinese merchants, who promised "that the whole expence in this negotiation shall be at their own proper cost and charge." The final result is not recorded, but that the incident had no great effect on commercial relations is shown by the fact that the three English ships of the following season, the *Marlborough*, *Susannah* and *Stringer* galley met with no molestation from the affair of the *Ann* (although the *Marlborough* was, as Fenwick tells us, for some time in great trepidation as to her reception). "So true was it," adds Dr. Morse, "under the Empire, that the Mandarins meddle not with anything out of their own province."

The comments of the Court of Directors on the affair and the action of their servants at Fort St. George are brief and to the point. In their letter of 8 January 1717-18 (*Letter Book*, XVI. 335) they wrote:—

"We are not yet come to any resolution concerning the *Annes* taking the China junk, of which you give a large account in the letters of the 29th August and 9th October, para. 64. We judge it necessary to hear what news our next China ships bring before we are ripe for giving an opinion. Mr. Harrison hath not yet apply'd to the Court, though he was so deeply concerned in that voyage. The care which appear'd in giving such particular notice of that unhappy accident to our supra cargos bound to China deserves approbation."

Subsequent letters, however, have no allusion to the junk, and the last echo of the incident appears to be a claim made by Thomas Theobald at a Consultation at Fort St. George on 6 November 1718, for compensation for money expended on "the Chinamen belonging to the junk" whom he "shipped for Bencoolen" by the President's orders, he being appointed "one of the managers of the sale" after the "condemnation of the China junk."

(5) Fenwick's forebodings were not realized. In a second brief note to Scattergood, dated 30 December 1716, he announced that he had "a great hurry of business" upon him, and stated that his affairs were "in much better way than when I writ you last, for I have assurance to gett all I want on better terms, and doe all my other business much better than I expected; only I shall not be able to dispatch till latter end of January."

The year 1717 was one of feverish activity for Scattergood both as regards his domestic and business affairs. He installed his wife and family (increased in May 1717 by the birth of his sixth daughter, Katherine) in Lincoln with his aunts, the widowed Mrs. Farmerie and her sister Elizabeth Scattergood, and he appears to have spared no expense in the decoration of the house hired for their use, for among the bills preserved, we find one for £10 12s. for

"paper hangings for rooms" alone. Then, leaving his uncle Roger Scattergood to attend to the payment of workmen, carriage of goods, etc., Scattergood returned to London, took up his quarters with Mrs. Johnson, in Warwick Square, Holborn, and proceeded to carry out the scheme that he had probably devised on the homeward voyage.

But before entering into the story of the *Bonita* and Scattergood's connection with her trading ventures, it may be well to deal with his correspondence and other activities during the year 1717.

The accounts kept by his attorney, John Maubert, at Madras, during the first year of Scattergood's absence (1716-1717) testify to the variety and volume of his client's interests in India. The debit side shows expenditure for *tutenaga* and silver sent to Bengal, investments in the *Britannia*, the *Barrington*, *Falkenbridge*, *Calicut Merchant*, *Catherine*, *Shallam*, *King George*, *William*, *Sampson*, *Elizabeth*, *Joseph*, and *Hartford* in their various voyages to Siam, Judda, Canton, Surat, Bengal and England, amounting, with sums paid to Mrs. Ramsden on account of Scattergood's infant daughter in her care, to some 10,000 pagodas. On the credit side the dividends received from shares in the above and other ships, the proceeds of sale of tea, putchuck, silver, coral, etc., amounted to some 23,000 pagodas, leaving a handsome balance for trading in the succeeding year (1718). The following letter accompanied Maubert's first set of accounts.

[67]

Ft. St. Geo., 15 Aug. 1717.

To Mr. John Scattergood, Sir,

This serves only to advise you of the receipt of yours per *Cambridge*, that your child is well and I bel[i]eve all that I have sent to sea on your account since gone from hence in particular. The *Shallam* arrived yesterday⁽¹⁾ and will make a good voyage, our friends Walker and Readshaw⁽²⁾ in good health; the former will goe to sea no more.

Your brothers are not arrived from Surrat and we suppose they are now going from thence to Bengall.

By the *Marlbrough* and *Prince Fredrick* I answer your letter⁽³⁾ and give you [an] ample account of your affairs.

I assure your lady, Mr. Phipps, &c. friends of my humble respects and am Sir

Your most humble servant,

JNO. MAUBERT.

Fort St. George Aug. 15th 1717.

P.S. I omitted however to tell you I fear your concerne with Dupre⁽⁴⁾ desperate, he being miserable poor at Menilla. What small matter he had here lyes now attacht in the Court; of this am more ample in my others letters. *Idem* J. C. M.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 67.]

(1) The arrival of "ship *Shaallem*," Captain Laidmager, from Persia on 14 August is chronicled in the *Fort St. George Diary*, also her departure for Bengal on 8 September, when she is called the "*Shawallum*."

(2) William Redshaw and Benjamin Walker, shareholders with Scattergood in the ship.

(3) No other letter from Maubert at this date is extant.

(4) Scattergood's investment in Manila, entrusted to Mr. Dupree, was one of his very few unfortunate ventures.

Scattergood's other correspondence at this time includes a letter from Father Cerne of the Jesuit mission at Canton, showing the high esteem in which he was held by that

community and a note of gratitude from the widowed Elizabeth Langelier (see p. 154) in recognition of his efforts on her behalf. Mrs. Langelier added the current gossip of Madras:—

“The news of this place is Mrs. English which came with good Captain Small is a going to be married to Mr. Oldham [Oadham]. Miss Grifeth is very much admired but she has mett with no body yet she likes well enough for a husband. I must now send you the mallancholy news of good Mrs. Ramsdon death which was very sudden; she was taken with an apleplectick fitt which carried her of in sixteen hours time. Mr. Horden has desired he may have the child which Mr. Maubert granted; she is a charming, witty, brick [bright] gairl and I wish she was safe in Europe. This I think is all this misserable town afords except scandale and that I beli[e]ve it will always abound in.”

The marriage between Catesby Oadham, Assay-master at Fort St. George, and Mary English took place on 7 October 1717 (*Marriages at Fort St. George*).

Only two other letters, addressed to Scattergood in the year 1717 by his two step-brothers, are extant. He did not receive them before his departure from England in 1718.

[68]

DEAR BROTHER,

I receiv'd your kind letter dated the 29th of Jany.,⁽¹⁾ wherein you give me the agreeable new of yours and familys safe arrivall in England.

I thank God for the good health I have had ever since your departure, as also for a miraculous escape of being lost in our passage from Bengall to Bombay and Surat last year, our ship running on shore on a rock that lies of Point du Gall in Ceylone. We all expected every moment, either the oversetting of the ship, or her beating to pieces, but after five or six minuets fright we got safely off, but not without damage done to our ship, she making as much water we could well free her with one pump, so thinking the best way we could to save our lives and ship was to go to Tutucareen⁽²⁾ to refit her, where our stay being long and the season very late, we could not possible get to Surat, but winterd at Bombay, where we buried my cozen Thomas Pain after a twelveth months sickness. We saild from Bombay the 13th of November, being bound down the coast, that we might somewhat repair our owners loss by the sale of a Mallabar cargo.

You mention of yours and my sisters kindness in indemning the Bishop of Meath⁽³⁾ from all dangers that can happen to him in sending out my fortune, but that his Lordship does not care to part with any money till I am of age and can secure him by so doing, which my being at age the 7th of last September enables me to do, by appointing (with the advice of my brother Trenchfeild) you and Mr. Lewis my attorneys, which have done in a letter of attorney inclos'd in a letter to you both, but my hearing that you have a mind to come abroad again, then my brother thinks Mr. Fenwick⁽⁴⁾ to be the properest man I can appoint in your stead.

I am very much obliged to Mr. Fenwick for his kindness in leaving at his departure 2000 pagodas to be employ'd in what ever voyage I shall undertake, either at respondentia or in the stock.

The trade from Bengall to Surat is grown so very dull, and nothing but the freight can support it, that my brother thinks I should do better if I should go along with Mr. Starke⁽⁵⁾ in a voyage from Bombay to Bengall and Mocho Govr. Boone designs for him, and has promis'd my brother that I should, if he liked it.

There being nothing else that I can think of to acquaint you, but to desire you to give my love to my sister and my neices, as also wishing you all health and happiness and remain, dear brother, your affecte. brother and most humble servant

JNO. TRENCHFEILD.

Tellecherry, December the 5th 1717.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 68.]

- (1) This letter is not extant.
- (2) Tuticorin, a port in Tinnevely District, Madras, then in Dutch occupation.
- (3) The Rev. John Evans (see p. 156) who left the See of Bangor for Meath in 1715. He was a guardian of John Trenchfield.
- (4) Edward Fenwick. See p. 158.
- (5) John Starke purser of the *Averilla*. See p. 81.

Scattergood's elder step-brother, Elihu Trenchfield, wrote also from Tellicherry and at much greater length. He announced his intention of making a trading voyage on the Malabar coast to compensate for the loss occasioned by the grounding of the *Barrington* "on the rocks off Point du Gall," as narrated in his brother's letter (Document No. 68). He attributed the accident to the captain's carelessness and had much to say of his miraculous escape and the kindness received from the Dutch at Colombo and Tuticorin. The necessary repairs occupied so much time that "it was late" before the ship reached Bombay and it was then impracticable to return to Madras that season.

Trenchfield found "Governor Boone a very generous friend to me and very assisting in the disposall of our cargoe." He expressed his wish to return to England but would not do so until he was "worth fifteen thousand pounds, with which sune I dont doubt of making England very agreeable to me." On his return to Madras he expected to find himself "worth that sum" and should then "stay ashore in hopes of finding an opportunity to remit my money to some advantage, for in that depends very much the estate of a man when he arrives in England." This was a difficult matter, "diamonds not producing any profit, nor will the Europe commanders take money at respondentia."

The remainder of the letter is taken up with comments on the laxity of the Bishop of Meath as guardian of himself and his brother, on his brother's prospects in India and on the success of Scattergood's "adventure" with Captain Eustace Peacock.

During the year 1717 Scattergood received consignments of diamonds from Maubert, continued his purchases of ivory, and bought extensively such things as telescopes, magnifying glasses, mirrors, etc. (classified as "iron ware"). He also made considerable purchases of books of history, etc. Some of the goods were shipped in the *Cardigan*, Captain Henry Glegg, bound to Madras and Bengal and in the *Morrice*, Captain Eustace Peacock for Bombay. With the latter, with whom he had previously traded successfully, he arranged for the produce of his goods to be invested in any voyage Peacock might make "in the countrey."

In the midst of his own business Scattergood found time to attend to the affairs of Elizabeth Browne, to settle with Mrs. Hobday for the sale of her husband's "perriwiggs" and to assist the widowed Elizabeth Langelier, as previously narrated.

The foregoing were only minor incidents compared with the enterprise that occupied Scattergood's time and thoughts during the second year of his stay in England. He had realized that it would be more profitable to trade in a vessel owned by himself and a small syndicate rather than through the intervention of the captains of the Company's or private "country" ships. Therefore, on 26th June 1717, we find an entry in the *Court Minutes* (Vol. 47, p. 372) as follows :

"Petition of Mr. John Scattergood and Mr. Thomas Harris being read, praying to return to Fort St. George as Free Merchants, and to carry out an English ship of about three hundred and fifty tons to trade with from port to port, but never to return to Europe. Ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Correspondence to discourse the petitioners on the whole of the request, and report their opinion thereupon."

Thomas Harris was probably a former acquaintance of Scattergood, who had found him at Madras on his arrival there in 1698. Harris was then in the Company's service as a factor and "translator of Jentue and to look after the New Towns." He had been in India since November 1692 and held the above post until March 1701, when his petition to relinquish the service was granted. He was then married to a "Casteez" or Portuguese half-caste, and he seems to have remained in India as a free merchant, for in 1709 there is the note of a payment of 26 pagodas for sending his child to England in the *Heathcote*. Also Thomas Harris, "seafaring man, not constant inhabitant, married a Casteez," appears in the list of Fort St. George inhabitants at the end of the year 1710, after which date he probably returned to England, for there is no further mention of him in the *Diary and Consultations of Fort St. George*. From the above, it is evident that Thomas Harris, part owner of the *Bonita*, must have been Scattergood's senior by several years.

The Court took a month to consider the petition of Scattergood and Harris and on 24 July 1717 (*ibid.*, p. 395) there is an entry :—

"Part of the Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence dated the 16th inst. being read, relating to the petition of John Scattergood and Thomas Harris for leave to carry out an English built ship to the East Indies.

Ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Correspondence and Committee of Shipping to consider on what terms and conditions it may be proper for the Company to permit such a ship to be sent out and report the same to the Court."

Either the delay in getting a definite answer from the Court, the difficulty of securing a vessel or some other obstacle caused Scattergood to change his intention, for on 18 September 1717 (*ibid.*, p. 429) he petitioned to return to India as a supercargo on one of the China ships. This decision seems to have disconcerted the friends who were interested in his project to trade as a freeman, for on the 25th of the month (*ibid.*, p. 436) we read :

"Sir Robert Nightingale moving the Court that Mr. John Scattergood and Mr. Thomas Harris who had petitioned to be supracargoes for China might withdraw their petitions. The Court consented thereunto."

Then the matter dragged on until 30 October when there is the following entry (*ibid.*, p. 474) :

"On reading the Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence and Committee of Shipping dated the 25th instant.

Ordered that Mr. John Scattergood and Mr. Thomas Harris have liberty to send out a ship to Fort St. George not exceeding three hundred and fifty tons on the terms and conditions therein mentioned and that they pay five per cent. permission on the true value of the said ships cost and outset, deducting thereout the cost of the provisions for the marines as to eatables and drinkables only ; and that the security they are to give for performing the said terms and conditions be in six thousand pounds."

After this, events moved rapidly and the purchase of a ship, the *Bonita*, for £2,500 and her insurance were quickly carried out. Her bill of sale is worth recording.

To all people to whom these presents shall come I Francis Sitwell of London merchant send greeting.

Know yee that I the said Francis Sitwell for and in consideration of the sume of two thousand five hundred pounds of good and lawfull money of Great Brittain to me in hand paid at or before the sealing and delivery hereof by John Scattergood and Thomas Harris

of London merchants, the receipt whereof I doe hereby acknowledge and my selfe to be therewith fully sattisfyed and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doe clearly and absolutely acquit, exonerate and discharge the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris their executors and administrators and every of them for ever by these presents : have granted, bargained and sold and by these presents doe fully and absolutely grant, bargain and sell unto the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris all the good ship or vessell called the *Bonetta*, of the burthen of three hundred and fifty tuns or thereabouts, now in the river of Thames, whereof John Harry is Commander, together with all and every the boat, oares, masts, sailes, sailyards, anchors, cables, ropes, cords, cordage, gunns, gunpowder, shott, provisions, tackle, apparell, necessities and furniture whatsoever to the said ship or vessell belonging or in any wise appertaining, to have and to hold all the said ship or vessell and all other the above bargained premisses unto the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris their executors, administrators and assignes to their own proper use and uses and as their own proper goods and chattles from henceforth freely and absolutely for evermore. And I the said Francis Sitwell doe hereby for my selfe, my executors and administrators, covenant, promise and agree to and with the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris, their executors, administrators and assignes, joyntly and severally by these presents, that I the said Francis Sitwell have in my selfe and by my selfe good right, full power and lawfull authority to grant, bargain, and sell all the said ship or vessell and all other the above bargained premisses unto the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris, their executors, administrators and assignes in manner aforesaid : And that the same now are and be and soe from henceforth for ever shall be, remaine and continue unto the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris, their executors, administrators and assignes, free and clear and freely and clearly acquitted and discharged of and from all and all manner of former and other bargaines, sales, gifts, grants, titles, troubles, debts, charges and incumbrances whatsoever heretofore had, made, comitted or done by me, the said Francis Sitwell or any other person or persons whatsoever by my meanes, act, consent or procurement. And that I, the said Francis Sitwell, my executors and administrators and every of them [have granted, bargained and sold] the said ship or vessell and all and singular other the above bargained premisses and every part and parcell thereof unto the said John Scattergood and Thomas Harris, their executors, administrators and assignes to their own proper use and uses and as their own proper goods and chattles against all people shall and will warrant for ever defend by these presents.

In witnesse whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale the [blank] day of [blank] and in the fourth yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne [Lord] George by the Grace of God King of Great Brittain &c. Annoque Domini 1717.

(Signed) FRANCIS SITWELL.

[Endorsed]

Bill of Sale from Mr. Francis Sitwell to Mr. John Scattergood and Mr. Thomas Harris of all the *Bonetta*.

At the same time the insurance of the ship was effected between the 13th and 20th November for £2000 "from her coming to an anchor at Gravesend to any port or place beyond the Cape of Good Hope either in India or elsewhere, with liberty to proceed backwards or forwards either in India, Persia, Ba[n]gall or China for two years at tenn shillings per cent. per mensem and no longer." The names of nine insurers are added to the policy, seven of them in £200 each and the other two in £300 each.

At a Court held on 29 November 1717 (*Court Book*, Vol. 47, p. 504) is the entry :

" Draught of Covenants to be entered into by Messrs. John Scattergood and Thomas Harris about their ship *Bonita* to be sent from hence to Fort St. George, as amended and settled by Mr. Woodford, were now read and approved.

Ordered that the Committee of the Treasury be desired to seal the counterpart."

The " counterpart " of the covenants is too long to be reproduced here. It is dated 29 November 1717 and it provided that the *Bonita*, commanded by Captain John Harry (of whom no previous mention has been found) with Scattergood and Harris as supercargoes, with a crew of 50 men and 26 guns might proceed on trading voyages to countries within the limits of the Company's charter on the same terms as free merchants living under the Company's protection at Fort St. George. No trade was to be allowed at Madagascar, the coast of Africa, the Comoro Islands, or any European or American port, and the Cape was to be the only port touched at on the outward voyage. At the end of every trading voyage an attested account was to be submitted to the President and Council of Fort St. George. No naval stores or provisions, beyond what was necessary for the voyage, and no bullion was to be carried on board, except such as should be licensed by the Committee of Shipping. An attested account of the ship and her cargo when ready for sea was to be furnished, and five per cent. of her total value was to be paid to the Company by the supercargoes.

At a Court held on 6 December 1717 (*ibid.*, p. 515) it was " Ordered that Mr. Francis White do enter out the ship *Bonita* in the Companies name " and on 11 December 1717 (*ibid.*, p. 517) :

" Messrs. Scattergood and Harris being called into Court were acquainted with the order of sending one hundred pipes of wine for Fort St. George on their ship *Bonita*, that the Court expected it should be free of freight or charge for the ships going to the Madeira. And that in consideration thereof they would allow them to put on board wine for their own account as far as fifty pipes, they declared their consent to the terms, but pray'd leave to take in ten pipes more.

Resolved that Messrs. Scattergood and Harris be permitted to lade on the *Bonita* for their own account sixty pipes of Madeira wine."

On the same day a separate indenture for John Scattergood as a Free Merchant in one thousand pounds was signed by him and his securities, and approved by the Court (*ibid.*, p. 518). The names of the securities were " Gilbert Affleck of London, Esqr." and " the Rev. Mr. Geo. Lewes of St. Andrews, Holborn, London, clerk," who, with Scattergood and Harris, sealed bonds for the amount of their obligations.

On 13 December the Court was informed (*ibid.*, p. 521) that the Custom House officers could not " clear out " the *Bonita* for the East Indies without breaking bulk,

" notwithstanding they have been informed that she is never to return from thence and that according to the Act of Parliament the bond is to be in £8750 penalty.

The same considered and Committee of the Treasury ordered to put the Company's seal to the said bond.

Messrs. Scattergood and Harris also to give bond to the Company to indemnify them for entering into the said bond. Penalty £8750."

The preliminaries were thus accomplished and it only remained to complete the ship's cargo and put to sea.

At the end of the year Scattergood, methodical as ever, drew up a statement of his " transactions " while in Europe, a document which gives a good idea of the extent and variety of his trading ventures.

[70]

Journal Letter A containing all transactions relating
to my affairs in Europe beginning this [blank]
of December 1717.

Sundry accounts dr. to Account Stock £5027. 11. 5 for the following debts due to me,
goods unsold, adventures standing out &c. as hereunder :

1 Bagnal Wallis ⁽¹⁾ lent him at respondentia	..	..	£25.	—.	—.
1 Ship <i>Essex</i> ⁽²⁾ for my 1/16th	..	..	320.	—.	—.
2 Voyage to China Per <i>Essex</i> for silver sent by her	..	£755.	17.	2.	
Mr. Birkhead ⁽³⁾ under me	..	201.	13.	11.	
			554.	3.	3.
2 Voyage to China Per <i>Townshend</i> ⁽⁴⁾ for silver sent by her	..	£705.	14.	9.	
Mr. Birkhead under me	..	201.	13.	11.	
			504.	—.	10
3 Diamonds in company with Edward Harrison, ⁽⁵⁾ Roger Braddyll, John Maubert and my self	..	..	900.	—.	—.
2 Ship <i>Addison</i> ⁽⁶⁾ 1/16th	..	£500.	—.	—.	
Mr. James Wendey under me	..	250.	—.	—.	
			250.	—.	—.
3 Charles Burniston as per his bond due from him at in- terest since the 2d Augt. 1716	..	..	314.	18.	6.
3 Mrs. Bradshaw ⁽⁷⁾ at Interest	..	..	55.	—.	—.
4 Mr. Cartlitch ⁽⁸⁾ as per note	..	..	335.	11.	4.
4 Diamonds <i>Vizt.</i> Per <i>Hanover</i> ⁽⁹⁾	..	613.	10.	0.	
Per <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> ⁽¹⁰⁾	..	290.	11.	9.	
			904.	1.	9.
4 George Lewis for money he received for my account from Portsmouth	..	..	864.	15.	9.
					5027. 11. 5.

Account Stock Dr. to sundry accounts £2400 for money taken at Interest of the
following persons *vizt.*

5 Aunt Scattergood ⁽¹¹⁾	£500.	—.	—.
5 Captn. Hanmer ⁽¹²⁾	400.	—.	—.
5 Osmund Beaver ⁽¹³⁾ Esqr.	..	..	1500.	—.	—.
				2400.	—.

George Lewis Dr. to sundry accounts 2349. 4. 5. for sundry particulars which he has
received on my account *vizt.*

4 Mr. Cartlitch received of him	..	..	335.	11.	4.
2 Voyage to China per <i>Townshend</i> for the produce of my adventure	..	942.	12.	8.	
Mr. Birkhead under me	..	272.	12.	10.	
			669.	19.	10.

2 Voyage to China per <i>Essex</i> for the produce of my adventure	891. 4. 9.		
Mr. Birkhead under me	237. 17. 2.		
		653. 7. 7.	
1 Bagnal Wallis received principal of his respondentia Bond		25. --. --.	
4 Diamonds for produce of 1 Bulce per <i>Hanover</i>	£682. --. --.		
dedt. freight	12. 5. 4.		
Brokeridge	4. 9. --.		
	£16. 14. 4.	665. 5. 8.	
			2349. 4. 5.

Sundry accounts dr. to George Lewis £2739 19. --. for money which he has disbursed on my account *Vizt.*

6 Expences <i>Vizt.</i>			
my bill from the Madeiras ⁽¹⁴⁾	£95. 4. --.		
Mr. Harris concerned in it	30. 9. --.		
	64. 15. --.		
Postage of letters	--. 6. 6.		
Subscription to a church	1. 1. --.		
Drawing out a letter Attorney	--. 3. --.		
	£66. 5. 6.		
Deduct paid him 5 guineas	5. 5. --.	61. --. 6.	
6 House expences for what paid Mrs. Scattergood on account of her year's allowance		200. --. --.	
5 Osmond Beaver Esq., paid him the principal and interest of my bond to him.. .. .		1578. 2. 6.	
4 Diamonds for freight of one bulce per <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>		5. 16. --.	
6 Account current Madrass for silver sent out per <i>Hanover</i>	£1373. 4. 1.		
Mr. Harris concern'd therein	473. 4. 1.		
	£900. --. --.		
John Pugh ⁽¹⁵⁾ concern'd therein	5. --. --.	895. --. --.	
			2739. 19. --.

Sundry accounts dr. to Stock £6131. 11. 4½. for the following particulars *vizt.*

7 Peter Godfrey ⁽¹⁶⁾ Esqr. for chints &c. sent him from Madrass per Mrs. Pitt amounts to	98. 15. 10½	
7 Sir Robert Child for China ware sent him from Madrass per <i>Queen</i> ⁽¹⁷⁾	49. 10. --.	
7 Oyl of cinamon in the hands of Peter Hamley and Miles Barne ⁽¹⁸⁾ for 4 bottles cost	101. 14. --.	

8 Voyage to Ostend consd. James Tobin and Capt. Wright ⁽¹⁹⁾	1806.	6.	—.
8 Voyage to Ostend consd. to Captn. Jackson ⁽²⁰⁾ ..	2288.	15.	6.
8 Voyage to Ostend consd. to Pennicott and Cock ⁽²¹⁾ ..	1606.	10.	—.
9 Captn. Jackson lent him at respondentia on the <i>Brussels</i>	180.	—.	—.
		6131.	11. 4½.
<hr/>			
½ Interest dr. to Osmond Beaver Esqr. £78. 2. 6. for interest of £1500 borrow'd of him which Mr. Lewis has paid him	£78.	2.	6.
<hr/>			
⅓ Voyage to France per Capt. Villamont ⁽²²⁾ dr. to Stock £66. 13. 4. for papers of flowers &c. sent by him from China, in order to buy wine &c. amount to T. 200 @ 6s. 8d. per Tale £	66.	13.	4.
<hr/>			
⅓ Stock dr. to account current Madrass £8825. 16. 1½. for amount of stock in these books transferred to them, they being those which I refer all others to	8825.	16.	1½.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 70.]

- (1) Bagnall Wallis was second mate of the Company's ship *Cardigan*, then in India.
- (2) The *Essex*, Capt. Henry Glegg, sailed for China 13 January 1716/17 (*Letter Book*, vol. 16, p. 100).
- (3) John Birkhead, a cousin of Scattergood.
- (4) The *Townshend*, Capt. Charles Kesar, sailed for China 13 January 1716/17 (*Letter Book*, vol. 16, p. 100).
- (5) Edward Harrison, President of Fort St. George 1711-1717, returned to England in the *King George*, Capt. Samuel Lewis, which arrived 28 June 1717 (*Letter Book*, vol. 16, p. 263).
- (6) The *Addison*, a Company's ship, commanded by Capt. Zachary Hicks, was despatched to Bombay in 1718 (*Marine Records, Logs*).
- (7) Jane Bradshaw, probably the widow of Henry Bradshaw, a free merchant in Fort St. George in 1708.
- (8) William Cartlitch with whom Scattergood had extensive dealings in the following year.
- (9) The *Hanover*, a Company's ship, Captain James Osborne, was despatched to Bengal at the end of October 1716 (*Letter Book*, vol. 16, p. 1).
- (10) The *Duke of Cambridge*, a Company's ship, Capt. Daniel Small, was despatched to Madras 15 February 1716/17 (*Letter Book*, vol. 16, p. 100).
- (11) Miss Elizabeth Scattergood, then residing at Lincoln.
- (12) Captain John Hanmer, not apparently a Company's servant.
- (13) Osmond Beauvoir, one of Scattergood's numerous attorneys or business agents.
- (14) This would be for wine shipped on behalf of Scattergood and Harris.
- (15) John Pugh, a *protégé* of the Rev. John Lewis, later recommended to Scattergood's care.
- (16) Peter Godfrey, father of Captain Peter Godfrey, at this time one of the Directors of the E. I. Co.
- (17) The *Queen*, Company's ship, Capt. John Martin, arrived in England in Nov. 1716 (*Marine Records, Logs*).
- (18) With the firm of Peter Hambly (or Hamly) and Miles Barnes Scattergood did extensive business in the following year.
- (19) Captain Robert Wright who commanded the *Prince Eugene*, a ship of the Ostend Company, of which James Tobin was supercargo.
- (20) Captain Peter Jackson, commander of the *Brussels* galley, also a ship of the Ostend Company.
- (21) William Pennicott and Leonard Cocks, a firm dealing in goods brought by the Ostend ships.
- (22) Captain Villamont (Villeaumont, Villemount) Jardin, commanded the ship *Comte (Comte) Toulouse*, which sailed from Canton for France in January 1720/1.

The books purchased by Scattergood of Ralph Smith and consigned to "Mr. Taylors, packer, Leadenhall Street, over against St. Mary Ax Church," show a varied taste in reading and include the following :

[71]

Hist. of Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0. 4. 0
Scrivners guide ⁽¹⁾ 2 vols. each	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1. — —
Hist. of Francien	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 5. —
Bosmans Hist. of Guinea ⁽²⁾	— 5. —
Hist. of Highwaymen 3 vols.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 7. 6
Hist. of Gamesters	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 2. 6
Hist. of Ilts (<i>sic</i>)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 2. 6
Hist. of Venice	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 3. —
Atlas Geographicus for Europe Assia Africa America and the 1st Vol. of Great Brittan &c.										
in 6 Vols. Letteri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4. 10. 0
Case of Impotency	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 3. —
Common prayer La 8to. Tur. Extra with Companion to the altar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 7. —
										£7. 10. 0
Missnia Voyage 4 vols.	}	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1. 12. 3
Miscell : Curiose ⁽³⁾ 3 vols.										
Lord Clarendons Life 2 vols.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 9. —
Life Guzman 2 vols.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 10. —
Tacitus 3 vols.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 10. —
Spanish Libertines	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 4. 6
Southerns plays ⁽⁴⁾	— 5. —
Hist[ory] Persia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	— 5. —
										3. 15. 9

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 71.]

(1) "Scrivners guide" may refer to "The Method and Means to a true Spiritual Life" etc., by Matthew Scrivener, published in 1688.

(2) This must be the translation of Willem Bosman's work, published in 1705: "A new Description of the Coast of Guinea . . . containing a particular account of . . . all the European Settlements upon that Coast . . . illustrated with cuts. Written in Dutch by Willem Bosman . . . and now done into English."

(3) Possibly the work to be found at the British Museum (11451.aaa.16), catalogued as "Curioso: Romances varios de diferentes autores, nuevamente impressos por un Curioso . . .," published in 1688.

(4) Some of the plays of Thomas Southern, dramatist, 1666-1746, a collected edition of whose works was not issued until 1721.

Other bills paid by Scattergood before his departure were for chests and boxes to contain goods for sale in the East, such as "hattes," "putere ware," beer, wine, cheese, stationery, weather glasses, etc., for the "wharfedge" and "portorage" of which considerable sums were expended. The most interesting of these bills is the one given below for purchases from Richard Bridger.

	£	s.	d.
A model of Captain Savorys engine for raising water by fire ⁽¹⁾ and a model of a saw mill..	23.	13.	0
Cases to pack the models in	00.	17.	0
A Magick Lantern	02.	03.	0
Ten figures for the Magick Lantern	01.	15.	0
A board to put the figures in	00.	02.	6
A Dark Chamber	01.	15.	0
			29. 15. 6

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT NO. 72.]

(1) This machine for raising water, a precursor of the practical application of steam power, was patented by Captain Thomas Savery (1650 ?—1715) in 1698.

In their letter to Madras dated 8 January 1717/18, sent by the *King George* (*Letter Book*, vol. xvi, pp. 326 ff.), the Court apprised the Council at Fort St. George (paras. 20-21) of the permission granted for the *Bonita* to trade on the coasts of India and China.

[73]

" Herewith you will receive copy of the Articles or Covenants on which we have permitted Messrs. John Scattergood and Thomas Harris to carry out the *Boneta*, a ship built here for the service of their country trade which they affirm will be much more beneficial than any they can get built in India as being a better sailor, making their voyages more expeditiously and less liable to loose the monsoons. Let it be your care they comply wit' every part of their Covenants for so far as in your power and advise whether in your opinion we should grant any others the like liberty if desired. Our reason for prohibiting their trade to Madagascar or any the islands thereabouts or to any the coasts of Africa therein enumerated was for fear she should fall into the pyrates hands in case any should come into those parts. We have always heard these owners behav'd themselves well whilst they resided at Fort St. George and we take that to be a very good earnest they will continue to deserve the same good character, and in that view we recommend them to your favour and protection . . . We have for Messrs. Scattergood and Harris's encouragement to bring you this freight [Madoira wine] free permitted them to take on board sixty pipes for their own account. Do you take care that this lading for two different accounts be not turn'd to our prejudice by calling the best wine theirs or charging the leakage more to our account than ought to be."

In the list of free merchants for Fort St. George at the end of the above letter appear the names of John Scattergood and Thomas Harris, with the remark: "on their own ship *Boneta*," and the "Packet" carried by the *King George* contained a copy of their "covenants."

The main cargo of the *Bonita* was silver bullion as is shown by the annexed invoice.

[74]

London the 25 January 1717/18.

Invoice of cost and charges of shipp *Bonita*, Captain John Harry,
and her cargoe for India, Vizt.

The shipp with stores for the voyage	..	..	..	..	1.	..	..	..	£6200.	-	-
The licence from the East India Company	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£ 220.	-	-
Sundry fees and other charges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£ 75.	5.	-
Cloath and perpetts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£ 771.	13.	-
Wine to bee taken att Madera	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£ 100.	-	-
Scales, waites, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£ 36.	-	-
76297 oz. 12 dwt. Silver in hands J.M.(1) Portsmouth	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	£21100.	-	-
									£28502.	18.	-
Cask freight &c.	-	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

[NOTE ON DOCUMENT No. 74.]

(1) John Mellish, the agent for the owners of the *Bonita* at Portsmouth.

The management of his affairs in England and his house property in Greyfriars was left by Scattergood in the hands of his cousin Thomas Pain, "Upholder," and his friends the Rev. John Lewis and Gilbert Affleck, to whom he gave powers of attorney. With the Rev. George Lewis Scattergood left detailed instructions.

[75]

Sir,

Herewith is an account of what moneys I sent abroad and carry with me since I have been in England, and what moneys I have taken up at interest.(1)

When you receive my China adventures from the ship *Essex* and ship *Townshend* please to pay my couzen Mr. John Birkhead in Warwick Court his share for what he is concern'd under me in those two ships.

The cheif mate of Capt. Newton,⁽²⁾ Mr. Alexander Kenniday, had some memorand[a] from me to buy me some odd things in China, which when he comes, enquire of him for those things, and whatever things he gives you on my account, dispose of them as you think fitt.⁽³⁾

By Mr. Samuel Lock on the ship *Townshend* I sent a small gold watch as an adventure, which when he arrives please to enquire for.⁽⁴⁾

No. 4, being a receipt for 3 shares I am concern'd in the Diveing Machine,⁽⁵⁾ which I am afraid will be all lost, but if anything is to be received, Capt. Richard Ravlins can give you a full account of it.

7,⁽⁶⁾ being Mr. Maubert's receipt for what am concern'd under him in an invoice of diamonds in the hands of Messrs. Roger Braddyl and Alvarez. Please to ask the gentlemen about them, that wher the diamonds are sold to receive my share.

8 is what am concern'd in the ship *Addison*. Mr. Wendy is half part. We have paid upon that account £250 each, not knowing exactly how much our parts will be. When Capt. Hicks has made up the account please to pay him the remainder.

9-12 are polycys of insurance that have made on severall ships.

No. 13 a policy of insurance that I have made for Mrs. Elizabeth Brown at Madrass.

14, Mr. Charles Burnistons bond which I believe will never be paid.

15 is a bond of Mrs. Bradshaws, which when come due, Mr. Richard Pupys [Pepys] at the Crown and Scepter in Fleetstreet will gett for you.

When the Europe ships arrive from Maderass please to enquire for letters &c. for me, beleiving Mr. Maubert will send me over some diamonds, and if any come, please to sell them for the best advantage.

My Aunts Scattergoods bond for £500 she desires may continue at interest. I have paid her the interest of this last year, and for the future please to pay her interest as comes due yearly, sending her the interest to my wife at Lincoln.

Capt. Hammors bond of £400. If he desires to continue at interest, please to pay the interest of it to his order, but if he desires to have the bond paid him, please when the money comes in your hands, to pay it off.

Mr. Osmond Beavoir's bond of £150, please to pay off when due and as moneys comes in your hands.

I have given my wife her allowance for this year till the month of September next and for the next year please to send her every half year one hundred and seventy five pounds, and if she writes you that she can keep a coach out of it, please to buy her a coach and pair of horses, and send her.

My daughter Elizabeth being at my mothers, whatever my mother charges for her cloths and education, please to pay her.

Whatever moneys of mine comes in your hands, and you have no particular account how to dispose of it, you may lay it out in stocks, &c., just as you please.

I have made Mr. Laurence Lane my attorney to receive of the Company a small debt, due from them to my wife's first husband, Francis Forbes deceas'd, which, when he receives, he is to pay you £10 and the rest he is to pay to Mrs. Francis Forbes in Hampshire.⁽⁷⁾

Remain your most obliged humble Servt.

J. SCATTERGOOD.

To the [Rev.] George Lewis.

London the 25th January 1717/18;

[Endorsed]

Mr. Scattergood's Instructions to Mr. Lewis.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 75.]

- (1) See document No. 70 for this "account."
 (2) Captain G. Newton of the *Sarum*.
 (3) A marginal note is added by the attorney: "Never received anything."
 (4) Samuel Lock was supercargo of the *Townshend*, Captain Charles Kesar. Here again a note is added: "Not received."
 (5) See p. 158.
 (6) This and the figures in the following paragraphs seem to refer to another statement of Scattergood's affairs, differing from document No. 70.
 (7) Mrs. Frances (not Francis) Forbes, mother of Francis Forbes, Arabella Scattergood's first husband and widow of the Rev. Alexander Forbes, who had held two livings in Hampshire and was also rector of Compton, Surrey.

The *Bonita* was now ready to start on her voyage to India and directions for their conduct were furnished to the supercargoes by her owners.

[76]

Gentlemen,

All things being in a readiness, you are to make the best of your way on board the *Boneta*, Captain John Harry, commander, and give him your orders for sailing to the Malabar, and there to take wine for the Company's use according to agreement, and what quantity you think convenient for the ship's company, and sixty pipes for sale, according to the Company's permission. You are to make all the despatch possible, and then to give the commander your orders for sailing to Fort St. George in the East Indies. And when you arrive there, you must endeavour to sett a foot a voyage for China, if silver is pretty near its old price of fifteen to sixteen dollars for ten pagodes; but if it should be fourteen then it will be in vain to attempt it. Then you must proceed for Bengall, in case no freight directly from thence, and endeavour a freight for Persia or Surratt, or any other port or place as you shall see most convenient, investing your own stock as you see proper, or rather, if possible, to lett it out at respondentia for the most you can gett, for you know that the merchants in that will be glad to freight goods, when they can have money in the bottome; and what you cannot let out, you must lend it out at twelve per cent interest to some secure persons: or if you can't procure so much, then for what you can gett, provided they are such as you can trust. We shall allow you to draw five per cent on the money you invest in India, but for the money you lett out at respondentia but two and half per cent, and for that at interest but one per cent, as is customary here in England. So, when one voyage is compleated, you must endeavour another; and so on. As we can give no particular directions about your management, so you must be govern'd by your own reason, and do the best you can in honour and a good conscience. Keep a particular account of what freight the ships make.

You are to keep regular books of accounts and to send an account current yearly. You must allow the commander and the officers but three per cent for their privilege; the shipp being small, more cannot be allowed. When you find your stock to increase that you can't employ the money, then you must endeavour to send home some diamonds, provided they are cheap and good. They must be at least fifty per cent cheaper than what has been lately sent home; they must be from one to ten grains and no bigger.

You must take a particular care of your letters, allways sending them under cover to the Reverend Mr. Lewis. You must take a particular care about paying your sailours their wages that we may have no complaint on that head by their relations and wives here in England.

There is one Mr. George Sittwell⁽¹⁾ gone out a free merchant. We can't well tell how he has ordered his affaires, which are left to his own management; therefore if you can agree together about succeeding each other, in case of mortality, we leave it to you and have

wrote Mr. George Sittwell to this purpose ; but we order you to assist each other the best you can on all occasions.

Captain John Harry, whom we have had experience of for sixteen years in our service, we may justly say has served us very faithfully ; therefore we recommend him to you, and we have given him orders to obey such orders as you shall give him from under your hands from time to time.

If you proceed to Bengall, we recommend you to Messrs. Feake and Williamson,⁽²⁾ or in their absence to Mr. Deane to assist you in making your investment for Bengall or Persia.

To Messrs. John Scattergood
and Thomas Harris.

[Signed]

FRANCIS CHAMBERLAYNE,
GIL : AFFLECK.
GEORGE LEWIS.

London, 25th January 1717/8.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 76.]

(1) George Sittwell, probably a relative of Francis Sittwell, from whom the *Bonita* was purchased, had a share in the silver carried out by that ship.

(2) Samuel Feake, Governor in Bengal, 1718-1723. James Williamson, member of Council and Accountant ; he died at Calcutta 3 January 1720-1. John Deane, also a member of Council, was appointed Chief of Kásimbázár Factory in 1718 and succeeded Feake as Governor.

Two days later the owners followed up their instructions with a further letter to the supercargoes concerning " the *Bonita's* cost and invoice, &c."

[77]

London, Janry. the 27th 1717/8.

Messrs. Scattergood and Harris, Gentlemen,

You have herewith an invoice of cost of shipp and cargoe of the *Bonita*⁽¹⁾ fitted for India, as neere as can att present calculate it, and if any abatements are made on the tradesmens bills &ca., the shipp and stock shall have due credit for it. The materiall parte of the cargoe is the forreigne silver, which is in the hands of Mr. John Mellish att Portsmouth, who will I hope deliver it you safe on board, and therefore doe hereunder give you an account of the whole [we] have sent in att sundry times, which is to bee applyed as under shall bee specified.

38 cask, each qt. 3000 oz.	.. .. .	114000 oz.
1 ditto qt. 2000, which belongs to Mr. Colebrooke ⁽²⁾ and Wm. Cartlitch ⁽³⁾ butt Mr.	.. .. .
Mellish haveing occations for pa. 8/8, has taken out of said barrel .. .. .	.. .. .	5000 oz.
Soe remains in his hands to deliver you upon your arrivall at Portsmouth .. .. .	.. .. .	109000 oz.
which you'll please to observe is to be apply'd vizt.		oz. dwt.
To compleat your cargoe	£28502. 18. --	76297. 12
Your owne adventure	6000	21696. 8
Jno. Mellish his ditto	300	1084. 16
Capt. John Harry his Do.	900	3254. 8
Laur Lane ⁽⁴⁾	200	723. 4
Collonel Stevenson ⁽⁵⁾	200	723. 4
		103779. 12

Soe there will remaine above what is appropriated which will advise you of before you goe how to bee apply'd

Mr. Geo : Sittwell ⁽⁶⁾	4000 oz.
Mr. Catesby Oadham ⁽⁷⁾	1000
Mr. Fra : Chamberlayne ⁽⁸⁾	200
	5220

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 77.]

- (¹) See document No. 73.
 (²) William Colobrooke, purser of the *Bonita*.
 (³) See document No. 70. The name is spelt variously, Cartlidge, Cartlish.
 (⁴) Laurence Lane, a London merchant and one of Scattergood's attorneys.
 (⁵) This individual's name does not appear again in the *Papers*.
 (⁶) See note on document No. 75.
 (⁷) Catesby Oadham had held the post of assay master at Fort St. George since July 1715.
 (⁸) Francis Chamberlain, owner of a fifth part of the *Bonita*, a cousin of Catherine Godfrey.

An "Inventory of the *Bonita's* stores with her cost," furnished by Scattergood and Harris, amounted to £4,400. Everything was now in readiness and the supercargoes set out to join the ship, but before relating the untoward occurrences attending their departure, news sent from India to Scattergood in 1718, may be noted, though it could not have reached him until a year later. John Maubert, his indefatigable agent and attorney, forwarded a further statement of accounts showing the progress of the investments entrusted to his care during the previous twelve months and his employment of the accruing profits. At the same time he wrote with regard to diamonds shipped to England in accordance with Scattergood's orders. A letter from Richard Horden brought the news of his appointment as Deputy Governor of Divi Island, of which place Scattergood had already heard much (see pp. 93 ff.). It also informed him of the death of Mrs. Ramsden, in whose care Scattergood had left his infant daughter Frances, and the transfer of the child to the care of Mrs. Horden.

From Bengal James Williamson wrote of the joint concerns of Scattergood and himself. The *Happy Return* had met with a storm which "carried away all her masts" and she "became a wreck off Zeiloan. Her people were sav'd by a miraculos scoole of fish, otherwise must have perished for want of provision, every thing being washt and hove over board." The *Success* and *Elizabeth*, both bound to Achin, "with great prospects, upon invitation from the King to trade free as formerly," found many competitors, "which was the entire over setting of each other." In spite of these misfortunes, Williamson reported a "first dividend" due to Scattergood of rs. 1900. 3s. 9p. The accident to the *Happy Return* is briefly recorded in the *Fort St. George Diary* of 30 March 1717: "Ship *Happy Return*, Captain William Gill, that sail'd out of this road the 14th ultimo, bound to the Malabar Coast, arriv'd here, being drove back by a violent storm. There is no mention in the *Fort St. George Consultations* of 1717 of the abortive attempt to trade with Achin.

As stated above, the main portion of the *Bonita's* cargo was silver bullion, and it is evident from what follows that her owners and supercargoes were anxious to get it on board without attracting the attention of the customs authorities. It was accordingly decided that it should be assumed that the ship was in the Downs and would sail from Deal, whereas, in reality, she had been sent to Portsmouth where Scattergood and Harris were to join her. All might have gone well, had not the Company's secretary, Thomas Woolley, at the last moment, requested Harris to carry a packet (in addition to a letter already entrusted to the supercargoes) to Deal. Harris appeared to assent, but when the letters reached his address he and Scattergood were on their way to Portsmouth. Their action roused Woolley's wrath and he represented it in a very unfavourable light to the Company. A copy of the document carried by the *Bonita* is to be found in *Letter Book*, vol. XVI, p. 386 (India Office records) and is reproduced below.

[78]

To Mr. Joseph Hayward
 merchant at Madeira.

Sir,

We some time [ago] acquainted your father that we should have occasion for one hundred pipes of Madeira wine and desired him to give you early notice of it that it might be

ready when called for. We send you this by the *Bonita*, Captain Harry, whose owners, Messrs. Scattergood and Harris are on board her, desiring you to lade the said wines on her. Take care they be very good. Consign them by invoice and bill of lading to the President and Council for all the English affairs at Fort St. George in the East Indies for account and risco of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Pray take care the cask be very good and tight, the heads of an equal and sufficient strength and the whole substantial to prevent leakage, and for their better security we have sent six hundred and sixty hoops to be put six on each pipe, *viz.*, two at each end and one on each side of the bouge [the protuberant part of the cask] and the remaining sixty to pay the duty in specie if the Government demand it at ten per cent ; if not, sell them for us.

[Here follow directions about the transmission of invoices of the wine to be sent to Fort St. George and London.]

East India House, London,
27th January 1717 [1718]

[Signed]

THOMAS WOOLLEY,
Secretary.

The following extracts from letters written at the time show the excitement created by the secret departure of the *Bonita*.

[79]

Francis Chamberlain to Scattergood and Harris, dated 27 January 1717/18.

"This I hope will finde you safe arrived att Portsmouth, and will serve to acquaint you Mr. Walley has notice of your departure and seames very much surprised att itt, and says Mr. Harris had promised him to call on him this day. He has an account from Deal that your ship was there and concludes you are gon thether, and has directed his packitt accordingly, which no doubt will be returned him so I can assure you he thinks himself affronted and no dout but on Wensday will to the Court insinuate all he can butt I think it for the best and am very glad nobody has informed him you are gon to Portsmouth. The ship I dout not will be there before you, where wish you a quick dispatch, tho am afraid the weather should change."

Laurence Lane to Scattergood and Harris dated 27 January 1717/8.

"I write this in hopes it will find you both well after so great a fatigue in travelling this weather. You'll be surprised when I tell you in what consternation abundance of acquaintance were in at the Coffee House yesterday to hear of so suddain departure, some designing to write to Portsmouth, others Deall. As for my part, I knew nothing of the matter more than hearing what was said.

Some were of opinion there was something of business to be done by going to Portsmouth, or why did you not go to Deal? My answer was this, that you, having so many friends here, [it] was likely some of 'em would meet you a little way out of Town, or follow on the road, which has been the practice frequently among the Indians, and making great show on the road and at all places where they go thro' which has not been well taken ; and as to my part, I thought it very prudent to amuse people by talking of going one ways and afterwards going another ; so much for Coffee House news.

Tis very extraordinary to think that after so many civilitys shown by you two gentlemen to our good secretary that he should act as he has done this night, which is as follows :

In the evening he was calling about him to collect the invoyces and other papers which he designed to send by your ship, in such a manner as if all people were his slaves, an air, tho' a very impudent one, he often assumes ; and after he had wrote a short letter to Fort St. George to acquaint the Governor and Councill the reason of his writing, which was only

to inclose such sort of papers and a packitt from the Secret Committee, he was saying to Mr. Waters and Fletcher who then happened to be in our office, that he designed to send the said packitts by the owners of the ship this evening, by reason he heard the ship was in the Downes ; upon which Fletcher told him he heard some things of the Companys designed for Fort St. George were left behind and that the owners were gone to day, and that it signified nothing to send letters ; upon which Woolley seemed to be a little surprised and sent a messenger to Mr. Harris's to know the truth, who brought answer he sett out early this morning in order to goe to his ship. This answer you will believe was what he did not expect, and did not say much to it, but what he did was composed of ill nature enough, which he is a compleat master of, and among other things said as much as implyd, who spoke in half words, " They'l repent it." Twas the first time he was so servd, and that our Court wont take it very well ; and upon the whole the packetts aere sent to Deal to be delivered to you or Captain Harry. Will leave you to guess whether there could be anything therein to your benefit or no, considering what he said to Mr. Harris last week ; and as the wind is here and seems very likely to continue, I am of opinion that you are as well without his letters. And in case of the worst, which is his infuseing any ill natured things into the gentlemen of the Court, of disrespect, not performing your promise in carrying their letters, or the like, a good part thereof answers for itself by your paying that respect to the Court and giving him so much time as you did, tho to no purpose. Whoever shall say anything about it tomorrow, shall answer thus :

That the captain dispatcht away a man immediately on his getting into the Downes to acquaint you therewith, and as the wind was fair, would loose very little time there for fear of loosing the wind, as well as the hazard of lying there a day or two, that so you should make the utmost dispatch in getting to Portsmouth, which our friend and self agrees to be a very plausible and just pretence for hurrying away, and you need not doubt of its taking wind about Towne."

Whether Thomas Woolley was answerable for the seizure of some of the silver designed for the *Bonita's* cargo, as related in the following document, or whether, as seems more probable, the customs house officers had received information of the consignments sent to Mellish to be shipped on board, does not appear. At any rate the *Bonita* sailed with a far smaller amount than was intended and the proportioning of the reduced quantity among the freighters was, as the supercargoes wrote, a difficult matter.

[80]

Mr. Chamberlyne, Sir,

We are under such a consternation by the seizure of our silver that we can not tell what to do or what to write ; we are just as dead men. However, Mr. Mellish tells us that they can not keep what they gott. He designs to goe up to Towne to swear that the silver was his and was going to Holland. We denied here that it belong'd to us, but how the Companye will take it, God knows ; hope for the best. Twas a wonder how we gott this, for the Custome House officers knew of it all and narrowly miss'd it. What we have received is 70,000 oz. as Mr. Mellish tells us, and what the officers has got, 41,000 oz. How to proportion this, God knows. You know that Mr. Lewis appears for 4,000 li. and Mr. Afflack for 5,500, Mr. Harris and Scattergood, 6000 ; the rest you know, so you are best able to bring everymans loss, or if the silver is gott again, I believe if you was to pay every man his share, it may doe, for we can make a shift with the stock we have gott.

Pray when you write by the Surrat ships write a full account how all matters stand and how we must state our accounts, for we shall not be able to settle that matter.

[Unsigned.]

When next we hear of the *Bonita* and her supercargoes, the ship had reached Madeira, where she was authorized to take in wine on the Company's and on her owners' account (see document No. 78). From Madeira, on 15 February 1717/8, Scattergood wrote to the Rev. George Lewis informing him of the ship's arrival on the 13th and mentioning some business matters that in the "hast and concern" in which he left Portsmouth he had forgotten. Scattergood and Harris also wrote to their owners regarding the wine which they hoped to have aboard in three or four days. They added that, "for the preservation of our men," they proposed "to allow 'em a bottle of wine a mess, which will be no great expence." The lading of the wine was not accomplished as quickly as Scattergood had reckoned, for there is another letter from him and Harris to the Rev. George Lewis, dated from Madeira on 26 February and a bill of exchange on the reverend gentleman, also dated from the same place, signed by Scattergood on 9 March 1717/8.

No account of the voyage of the *Bonita* from Madeira to Madras is in existence, nor are any letters from Scattergood extant until after his arrival in China at the end of the year 1718. Otherwise there would have been some mention of his uncle Roger Scattergood, his father's brother (a son of Roger Scattergood of Ellaston), who accompanied him to India.

The *Bonita* was a good sailer and cannot have encountered adverse weather, for her arrival at Madras is noted on 9 June (*Fort St. George Diary*), and on the following day the letter from the Company's secretary (see document No. 78) and the covenants of Scattergood and Harris (see p. 167) were delivered to the Council. Little more than a month was spent at Madras, during which we find no mention of Scattergood and his activities beyond a note of the payment by Richard Horden, on 22 December, of 21 pagodas for the passage of "Mr. Scattergoods child" on the *Derby*, showing that he had made arrangements for the little Frances to be sent home to her mother in England. He had also, as we learn from letters written in China, sent his uncle Roger to Bengal with a recommendation to James Williamson.

On 14 July 1718 the *Bonita* sailed from Fort St. George for China. According to an "account current" the supercargoes seem to have reached Canton in September, but we hear nothing further of them until November.

Several letters despatched from England in the last quarter of 1718 to Scattergood, and to him and his colleague Thomas Harris, are extant. William Phipps wrote of the Ostend trade and his own prospects and added items of public news.

[81]

Dear Sir,

I doe hope this may meet you returnd of a voyage engaged on since arrived in India and that you have a fair prospect of completing your proposes abroad. For my part, I am as much at a loss, nay, rather more then when you left me, what between hopes and fears of not succeeding, and in case of the latter the recourse I had to the Ostend affairs I think is at an end by the many attempting on it, there being 4000 tun b[r]ought up in this river for that trade, and most of them, as I hear, designd for China, where I think cannot fail to knock that business on the head. Amounget the undertakers from hence I belive are some of the Lisbon gentlemen, and Peirson⁽¹⁾ who has bin gone from hence this month, and as [is] said saild or ready to doe so from Ostend in the *Stringer Gally*, now another name. Its rumerd he intends to touch at the Malabar Coast to load peper for China, so that I cannot see that I am in any likelyhood to get abroad this season, a dismall story to be another year at expences and out of business which is all most empossable for me with safety to fall into here in England. Respondentia, though at a low ebb, is the dearling trade of our great men concernd in shipping, who ingrosses the commander to take of them, and the severity of the officers on the outeard bound ships make it hazardous sending any venture to China, so

that in short all ways are stopt to us India novices from getting a livelyhood in England. It will, however, be some comfort to you to hear that by Keyser and Newton⁽²⁾ we make about 27 per cent. This I write you because probably you may not by the convoy hear from your attorney⁽³⁾ who is now in Wales.

* * * * *

I took a ramble to Lincolnshire this summer with your sister Nanny.⁽⁴⁾ Mr. Aislaby⁽⁵⁾ was with us and we meet with very good entertainment. Your sister s[t]aid untill she was sent for to be at the nuptials of her sister with Mr. Fenwick⁽⁶⁾ which was consummated the 11th instant and in which I congratulate you. [There's] nothing like constant presarvance [sic], as was Mr. Fenwicks, to bring such things to pass.

As for publick news, take it as follows: the preserving of neutrality of Italy, in which our nation was more particularly stirred then any other, is likely I am afraid to draw us into a speedy warr with Spain, whose fleet and forces, instead of attempting Naples, landed at Siscely and had the inhabitants in generall revolt to them, but our fleet, sent into the Mediteranean to preserve peace, meet there and gave them a totall defeat on the last of July,⁽⁷⁾ so that its thought Siscely and Sardignia will soon again be recoverd. We know not yet how the Spaniards resents it, but its likely they may snarl though they cannot bite, for the Quadruple Allyance between the Emperour, us and France, and all neigh effected with the Dutch,⁽⁸⁾ gives hopes, if it be a warr, it cannot last long. The affairs of the North remains still a mistry which we expect shortly will be unveiled by some sudden action of the Czars who has a strong fleet abroad⁽⁹⁾.....

(Signed) WILLIAM PHIPPS.

Sepr. 16. 1718.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 81.]

(1) Captain Edward Peirson.

(2) Captain Charles Kesar of the *Townshend* and Captain G. Newton of the *Sarum*. Scattergood was interested in the cargo of both these ships which returned from China and Boncoolen in July and August 1718.

(3) The Rev. George Lewis.

(4) Ann Trenchfield, Scattergood's step-sister.

(5) William Aislaby, brother-in-law of Arabella Scattergood and late 'General' of Bombay.

(6) Elizabeth Trenchfield and Edward Fenwick.

(7) Phipps is alluding to the attack on Sicily by the Spaniards without any declaration of war and to the defeat of their fleet off Cape Passaro by Admiral Byng.

(8) The Quadruple Alliance, a league between England, France, Germany and Holland to maintain the Peace of Utrecht and humiliate Spain.

(9) An allusion to the sweeping reforms by which Peter the Great (1689-1725) was electrifying Russia and surprising Europe.

Among other letters directed to Scattergood at this time was one from Joseph da Costa, who wrote regarding the purchase of diamonds and added—"I shall by the next shipping se if I can find any way to send you some silver, but the Company is so very strickt since what happened at Portsmouth, and the captains-fearfull, that I believe it will be impossible." Katherine Farmerie, Scattergood's widowed aunt, provided him with family and personal news.

[82]

October the 11th 1718.

My dearest Nephew,

I hope this will find you in perfect health, as it leaves me and sister,⁽¹⁾ with all your family here. Both your wife and childeren has been mighty well ever since the small pox, which they have all had very easey and not at all the worse for, so that fear is over. We all live very kindly together and hope always shall. The dear childeren are very intertaining

to me and come often to our chamber. They are all very pritty. Both sister and I have had very great satisfaction in seeing your eldest daughter who was with us this summer with her aunt Trenchfield. She is a very fine child and will gain love of all that sees her. She and I converse together by letters; she has this post given us notice to writ to you. We was in hopes of hearing from you by the ship that came in this summer.

I hope both you and my dear brother⁽²⁾ had a good voage and that all things goes well with you both. I daily pray God to bless and keep you both in health and happyness. I had a letter from my brother at the Madeares who said you was most extreemly kind to him. I hope he will never doe anything to lessen your friendship and that God will prosper him that he will be able to make some return, but if it be not in his power, I do not doubt but God will bless and reward you for all your kindness to him.

[Here follow remarks on the loss sustained by the writer in the death of her friend and adviser, Sir Henry Monson, and her consequent anxiety about the investment of her money.]

I beleive Mrs. Burniston⁽³⁾ match is quit of; I hope its the better for her. I hope both she and Neece will like Lincoln for everybody is very civell to them. The town is very full of company and there is every week an assembly. . . .

(Signed) KATH: FARMERIE.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 82.]

(1) Elizabeth Scattergood, John Scattergood's maiden aunt.

(2) Roger Scattergood.

(3) Sarah Burniston, Arabella Scattergood's youngest sister.

The letters from the owners and freighters of the *Bonita* could not have been pleasant reading for Scattergood and Harris. The Rev. Thomas Wendey, acting as Scattergood's attorney in the absence of the Rev. George Lewis, informed them, in a private letter, that they had roused the owners' anger by failing to leave an "invoice" or "any account" behind them, and it was also considered strange that Scattergood himself was not "concern'd in the ship." Wendey also gave the supercargoes a history of the events following the seizure of the silver at Portsmouth, how it had "occasion'd a trial" and "at last the jury gave the silver to the proprietors," and how Sir Gregory Page, one of the Directors of the East India Company, had been accused of participation in the attempt to get the silver out of the country and was much "chagrind" thereby. The joint letter of the owners was couched in none too friendly terms.

[83]

Messrs [John Scattergood and Thomas Harris]

We receiv'd your letter from the Maderaes and are glad to hear of your safe arrivall there, but can't but blame your being so very plain in mentioning the silver; for had your letter fall'n into other hands, it might have proved of very ill consequence, and considering the alarm given the Company, we could not tell what means might have been made use of to intercept your letters, therefore desire for the future you would take no notice of it. You mention the sending it out immediately like men that know not the fatigues and delays of a law-suit, and much less the risque of getting it out after what has happened. We don't trouble you with the perticulars but will only tell you that we are now in possession of it and can do no more than make a dividend here.

We are in hopes the stock you have with you will be sufficient, considering the prospect you have of getting a freight wherever you come, of which we expect you should keep an exact account from port to port and transmit it home, especially of what money is consign'd to you from England to trade with.

If you go a China voyage and invest such your consignments in gold, you must be sure to bring the freight of that to the account of the owners, for otherwise they will be great sufferers; and you will not only receive your own commission but take that which no ways belongs to you, as you are not concern'd in the ship, which you ought to have been, and which we thought you had been till we adjusted matters here. As they have so honourably repos'd a trust and confidence in you, we doubt not but you will deal as honourably by them; and as they do not intend to abridge you of any of your just privileges, so we expect you will give no occasion for complaint.

(Signed) FRANS. CHAMBERLAYNE
GIL : AFFLECK
JAS. WENDEY for GEORGE LEWIS

When Scattergood received the complaints of his conduct and the inferences regarding his loyalty to his employers, he was much incensed and replied with heat, as will be seen when the documents for the following year come to be considered, but while the ships bringing the unwelcome letters were still on the high seas he had reached Canton for the fourth time and was busy trading on his own account and on that of the freighters of the *Bonita* with his old friends the Chinese merchants "Chunqua, Pinkie, Cudgen, Comsha and Linqua," as his "Account Current" from September 1718 to February 1719 testifies.

By the *Carnarvon* and *Hartford*, two of the Company's ships, bound home from Canton in November 1718, Scattergood wrote several letters. To Gilbert Affleck he sent his sword of steel inlaid with gold to be cleaned and "new mounted, to keep against I come home." To his aunt, Mrs. Farmerie, he wrote regarding the arrangements he had made for his uncle Roger.

[84]

Honoured Aunt.

I wrote you from Madrass giving you an account of our safe arrivall there, every body in good health, meeting with no accident by the way (thank God). Arriving so late at Madrass and being obliged to goe away againe for this place in very few days, I could not so well provide for my uncle, but was obliged to send him to Bengall, recommending him to one Mr. Williamson, the second man on that place and a particular friend, who has it in his power and I know will provide for him very well. I order'd Mr. Williams[o]n to let him have five hundred rupees of my money that is in his hands, to commence him as merchant, which if he will take care to be a good husband of it, I make noe doubt of his doeing well. I presume he has wrote you how all matters goe with him.

From Madrass to this place, thank God, had an extraordinary passage, but here being a great many ships, will make us stay late before can goe away, but yet hope to make a pretty good voyage.

By these ships I have sent you a dark color satin peice of silk made up in a night gown, the easier to gett it ashore, and half a dozen grave [dark coloured] fanns, a double peice of fine plane muslin betwixt you and Aunt Scattergood, and half a dozen fanns for hir self. I have recommended them to one Mr. Afflack in London to gett them and send them to you at Lincolne.

Please to give my respects to sister (Burniston I call hir as yet, tho' hir name may be alter'd to hir great satisfaction) and tell hir I have sent hir likewise half a dozen fanns, which I hope she will receive and please hir.

I hope that you are all well and live merrily at Lincolne. Please to give my service to all freinds.

(Signed) J. S.

The letter from the supercargoes of the *Bonita* to their owners on their arrival in India is not forthcoming. It was followed by a brief note as under.

[85]

Mr. Francis Chamberline, Sir,

We haveing wrote you in a joint letter allready giving you an account how our affairs stands, will make me the shorter in this. I suppose Mr. Sittwell has given you an account what a dismall prospect the Indian trade appears, which hope you will find some way or other to send for us home with security from the Company (or at least paying over for future [sic]); the sooner the better. I hope when you write us next to send full orders what to doe if you do not designe us home, or if one or both desire to leave India. If you should send for us home, let us know if we can bring home all our stock or more in goods on the *Bonita*. If we can, send us patterns of silks and instructions with price current of goods, &c.

[Unsigned]

Although Scattergood wrote so despondently to Chamberlain, he appears to have been fairly successful on his own account, and he was still carrying on trade with the Ostenders. In December 1718 he shipped in the *Prince Eugene*, Captain Robert Wright, a large number of pieces of silks of various kinds, to be sold on his account at Ostend and the produce remitted to Messrs. Peter Hambly and Miles Barnes, his agents in England. To them Scattergood wrote directing that, as soon as the money was received, it should be sent out to him "in dollars." He added—"I shall be allways sending home goods or money to you as I meet with opportunity," so that his story of the "dismall prospect" of the "Indian trade" hardly seems credible. At Bombay, too, Scattergood was engaged with Captain Eustace Peacock in the purchase of "elephants teeth" on which the profit gained was Rs. 35,673. The close of the year 1718 must therefore have left him in a stronger financial position than ever.

The early part of the year 1719 was occupied by the disposal of the remainder of the *Bonita's* cargo. At Madras had been taken on board, tin, olibanum, sandal wood, soap, embossed serges and iron guns to the value of 19,544 pagodas and at Malacca a consignment of putchuck amounting to 3517 pagodas. There was now shipped on the vessel for her return voyage to Malacca, "on freight for sundry persons accounts," various chests and tubs of tea (the freighters being Chinese merchants), and on account of Scattergood and Harris themselves "toaches" (iron pots and kitchen utensils. See Morse, *Chron. of E. I. Co. in China*, I, 278), "kiddysols" (kittysols, Chinese umbrellas or sunshades) and tobacco.

While these transactions were being carried on at Canton, various letters were dispatched to Scattergood from England by the outgoing ships. His step-sister Ann Trenchfield wrote of her visit to Lincoln, a city of which she formed a poor opinion, for "when we went through the town, I took it to be the backside of the houses, but to my great surprize they told me it was there great street and the best. I believe you took the house for a nunnery and your daughters to be nunns."

Mrs. Farmerie, Scattergood's aunt, sent him news of the welfare of his family. She again alluded to the loss of her business adviser Sir Henry Monson and remarked that she was "yet under the same concern what to doe with my little stock which will be paid in, and I can hear of no security that I like. I design in spring to goe to London for a month or two and then hope some friend will help me, if not I must trust what I am unwilling to doe (the Government)." Of public affairs she wrote: "A war is proclaimed with Spain which will not make things better. Most people are discontented at it and the Schism Bill passing, the Prince was very much against it and so is many Whiggs. I hope before you come back things will be better." War had been declared, as the writer says, against Spain by France

and England in 1718, and Spain had espoused the cause of the Old Pretender. The allusion to the Schism Act must be as to its effect, since the measure, aimed against dissenters, had become law in 1714. Mrs. Farmerie is correct in her statement of its unpopularity with the Whigs and Prince George, afterwards George II.

Scattergood's other step-sister, Elizabeth Trenchfield, informed him of her marriage with Edward Fenwick, and his young sister-in-law, Sarah Burniston, sent one of her ill-spelt mis-sives, in which she complained of the cold of Lincoln and added, "Your Antes are very slivel to us ore it would be gratele worrs." In contrast to her aunt's scrawl, the young Elizabeth Scattergood's letter is a model of daughterly respect and affection.

[86]

Honour'd Sir,

I had the happiness of seeing my Mama and Aunts last summer att Lincoln, and my Aunts was very kind to me, more then I expected, and gave me a great many things, which is more then I shall be abell to return, I will take care and improve in my writing that I may have the pleasure of writing to you by the next ships. I hope I shall see you in a short time in England which will be a joyfull sight to me. My Grandmama and Aunts gives their love to you.

I am dear Sir, your dutifull daughter and humble servant,

ELIZ : SCATTERGOOD.

January 7th 1718 [1719].

[Endorsed] My daughter Bettys letter from England.

Apart from family letters, there is but one other, from the Rev. James Wendey to Scattergood, extant at this date.

[87]

Dear Sir,

The *King William* being as was said, to be dispatch'd in September to settle Due Island,⁽¹⁾ Mr. Affleck and I came to town to write to you in Mr. Lewis's absence, but that ship saild not till last month.⁽²⁾ Mr. Lewis is now in town, so that I am no further concern'd in that affair, and he and Mr. Chamberlain will write, I mean if they have time. However, Mr. Lewis will write you at large as to particular affairs.

[Here follows a recommendation of the writer's brother to Scattergood.]

We have proclaim'd warr with Spain, and by a most dextrous peice of management, stocks rose 12 per cent upon it. The King of Sweden's death did not a little contribute to this. He was shot in the night in the trenches.⁽³⁾

I most heartily wish you health and success, and am

Dear Sir

Your most assur'd friend and humble servant

JAS. WENDEY.

[London] Janry. the 8th 1718.

The *St. George* and *Duke of Cambridge*⁽⁴⁾ are both arriv'd but not come up the River.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 87.]

(1) *Divi Island*, of which Scattergood's friend, Richard Horden, was appointed Deputy Governor (see p. 97).

(2) The *King William*, Captain James Wintee, sailed for Fort St. David and Madras in December 1718.

(3) Charles XII of Sweden was killed on 11 December 1718, by a bullet from the fortress of Fredriksten, Norway, which he was besieging.

(4) The *St. George* and *Duke of Cambridge*, both Company's ships were commanded respectively by Captain Anthony Ryan and Captain Daniel Small.

While the above letters were on their way to India, Scattergood and Harris in the *Bonita* had sailed from Canton to Malacca and thence to Madras, where they arrived on 6 April 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*). Except for the fact that their names appear in the "List of Seafaring Men not constant inhabitants &c." of Fort St. George, there is no further mention in the Madras records of either Scattergood or Harris in the year 1719. The *Papers*, however, supply details of the former's activities during this period.

On 9 May he bought a slave boy named Muta, aged eight years, for two pagodas, the transaction being witnessed by Randall (or Randolph) Fowke, Chief Justice of the Choultry, and John Russon, Register.

Two days later, 25 chests of wine and 8 chests of beer, shipped by Scattergood and Harris in the *Bonita* on their private account, were sold for pags. 1058, also 5 pipes of Madeira wine, which realized pags. 158, after deducting what "drank out aboard and spent in the voyage to Madrass, Canton, &c.," a matter of 10½ chests.

By the middle of May Scattergood had already made his plans to return to Canton, but before sailing from Madras in the first week in June he wrote numerous letters to his friends and relations. His chief concern was with his Uncle Roger Scattergood, who had proved unfit for employment in India and had returned to Madras from Bengal. Of him Scattergood wrote to his kinsman, John Birkhead as follows.

[88]

[— May 1719]

Mr. John Birkhead, Dear Sir,

This comes by my Uncle who returns to pay his respects once more to you in England. Last year, being very late when I arrived here, and haveing but a few days to stay, made me send him to Bengall, recommending him to Mr. Williamson who was my attorney, desiring him to concerne me a good sum in any ship and put him an under supercargoe or pursar. Mr. Williamson wrote me that he would have put [him] in a pursars imployment, but that my Uncle did not care to goe, so after haveing spent me about 700 or 800 rupees, he came up to me again as wise as he went. I find he will not doe here, doe what I can for him, which made me conclude to send him to England and allow him five and twenty pounds per annum, on which he can live very well in Yorkshire and drink ale, for he is fitt for nothing else. So you have him again in *statu quo* after he has cost me about 200 pounds sterling. I think I was bewiched to bring him out after haveing known him in England. I had a great deal better to have allowed him a pension before.

* * * * *

Your affectionate kinsman and most obedient humble servant,
J. S.

To his aunt Mrs. Farmerie Scattergood wrote in a similar strain about his uncle: "He complains that the countrey does not apree with him....I asked him if he would live with our family in Lincoln, but he says he would rather live in an oven then with my Aunt Scattergood....However he has seen the Indian world and can entertain a Yorkshire gentleman over a pint of nappy [ale] with Indian stories, &c." In a letter to the Rev. George Lewis, with instructions regarding Roger Scattergood's pension, his nephew describes him as "an old man that does not love work," and therefore the two could have had nothing in common.

For some unexplained reason Scattergood's departure from Madras was hastened and he arranged to precede the *Bonita* and to sail for China in the *Ann*. To his friend Joseph Jackson he wrote that "China is not the place that it was formerly, for goods rises and the manderins imposes, so that I long to gett once more to Old England, but for that I must have patience for two or three years more." To Captain Richard Boulton he remarked that

he was "working here to gett a little, through fear and trembling. India is become now a sad and dismall place in profits and everything else, which will keep me here longer than did designe. However, I scramble and gett neighbours fare." This last expression does not appear to be recorded in the *O. E. D.*, but Scattergood evidently meant that he was getting as much as his fellow merchants.

Elihu Trenchfield, Scattergood's step-brother, was more fortunate, for his trading ventures had brought him "a pretty good future, about 30,000 pagos. or more." He therefore returned to England with "Uncle Roger" and Scattergood gave him an introduction to Sir Robert Nightingale, a Director of the E. I. Co.

[89]

To Sir Robert Nightingale,

Honoured Sir,

This short letter only serves to introduce my brother Trenchfield into your presence, who can inform you fully how all India matters stand on all sides, he haveing been in all parts and being thoroly acquainted with all persons and affairs. By him have sent you eight small Jappan dishes for fruit, they being all that I could gett of Jappan ware in China, and a small box qt. [containing] 10 bottles of stone finely cutt to putt essence in and to lye upon a ladies toilet.

Your cloth is working in Bengall and Mr. Williamson writes he will send it you from thence.

I am now hurrying away from hence to goe on the *Ann* to China to prepare matters against the *Bonita* comes with Mr. Harris, who stays till the Company's ships arrives to bring the silver.

My brother can informe you how bad India trade is, but thank God, the *Bonita* scrambles through as well, if not better, then her neighbours. I shall not trouble you with more now, designing to write from China, which letter will reach your hands the same time as this, if not before.

Please to give my humble services to all freinds, especially at Rag Fair,⁽¹⁾ and tell them that Mr. Harris will send them all that they injoin'd us.

Tomorrow or next day I goe aboard,⁽²⁾ so will conclude, Honoured Sir, your most oblidge and most obedient humble servt.

J. S.

Madras the 20th May 1719.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 89.]

(1) Apparently a jocular allusion to a club or coffee house frequented by Scattergood and his friends, situated in Houndsditch, near the market for the sale of old clothes. Later on he writes of joining his friends "near Rag Fair."

(2) He did not, however, sail until at least two days later as there are papers bearing his signature, dated at Fort St. George, on 1 June.

In spite of the hurry of his departure, Scattergood found time to arrange for the transit of some 'bespoke china ware' with his crest on it for Sir Robert Child, to appoint his brother Elihu and brother-in-law Edward Fenwick his attorneys in place of the Rev. George Lewis, and to order "a good quantity of rangoes [beads of rough cornelian] and beaser [bezoar].... at reasonable rates" to be procured for him by Jeremiah Bonnell at Surat for the following year. To Bonnell he also wrote regarding his share in the *William* in which he was concerned with John Wake.

Peter Curgenvven who had been associated with Scattergood in Persia in 1707 (see p. 55) was left at Madras to assist Thomas Harris and receive the silver expected from Europe by the Company's ships.

There are very few accounts preserved for the time when Scattergood was at Madras in the early part of 1719. One between William Phipps and himself shows how the former's silver had been invested in Canton and how the profits had been employed. John Maubert, Scattergood's attorney, furnished the usual "Account Current" from July 1719 showing a credit balance of 1201 pagodas, so that the complaints of the bad state of trade in India, reported in every letter written by Scattergood at this time hardly seem to be justified, so far as he was concerned. As on previous occasions, before starting on his voyage to China, he supplied his attorney with details of his business affairs. This time it was merely a list of the papers confided to Maubert's care, but the various items enumerated are more than sufficient to show the extent and scope of the transactions in which our indefatigable merchant was interested.

[90]

List of Papers received of Mr. John Scattergood.

Anga Nunes bargain and sale of ship <i>Sta Cruse</i> . ⁽¹⁾				
Jonathan Cooper and Wilkenson's stock note for 500 pags. on ship <i>Stratford</i> . ⁽²⁾				
Elihu Trenchfields acknowledgement for what he is to make good to me on ship <i>Ann</i> .				
John Powne's note for 500 pags. in the <i>Brittania</i> . ⁽³⁾				
Captain Martins receipt for 4 tubbs and 3 chests china ware ⁽⁴⁾				
Do. receipt for 4 bottles of cinnamon oil. ⁽⁵⁾				
Jeremiah Bonills letter dated Aprill 1719. ⁽⁶⁾				
William Sterlings letter dated May 24, 1719. ⁽⁶⁾				
Monsr. Deverages note for things left with him. ⁽⁷⁾				
William Waties note for his concern in <i>William</i> to Persia. ⁽⁸⁾				
William Kebells concern $\frac{1}{2}$ part of ship <i>Joseph</i> to Pegu. ⁽⁹⁾				
Richd. Benyons note for his concern in the <i>Triplecane</i> . ⁽¹⁰⁾				
Account goods left with Mr. Jenkinson. ⁽¹¹⁾				
Govr. Boones letter dated Aprill 1719. ⁽¹²⁾				
Frans. Curdozars bond for 500 on the <i>Trevatore</i> to Menell. ⁽¹³⁾				
Aga Nunes bond to Pegu for five thousand pags. viz.				
On Mr. Scattergoods Act.	..	..	..	1000
On Mr. Elihu Trenchfield	..	..	..	500
On that of Jno. Maubert	..	..	..	1000
				----- 2500

Received the above papers

pr. JNO. MAUBERT.

Fort St. George.

June the 1 : 1719.

[Endorsed] A List of what Papers Mr. Maubert received from me.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 90.]

(1) Scattergood seems to have purchased the *Santa Cruz* of which Agha Nunes (or Nura) was the *nd-khudd* or skipper. The vessel arrived at Fort St. George on 24 February 1719 and sailed for Pegu on 27 May (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(2) Jonathan Cooper, free merchant, died in Calcutta in September 1719. The Wilkinson here mentioned is possibly Jonathan Wilkinson, also of Bengal.

(3) See p. 148 and n. (5) on p. 151.

(4) This was the consignment of Chinese porcelain for Sir John Child noted above and sent to England in the *Queen*, Captain John Martin. The vessel sailed from Madras early in August 1719.

(5) This was a private consignment by Scattergood and was sent to his agents in London, Peter Hambly and Miles Barnes, for disposal.

(6) These letters have not been preserved.

(7) Monsieur Deverage represents Hieronimo De Vadre, captain of the Portuguese ship *Senhora das Brotas*, which arrived at Fort St. George from Goa 1 May 1718 and sailed for Bengal on 14 May (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(8) The *William*, commanded by Captain Wilson arrived at Fort St. George on 4 September 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*). William Watie has not been identified. The name may be a misrendering of Wilson.

(9) Captain William Keble, commanding the *Joseph*, arrived at Fort St. George from Bussorah on 24 April 1719 and sailed in command of the *Thistleworth*, and in company with the *Joseph*, for Pegu on 14 May (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(10) The *Triplicane*, brigantine, Stephen Woodhouse commander, sailed from Fort St. George for Malacca on 30 May 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(11) Thomas Jenkinson, writer at Fort St. George, from 22 July 1714 (*Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, 1714, p. 137).

(12) This letter has not been preserved.

(13) Signor Francisco Cardoza, commander of the *Trivadore*, sailed for Manila on 4 July 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

For his friend Richard Horden, Scattergood carried with him to China, wax and silver "as an adventure," to be disposed of for "his best advantage." Early in June, as stated above, the *Ann* sailed for Malacca, with Scattergood on board, but the actual date of her departure is not entered in the *Fort St. George Diary*. By the *Bonita*, which followed the *Ann* about a fortnight later, and whose departure is also unrecorded, Maubert sent an "account current" of his client's affairs.

[91]			
Dr.	Mr. John Scattergood.	Cr.	
To ballance of an accompt signed at his departure .. 1868. 6. 13½	By voyage per ship <i>George</i> (¹) his dividend 507. 8. 41		
To cash paid him at his departure 22.	By voyage per ship <i>London</i> (²) his dividend of 200 pagodas not yet received 477. 10.		
To do. his concern in the <i>Bretania</i> (³) 500.	By voyage per ship <i>Joseph</i> (⁴) his 2d. dividend of 400 pago- das 40. 25. 22½		
To cash paid Mr. Harris on his account 8000.	By what I am to receive of Mr. Sterling in the <i>Prosperous</i> will be about 4838.		
To what designe to con- cerne him in the <i>Pros- perous</i> (⁵) 1000.(⁵)			
		5863. 7. 63½	
		By ballance at 8 p. c. interest.. 5526. 34. 30	
		Pagods ..11390. 6 13½	
		Pagods ..11390. 6. 13½	
Fort St. George, June 22, 1719.	Errors Excepted.	per JNO. MAUBERT.	

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 91.]

(¹) The *George*, brigantine, a Company's ship, Captain William Middleton commander, arrived at Fort St. George from Bencoolen, Sumatra, 2 March 1718/19, and after refitting at Vizagapatam, sailed for Moco Moco on the west coast of Sumatra on 11 November 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(²) The *London*, Captain Charles Wybergh commander, Nathaniel Elwick (afterwards Governor of Fort St. George) and Elihu Trenchfield (Scattergood's step-brother) supercargoes, arrived at Fort St. George from Canton on 25 February 1718/19. On 22 March she sailed for Bengal, returning on 20 September and sailing for the Malabar Coast on 17 October (*Fort St. George Diary*). Trenchfield left the ship after her arrival from Canton.

(3) The *Britannia*, Captain John Powney commander, sailed for Siam on 24 June 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*). Scattergood's interest in the ship dated from 1713 when he consigned Rs. 646 to Captain Powney for an "adventure to Siam" (see p. 113).

(4) The *Joseph*, Captain William Keble commander, arrived at Fort St. George from Bussorah on 24 April 1719 and sailed for Pegu on 14 May (*Fort St. George Diary*).

(5) The transaction referred to appears to be the transfer to Scattergood of a respondentia bond (found among the *Papers*) for 1,000 pagodas taken up by Hugh Campbell, free merchant, on the *Prosperous*, which arrived at Fort St. George from Surat on 8 June 1719 (*Fort St. George Diary*).

On 6 July Scattergood arrived at Malacca "after a tedious voyage" as he wrote to Thomas Harris, and here he remained until the 16th of the month. On 10 July there is a receipt by the Armenian Aratoon Lazaro for 2542 pagodas, in which sum Scattergood was interested in the ship *Madano Saluto* bound to Siam and afterwards to Surat. At Malacca he heard news which caused him to write the following letter to Captain Stephen Woodhouse of the *Triplicane* brigantine.

[92]

Malacca,

July the 11th 1719.

Captain Woodhouse, Sir,

I have received your letter and have dispatched this boat express to meet you to desire you to come away directly to this place without doing anything by the way, for the Government have heard of your being on the coast, and they suspect it is for tin,⁽¹⁾ and they all here protest that if you touch any where by the way, you shall not stay one hour in this place, for you cannot do anything but they will hear of it. Therefore pray, except you have a mind to ruin the concern and do a prejudice to all the English, come away directly for this place: and if you should have done any thing, which I hope you have not, you must deny it.

The Government have heard of all Capt. Wallis his doings,⁽²⁾ and they all swear that if ever he comes here he shall not have any favour shewed him; and as for the people that went with him, they are all ruined and fled from hence. Therefore if the Government should ask you, when you arrive here, any question about Wallis, you must say that you was only a passenger aboard and sick at that time, and that you perswaded all you could to get Capt. Wallis away and did not know any thing of his business nor any people from hence concerned in that affaire.

When you arrive, I have recommended you to the Captain Chinaman and John de Matt⁽³⁾ who will assist you all they can, and if they should send you any short voyage any where in the Straights,⁽⁴⁾ then you may safely adventure, for they will not perswade you to any thing to their or your hurt.

I remaine your most humble servant

J. S.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 92.]

(1) No instructions to Captain Woodhouse have been found among the *Papers*, but see the extracts from his letter of December 1719, *infra*.

(2) I have found no record of any action of Captain Richard Wallis of the *Success* brigantine, which may have excited suspicion as to designs on tin.

(3) Chan Youngqua and the Armenian Joao de Matt (or Mattos).

(4) The Straits of Malacca, i.e., the Malay Peninsula.

From Malacca, on the day before his departure, 15 July, Scattergood wrote four letters. To Thomas Harris he explained that his delay at that place "was occasioned by selling twenty three chests of opium which we could not deliver before. Mr. Harnage sold them for 260 rix dollars per chest, though if you have any to dispose of; you may sell them, if a small quantity,

for 300." He informed Harris that Captain Thomas Boone had forestalled him and that, on arrival, he found "no canes nor any thing else to be had," Boone having "carried away every cane that was in the place." He added that he had enquired of his agent, Adrian Meeke, why no rattans had been reserved for him and Harris, "but he made answer that our orders was for small and thin canes, which he could not get; so you may thank your selfe for it, for you would have me put in the order, small and thin canes." However, Scattergood admitted that he had left money in Joao de Matt's hands to be invested in "canes" as soon as procurable, and to be ready when the *Bonita* returned from China.

Scattergood's letter to Maubert shows that he was carrying on considerable private trade as well as furthering the interests of the owners of the *Bonita*.

[93]

Mallacca July 15. 1719.

Mr. John Maubert, Sir,

The bearer hereof, John de Matt, is a particular freind of mine. He brings with him some gold. How much I cannot just tell, but whatever he brings, he has orders to deliver to you, which pray receive and invest, or coin it in Madrass pagodos; but doe it with all s[e]crecy, and if you can get him a small house by you, or let him have a small room in your garden house, pray doe it. He designs to lay out about 8000 pags. in paintings [printed cloth] and Cootelore [Cuddalore] blew and white cloth. If he has not mony enough, pray advance him mony on my account and help him what you can to lay out his mony. He knows what sorts will doe. When I come from China, will let you in the secret, and if you have a mind to be concerned, you may; but above all, you must manage it with a[l]l secrecy you can.

I have no more to add, but remain

Your most humble servant

J. S.

To James Williamson at Calcutta Scattergood wrote requesting him to send to Madras 25 or 30 " chests of opium of the cast out, but not the worst sort of all."

To Governor Joseph Collet, who had succeeded Edward Harrison as President of Fort St. George, Scattergood repeated the substance of his letter to Thomas Harris and added: "There is no manner of news only the maloncholy one of Mr. Cookes leaving Bencoolley, which they could not tell us perfectly. I doe not question but your Honour has all the particulars long before this." The disaster alluded to was the capture of the settlement of Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen by native forces, the expulsion of Thomas Cooke, Deputy Governor, and his Council, and the murder of other Europeans on the West Coast.

From Malacca Scattergood seems to have sailed to China in the *Charlotte* with Peter Curgenvén and John Harnage, but we hear nothing of the voyage and only know that he arrived in Canton a few days before the *Bonita*. There he received a letter from Richard Horden at Fort St. George telling him that he had news from the Cape of the *Derby* and of Scattergood's young daughter Frances, who was "in good health." Horden added: "My spouse desires to be kindly remember'd to you as indeed doth all Charles Street. I omitted in the memorandum I gave you to mention smock'd ducks and geese, which makes good tiffing bills."

A letter, which also followed Scattergood to Canton, written by Chan Jounqua (endorsed "from John Yomgqua), the "Captain Chinaman" at Malacca, gives some idea of the busy merchant's many schemes and of the numerous and diverging threads of business controlled by his capable hands.

[94]

Mr. John Scattergood, My dear Sir,

I hope you arrived in good health to continue your customary favours to me. I am ever at your command. I have delivered the balance of the new accounts to the captain of this ship *Bonita*. I have also executed your order with respect to Mr. Ares [Harris] who presented me with the same order I had received from you.

Enclosed I send you the list of the goods which are of use in the port of Achin, (1) written in Chinese, in case of mistakes which may occur in the Portuguese translation I have made, enclosed in João de Matos letter. I am under obligations to make arrangements as conveniently as may be for your Worship, for which purpose I will have the sloop in readiness to be laden at this port before your arrival with the merchandize which you hope to bring and ship to the port of Achin.

Respecting the negotiation with the Malay captain which you recommended to me, I have taken the steps you advised, and the said captain gave me his word to negotiate on your account for 300 picos [pikuls, of ? tin], and so soon as he requires the money for security in the matter, I will not fail to pay it to the said captain.

As to the *pesas de lenas*, (2) a brigantine of a friend of mine will leave in four days from now for Batavia, and I will take this opportunity of transmitting the quantity demanded and what I can I will obtain in this land.

The brigantine with the sugar for which we arranged to negotiate I expect to arrive any hour from Java, both the brigantine and the sugar; and once arrived, I will fulfil my contract and settle the matter in time for your order and that of your associate Mr. Arnegly (3) to be executed in November when it is received.

There is further enclosed in the said João de Matos letter a separate notice of the prices at which the merchandize contained in the list may be bought in China, (4) which I send for your Worship's guidance. Following this, things may be regulated in accordance with the prices obtaining in the country, advising you for your better guidance that the prices I have put down are more or less accurate.

I trouble your Worship to buy me for the service of my household 20 cloth chairs, which can open and close, and a small table of rosewood, like the chairs. I am writing by this opportunity to Limqua to arrange this matter and deliver them to you to bring them. Nothing further offering, may our Lord preserve you many years as I desire.

Your Worship's friend and most humble servant

Mark of CHAN JAMQUA.

Malacca 7 of August 1719.

Be kind enough to bring on my account two picos of misoa, (5) called in that land laqasi, for incidental expenses.

Mr. Thomas Ares [Harris] takes a *sesto* of *trubo*, (6) which your Worship can make use of if it is good. Pardon me for having no other present to offer you.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 94.]

(1) Neither the Chinese nor the Portuguese version of this list has been traced, but the one which follows (No. 95) of goods obtainable at Achin and its neighbourhood, saleable in China, was probably drawn up at this time.

(2) *Passas de lanhas*, dried coconuts.

(3) Arnegly is the Chinaman's rendering of Harnage. Peter Curgenvén and John Harnage were supercargoes of the *Charlotte*, which was captured by Angria a few months later.

(4) This list has not been traced.

(5) This word, and also "laqasi," which follows, are puzzles. Dr. H. B. Morse can throw no light on either term. On p. 75 Scattergood uses "missoy" for a sauce, but that cannot be the meaning here. Neither does it seem possible that "missoy bark" mentioned by Milburn (II, 313) can be what is alluded to in the text.

(6) *Cesto* of *turubo* (Mal. *terubo*), a basket of herring-roes.

[95]

A [? From] Acheen and Streights Malacca, Trigany [Trengganu], Siam, &c. and
Batavia.

Cambodia ⁽¹⁾ per peculi	..	..	..	..	..	40	@	55	[tales]
Sappan ⁽²⁾	2	@	3	
Birds nest ⁽³⁾	100	@	300	
Birds wings per mill [1000]	..	..	..	..	..	10	@	11	
Deer sinnows	..	..	..	..	..	12	@	15	
Wax	..	..	..	..	..	18	@	20	
Rattans	..	..	..	..	..	2½	@	3	
Canes ⁽⁴⁾			
Eliphant teeth	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cardimums, Java	..	..	..	..	..	12	@	16	
Charon Crua ⁽⁵⁾	5	@	6	
Do. cus [blank]	..	..	..	..	..	..
Conshin, ⁽⁶⁾ the largest ps. the best	..	..	..	..	..	3	@	4	
Breda de Marr ⁽⁷⁾	1½	@	2½	
Hysam, ⁽⁸⁾ the black sort the best	..	..	..	..	..	10	@	15	
Buffalos hydes	..	..	..	..	..	2	@	2½	
Cows Do.	..	..	..	..	..	1½	@	2	
Deer Do.	..	..	..	..	..	3	@	3½	
Dragons blood ⁽⁹⁾			
Benjamin ⁽¹⁰⁾			
Agala wood, ⁽¹¹⁾ according to the goodness	..	..	..	..	..	..
Champhire, according the (sic ?to) whi[te]ness, per catty	..	..	..	..	..	5	to	15	
Beazor stones de buga, ⁽¹²⁾ according to begness	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cabes de Paper, ⁽¹³⁾ a tak wt. for	..	..	..	..	..	1½	@	2½	
Cloves	..	..	..	..	..	130	to	140	
Nutmegs	..	..	..	..	..	150	to	160	
Mace	..	..	..	..	..	..

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 95.]

(1) Gamboge. See p. 64.

(2) Sappan-wood. See p. 64.

(3) See Milburn (*Or. Commerce*, II. 306) for directions for selecting the edible birds' nests found on the coasts of Sumatra and Java.

(4) Reed canes, walking (Jambi) canes and Japan canes (wanghees) are enumerated by Milburn (*op. cit.*, II. 309) apart from rattans.

(5) *Charão* or *acharão*, *crua*. A varnish peculiar to China and Japan, the adjectives *crua* and *cus* [? *to*so], (Port.) indicate the commodity in its crude and clearer condition. See Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, s. v. *Charão*.

(6) Red sandal wood. See p. 77.

(7) Breda do marr (see p. 77), the edible seaweed of the Malay islands (*Spherooccus lichanoïdes*), the Malay name for which is *agar-agar*. See Hobson-Jobson and Dalgado, s.v. *Agar-agar*; Milburn, II. 517.

(8) The sea-slug, *bêche de mer*. See p. 76.

(9) See p. 77.

(10) Benjamin or benzoin, a resinous gum, *Styrax benzoin*, Dryander. See Dalgado, s.v. *Beijoim*; Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Benjamin.

(11) Eagle-wood. See p. 77.

(12) Monkey bezoar (Port. *bugia*, ape). See p. 64.

(13) This expression is also a puzzle, and no explanation has been found for it.

Scattergood's Armenian agent João de Mattos also wrote to him from Malacca reporting that he had received 2000 canes by the *Bonita*, but as these had fallen in price, he had made a fresh agreement with Harris to defer payment, "solely to please you, although to my own loss." De Mattos repeated the substance of Chan Younqua's letter and remarked, regarding Scattergood's trading venture to Achin, as follows :

"Your worship may at your convenience regulate the quantity which you consider sufficient for the cargo of the sloop which according to your instructions has been equipped for the voyage to the said port of Achin, in which the Captain of the Chinese is to share in the manner which your Worship settled with him on the eve of your departure.

Touching your Worship's commission to me and to the said Captain of the Chinese to negotiate with the Malay captain for a quantity of tin which he could bring on his return journey, to be received and its value paid, the said Malay Captain assured me that he would use every effort to obtain as much as three hundred picos worth and more if possible. I understand that he will not break his word which he gave to me and the Captain of the Chinese, and on the part of your Worship, I will, whenever he desires it, offer the money required as security for this contract."

Two of the Company's ships, the *Sunderland* and the *Essex* arrived at Canton in 1719, and it was probably from one of these that Scattergood purchased, in October, wine and beer amounting to £129. An account of his petty expenses at this time is interesting, especially the final note.

[96]

		Canton Novr. the 4th 1719.			
Oct. 4th	Paid for a pair of slippers .. .. .	..	..	2	-
	Paid for washing some part of your linnen at Vampoe	..	..	..	..
	[Whampoa] .. .. .	..	..	1	6
	Gave your Chinee De Bash ⁽¹⁾ per your order 1 Spanish dollar..	..	..	7	2
	Gave washerman to buy soap to wash fowle cloths that came from aboard .. .. .	..	..	-	6
	Paid for washing your cloths when you first came up. Mr. Revet brought me the washerman and said he paid the same for washing Mr. Harnage's .. .. .	..	..	4	-
	Paid for black ribbon .. .. .	..	..	2	-
	Lent you 4 ducatoones to give Padre Peireras ⁽²⁾ servant ..	..	..	3	6
	Paid for a chair ⁽³⁾ per your order .. .. .	..	..	1	-
	Paid for 1 mos. washing .. .. .	..	..	6	4
	Paid for a chair .. .. .	..	..	1	-
	Paid for a boat from Vampoe .. .. .	..	..	1	5
	Paid a Chinee man per your order .. .. .	..	..	3	4
	Gave the washerman to buy soap .. .. .	..	..	-	6
	Paid the tayler for makeing the boys ⁽⁴⁾ cloths 7 rupees ..	..	..	2	3 4
	Paid for a bed for him .. .. .	..	..	3	-
	Paid for shoes for Do. .. .. .	..	..	-	6
	Paid cooloys for bringing the Nankin ware from Chounquas house and at severall other times .. .. .	..	..	-	6
	Gave the washerman to buy soap .. .. .	..	..	-	4
	Paid for a chair .. .. .	..	..	-	5
Jany. 4th	Paid Do. when you went to Padre Seru ⁽⁵⁾	4	-
	Paid cooley per your order .. .. .	..	..	1	-
	Paid for a chair when you went to Padre Peireras to see the dect ..	..	..	2	-
	Paid the washerman for 1 mos. washing .. .. .	..	..	6	4
	Paid for soap .. .. .	..	..	-	2
				10	9 4
Mallacca Account 8 rix dollars 4 sch. makeing tales ..				4	8 2 8
Tales ..				15	7 6 8
Allowed all these items and carryed the ballance into the cash book.					

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 96.]

(1) *Dobdshi*, interpreter.

(2) Joseph Pereira, a Jesuit Father of Macao.

(3) A sedan-chair.

(4) Apparently a personal attendant on Scattergood.

(5) Joseph Seru (or Ceru), another of the Jesuit Fathers at Macao.

The *Charlotte*, in which Scattergood had sailed from Malacca, was ready to leave Canton for Surat in November 1719. He was interested in her cargo to the extent of 1500 pagodas and in her he sent by Stephen Orme 8 "shoes of gold" weighing 94 oz. 8 dwt., consigned to Stephen's cousin, Alexander Orme, to be employed by him at Calicut in his "distilling trade," he giving a "bond at interest" payable on demand. At the same time Scattergood sent 10 "shoes of gold more" to be invested in "shirks fins" and Mangalore sandal wood, and sent to Madras as soon as possible. As Peter Curgenven was also desirous of procuring a quantity of these commodities, Orme was urged to "be before him" and not to "stand for a small matter in the price." To Messrs. Curgenven and Harnage, however, Scattergood dropped no hint of forestalling them. He asked them to hand over his gold to Alexander Orme and at Malacca to "receive the brigantine and goods that Mr. Harnage and I bought." On their arrival at Surat he begged their assistance to recover the amount owing to him by George Wyche. By the *Charlotte* Scattergood wrote to Jeremiah Bonnell requesting him to buy up a quantity of putchuck, rose malloes, "very good incence in white drops, without stones", and yellow sandal wood and consign them to Madras to await him there, but "whatever you buy for me, pray be very private, and do not let any body know they are for me, but consign them to Mr. John Maubert," to whom he wrote a characteristic letter.

[97]

[— November 1719]

Mr. John Maubert, Sir,

Yours per *Bonita* with your inclosed account &c. I received and am very much concern'd to hear that I have no money remitted me when the *Bonita* came away, but hope long before this you have received the bills.

We arrived here in the *Charlotte* but three or four days before the *Bonita* so could not doe much before she came. Gold is now prodigious dear, at 120 doller money for 10 tale weight of 93 touch, by reason here is eleven ships, 4 Ostenders, 2 Companeyns, our 2, Captain Boone, a French ship and a Moorman,⁽¹⁾ so that we must waite with patience till most of them are gone, by which means hope to gett it a considerable cheaper. Hope to be at Madrass by the latter end of March or the beginning of Aprill. I wrote you by one, John de Matt that if he should want money, to beg you to advance him what he wants till my arrivall.

Pray take care that Auga Nurry disposes his ship⁽²⁾ to nobody but to us, for I have gott an extraordinary skeme for a great voyage for hir. Secure what tin you can.

Remain your humble servant,

J. S.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 97.]

(1) Two of the Ostend Company's ships were the *Brussels* galley, Captain Peter Jackson, and the *Wirtemberg*, Captain Philip Vantnaestriet. The names of the other two do not appear. The Company's ships were the *Sunderland*, Captain William Hutchinson and the *Essex*, Captain John Pinnell. "Our 2" were the *Bonita* and the *Charlotte*. Captain Thomas Boone commanded the *Boone* frigate, a privately owned vessel. The "French ship" is not again mentioned. The "Moorman" (Muhammadan vessel) belonged to Abdu'l-ghaffr of Surat.

(2) For Agha Nunes and the *Santa Cruz* see document 90, note (1).

To James Williamson in Bengal Scattergood wrote at this time, sending him, per Captain James White, master of the *Triplicane*, a present of tea, and informing him that he had purchased Thomas Harris's share in that vessel, which made him owner of a third part. He requested Williamson to purchase Patna rice and mangoes for his friends at the "Pillou" (Pilau) Club in London and to despatch them to Captain Richard Rawlins, one of the members. By Captain White, Scattergood also sent to Bengal for sale "176 China pictures" and some Chinese porcelain; the latter he thought would "sell best amongst the Moor men at Hugley." At the same time he sent two casks of soy for sale in Bengal by Captain Marmaduke Crompton of the *Mary Ann* galley.

In reply to the letter of the "Captain Chinaman" (document No. 94), Scattergood wrote as follows.

[98]

[— November 1719]

Senr. Jan Younqua,

I received your letter per ship *Bonita* by Mr. Harris with your instructions what to bring from this place, which I shall doe all that lyes in my power. I shall bring a good quantity of torches and tobacco chepe; 100 peices poisees of the colors you order'd; some quantity of raw silk; a good deall of gold thread, and all the China ware that I can gett, with China root, &c.

I hope that you have gott ready the brigantine with the cargoe⁽¹⁾ to goe away as soon as Mr. Harnage arrives,⁽²⁾ for he can not stay above 3 or 4 days. Mr. Curganven, Mr. Harnage and myself are concerned thirds in vessell and cargoe. My third part hope the Armenian's⁽³⁾ money that you will receive on account his respondentia, which is 4375 rix dollers and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 4000 left in your hands will be sufficient. What my share will be more, please to charge to my account.

You need not send any gold with John de Matt for Madrass, for have given order by a letter that I send him to receive from my attorney what money he shall want, and your part you can pay afterwards. I have wrote John de Matt about it. I have payd to a China[man], one Suequa, one hundred tales for your account [with] which he says he is to buy things for you.

I have no more to add, but remain,
your freind and humble servant

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 98.]

(1) This was to consist mainly of sugar.

(2) In the *Charlotte*.

(3) *Khudja Aratoon Lazaro*.

To João de Mattos Scattergood wrote a similar letter with an additional paragraph.

[99]

.... Pray desire the Captain Chinaman to send a large vessell to goe to Bangermassin,⁽¹⁾ and the Island Subie⁽²⁾ to gett all the hysam, or the bechu de marr⁽³⁾ that can be gott, and I will be att all the c[h]arges, for that comodity will be at a great price here in China the next year: therefore pray do not fail of sending a large guntin⁽⁴⁾ now as soon as possible, for if he should stay till I come to Mallacca before he sends a vessell, she may not have time to return before I come back from Madrass, for the voyage to Bangermassen and back again will require 5 or 6 months.

* * * * *

I desire you to provide as much rattans as will serve to dunage⁽⁵⁾ the ship [*Jerusalem*], and as sugar comes in, secure all for the said ship, as much as will fill the ship, and dispatch her as soon as possible you can for Suratt. The remainder of our stock buy up gold as cheap as you can to carry to Madrass, except you can meet any vessell that goes from hence [Malacca] that will take goods for a cheap freight, and you think that by freighting goods will turn to a better account then gold.

The passengers that comes from Pollicatt [Pulicat] you must perswade to goe to the coast [Madras] again, some on every ship, for you must not trust for the *Bonita*, for you know what noice Mr. Harris makes.⁽⁶⁾

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 99.]

- (1) Banjarmasin, a port on the south of Borneo where the English factory, established in 1699, had been withdrawn in 1707.
 (2) Subi, or South Natuna Island, north-west of Borneo.
 (3) See document No. 14, p. 76 and note.
 (4) Ganton, *gantang*, a measure or weight in the Malay Archipelago.
 (5) Light material, as brushwood, etc., stowed among and beneath the cargo, to keep it from injury by chafing or wet.
 (6) This remark seems to show that Scattergood and his fellow supercargo were not then on the best of terms.

One more letter concerning Scattergood's private trade in the year 1719 is extant. It is addressed to the Armenian, *Khwāja Aratoon Lazaro*, and contains directions for his voyage to Surat and the disposal of his cargo there. His vessel had been recommended to the protection of Capt. Thomas Boone of the *Boone* frigate and the *Charlotte* owned by Peter Curgenven and John Harnage. These two ships were at Malacca early in December and sailed thence for the Malabar Coast, but the *Charlotte* fell a prey to Angria's grabs.

During this, his fifth trading venture, in China, very little mention of the *Bonita* is found among the *Papers* and her owners may have had some justification in hinting that their concerns had a secondary place in the minds of the supercargoes. There is, however, one interesting document in connection with the ship, which is printed below.

[100]

Port Charges for the *Bonita*.

	Tale	m.	c.
Measuriage ⁽¹⁾ 18 cov. 3 ins. brd. 62 cov. 7 ins. long	550	-	-
Opening the hatches &c. charges thereunto belonging	225	-	-
Cowphang	60	-	-
Cophang ⁽²⁾	60	-	-
Hoppoe ⁽³⁾	330	-	240
Do. the linguister ⁽⁴⁾ payd him for his place	120	-	-
Compradore ⁽⁵⁾ to the Hoppoe for his place	80	-	30
Phophang ⁽⁶⁾	60	-	-
Do. his screvan ⁽⁷⁾	10	-	-
To the watch for 150 dayes at 8 mace per day for three persons	120	-	96
Dispatch	450	-	-
Chumpen ⁽⁸⁾ of Canton	80	-	-
Chunyan, Chumpene of Boce Tigris ⁽⁹⁾	40	-	-
	(10) 2185	-	1950

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 100.]

- (1) Compare these payments with those made for the Company's ship *Kent* in 1704 (Morse, *The E. I. Co. trading to China*, I. 139).
 (2) "Cowphang" and "Cophang" are "the two Cophangs, or chief Secretaries", mentioned by Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 106, among the "Hoppo's Officers, in whose power it may be to retard or incumber your affairs by the influence they have with their masters."
 (3) Hoppo, the Imperial Commissioner of the Kwangtung Customs (see Morse, *op. cit.*, p. xx).
 (4) Interpreter.
 (5) Port. *comprador*, purveyor, here used as a steward. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Compradore.
 (6) Perhaps for Fuyuen, the subordinate colleague of the Viceroy (see Morse, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).
 (7) Scrivan, clerk, Port. *escrivão*.
 (8) Tsungping or Chentai: the commander of the Green Banner troops within the Prefecture of Fu (see Morse, *op. cit.*, p. xxi).
 (9) The entrance to the Chu Kiang (Pearl) or Canton River is at the Boca Tigris (Tiger's Mouth).
 (10) The total is as given in the MS. but the columns have evidently become mixed.

The only other account available for the close of the year 1719 is Scattergood's "Journal" of private receipts and payments.

[101]
JOURNAL 1719

Cash.		Dr.		Per Contra.		Cr.	
	oz. dwt. gr.	Tales. m. Cad. Ca				Tales. m. Cad. Ca	
To Mr. Fowles ⁽¹⁾ silver poiz ..	251 - 20	207 3 - -	By Captaine Boone paid ..	..	..	1000 - -	-
To 1 great bagg brought from Mallacca ..	656 - -	541 7 - -	By Pinky lent him ..	..	..	300 - -	-
To Mr. Dubois ⁽²⁾ silver wg. ..	83 - -	68 5 3 8	By Capt. Jackson paid the ballance of his account ..	..	..	13 3 - -	-
To the Fiscalls ⁽³⁾ dollars ..	70 18 -	58 5 4 6	By Mr. Harnage paid the ballance of his account ..	..	..	25 9 - -	-
To Capt. Jackson ⁽⁴⁾ received ..	..	200 - -	By Monsieur Velleaumont paid ..	..	..	3 - -	-
To Mr. Colebrooke ⁽⁵⁾ borrowed ..	27 15 4	22 9 3 -	By a broken mandorine ⁽¹⁷⁾ paid him 20 Spanish dollars at 7m. 2 Cad. ..	..	..	14 4 - -	-
To Dr. More ⁽⁶⁾ ..	257 16 12	212 9 - -	By Monsieur De Gee ⁽¹⁸⁾	2 - -	-
To Mr. Hordons silver making tales ..	..	69 2 8 -	By Hoppo paid for custome on a chest of China flowers ..	..	..	12 1 7 -	-
To Mr. Revett ⁽⁷⁾ for ginghams ..	..	27 5 - -	By the bird man ..	..	..	3 2 - -	-
To 1 small bag brought from Mallacca ..	..	17 1 7 -	By a China man lent him ..	..	..	100 - -	-
To Mr. Colebrooke borrowed ..	..	25 9 - -	By Padre Peireras servant 1 Spa. dollar ..	..	..	7 2 - -	-
To double keys received of Mr. Revett ..	..	3 4 - -	By Jackson the Linguist ..	..	..	22 4 3 -	-
To Mr. Hopkins ⁽⁷⁾ for long cloth ..	..	8 8 - -	By the barber for a copper still ..	..	..	149 4 8 -	-
To Mr. Cocks ⁽⁸⁾ received ..	..	27 - -	By Singua ⁽¹⁹⁾ for sundrys ..	..	..	51 - 8 -	-
To 1 small bag with double keys brought from Mallacca ..	..	6 8 5 -	By Quansay ⁽¹⁹⁾	14 6 6 -	-
To Monsier Velleaumont ⁽⁹⁾ for oyle ..	..	14 7 - -	By Cudgeon ⁽¹⁹⁾	19 - -	-
To Monsier Velleaumont for sheep ..	..	12 - -	By the barber ..	..	..	4 - -	-
To Mr. Naish ⁽¹⁰⁾ for arrack &c. ..	..	27 6 - -	By Chinqua ..	..	..	13 5 - -	-
To Pinky ⁽¹¹⁾	16 7 0 -	By Thomas Henwood for sundrys ..	..	..	12 3 2 4	-
To Mr. Colebrooke for Oadhams ⁽¹²⁾ cabinet ..	..	90 - -	By petty charges at Mallacca and Canton ..	..	..	15 7 6 8	-
To Mr. Henwood ⁽¹³⁾ the ballance of his account ..	..	77 8 8 -					
To Pinkie ..	..	300 - -					
To Mr. Roches silver ..	..	19 - -	By Cudgeon ..	..	..	1773 3 3 2	-
To my Mar. ⁽¹⁴⁾ 1 poringer and spoon wg. ..	..	4 - -	By Linqua ..	..	..	62 5 - -	-
To Capt. Hunter ⁽¹⁵⁾ the ballance of his acct. ..	..	144 3 3 6	By petty charges ..	..	..	5 5 5 -	-
	oz. dwt. gr.						
To Mr. Mauberts silver, poiz -	297 2 12	245 3 5 2					
To Mr. Henwood for sheep &c. ..	..	12 6 - -					
To Pughee ⁽¹⁶⁾ mony -	..	50 - -					
		2512 - 4 2	Balance due ..			1841 9 2 2	-
						670 1 2 -	-
			Tales ..			2512 0 4 2	-

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT NO. 101.]

- (1) Randall (or Randolph) Fowke, member of Council at Fort St. George.
- (2) His Christian name does not appear. Mary Dubois, widow, of Fort St. George, possibly his mother returned to England in 1720.
- (3) Fiscal, Du. *fiskaal*, properly a treasurer; in Dutch colonies, a magistrate.
- (4) Captain Peter Jackson of the *Brussels* galley.
- (5) William Colebrooke, purser of the *Bonita*.
- (6) These individuals have not been identified.
- (7) Hugh Hopkins, a free merchant at Fort St. George.
- (8) Leonard Cocks, supercargo of one of the Ostend ships.
- (9) Captain Villeaumont Garolin, commander of the French ship then at Canton.
- (10) Captain James Naish, commander of one of the Ostend ships.
- (11) Pinqua, Chinese merchant.
- (12) Catesby Oadham, assay master at Fort St. George.
- (13) Thomas Henwood, one of the officers of the *Bonita*.
- (14) This word is abbreviated and illegible.
- (15) Possibly Captain John Hunter of the *Burrington*.
- (16) John Pugh, the Rev. George Lewis's *protégé*.
- (17) A mandolin appears to be meant.
- (18) Possibly Cosmé de Gien, Capuchin Father at Fort St. George, is meant.
- (19) Chinese merchants with whom Scattergood had dealt on his previous visits to Canton.

By the *Sunderland* and the Ostend ships which sailed from Canton at the end of the year, Scattergood despatched numerous letters to England. As twenty of these have been preserved, it is impossible to print more than a small selection in full. To his newly-constituted attorneys he gave an account of his affairs up to the date of writing.

[102]

Canton,

Novr. the 12th 1719.

Messrs. Edward Fenwick and Elihu Trenchfeild, Dear Sirs,

When I left England I left Mr. George Lewis my attorney, and in his absence Messrs. Gilbert Affleck and James Wendy. Since which I have received a letter from Mr. Lewis to be excused, and the other two gentlemen being mostly in the country, I beg you two to be in their place, which I hope you will not deny me, the inclosed being a letter of attorney for that purpose.

Since my coming out have received no account how my affaires stands there [England], therefore I send you a short account of what mony my attorney Mr. John Maubert and selfe have sent to England since I came from thence,⁽¹⁾ and to know how my affaires stands there, please to demand my papers from Mr. Lewis. In overlooking my accounts and my instructions to him you will see all.

Mr. Wendy has wrote me that my China adventure came safe home and that he had received a bulse of diamonds from Mr. Maubert, which he has not sold: but I hear nothing of three hundred and odd pounds in a bill on Mr. Cartlitche that I gave Mr. Laurence Lane the night before I came from [England] to give Mr. Lewis in the presence of Mr. Chamberlyne and young Mr. Cartlitche,⁽²⁾ being the ballance of Mr. Cartlitche's account with me of Mr. Beavoir's 1500 pound, nor nothing about the diamonds that I was concerned with Mr. Bradell, who I hear is dead; for I was concerned 2000 pagos. in a parcell of large diamonds sent

him by Mr. Maubert, which Mr. Mauberts uncle, Mr. Shovell, can informe you. Pray make an end of the account.

The day I left Portsmouth I gave Mr. Wendy a barr of water silver⁽³⁾ which he forgott to send me aboard as he promised.

I hear that Mr. Charles Burniston is becoming a great man, therefore pray do what you can to recover his bond to me with interest.

The goods I send home have given particularly directions about, as Mr. Hambly can informe you of that of Tobins. These that I send now by Capt. Jackson amounting to tales 5086 : 6 : 2 and what I send by Messrs. Pennycott and Cocks amount to 2460 tales. I gave orders if any ship comes to China with English supra cargoes to send it out to me in my absence to buy gold, and remitt you the produce of both the invoyces directly from Ostend.

My share of money left at Portsmouth amounts to £1108 : 2s. 9d.,⁽⁴⁾ which hope is paid to Mr. Lewis.

When I came to India I bought of one Alexander a Jew (he uses the Jerusalem Coffee house) five emralds, which he charges forty two guineas. Twenty one I paid him, he being concerned halfe ; but he made this bargaine : that if the stones should not sell for prime cost, then I was to returne the stones, and he would pay me my principall back as per his attested note enclosed. Not being able to get the prime cost, I send them back by Mr. Peter Godfrey,⁽⁵⁾ and pray receive of him the twenty one guineas before you deliver the stones.

I ordered Mr. Lewis in my instructions what to allow my wife at Lincoln and ordered him since to pay Mr. [sic] uncle Roger Scattergood twenty five pounds per annum, which please to allow out of my mony. Affter all my interest mony is paid of, except my Aunt Scattergoods, unless she is willing to receive it, employ the remainder in what you judge will turn best to my account.

I have no more to write you at present about my affaires : I shall write you both by the Companys ship particular letters. Please to give ~~my~~ duty to my Mother and love to my sisters and service to all freinds, to whome I shall write likewise by the Companys ship.

I remaine dear Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

J. S.

P.S. Since I wrote above, haveing had some discourse with Captain Jackson, he telling me that he beleived he should come out again the next season, i[n] that case I ordred him to pay you all my mony to lye at interest, and when he goes, to let him have betwixt 3 & 4000 pounds to concern in his ship, insureing it ; but if no manner of probabilyty of his getting out, then to follow my former orders.

Novr. 16. P.S. Just as Captain Peter Jackson was goeing away he had occasion to borrow four hundred tales of me, for which he gave three bills of exchange, one of which I have inclosed in this, the other shall send by other conveyances.

When you insure on Captain Jackson, lett him know it before, for fear you may both do it at the same time, for he has orders about it likewise.

[12 Nov. 1719.]

An Account of what mony my attorney Mr. John Maubert and I have sent hom[e] to England since my comeing out from thence is as follows, vizt.

	Pags.	Fa.	Ca.
Mr. John Maubert sent per ship <i>Hanover</i> , Captain [James Osborne], one bulse of diamonds amounting to	1363.	11.	74
Do. per ship <i>Cambridge</i> , 1 bulse do.	645.	27.	-
I sent Mr. Peter Godfrey in things that he spoke to me of with Mr. George Pitt	219.	19.	40
I sent Sir Robert Child china ware per ship <i>Queen</i> that he spoke to Mr. Shefeild to get for him & I paid for	110.	-.	-
Sent per <i>Queen</i> , Captain John Martin, 4 bottles of oyl of cinnamon, consigned to Messrs. Peter Hambly and Miles Barnes to deliver the produce to Mr. George Lewis, amounting to	226.	-.	-
Sent with Messrs. Tobin and Wright from hence in goods consigned to them two, to the amount in tales 4014 which I will reckon	4014.	-.	-
My share of the Portsmouth mony is £ sterling 1108.2.9, which I make up in pags. because the rest is so	2462.	20.	-
I send now per ship <i>Brussell</i> in goods ⁽⁶⁾ amounting to tales 5086. 6m. 2cd., suppose pagodos	5086.	6.	2
Sent per ship <i>Wirtembourg</i> ⁽⁷⁾ in goods amounting to 2460 tales, which suppose pagodos	2460.	-.	-
	Pags. ..	16587.	6. 40
<hr/>			
Left with Mr. Laurence Lane a bill on Mr. John Cartlitch for about three hundred and odd pounds, which I desired him to give to Mr. Lewis			
Sent more on the ship <i>Wirtembourg</i> 4 chest of lampasses ⁽⁸⁾ amounting to tales	1110.	-.	-
Left to Captain Jackson on his ship, Tales	400.	-.	-
	Pags. ..	18097.	6. 40

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 102.]

(1) See below for this statement.

(2) William Cartlitch, junior.

(3) Quicksilver, mercury.

(4) This was probably Scattergood's share of the silver seized just before the *Bonita's* departure.(5) Peter Godfrey, son of Peter Godfrey senior, later supercargo of the *Morrice*.

(6) These goods consisted of taffeta, grograms and gamboge. For the silks Capt. Peter Jackson (Joseph Jackson's brother) agreed to charge 5 per cent. freight and for the gamboge £40 per ton and 5 per cent. commission on the whole. If any Ostend ships sailed to China in 1720, Jackson was to send out the net produce of the goods to be invested in gold. If no ships were despatched, the money was to be handed over to Trenchfield and Fenwick. Peter Jackson was also the bearer of presents (piece-goods, tea, tea-tables, "flowered papers" and dressing boxes) to Scattergood's wife and family in Lincoln.

(7) The goods on the *Wirtemberg* were consigned to the supercargoes, William Pennicott and Leonard Cocke. They consisted of piece-goods only, on which freight and commission, ten per cent., was to be paid on the gross sales.

(8) Brocaded silk.

By the *Brussels* galley Scattergood also wrote to his wife telling her what he was sending to her, his aunts and his young sister-in-law. His indomitable energy had begun to fail him, for he added :

" I am now in China on a second voyage and begin to be weary of India, growing sickly, but must have patience for 2 or 3 years more when hope to gett to old England to lay my bones there, if I don't drop off before."

To his mother, Scattergood commented on the return of her son Elihu and the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth. He hoped that " dear Nancy [Ann] had disposed of hir self to hir satisfaction," but if she had not, " brother Elihu will gett hir one without doubt, for he desings to live grand and keep a world of fine companey."

He also hoped that his " dear Betty improves herself in everything that is laudable, and that she is very dutiful to you, which I shall be glad to hear."

His health had improved since the departure of the *Brussels* and he wrote in a more hopeful strain :

" I am now here in China my second voyage, and notwithstanding here are abundance of ships, hope to make a pretty good voyage, and two more such will send me home again. Thank God, I am very well now, but have had two or three little indispositions. Mr. Harris is extreemly well and wears like iron."

In a private letter to his step-brother Elihu, Scattergood commented on the trade of China.

[103]

[Canton, — Nov. 1719.]

Dear Brother Elihu,

I wrote you severall letters, coppies of one another, jointly with Mr. Fenwick about my concerns in England, makeing you two my attornies, which hope will come safe to hand. This being a particular one shall give you an account of China.

We arrived here but a very few days before the *Bonita*, so that we had but just time to make our contract, on the foting of which the *Bonita* made hers. Your letter per said ship have received and am very well satisfied with what you transacted with Mr. Maubert about my affairs att Madrass, but was not a little concerned that Governor Boone should use me so, in not sending my bills, which I cannot but think a little—I cannot tell what name to call it, considering he had my money so long in his hands. I wrote him about it but beleive shall not gett much justice from him.

I have reflected about the 1500 pagodos that I am concerned in the *Charlotte*, and judge I ought to have paid you that 1500 pagodos in Madrass, but I have given Mr. Curganven and Harnage a note under my hand, wherein I declare that I will make good the interest of the said 1500 pagodos to your attornies on my arrivall in Madrass, which will sett all matters right betwixt us as too that affair.

The trade of China now is goeing to decay by reason of so many ships comeing here, no less then 11 ships, vizt., two Companeyes, a French, four Ostenders, Captain Boone, a Moor man, one of Abdell Gaford⁽¹⁾ bound for Suratt, and our two ships, which makes everything prodigious dear, especially gold, which is 10 above touch sicee, which is prodigious. We have nothing to trust too but our long stay again, hoping it may fall, and at last am afread

must leave some behind us. Thank God, have gott all most all we left behind us last year except a little from Linqua. The Hong losses their credit prodigiously.⁽²⁾ Every body that have delt with them this year complains very much and swears they will not have any dealings more with them, expecially now old Linqua is a goeing to retire to Chinsu and leaving their business to Chouqua and Emsha. We have dealt alltogether with Coula who has proved better as yett then we could expect. To make our condition still the worse, a ship from Manilla is arrived, which brings news that the people have risen up in rebellion against the Government and have killed the Governor and his son and imprison'd all his freinds, so the trade will florish there again, and that two ships more will come here, one of which is bound for the Coast, which you know is dismall news to us, expecially in our condition.

Mr. Wilkinson in the *Essex* has resolved to stay the whole year about,⁽³⁾ and has wrote the Company that little or noe good tea [is] to be had, but you that know China can easily unfold that riddle and can easily guese what he stays for.

We have dispatched Messrs. Curganven and Harnage for Surratt about the 10th last month with a pretty good cargoe and have lent them 120 shooes of gold of our last years contract, for could not gett them a peice this, except we would, as I said before, [pay] 110 sicee. Master Peter knows all the trade of China already and doth not question but of coming again the next year and then to goe to England to live gay and grand with his pretty wife and hir great relations, wilst Pell Garlick must druge two or three voyages more, if God will spare me my life.⁽⁴⁾ Thank God, I am very well now but have had two or three little indispositions.

I have received Mrs. De la Force's⁽⁵⁾ adventure, but, poor woman, am afraid shall not make hir any great voyage. I do not question but by this time you find joy and contentment amongst your friends in England. I wish heartily I could have that happiness, but must be content in what God Almighty has allotted me. Harris talks of coming home next year, and beleive he certainly will, but it will be impossible for me, except I receive orders; for I think I can not leave gentlemen's effects att sixes and sevens with honour; and besides you kno six girles are heavy articles and very dull commodities. Thinking of them makes me meloncolly, which makes me break up so abruptly, but not so but yet I esteem myself happy in having so good relations, expecially in so good a brother as yourself, in whose good oppinion hope allways to remain.

Your most affectionate brother and most obedient humble servant,

J. S.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 103.]

(1) Abdül-shafir, an eminent Muhammadan merchant.

(2) Scattergood seems to mean that the business carried on by Linqua and Angua was declining. For a note on *Ang*, see p. 118.

(3) The *Essex*, which sailed from the Downs on 18 January 1718/19, did not reach Whampoa until 26 September, and her supercargoes, of which James Wilkinson was one, decided that it would be too dangerous to attempt to make the homeward passage that season and that, "for the interest of the Company" they had better remain "till next season," a decision that brought them into conflict with the Hoppo regarding dues (see Morse, I, 159).

(4) As previously stated, Peter Curganven had no opportunity to live "gay and grand," since he was taken by "Angria" grabs and only released after a long detention and the payment of a heavy ransom. By alluding to himself as "Pell (or Pill) Garlick," Scattergood means "Poor me!" (see the correspondence on this expression in *Notes and Queries*, 1931).

(5) Elizabeth, wife of Captain Charles de la Force and daughter of Thomas Pain, and Judith, sister of Richard Trenchard, Scattergood's stepfather.

117. The cerebral *t*, *th*, *ḍ*, and *ḍh* are theoretically everywhere pronounced as they were in Sanskrit, that is to say with the tip of the tongue curled back and brought into contact with the highest part of the roof of the mouth; but in some languages, such as Bengali, the contact is more forward, and the sound produced may be described as post-alveolar rather than cerebral. The same is more or less the case everywhere with lazy or careless speakers, or in rapid colloquial language. According to Grahame Bailey (*Panjābī Phonetic Reader*, xi), the pure Sanskrit pronunciation is still preserved in Panjābī, but elsewhere (JRAS., 1925, p. 497) he has seen grounds for modifying this statement. In Assamese (LSI., V, i, 400) and in some dialects of Gujarātī (LSI., IX, ii, 329-31, 382, 438) no distinction is made in the pronunciation of the sounds represented by dental and cerebral letters respectively, and the probability is that the former are sounded more nearly as alveolars, and the latter as post-alveolars, so that in popular speech the two have become confused. In Naipālī there is great confusion between these two classes of sounds (G. Ph., § 44), and the case is similar in the North-West generally, including Dardic (see §§ 322-3).

The letters *r* and *rh* represent the sounds which *ḍ* and *ḍh* usually take when non-initial. To English ears their sound is obtained by placing the tongue in the same position as for *ḍ*, and then attempting to pronounce *r*, and this is borne out by the fact that in the Persian character they are represented by a modification of the letter for *r*, and not of that for *ḍ*. Nevertheless Hindū phoneticians hear no *r*-sound in pronouncing these letters and maintain that the sounds are only those of *ḍ* and *ḍh* sounded with a deeper and fuller cerebral effort of the tongue. For this reason, they name these sounds *mūrdhanyatara*, or 'hyper-cerebrals.'¹ Very rarely indeed do we find *r* instead of *ḍ* as an initial, the only examples I have met being the Western Pahārī *rāmbī*, a grass-cutting tool, and the Sindhī interjections *rē* and *rī*, and even in regard to these I am doubtful as to the real sound. Cf., however, Hindī *ḍōī*, a ladle, and the European Gipsy, *rōī*, a spoon.

The Gurmukhī, Mahājanī, Laṇḍā, and Tākārī alphabets have each a special character for *r*, and so also the Persian, but the other IAVs. content themselves by putting a dot under the characters for *ḍ* and *ḍh* when they are medial, in order to draw attention to the hyper-cerebral character of the sound intended. In writing Marāṭhī and Gujarātī not even this dot is supplied and the hypercerebralization is not indicated in any way. Neither *r* nor *rh* occurs in literary Kāśmīrī, but in village speech *r* is often heard, and this is represented in the literary language, sometimes by *ḍ*, and sometimes by an ordinary *r*. Thus, H. *baṛā*, Kś. *baṛ**, great; H. *būṛhā*, Kś. *buḍ**, old; H. *ghōṛā*, Kś. *gur**, a horse. When these *r*-sounds are doubled, they take the *ḍ*-sound, as in H. *būṛhā* or *buḍḍhā*, old. In Sindhī, *t* and *ḍ*, when derived from an original *tr* or *dr*, are pronounced *tr* and *ḍr*, respectively, and, as Trumpp (S. Gr., Intr. § 15, and p. 18) points out, should be so written. Thus, Skr. *putrah*, S. *puṛ**, a son, pronounced *puṛ**; Skr. *drākṣā*, S. *ḍākḥ*, a grape, pronounced *ḍrākḥ*.

As regards the cerebral *ṇ*, in standard Hindī, Eastern Hindī, and (except Oṛiyā) the EIAVs. generally, it is, as a rule, pronounced as *ṇ*, although the distinction between the two letters is generally preserved in writing. In other IAVs. and in dialectic Hindī the distinction of sound is clear, and in NWIAVs. the *ṇ* is sounded very roughly, like *~r*, as in Pāṣtō. Thus Lahndā *āṇā*, to bring, is pronounced like *ārā*, and, in the extreme East, dialects of Bengali bordering on Oṛiyā exhibit the same phenomenon. In Dardic the existence generally of the *ṇ*-sound is uncertain. It certainly does not exist in Kāśmīrī, and has not been noted elsewhere, except in Kāfirī, where it may be due to contamination with the neighbouring Pāṣtō, and in Śinā, where it is a secondary sound, arising from the proximity of another cerebral sound, as in the word Śinā itself. Regarding the aspirate *ṇh*, see § 122.

The cerebral *c* and *j* have been noted only in the Dardic *Ṣinā*, though traces of them have been observed in *Paśai*, and in the Eranian *Ōrmūrī*, a language which is strongly infected by ancient Dardic. They are sounded by putting the tongue in the position for cerebral *t* or *d*, and then trying to utter *c* or *j*, respectively.*

The letter *c* generally represents an original surd consonant followed by *r*, as in *Ṣ. pūc* (Skr. *putra-*), a son, or an original *kṣ*, as in *Ṣ. aci* (Skr. *akṣi-*), the eye. The letter *j* generally represents an original sonant consonant followed by *r*, as in *Ṣ. ūju* (Skr. *udra-*), an otter; *jā* (Skr. *bhrātṛ-*), a brother, or an intervocalic *ṣ*, as in *Ṣ. manūjo* (Skr. *mānuṣa-*), a man.

Regarding *ḍ*, see § 123.

* Cf., e.g., N. B. Divatia, in GLL, I, 93, 116.

† For these sounds, see D. L. R. Lorimer, JRAS., 1924, 182 ff. The *Ōrmūrī* sound corresponding to *c* is written *er*. See Grierson, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 15 (§ 29).

118. The dentals require few special remarks. The letters *ṭ* and *ḍ* represent the sounds of *th* in 'thin' and 'then,' respectively, and occur only in Dardic, and rarely even there. As explained in § 117, in some languages the difference between dental and cerebral sounds is obscured, so that one is apparently liable to be used instead of the other. I explain this by the fact that, in such cases, the sounds represented by the dental letters *t* and *d* are here not pure dentals, but are more nearly the alveolar sounds that we meet in English. Similarly, the sounds represented in these languages by the cerebral letters *ṭ* and *ḍ* are not true cerebrals, but are really post-alveolars. In such circumstances the two sets of sounds can easily become confused. Regarding *d* in *Sindhi*, see § 123. The aspirated *nh* is dealt with in § 122.

As for labials, *Gujarātī* and sometimes *Assamese* pronounce *ph* as *f*. Similarly, in *Bengali*, of late years the fashion has been growing, and is now established, of sounding *ph* as *f*, and *bh* as *v*. Regarding *b* in *Sindhi*, see § 123.

119. The semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, and *v* require few remarks here. It should be noted that *v* is generally a pure labial, not a dentolabial as in English. In English the lower lip is placed against the edge of the upper teeth in order to produce this letter, while in the IAVs, the lower lip is placed against the upper lip. The result is a sound which approximates both that of the English *v* and that of the English *w*, but which is exactly the same as neither. As a rule it is nearer *v* than *w*, but this largely depends upon the following vowel. If that vowel is *i* or *e*, the sound generally more nearly approaches *v*, while if it is *a*, *u*, or *o*, it is generally more nearly *w*. Hence this letter will sometimes be represented by *v* and sometimes by *w* in the following pages. The letter *!* occurred in Vedic Sanskrit, and was probably preserved in the Prakrits. It is only heard in Western and North-Western India. It is uttered with the tip of the tongue pressed against the soft palate.

120. As regards the sibilants, *ś* is sounded like the English *sh*, or like the *ss* in 'session.' In IAVs, the sound of *ś* occurs only in *Tas*, but is common in the Dardic *Ṣinā*. In the IAVs, when standing alone, it is generally, except in the EIAVs, and in *Marāṭhī*, pronounced as *kh*. Thus, *ṣaṭha* is pronounced *khaṭh*. Natives of India explain this sound of *ś* as an attempt to reproduce the pronunciation of the letter by Pandits of Benares when reciting Vedic texts, and it is popularly known in Bengal as 'the Benares sound of *ṣa*.' In Bengal itself it is pronounced as *sh*, i.e., it is practically the same as the Bengali sounds of both *ś* and *s*. An example of the *Ṣinā* *ś* is found in *bīṣ* (Skr. *vīṣa-*), poison. Its cerebralization in this language is so strong that it is apt (as in Sanskrit) to cerebralize neighbouring sounds by sympathy, as in the words *Ṣinā*, for **Ṣinā* and *Ṣ. ṣiṣ* (Skr. *śiṣa-*), the head. The sounds of *ś* and *z* occur only in IAV, words borrowed from Persian and in Dardic. In the latter, *ś* has the same sound as the Indian *ś*, but represents not only an Indian *ś*, but also an Eranian *ś*. Cf. Skr. *aśva-*, *Ṣ. aśo*, a horse; Skr. *kāśmīra-*, Kā. *Kaśīra*, Kashmir; Avesta *xšvāś*, Bā. *šo*, six. The sound represented by *z* is the sonant of *ś*, and is the same as that of the Persian *z*,

or of the French *j* in 'jour,' or of the English *s* in 'pleasure.' It is sometimes cerebralized, and the sound of *z* is then merely an alternative pronunciation of the *ṣinā j*.

The sound represented by the letter *s* is a pure dental sibilant. In Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Northern Panjābī it has an aspirate, which bears the same relation to *s* that *kh* bears to *k*. It cannot, however, be represented by the letters *sh*, on the analogy of *kh*, as *sh* is commonly employed to represent the sound of *śh* in 'shun.' To avoid confusion, the *h* is therefore in this case written above the line,—thus *s^h*,—which in this work represents this aspirated *s*.

In Assamese, all uncompound sibilants are pronounced as *χ*, and in Bengali as *ś*.

121. The letter *h* is generally pronounced as in English, but attention is drawn to the very peculiar pronunciation of the letter in Northern Panjābī, as described in § 152, *post*. In Persian, when a word ends in a short vowel, a silent *h* is written after it, known as the *hā-e-muxtafī*. In the same way, a final *h* is often added to a Dardic word ending in a short vowel. This *h* is dropped when any other letter is added in the process of declension or conjugation. Thus Kā. *ts^h*, thou, but *ts^h-ti*, thou also, *tsa-y*, even thou; *chuh*, he is, *chu-wa*, he is of you, he is yours.

122. The IAVs. possess a series of aspirated nasals and semi-vowels, viz., *ñh*, *ṇh*, *ṁh*, *ṛh*, *ḷh*, *ḥ*, and *vh*. Regarding the aspirated nasals, see Mth. Gr., 12, and regarding *rh* and *lh*, see Hl. Gd. Gr. 12. These have hitherto been specially noted only in Bihārī, but they probably exist in all IAVs.

123. Sindhi has the following additional sounds, peculiar to itself and to dialects of Lahndā bordering on the Sindhi area. They are the recursive *ḡ*, *ḣ*, *ḥ*, and *ḇ*. They are discussed at some length in S. Gr. 13, 15, 17, and 19, and also in S. Gr. St. 2 ff., but these accounts have since been superseded by phonetic examination, and the enquirer must now be referred to R. L. Turner's article in Bull. S. O. S. III, 301 ff. Turner names them 'Recursive,' and thus explains the manner of their production. 'Immediately after the occlusion by lips, tongue or palate has been formed, the glottis also is closed. The larynx is lowered, and there is considerable general muscular tension. The glottis is not opened until the lip or tongue occlusion has been broken, so that some air is sucked back to behind the point of occlusion. Then the glottis is opened to permit the formation of voice. It is possible that the glottis is again closed before the following vowel is pronounced.'

These sounds occur both initially and in the interior of a word. According to Turner, 'initially *ḡ*, *ḣ*, *ḥ*, *ḇ* correspond to initial *g*, *j* (*dy*-), *d*, *b* (*dv*-) in Sanskrit, and intervocally to consonant groups in Sanskrit that in Prakrit become *-gg-*, *-jj-*, *-dd-* (*-dd-*), *-bb-* (*-vv-*), while the simple voiced stops in Sindhi, *g*, *j*, *d*, *b*, are the result of special conditions and in most cases (where not occurring in loan-words from other languages) are descendants of Primitive Indian sounds other than *g*, *j*, *d*, *b*. The simple voiced dental *d*, except in the group *nd*, is only found in loan-words. That is to say, except for certain specific exceptions, Sindhi has shifted Primitive Indian *g*, *j*, *d*, *b* to *ḡ*, *ḣ*, *ḥ*, *ḇ*.'

In the Landā alphabet employed in S. each of these sounds is represented by characters differing according to locality. These are all given in Stack's grammar. So also there is no agreement as to their representation in the more usual Persian character or in Nāgarī. Trumpp, in his grammar represents them by ḡ, ḣ; ḥ, ḇ; ḡ, ḣ; and ḡ, ḣ, respectively, and S. Dicy. by ḡ; ḣ; ḥ; and ḇ. Examples of these sounds occur in the words *ḡarō*, heavy; *bhaḡō*, broken; *ḣibhā*, tongue; *aḣ*, today; *ḥūm*, a Dōm; *ḥēh*, a country; *wadhō*, great; *badhō*, bound; and *ḥābīrō*, thin.

124. Foreign sounds when introduced into the IAVs, are generally assimilated as follows, but no certain rule can be laid down.

The Arabic ق *q* becomes *k* or *kh*; ع *ḥ* becomes *lh*; and ح *h* becomes *h*. ذ *ḏ*, ز *z*, ح *ḥ*, and ط *ṭ*, all become *j*, although in old poetry ذ is usually represented by *d*. In Gujarātī, however, these four sounds are frequently represented by a special character, viz., ڄ, i.e., the character for *jha* with a diacritical dot added, and are all pronounced *z*. ٺ *ṭh* is represented by *t*, and ف *f* and ث *ṭh* and ص *s* by *s*. ه *h* is represented by *s* or *ś*, according to the genius of the language. ف *f* is usually represented by *ph*, and ع ' is not represented, hiatus vowels being contracted. Thus معلوم *ma'lūm*, known, becomes *mālūm*, and معلم *mu'allim*, a teacher, becomes the *mālīm*, vulgo 'Mallum Sāhib,' or Chief Officer of a P. and O. steamer. غ *g* becomes *g* or *gh*, but more usually the former, as in وَاغَايِرَا, *wayaira*, 'et ceterā,' which becomes G. *vagēre*.

English *t* and *d* are represented by ٽ and ڊ, respectively. Thus G. ڊيُڪُ اُڻ بادشاهه *pharḍ*, with *ph* pronounced as *f*, represents the 'Duke of Bedford,' and G. ڊيپٽيٽيشن *ḍēpāyutēśan*, a deputation.

125. In reading poetry (when not in borrowed Persian metres), the above rules of pronunciation are not at all carried out. The stress accent is less observed, and quantity measured according to the rules of prosody takes its place, although this is less the case in Bg., which has developed a metrical system of its own. Owing to the weakening of the stress accent, the necessity for the use of the neutral vowel disappears, and it is replaced by the full sounded *a* from which it took its origin. So also the final *a*, which in the prose of most languages is not pronounced, reappears, and is pronounced fully as in Skr. This rule is most strictly followed in Eastern Hindī and Bihārī. Further to the West it is nowadays customary, when reading poetry, to pronounce a final *a* very lightly, so as to be hardly audible. This short *a* will be written as a full *a* in the following examples, as the custom is not universal. Take the following verse from the *Sat-saiyā* of Bihārī Lāl in Hindī (Br.) :—

किरी न गोकुल-कुल बधू काहि न किरी सिख-दीन ।
कौने तजी न कुल-गली है मुरली सुर लीन ॥

If this were prose, it would read as follows, the stress being put on the accented syllables :—

Kīrī na gōkul-kul-bādhū kāhī na kīhī sikh-dīn ; *Kāunē tājī na kul-gālī hwaī mūrālī-sur līn*.

It being in poetry, it is read as follows, the stress, if any, being on the long syllables :—

Kīrī¹ na gōkula-kula-vādhū kāhī na kīhī sikhā-dīna
Kaunē tājī na kula-gālī hwaī mūrālī-sura līna

It should, however, be remarked that in verses of this kind, in which the last foot is a trochee (- ~) it is usual to pronounce the final short vowel of the line, and only that, as if it were the neutral vowel; thus, *dīn^a*, *līn^a*.

To take a Marāṭhī example :—

निषध-राजा नर नामधेय होता । वीरसेना चा तनय महा होता ॥

In prose this would be *Niṣadh-rājā Naṛa nāmadhēya hōtā*, *Vīrasēnā-tsā tānaya mahāhōtā*, but in poetry it becomes :—*Niṣadha-rājā Naṛa nāmadhēya hōtā* ; *Vīrasēnā-tsā tānaya mahāhōtā*.

The metre of this consists of a foot of three *mātrās*, one of six *mātrās*, plus two of three *mātrās*, plus a spondee.

Agg. the Panjābī, in the Nāgarī character :—

चलौली हरदम रहे इस मेले-दे नीच ।
परमेशुर-दे भगत बिन सारा मेला नीच ॥

In prose this would be *calōcalī haradama rahē is mēlē-dē bic*, *Parameśur-dē bhagat bin sārā mēlā nic*. In poetry we have :—

Calōcalī haradama rahē isa mēlē-dē bic^a
Paramēśura-dē bhagata bina sārā mēlā nic^a

¹ I.e., possibly *kīrī*, but certainly not *kīṭī*.

Special rules for the pronunciation of the vowels in Kāśmīrī.

126. In all the Dardic languages the pronunciation is seriously affected by epenthesis (also called 'umlaut'), a subject which has only been thoroughly investigated in reference to Kāśmīrī. It is well understood by Kāśmīrī Paṇḍits, who have endeavoured in various ways to represent the results in writing. In such a matter, every writer is, however, a law unto himself, and there is no standard system of spelling yet adopted. The most consistent system is that of the late Īśvara Kaula, whose Kāśmīrī Grammar in Skr.—the *Kāśmīrasabdāmṛta*—has been published by the ASB. under the editorship of the present writer. Upon his system is based the system adopted in the Kś. Gr., Man., and Dicy. By epenthesis is meant that the sound of a vowel is changed owing to the presence of another vowel in the following syllable. Thus, in the Kś. *baḍ*°, the *a* is pronounced as *o* owing to the presence of the *u* in the following syllable, and the word is pronounced *boḍ*°. There are two ways of indicating this in the Roman character. We may either spell the word as it sounds, as in *boḍ*°, or we may write the original letter, placing a diacritical mark under the letter, the sound of which is altered, and giving general rules as to how each is to be sounded. Thus, *baḍ*°, preceded by a general rule that *a* when followed by *u* is pronounced as *o*. The former system is that employed with more or less rigidity in Kś. Gr., Man., and Dicy., but in the present work the latter system will be followed, because it is better adapted for comparison of Kāśmīrī with other languages in which epenthesis does not play so marked a rôle. It is therefore necessary to give here the general rules for the pronunciation of these epenthesized vowels. The vowels which epenthetically affect a preceding vowel are the following, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, and *ū*. In Kś. the very short vowels above the line are known as *mātrā*-vowels. Thus, *a* is called *a-mātrā*, *ā* is called *ī-mātrā*, and so on. By far the most important influence is that of these *mātrā*-vowels. The influence, on the other hand, of *i* and *u* is only sporadic. Further, in Kāśmīrī, *a-mātrā* and *e-mātrā* are both really modifications of *a-mātrā*, and only affect preceding vowels because they were originally *a-mātrā*. Hence, for the purpose of these rules, they may be considered as equivalent to *a-mātrā*. *A-mātrā* is simply *a-mātrā*, itself epenthetically affected by a following *mātrā*-vowel. In Kś. *ē* is simply a development from *(y)a*, so that *e-mātrā* is really *y^a*. The changes of pronunciation affected by each *mātrā*-vowel are shown in the following table. When no entry is made it should be understood that the sound of the vowel remains unaltered. In the few cases in which *i* or *u* affect a preceding vowel, they are the same as those made by the corresponding *mātrā*-vowel.

Pre-coding vowel.	Pronunciation when followed by			
	<i>a-mātrā</i> (including <i>a-</i> and <i>e-mātrā</i>).	<i>ī-mātrā</i> .	<i>u-mātrā</i> .	<i>ū-mātrā</i> .
<i>a</i>	Something like a short German <i>ö</i> , as in <i>gaḍ^ar</i> , pr. almost <i>ōḍ^ar</i> , moist.	<i>aⁱ</i> , as in <i>kaṛⁱ</i> , pr. <i>kaⁱrⁱ</i> , made (pl. masc.).	<i>o</i> , as in <i>kaṛ^u</i> , pr. <i>ko^r^u</i> , made (sg. masc.).	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>kaṛ^ū</i> , pr. <i>kū^r^ū</i> , made (sg. fem.).
<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i> , as in <i>kāñ^ār</i> , pr. <i>kōñ^ār</i> , make one-eyed.	<i>ōⁱ</i> , as in <i>māⁱr</i> , pr. <i>mōⁱr</i> , killed (pl. masc.).	<i>ā</i> , as in <i>mā^ur</i> , pr. <i>mā^ur</i> , killed (sg. masc.).	<i>ō</i> , as in <i>mā^ūr</i> , pr. <i>mō^ūr</i> , killed (sg. fem.).
<i>i</i>	....	....	<i>yu</i> , as in <i>lū^u</i> , pr. <i>lyu^u</i> , plastered (sg. masc.).	<i>yū</i> , as in <i>lū^ū</i> , pr. <i>lyū^ū</i> , plastered (sg. fem.).

Pre- ceding vowel.	Pronunciation when followed by			
	<i>a-mātrā</i> (including <i>q-</i> and <i>e-mātrā</i>).	<i>i-mātrā</i> .	<i>u-mātrā</i> .	<i>ū-mātrā</i> .
ī	....	....	<i>yū</i> , as in <i>nīl^u</i> , pr. <i>nyūl^u</i> , blue (sg. masc.).	....
u	....	<i>uⁱ</i> , as in <i>gūrⁱ</i> , pr. <i>guⁱrⁱ</i> , horses.	....	....
ū	....	<i>ūⁱ</i> , as in <i>gūrⁱ</i> , pr. <i>gūrⁱ</i> cowherds.	....	....
e	<i>i</i> , as in <i>lēr^a</i> , pr. <i>lēr^a</i> , be yellow.	....	<i>yo</i> , as in <i>tēl^u</i> , pr. <i>tēyol^u</i> , squeezed (sg. masc.).	<i>yū</i> , as in <i>tēl^ū</i> , pr. <i>tēyūl^ū</i> , squeezed (sg. fem.).
ē	<i>i</i> , as in <i>brīh^ar</i> , pr. <i>brīh^ar</i> , make foolish.	<i>i</i> , as in <i>phērⁱ</i> , pr. <i>phīrⁱ</i> , turned (pl. masc.).	<i>yū</i> , as in <i>phēr^u</i> , pr. <i>phyūr^u</i> , turned (sg. masc.).	<i>i</i> , as in <i>phēr^ū</i> , pr. <i>phīr^ū</i> , turned (sg. fem.).
qi or ō	(no example)	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>kūtⁱ</i> , how many? (pl. masc.).	<i>ū</i> as in <i>kūt^u</i> , how much? (sg. masc.).	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>kūt^ū</i> , how much? (sg. fem.).
ō	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>lōk^ar</i> , pr. <i>lūk^ar</i> , make small.	<i>ūⁱ</i> , as in <i>bōzⁱ</i> , pr. <i>būzⁱ</i> , heard (pl. masc.).	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>bōz^u</i> , pr. <i>būz^u</i> , heard (sg. masc.).	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>bōz^ū</i> , pr. <i>būz^ū</i> , heard (sg. fem.).
ō	something between <i>ō</i> and <i>u</i> , but near- er <i>ō</i> , as in <i>hōkh^ar</i> , pr. nearly <i>hōkh^ar</i> , make dry.	<i>ōⁱ</i> , as in <i>wōthⁱ</i> , pr. <i>wōthⁱ</i> , arisen (pl. masc.).	<i>o</i> , as in <i>wōth^u</i> , pr. <i>wōth^u</i> , arisen (sg. masc.).	<i>ū</i> , as in <i>wōth^ū</i> , pr. <i>wūth^ū</i> , arisen (sg. fem.).

Of the above, the vowel *q* followed by *a-mātrā* is the only one that offers any considerable difficulty in pronunciation. I have said that it somewhat resembles a short German *ō*. It is a sound which reaches different ears in a different manner. In Kā. Man. 17 I have described it as something between the *u* in the English 'hut' and the *ō* in the English 'hot,' but others hear it differently. Thus, one friend who is familiar with the Kā. of the rural parts of the country compares its sound with that of the *a* in English 'cancelled.' On the whole, to my ear, the sound is best represented by *ō*. It must be remembered that, when final, the *mātrā*-vowels are very slightly sounded. This is specially the case with *u-mātrā* and *ū-mātrā*, which, when final, are inaudible to most English ears, although educated natives claim that they can hear them distinctly.

127. In Kāśmīrī, and probably in all the Dardic languages, the following pairs of vowels are commonly confused, one person using one of a pair, and another another of the same pair. Indeed, in the larger towns, the uneducated are unable to distinguish either by ear or by tongue between the two members of each pair:—*i*, *e*; *ī*, *ē*; *u*, *o*; and *ū*, *ō*.

As *o* is in Kāś, always the epenthetic result of *a* followed by *u-mātrā*, it follows that many words are written sometimes *a—*, and sometimes *u—*, and in some cases the *u—* form is the only one used. Thus, one of the terminations of the genitive is *akā*, but it is invariably written *ukā*, and will be so written in the following pages. The reader must also be prepared to meet other instances of exchange in the case of other vowels in the foregoing list of pairs.

128. It is probable that in Dardic languages the distinction between dental and cerebral mutes is not so sharp as in India proper. In Kāśmīrī the two sets of mutes are distinguished in writing, but in poetry *ṭh* is allowed to rhyme with *ṭh*,¹ a state of affairs which would be impossible in the Ganges Valley. According to Lorimer, in Śinā, which is not a written language, the sound of *ḍ* is rare, and only two possible instances have been known in which it is found in words cognate to Sanskrit.² In the same language, he maintains that the only independent *t*-sound in existence is more like the English alveolar *t*, i.e., neither cerebral nor dental. This is disputed by G. Bailey, who says that both *t* and *ṭ* are heard in the language.³ Also, none of the Dardic languages, including Kāśmīrī, have (except in sporadic instances) any sonant aspirate consonants,—*gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, or *bh*.⁴ In words in which in other languages such sonant aspirates occur, the corresponding unaspirated letters are substituted, except in the case of *jh*, which is represented by *z*. Thus, H. *ghōṛā*, Kāś. *gurā*, a horse; Pr. *bujjhai*, Kāś. *bōzi*, he will hear; H. *budḍhā*, Kāś. *buḍā*, old; H. *buddhi*, Kāś. *bōd*, wisdom; H. *bhāi*, Kāś. *bāyā*, a brother.

¹ E.g., *Yindarṭh* rhymes with *ḍṭh* in *Rāmavatāra-carita*, 699.

² I have noted one or two words in Lorimer's lists which can be compared with others in Indian languages. Lorimer himself compares *baḍ*, great, with H. *baḍ*; and also the Ś. root *buḍ*, dive, may be referred to the Skr. *bruḍ*, sink, a word, moreover, which, according to the PWB., has been noted as used only in the Kāś. *Rājatarāṅgi*. Most of the words containing *ḍ* are also found in the contiguous non-Aryan Burushaski.

³ See the discussion in JRAS., 1924, 33 ff., 190 ff.

⁴ So also in the so-called 'Tocharisch' of Central Asia. See Grierson in JA., X, xix, 340.

129. On the other hand, no Kāśmīrī word can end in an unaspirated surd. When such a surd comes at the end of a word it must be aspirated. Thus :—

Base.	Nom. Sing.	but Dat. Sing.
<i>trak</i> -, a certain measure.	<i>trakh</i> (§ 105)	<i>trakas</i> .
<i>kāṭs</i> -, glass.	<i>kāṭsh</i>	<i>kāṭsas</i> .
<i>kaṭ</i> -, a ram.	<i>kaṭh</i> (§ 105)	<i>kaṭas</i> .
<i>rat</i> -, blood.	<i>raṭh</i> (§ 105)	<i>ratas</i> .
<i>tāp</i> -, sunshine.	<i>tāph</i>	<i>tāpas</i> .

This aspiration is frequently omitted by careless writers in the Śāradā or Nāgarī character, and is never indicated when writing or printing in the Persian character.

130. One other fact that frequently obscures the derivation of Dardic words may here be mentioned. This is that the vowels *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *ō*, *u*, and *ū* cannot commence any word or follow another vowel, although in writing they are often shown as initials. In such cases a semi-vowel is invariably prefixed in speaking, in order to aid the pronunciation. To *e*, *ē*, *i*, and *ī* is prefixed *y*, and to *ō*, *u*, and *ū* is prefixed *w*. Thus, *yelat* (Ar. 'illat), a defect; *yēr*,

sometimes written *ēr*, wool ; *yih*, sometimes written *ih*, this ; *yīraṇ*, sometimes written *iran*, an anvil ; Skr. *utpadyatē*, Kā *wōpazi*, he will be produced ; *wuḍar*, sometimes written *uḍar*, a plateau ; *wūh*, sometimes written *ūh*, a camel.

131. In order to facilitate comparison, the following table is given showing the systems of exhibiting the vowel sounds employed in this work and in Kā. Man. and Kā. Dicy. The vowels are shown attached to the letter *p*, which is one of the few consonants in Kā. which are not liable to alteration when a *mātrā*-vowel follows.

Spelling in this work.	Approximate pronunciation.	Spelling in Kā. Man.	Spelling in Kā. Dicy when different from that of Kā. Man.
<i>ap^a</i>	<i>ōp^a</i>	<i>ap^a</i>	
<i>apⁱ</i>	<i>aⁱpⁱ</i>	<i>apⁱ</i>	<i>āpⁱ</i>
<i>ap^u</i>	<i>op^u</i>	<i>op^u</i>	
<i>ap^ū</i>	<i>ūp^ū</i>	<i>ūp^ū</i>	
<i>āp^a</i>	<i>ōp^a</i>	<i>ōp^a</i>	
<i>āpⁱ</i>	<i>ōⁱpⁱ</i>	<i>ōpⁱ</i>	
<i>āp^u</i>	<i>ō^up^u</i>	<i>ōp^u</i>	
<i>āp^ū</i>	<i>ōp^ū</i>	<i>ōp^ū</i>	
<i>ip^a</i>	<i>yup^a</i>	<i>yup^a</i>	
<i>ipⁱ</i>	<i>yūpⁱ</i>	<i>ipⁱ</i>	
<i>ip^u</i>	<i>yūp^u</i>	<i>yūp^u</i>	
<i>upⁱ</i>	<i>uⁱpⁱ</i>	<i>upⁱ</i>	
<i>ūpⁱ</i>	<i>ūⁱpⁱ</i>	<i>ūpⁱ</i>	
<i>ep^a</i>	<i>ip^a</i>	<i>ēp^a</i>	
<i>ep^u</i>	<i>yo^up^u</i>	<i>yo^up^u</i>	
<i>ep^ū</i>	<i>yūp^ū</i>	<i>ēp^ū</i>	<i>ēp^ū</i>
<i>ēp^a</i>	<i>ip^a</i>	<i>ip^a</i>	
<i>ēpⁱ</i>	<i>ipⁱ</i>	<i>ipⁱ</i>	
<i>ēp^u</i>	<i>yūp^u</i>	<i>yūp^u</i>	
<i>ēp^ū</i>	<i>ip^ū</i>	<i>ip^ū</i>	
<i>ōp^a</i>	<i>ūp^a</i>	<i>ūp^a</i>	
<i>ōpⁱ</i>	<i>ūⁱpⁱ</i>	<i>ūpⁱ</i>	
<i>ōp^u</i>	<i>ūp^u</i>	<i>ūp^u</i>	
<i>ōp^ū</i>	<i>ūp^ū</i>	<i>ūp^ū</i>	
<i>ōp^a</i>	nearly <i>ōp^a</i>	<i>ōp^a</i>	<i>ōp^a</i>
<i>ōpⁱ</i>	<i>ōⁱpⁱ</i>	<i>ōpⁱ</i>	
<i>ōp^u</i>	<i>op^u</i>	<i>ōp^u</i>	
<i>ōp^ū</i>	<i>ūp^ū</i>	<i>ōp^ū</i>	<i>ōp^ū</i>

132. It now remains to deal with the methods employed in India for recording IAV. sounds. As a broad statement of fact it may be accepted that all IAVs. are capable of being written in the Nāgarī character, or in some character related to it, sounds not provided for by that character being indicated with the aid of diacritical marks. The influence of the Musalmān conquerors has however made it more usual in the case of some languages to employ the Persian character modified to suit local peculiarities. I say the 'Persian' character, because the forms of the letters of the Arabic alphabet used are those which have developed in Persia. The Nāgarī character itself is seldom employed except in MSS. of books and in printing, and then only in Marāṭhī, Bihārī, Hindī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī.¹ For writing ordinary documents, these languages, and also Gujarātī, use what is most generally called the 'Kaithī' alphabet, or alphabet of Kāyasthas, i.e., of men of the writer caste. In Gujarātī,² and sometimes in Bihārī, this is also used for printing. In Marāṭhī Nāgarī is called 'Bāl-bōdh,' or 'teachable to children,' and the modification of Kaithī employed is called 'Mōḍī,' i.e., 'twisted,' 'crooked,' or 'broken.' Being used over a very large area, Kaithī varies slightly according to locality. We see this most clearly in the case of Mōḍī. In all its varieties, also, with some educated writers it shows a tendency to approximate the style of Nāgarī.³

¹ In Eastern Bengal the Nāgarī character is also used by Musalmāns.

² The adoption of the Kaithī alphabet for printing G. is quite modern. It was due to the direct influence of the Government Education Department. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, e.g., in the Serampur New Testament,—the Nāgarī character was employed.

³ Kaithī differs from Nāgarī mainly in wanting the top line familiar to readers of the latter character. In writing the character, a line of ink is generally drawn across the page near the top, and the letters hung from it, so that the resemblance to Nāgarī is more complete, but in the second and subsequent lines of writing this is omitted. It makes no distinction between initial *i* and *ī* or between initial *u* and *ū*. For the medial vowels, it employs *i* for both *i* and *ī*, and *u* for both *u* and *ū*. In Bihārī it has only one sign, *ē*, for *e* and *é*, and usually employs the sign for *kh* instead of *ṣ* when the latter letter occurs, as it sometimes does, in Tss. Really the sign for *kh* was originally that for *ṣ*, which has been adopted to represent *kh* over the whole of Northern India, except in Bengali, Oriyā, and Assamese. In ordinary speech *ṣ* is pronounced as *kh*. Many writers employ *n* not only for its own purposes, but also as a substitute for *ñ*, *ṇ*, and *ṅ*; indeed it is customary everywhere to employ conjunct consonants such as *nṣ*, *nḍ*, etc. Some of the Kaithī consonants, such as *c*, *jh*, or *d* differ widely from the corresponding forms in modern Nāgarī, but the origin of all of them can be traced in Tables IV, V, and VI of Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* (vol. I, Part II of the *Grundriss*). The Mōḍī character has partly an independent origin. It was invented for tachygraphical purposes by Bālājī Avajī, secretary to the Marāṭhā chieftain Śivajī (1627-80) (see B. A. Gupte, IA, xxxiv, 27). A reference to the table of characters given below will show that most of them are clearly borrowed from some form of Kaithī. We may thus look upon all these alphabets as descended from Bühler's *Siddhamātīkā*-type of the eighth to tenth century A.D. (op. cit., 50).

133. Another group of characters belongs to the North-West of India. These are the Śāradā of Kāśmīr, the Ṭākārī used for writing Western Pahārī, and other hill dialects of the Panjāb Himālaya, the Laṇḍā alphabet of the Panjāb and Sindh, and the Mahājānī, or Baniyāī, script of Western Rājputānā. To these may be added the Gurmukhī, or literary alphabet of the Panjāb Sikhs. All these alphabets are clearly derived from an ancient alphabet of the Gupta type (see Bühler, op. cit. 46) as will be seen from the table of characters given below. The Śāradā character is well known. As an alphabet of a modern language, it is used only by Hindūs in writing Kāśmīrī. The mass of the population of Kāśmīr, being Musalmāns, employ the Persian character. Ṭākārī, Laṇḍā, and Mahājānī are all very closely connected. They are much degraded, having a most incomplete vowel system. They have only initial forms for *a*, *i*, and *u*, *ē* being represented by the character for *i*, and *ō* by that for *u*. Medial short vowels are not represented in writing, and for medial long vowels, if represented at all, the initial forms are employed. The name 'Ṭākārī' or 'Ṭakkārī' is probably derived from that of the Ṭakkas, a tribe once powerful in the Panjāb Himālaya (Grierson, JRAS., 1911, 302). The word 'Laṇḍā' means 'clipped,' and refers to the nature of the letters, which

are so degraded that they are not easy even for the original writer to read. This character varies from place to place. Stack, in his *S. Gr.*, gives no less than thirteen local varieties in Sindh alone. The variety of *Laṇḍā* used in the state of Bahāwalpur was used by the Serampur Missionaries for printing the *Lahndā* version of the New Testament. The character has not been used elsewhere for printing (see Bomford, *JASB.*, LXIV, 1899, Pt. I, 330 ff., for specimens). It should be noted that the word '*Laṇḍā*,' has no connection with '*Lahndā*,' which means 'the West.' *Mahājani* is a neater form of *Laṇḍā*, and has a few more vowel signs, but it is nevertheless very difficult to read, and one of the most familiar stories in India depends upon this illegibility (see *Bs. Cp. Gr.*, i, 56). The *Mārwarīs* of Western *Rājputānā* form an enterprising mercantile race, and are spread all over Northern India as bankers and money-lenders. The word '*Mahājan*' means 'a banker,' while '*Baniyā*' means 'a shop-scooper,' and the character associated with these names is used far beyond its own territory for banking accounts and the like. Like *Mōḍī*, *Gurmukhī* is said to have been invented *ad hoc*. The tradition is that the Sikh Guru *Āṅad* (1538-52 A.D.), finding that the Sikh hymns written in *Laṇḍā* were liable to be misread, improved it by borrowing signs from *Nāgarī* and by polishing up the existing letters, so as to make them fit for recording the scriptures of his religion. Having been invented by him, this character became known as *Gurmukhī*, or the alphabet proceeding from the mouth of the Guru. The tradition well describes the general aspect of this alphabet, which, while based on *Laṇḍā*, bears many signs of the influence of *Nāgarī*.¹

¹ Regarding all these alphabets of the North-West, see Grierson, *JRAS.*, 1904, 87 ff. The incomplete vowel-system of all these alphabets, except *Śāradā* and *Gurmukhī*, is worth noting in connexion with the fact of the incomplete vowel-system of the *Kharoṣṭhī* that was once current in the same tract.

134. There remain the alphabets of the EIAVs., *Bihārī*, *Bengali*, *Assamese* and *Oriyā*. In *Bihārī* the alphabet in general use is *Kaithī*, but the *Mithilā Brāhmans* have a character of their own, called the *Maithilī*, which is closely allied to, but not the same as, the *Bengali* character. The latter is also employed for *Assamese* with one additional letter for *va*. *Bengali* has no character for *va*, every original *va* being pronounced as *ba* when not compounded, and being generally silent when compounded. In the latter case, when not silent it is also pronounced as *ba*. The sound *wā* sometimes occurs in modern words and in words borrowed by *Bengali* from other languages, and is then represented in writing by the somewhat clumsy compound *ōyā*. So well established is this method of representing the sound that when in a *Bengali* word the letter *ō* is followed by *yā*, the whole is even then pronounced *wā*. For instance, the word for 'twelve' is *bārō*, and that for 'friend' is *yār*. When an entertainment is got up by a number of people meeting together and subscribing the necessary funds, it is called a *bārōyārī*, or, according to popular etymology, an entertainment provided by 'twelve friends.' According to S. K. Chatterji (*Bg. Gr. Ch.* 426), the word is really derived from *bāra*, a gate + *uārī*, a pavilion, and, whatever its origin, it is pronounced *bārōārī*. *Assamese* occasionally requires a medial *va*, or rather *wa*, and the necessary character is formed by taking that in use for *ba* or *va*, and drawing a sloping line below its hollow portion. The *Maithilī* and *Bengali* alphabets are directly derived from Bühler's proto-*Bengali* (op. cit., 57). The *Oriyā* alphabet is, on the contrary, derived from *Nāgarī*, and probably reached *Orissa* directly from the West. It is differentiated from the ordinary *Nāgarī* type by its use of curved lines instead of horizontal strokes. This is due to the old custom of writing on strips of the leaf of the talipot palm instead of paper. The characters are scratched upon this with an iron stylus, the writing being along the line of the fibres of the leaf. In such writing horizontal straight lines must be avoided, as such would infallibly tend to cause the leaf to split (see Bühler, op. cit., 89).¹

¹ Literature. In addition to Bühler's work quoted above, for a general view of the whole question, see Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, ed. Thomas, ii, 41 ff., *Bs. Cp. Gr.* i, 54 ff., *HI. Gd. Gr.*, i ff. For *Kaithī*, see Grierson, *Handbook of the Kaithī Character*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1890. For many specimens of the

1.

Nāgarī	Kaithī	Gujarātī	Mōḍī	Maithilī	Bengalī	Oriyā
अ	𑂔	અ	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
आ	𑂔𑂔	આ	𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔	𑂔𑂔
का	𑂔𑂔	કા	𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔
इ	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
कि	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
ई	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
की	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔
उ	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
ऊ	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
कु	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
ख	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
ग	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
के	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
खै	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
कै	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
ओ	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔	𑂔
को	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔
औ	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔
कौ	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔	𑂔𑂔

Nāgarī	Kaithī	Gujarātī	Mōḍī	Maithilī	Bengalī	Oṛiṣā
क	क, उ	४	४	क	क	କ
ख	ख	५	५, ५	ख	ख	ख
ग	ग	६	६	ग	ग	ग
घ	घ	७	७	घ	घ	घ
ङ	ङ	८	८	ङ	ङ	ङ
च	च, अ	९	९, ८	च	च	ଚ
छ	छ	१०	१०	छ	छ	ଛ
ज	ज	११	११	ज	ज	ଜ
झ	झ	१२	१२	झ	झ	ଝ
ञ	ञ	१३	१३	ञ	ञ	ଞ
ट	ट	१४	१४	ट	ट	ଟ
ठ	ठ	१५	१५	ठ	ठ	ଠ
ड	ड	१६	१६	ड	ड	ଡ
ढ	ढ	१७	१७	ढ	ढ	ढ
न	न	१८	१८	न	न	ନ
प	प	१९	१९	प	प	ପ
फ	फ	२०	२०	फ	फ	ଫ
ब	ब	२१	२१	ब	ब	ବ
भ	भ	२२	२२	भ	भ	ଭ
म	म	२३	२३	म	म	ମ
य	य	२४	२४	य	य	ଯ
र	र	२५	२५	र	र	ର
ल	ल	२६	२६	ल	ल	ଲ
व	व	२७	२७	व	व	ବ
श	श	२८	२८	श	श	ଶ
ष	ष	२९	२९	ष	ष	ଷ
स	स	३०	३०	स	स	ସ
ह	ह	३१	३१	ह	ह	ହ
ळ	ळ	३२	३२	ळ	ळ	ळ
ॠ	ॠ	३३	३३	ॠ	ॠ	ॠ
ॡ	ॡ	३४	३४	ॡ	ॡ	ॡ
ॢ	ॢ	३५	३५	ॢ	ॢ	ॢ
ॣ	ॣ	३६	३६	ॣ	ॣ	ॣ
।	।	३७	३७	।	।	।
॥	॥	३८	३८	॥	॥	॥
०	०	३९	३९	०	०	०
१	१	४०	४०	१	१	१
२	२	४१	४१	२	२	२
३	३	४२	४२	३	३	३
४	४	४३	४३	४	४	४
५	५	४४	४४	५	५	५
६	६	४५	४५	६	६	६
७	७	४६	४६	७	७	७
८	८	४७	४७	८	८	८
९	९	४८	४८	९	९	९
०	०	४९	४९	०	०	०
१	१	५०	५०	१	१	१
२	२	५१	५१	२	२	२
३	३	५२	५२	३	३	३
४	४	५३	५३	४	४	४
५	५	५४	५४	५	५	५
६	६	५५	५५	६	६	६
७	७	५६	५६	७	७	७
८	८	५७	५७	८	८	८
९	९	५८	५८	९	९	९
०	०	५९	५९	०	०	०
१	१	६०	६०	१	१	१
२	२	६१	६१	२	२	२
३	३	६२	६२	३	३	३
४	४	६३	६३	४	४	४
५	५	६४	६४	५	५	५
६	६	६५	६५	६	६	६
७	७	६६	६६	७	७	७
८	८	६७	६७	८	८	८
९	९	६८	६८	९	९	९
०	०	६९	६९	०	०	०
१	१	७०	७०	१	१	१
२	२	७१	७१	२	२	२
३	३	७२	७२	३	३	३
४	४	७३	७३	४	४	४
५	५	७४	७४	५	५	५
६	६	७५	७५	६	६	६
७	७	७६	७६	७	७	७
८	८	७७	७७	८	८	८
९	९	७८	७८	९	९	९
०	०	७९	७९	०	०	०
१	१	८०	८०	१	१	१
२	२	८१	८१	२	२	२
३	३	८२	८२	३	३	३
४	४	८३	८३	४	४	४
५	५	८४	८४	५	५	५
६	६	८५	८५	६	६	६
७	७	८६	८६	७	७	७
८	८	८७	८७	८	८	८
९	९	८८	८८	९	९	९
०	०	८९	८९	०	०	०
१	१	९०	९०	१	१	१
२	२	९१	९१	२	२	२
३	३	९२	९२	३	३	३
४	४	९३	९३	४	४	४
५	५	९४	९४	५	५	५
६	६	९५	९५	६	६	६
७	७	९६	९६	७	७	७
८	८	९७	९७	८	८	८
९	९	९८	९८	९	९	९
०	०	९९	९९	०	०	०

3.

Nāgarī	Kaithī	Gujarātī	Mōḍī	Maithilī	Bengalī	Oṛiyā
प	५	५	५, ५	प्र	প্র	ପ
फ	फ़, म	फ़	फ़	फ	ফ	ଫ
ब	व	બ	બ	ब	ব	ବ
भ	म	મ	મ	भ	ভ	ଭ
म	म	મ	म, म	म	ম	ମ
य	य	ય	य	य	য	ଯ
र	ॠ	ર	ॠ	र	র	ର
ल	ल, ॠ, ॡ	લ	ॠ	ल	ল	ଲ
व	व	વ	ॠ	व	ব*	ବ
श	ॡ	શ	ॡ	श	শ	ଶ
ष		ષ	ष	ष	ষ	ଷ
स	ॢ	સ	ॢ	स	স	ସ
ह	ॣ	હ	ॣ	ह	হ	ହ
ड	।	ડ	।	ड	ড	ଡ
ढ	॥	ઢ	॥	ढ	ঢ	ଢ
कु	कु	કુ	कु	कु	কু	କୁ
ख	ख	ખ	ख	ख	খ	খ

* Only in Assamese.

4.

Transcription	Gupta	Saradā	Ṭikari	Laṇḍā	Mahājani	Gurmukhī
a	अ	अ	अ	अ	अ	अ
ā	आ	आ	आ	आ	आ	आ
kā	क	क	क	क	क	क
i	इ	इ	इ	इ	इ	इ
ki	कि	कि	कि	कि	कि	कि
ī	ई	ई	ई	ई	ई	ई
kī	की	की	की	की	की	की
u	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ
ku	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु	कु
ū	ऊ	ऊ	ऊ	ऊ	ऊ	ऊ
kū	कू	कू	कू	कू	कू	कू
ṛ	ऋ	ऋ	ऋ	ऋ	ऋ	ऋ
kr	ॠ	ॠ	ॠ	ॠ	ॠ	ॠ
ē	ए	ए	ए	ए	ए	ए
kē	के	के	के	के	के	के
ai	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ	ऐ
kai	कै	कै	कै	कै	कै	कै
ō	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
kō	को	को	को	को	को	को
au	औ	औ	औ	औ	औ	औ
kau	कौ	कौ	कौ	कौ	कौ	कौ

5.

Trans- cription	Gupta	Śāradā	Ṭakari	Laṇḍā	Mahājani	Gurmukhī
ka	𑀓	𑀕	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
kha	𑀔	𑀖	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔
ga	𑀕	𑀗	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕
gha	𑀖	𑀘	𑀖	𑀖	𑀖	𑀖
na	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
ca	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔
cha	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕
ja	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
jha	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔	𑀔
ñā	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
ṭa	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
tha	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
da	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
dha	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
na	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
ta	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
tha	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
da	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
dha	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓
na	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓

6.

Transcription	Gupta	Śāradā	Ṭākari	Laṇḍā	Mahājani	Gurmukhī
pa	ਪ	प	ਪ	ਪ	ਪ	ਪ
pha	ਘ	फ	ਫ	ਫ	ਫ	ਫ
ta	ਟ	त	ਟ	ਟ	ਟ	ਟ
bha	ਬ	ठ	ਭ	ਭ	ਭ	ਭ
ma	ਮ	म	ਮ	ਮ	ਮ	ਮ
ya	ਯ	य	ਯ	ਯ	ਯ	ਯ
ya(ja)					ਯ	
ra	ਰ	र	ਰ	ਰ	ਰ	ਰ
la	ਲ	ल	ਲ	ਲ	ਲ	ਲ
va	ਵ	व	ਵ	ਵ	ਵ	ਵ
va(ha)					ਵ	
śa	ਸ਼	श	ਸ਼	ਸ਼	ਸ਼	ਸ਼
ṣa	਷	ष	਷	਷	਷	਷
ṣa	ਸ਼	श	ਸ਼	ਸ਼	ਸ਼	ਸ਼
ha	ਹ	ह	ਹ	ਹ	ਹ	ਹ
ra			ਰ	ਰ	ਰ	ਰ
rha						
la						
kṣa	ਕ਼	क्ष	ਕ਼	ਕ਼	ਕ਼	ਕ਼
jña	ਯ਼	ज्ञ	ਯ਼	ਯ਼	ਯ਼	ਯ਼

7.

NUMERALS.

Arabic	Gupta	Sāradā	Tākarī	Laṇḍā	Mahājani	Gurmukhī
1	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
2	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
3	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
4	ॐ, ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
5	ॐ, ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
6	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
7	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
8	ॐ, ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
9	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
0	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ

Arabic	Nāgarī	Kaithī	Gujarati	Mōḍī	Maithilī	Bengalī	Ōṛiyā
1	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
2	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
3	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
4	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
5	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
6	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
7	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
8	ॐ	ॐ, ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
9	ॐ, ॐ	ॐ, ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
0	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ

North-western alphabets (unfortunately rendered of little use owing to the absence of any transliteration), see Leitner, *A Collection of Specimens of Commercial and Other Alphabets and Handwritings as also of Multiplication Tables current in various parts of the Panjab, Sind, and the North-West Provinces*, Lahore, No date. The *Palæography of India*, by Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Udaipur, 1894, contains specimens of nearly all the alphabets in use in India from the earliest down to the most modern times. It was reviewed by Bühler in *JRAS.*, 1895, 246 ff., and, while very useful, must be employed with caution.

135. Tables 1 to 7 facing this page show the alphabets above referred to. The non-initial vowels are shown attached to the letter *k*. The Gupta characters are mainly taken from Bühler, *op. cit.* The others are all traced from actual handwriting by natives of the countries where the respective alphabets are employed. As they represent actual handwriting, their forms sometimes differ from those used in print. The Kaithī letters are those in use in Bihār. These characters vary slightly according to locality. The Gujarātī letters may be taken as representing the Kaithī of western India. The Landā and Tākārī letters are only samples of many varying forms. Further examples will be found in the related volumes of the *LSI.*, in Leitner's work above mentioned, and in Stack's *Sindhī Grammar*. The only compound consonants shown are *kṣa* and *jña*. The others call for no special remarks, except that we may note that in Northern India (but not in Kāśmīr) it is customary to write *rya* and *rea*, when occurring in Tbh. words, रय and रे, not र्य and रै, which forms are reserved for Tss. This applies not merely to MSS., but is also common in printing. Thus H. मरयो *māryō*, he was killed, R. रुर *ruwāṭā*, loaves.

136. The Persian form of the Arabic character, henceforth referred to as the Persian character, is used in Hindī, Sindhī, Lahndā, and Kāśmīrī. In Hindī it is used by Musalmāns and by Hindūs educated on Musalmān lines, in that highly Persianised form of the language known as Urdū. The Kaithī character is not adapted to expressing the sounds of many Arabic consonants, and religious influence has also been brought to bear in favour of Persian. The Persian character is never, nor indeed could it be, employed for writing the highly Sanskritized High Hindī, but it is frequently used for the well-known *lingua franca*, containing no excess either of Persian or of Sanskrit, called Hindōstānī. New characters are required for the sounds *ṭ* (ط, ث or ظ) and *ḍ* (ڙ, ڙ or ڙ), the cerebral *ṇ* not being required. The 'butterfly' *ḥ* (ه) is, properly speaking, reserved for expressing aspirated consonants, thus *ḥh*, *ḥh*, *ḥh*, etc., *ḥh*, *ḥh*; but the distinction of using this form of *ḥ* is not always observed in India. It cannot be used after *d*, *ḍ*, *r*, *ṛ*, where we have *dh*, *ḍh*, *rh*, *ṛh*, respectively. In Kāśmīrī the Persian character is, as has been already stated, employed by Kāśmīrī Musalmāns, and has also been adopted by missionaries for translations of the Bible, although the first version of the New Testament, that of the Serampur Missionaries, was printed in Śāradā type specially cast for that purpose. The sound of the Kāś. *ō* is represented by *alif* with *madda*, *ā*, and the sound of *ṭ* by *ṭ* or, sometimes, by *ḍ*, the proper sound of the latter (*ḍ*) not being required by the language. In other respects Kāśmīrī follows Urdū, and no attempt is made to represent the numerous epenthetic vowels except *ō*, the character for the simple vowel nearest in sound being used instead.

137. In Sindhī, if we exclude the mutilated Landā characters, the Persian is the only alphabet in use. It has, however, received a great number of new signs to suit the ideas of those who would put the written language under fixed rules. In this respect, up to lately every writer was a law unto himself, but one system, which we may call the original Sindhī alphabet was more generally in use than others. This has been twice improved upon, once by Government, and again by Trumpp in his works on the language. The following table shows the special letters of the Sindhī alphabet in three columns. The first shows the original Sindhī alphabet, before it was experimented upon, the second the result of these experiments in the present Government alphabet, and the third shows that used by Trumpp in his grammar. As S. Dicy follows the Government system of writing, that is necessarily followed in the present work.

Letter.	Old S. Alphabet.	Government Alphabet.	Trumpp's Alphabet.
<i>ḅ</i>	پ	پ	پ
<i>bh</i>	پھ	پھ	پھ
<i>ph</i>	ف	فہ	پھ
<i>th</i>	تھ	تھ	پھ
<i>t</i>	ت	ت	پھ
<i>ṭh</i>	ٹھ	ٹھ	پھ
<i>ṭ</i>	ٹ	ٹ	پھ
<i>jh</i>	جھ	جھ	پھ
<i>j</i>	ج	ج	پھ
<i>ñ</i>	ڄھ	ڄھ	پھ
<i>ch</i>	چھ	چھ	پھ
<i>dh</i>	ڌھ	ڌھ	پھ
<i>ḍ</i>	ڍ	ڍ	پھ
<i>ḍ̣</i>	ڍھ	ڍھ	پھ
<i>ḍh</i>	ڍھ	ڍھ	پھ
<i>r</i>	ر	ر	پھ
<i>k</i>	ک or ڪ	ک	ک or ڪ
<i>kh</i>	کھ	کھ	کھ
<i>g</i>	گ	گ	گ
<i>ḡ</i>	گھ	گھ	گھ
<i>gh</i>	گھ	گھ	گھ
<i>ṇ</i>	ڻھ	ڻھ	ڻھ
<i>ṇ</i>	ڻ	ڻ	ڻ

CHAPTER IV.

PHONOLOGY.

[NOTE.—Throughout this chapter secondary Prakrit words will usually be quoted in the forms which they would be expected to take in Apabhramśa.]

A. Stress-Accent, Tone, and Intonation.

Word Stress-Accent.

138. As the phonology of the IAVs. is greatly influenced by the stress-accent, it is most convenient to consider this before proceeding to details regarding the various sounds. The subject has been almost neglected by native writers, by whom (as also in the case of the actual sound of each letter) the matter is treated as self-evident.¹ The IAVs. closely follow the rules of the Sanskrit stress-accent (as distinct from the ancient musical accent) which have been noted by Prof. Jacobi, ZDMG., xlvii, 574 and ff. (Cf. also Wk., xxiii, n. 3 and 296.)² The only difference is that the IAVs. do not usually throw the accent further back than the antepenultimate if the word ends in a long syllable. The general rules are as follows:—

(a) The stress-accent falls on the penultimate if it be long. Examples—Skr. and Ts. *kīrti*, fame; G. *janōi*, a sacrificial thread; M. *śīdh(a)*, a vulture; *kāṇā*, one-eyed; S. *raḥṣū*, a dweller; H. *asūjā*, invisible; *kisān(a)*, a husbandman; B. *chōṭikkā*, small.

(b) If the penultimate be short, the accent falls on the antepenultimate, provided that be long. Examples—Skr. and Ts. *kīrtan(a)*, a report; M. *vālan(a)*, inclination; *kāpad(a)* clothes; H. *bāndhan(a)*, binding.

(c) In any other case it is thrown back as far as possible, the limits being, in Sanskrit and Tss., and in Tbh. IAV. words ending in a short vowel, the last syllable but three; and in Tbh. IAV. words ending in a long vowel, the antepenultimate. Examples—Skr. *kūṭilātā* deceitfulness, as a Ts. *kūṭilātā*; M. *kārval(a)*, a saw; sTs. *pārbaṭ(a)*, a mountain; B. *pārṣat(a)*, touching; H. *ūnākā*, a straw; *bāl(a)*, force; but H. *pāhūcānā* (not *pāhūcānā*), to arrive; H. *nikālātā*, issuing.

Sometimes, however, even an IAV. word, which has the accent on the antepenultimate, may retain the accent on the same syllable, when it becomes the last syllable but three by the addition of a secondary suffix. This is by no means universal; pronunciation varying with different people. Thus, H. *ūtali*, a butterfly, long form, properly, *ūtaliyā*, but also sometimes *ūtaliyā*.

(d) If the accent does not fall on the first syllable of a word, that syllable has a secondary accent. Thus, Skr. *kūṭānām*, of families. So IAV. *raḥṣū*, *chōṭikkā*, as above; sTs. *ādāt(a)*, dependent on.

(e) In the conjugation of verbs there is a cross-rule, which, however, affects only the 2nd person singular of the Imperative. This cross-rule is that, throughout the conjugation the stress-accent remains on the syllable on which, under the above rules, it falls in the infinitive. If, in the infinitive, the accent falls on the root, then the cross-rule and the foregoing rules are identical. Thus, H. *ūphānā*, to rise,—derivative forms, past part., *ūphā*; pres. part., *ūphā*; pres. sg. 3, *ūphē*; impv. sg. 2, *ūph*. But in the causal verb the stress-accent of the infinitive falls, not on the root, but on the causal suffix. Thus, H. *uphānā*, to raise; past part., *uphāyā*; pres. part., *uphāyā*; pres. sg. 3, *uphāyē*. In all these the foregoing rules and the cross-rule are identical. But the impv. sg. 2 of the causal is, under the cross-rule, *uphā*, not *ūphā* as is required by the foregoing rules, and is thus distinguished from *ūphā*, the past part. of the simple verb.

¹ Bloch. FLM. 44 ff. doubts the existence of any stress-accent in the IAVs., but here I am compelled to differ from him. My own experience is confined to the languages of the Gangetic Valley, and in these it certainly exists. R. G. Bhandarkar and (following him) Joshi certify its existence in Marāṭhī and Guia-rāṭī. See Bhn. 181 and M. Gr. §§ 176 ff. At the same time I admit that, though it undoubtedly exists, the stress-accent in Marāṭhī may not be so strong as in other IAVs.

² Pischel (Pr. Gr., § 46) accepts these rules for Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī, but considers that the stress-accent of Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī, and poetic Apabhraṃśa is, on the other hand, a development of the Vedic tonē.

139. A tendency is observable from the earliest times to elide a short vowel following the accented syllable (cf. Pr. Gr., § 80); thus, Skr. *bhāginī* or *bhāgnī*; Skr. *pūgaphāla*, Ap. **pūgphala*, *pōpphala*; Skr. *sūrabhi*, Ap. **sūrbhi*, *sūbbhi*; Skr. *lāvāṇa*, Ap. **lāvna*, **lāūna*, *lōna*; Skr. *jīvita*, Ap. **jīia*, *jīa*. In the IAVs. the process is still carried on, but the neutral vowel is substituted for *a*, *i*, or *u*, instead of that vowel being altogether elided. Thus, M. *kār^arat*, a saw; B. *ghōr^awā*, a horse; Skr. *dūrbālakah*, weak, Ap. *dūbbalāi*, H. *dūbālā*.¹

The elision of *i* and *u* is more rare in the IAVs., and is restricted to special cases.

Examples are :—

Skr.	Ap.	IAV.
<i>bhāginī</i> , sister	<i>bāhiṇī</i>	H. <i>bāh^anī</i> , <i>bāhan</i> , or <i>bāhin</i> . Other dialects <i>bāhin</i> , but M. and B., to preserve the <i>i</i> , throw the accent on it and lengthen it, <i>bāhīn</i> .
<i>bādhirakah</i> , deaf	<i>bāhirai</i>	H. <i>bāh^arā</i> or <i>bāhirā</i> .
<i>prāthamaḥ</i> , first	<i>padhaṣṭhailāi</i>	H. <i>pāh^alā</i> , but M. <i>pāhilā</i> , G. <i>pāhelō</i> and so on.
<i>vidyut</i> , lightning	<i>bijjuliā</i>	H. <i>bij^alī</i> , but other IAV. <i>bijulī</i> .

Cases sometimes occur of the *a* being weakened to *i* or *u* instead of the neutral vowel (cf. Pr. Gr., §§ 101, 108). The *i* change is most common in Sindhī, and the *u* in Bengālī.

Examples :—

<i>pippalah</i> , a pipal tree	<i>pippalu</i>	S. <i>pipir^a</i> .
<i>viralakah</i> , rare	<i>viralai</i>	S. <i>virilō</i> or <i>virilō</i> .
<i>pañjarakam</i> , a cage	<i>pañjarai</i>	S. <i>pājirō</i> .
<i>āgnih</i> , fire		sTs., Bg. <i>āgun(i)</i> .
<i>śālmali</i> , a silk-cotton tree	<i>simbali</i>	Bg. <i>simul</i> .

¹ Jacobi gives as parallel from the Romance languages—Latin, *vērecāndia*; French, *vērgōgne*; Italian, *vērgōgna*; Spanish, *vērgōgna*.

140. In compound words, except in Bengālī and Assamese (see below), the first member retains its own stress-accent as a secondary accent, the stress-accent of the second member being the stress-accent of the word; thus, H. *pān^asālā*, a watering place; M. *phul^amālī*, a florist; B. *ā-sūjh(a)* or *ā-sūjh^avā*, invisible. This secondary accent I mark when necessary with the sign of a grave accent, but shall generally omit it.

This rule about compound words explains such apparently anomalous forms as the B. *dēkh^alāhū*, I saw, and the many similar verbal forms in that language, in which the accent falls on the penultimate or final syllable of the word. They are really compounds of the past participle [*dēkhal(a)*], and old pronominal suffixes.

The tendency to drop the final vowel of the first member of the compound [as in *dēkhal(a)* + *āhū*] dates from the earliest times. Thus, Skr. *kumbha-kārah*, a potter, Ap. *kumbha-āru* or *kumbhāru* (against the usual custom, Ho., i, 8), IAV. *kumbhār(a)*; Skr. *nāvamālīkā*, jasmine, Ap. **nāvmālīā*, **nāūmālīā*, *nāmālīā*; Skr. *prativēśah*, a neighbour, Ap. *pāesu* or *pādivēsu*, H. *parōs(a)*. A long vowel in such a position is first shortened and then elided; thus, Skr. *dvācatvārtīmat*, forty-two, Ap. *bāyāyālīsu*, *bāyālīsu*; H. *byālīs(a)*.

141. If the accent falls on a short vowel there is a tendency to lengthen it (cf. § 168); thus, Skr. *āpagā* or *āpagā*, a river; *mūsala* or *mūsala*, a club; so also—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>prātīpad</i> , first day of a fortnight	<i>pādivayā</i> or <i>pādivayā</i>	M. <i>pāḍavā</i> , but H. <i>pārībā</i> , B. <i>pārāb</i> .

Skr.
hástini, she elephant

Ap.
hástini

M. (with change of accent) *hástini*, but
H. etc., *hástini*.
sTs. OEH. *kúsali(a)*.

kúsalaḥ, prosperous

Sometimes, instead of lengthening the vowel, the consonant following is doubled, so as to make length by position. Thus:—

kálakah, strife

sTs. B. (Bh.) *kállah*.

nádi, a river

H. EH. B. *náddi*.

142. On the other hand the accent has a tendency to shorten a preceding long vowel (cf. Pr. Gr., § 81); e.g., Skr. *agāraṃ* or *agāraṃ*, a house; Skr. *ātikūpyah* or *akūpyah* (for *ātikūpyah*), very base; so in IAV.—

Skr.
kāśīṣaṃ, green vitriol
dēvālayah, temple

Ap.
kāśisu
dēvālai

H. *kaśis*.
P. *devālā*.

So M. *bhīk(a)*, begging, *bhīkāri*, G. *bhikkāri*, a beggar; M. *kām(a)*, work, *kamāu*, that which earns. Again, M. *kāśās(a)* (कानास), to an ear, in which the first *ā* is written long, but is pronounced short like the *a* in the Italian *ballo*. So also M. *bhīk(a)*, dat. *bhīkās(a)*; *pīk(a)*, a ripe crop, dat. *pīkās(a)*; *hāt(a)*, a hand, dat. *hātās(a)* as in *kāśās(a)* (Bhn., 137).

143. When a word begins with two long syllables, the second of which has the stress-accent, the secondary accent on the first syllable often attracts the first accent to itself, and the syllable which would ordinarily bear the stress-accent is shortened. Thus, Skr. *ānta* becomes in Ap. *āṇia*; Skr. *pāṇīya*, Ap. *pāṇiya*; Skr. *kālyāṇa*, Ap. *kālhaṇa*, N. Pr. (Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* Tr. I, 13, n. 18), and so on. So—

Skr.
dēvālayah, temple
kāyasthah, a man of the
writer caste

Ap.
..
kāyātthu

H. *dēval*, M. *dēval*.
B. *kāyath*.

vātūlakah, mad *vātūlai* M. *bāvalā*, B. *bāurā*, S. *bāvīrō*.

144. This even happens when the first syllable is short; e.g., Skr. *dhīka*, false, Ap. *āliya*; Skr. *mādhūka*, name of a tree, Ap. *māhu*; so—

Skr.
śrīśah, a kind of tree
dvitīyakah, second
gābhīrakah, deep
bāhīrādah, a bullock
sāmbādhī, a co-father-in-law

Ap.
śrīsu
dvitīyai
gāhīrāi
bāhīlu
..

H. *śris*.
H. *dvitīyā*.
H. *gāhīrā*.
IAV. *bāil* or *bāil*.
H. *sām-dhī* (through **sāmbādhī*, § 275).

145. In Sanskrit and Prakrit there was also a secondary accent on the penultimate of a word. Thus, in *kātīlātā* the *ā* in the penultimate has more accent than the *i* in the antepenultimate. Sometimes this secondary accent was so strongly felt that it swallowed up the main stress-accent, and itself became the main accent, with the usual result of lengthening the accented syllable.

Thus we have in Skr.

Accent not on penult.

jālpāka
dēvikā, a goddess
ūṇpin
kārīra
vārtīra
vātūla

Accent on penult.

or *jālpāka*, talkative.
or *dēvikā*, a queen.
or *ūṇpin*, a guinea-pig.
or *kārīra*, the shoot of a bamboo.
or *vārtīra*, a quail.
or *vātūla*, inflated.

In Pr. this is specially common in certain pleonastic terminations. One is *-la* or *-lla*. Thus, *vijjālā*, lightning, *pāṭṭalā*, a leaf, *pālā*, yellow; but *pāṭṭavillā*, a shoot, *māhūllā*, a face, *hātthūllā*, a hand. So Skr. *dīvākūlam*, Pr. *dēvūllam*; Skr. *sārvātāḥ*, Pr. *sārvātā*; Skr. *īkātā*, Pr. *īkātā*; Skr. *ānyātāḥ*, Pr. *ānnātā*. So also the suffix *ka*; thus, Pr. *hiḍḍakam* or (Mg. Pr.) *hāḍḍakkam*, heart. According to Mk. xii, 22, the rule is made general in Māgadhi Prakrit, in which any vowel before the suffix *ka* may be lengthened. Thus, Skr. *rājapūtrakaḥ*, Mg. Pr. *lāṣṭakē*, or *lāṣṭākē*, a king's son.

This secondary accent on the penultimate reappears in several of the IAVs. The Apabhramśa termination *-aku* becomes (by elision of the *k*) *āu*, and then *ō* or *ā*. So the termination *ika* becomes *iā* or *iyā*, and thence *ī*. In two Western Vernaculars, i.e., Gujarātī, and especially Marāṭhī, curiously enough the Māgadhi Prakrit custom has obtained, and this secondary accent swallows up the main accent of the word, and becomes itself the main accent, with the usual consequence of shortening the preceding syllable.¹ So that *aku* and *ika* become *āku*, *āu*, and *īkā*, *iā*, and then *ō* or *ā* and *ī*, preceded by a short vowel (Bhn., 137, 161; M. Gr., § 179). Thus:—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>kūpākāḥ</i> , a well	<i>kūvāu</i>	G. <i>kuvō</i> , but H. <i>kūā</i> .
<i>cūḍākāḥ</i> , a bangle	<i>cūḍāu</i>	G. <i>cūḍō</i> , M. <i>cūḍī</i> , but H. <i>cūrī</i> .
<i>cūrākāḥ</i> , lime	<i>cūnāu</i>	G. <i>cūnō</i> , M. <i>cūnā</i> , but H. <i>cūnī</i> .
<i>citrākāḥ</i> , a leopard	<i>citāu</i>	M. <i>citā</i> , but H. <i>cīī</i> .
<i>kīḍākāḥ</i> , a worm	<i>kīḍāu</i>	M. <i>kīḍā</i> , but H. <i>kīrī</i> .
<i>śikṣitāḥ</i> , learned	<i>śikṣhāu</i>	M. <i>śikṣā</i> , but H. <i>śikṣī</i> .
<i>mīṣṭākāḥ</i> , sweet	<i>mīṣṭhāu</i>	M. <i>mīṣṭā</i> , but H. <i>mīṣṭī</i> .
<i>sūcikāḥ</i> , a tailor	<i>sūciū</i>	M. <i>sūcī</i> , but H. <i>sūcī</i> .
<i>vīṭikā</i> , a betel-roll	<i>vīṭiā</i>	M. <i>bīṭī</i> , but H. <i>bīrī</i> .
Again, in other terminations—		
<i>hāstinī</i> , she elephant	<i>hātthini</i>	M. <i>hātṭin</i> , but H. <i>hāthini</i> .
<i>bhāgini</i> , a sister	<i>bāhini</i>	M. <i>bāhīn</i> , B. <i>bāhīn</i> , but H. <i>bāhin</i> .

And so in all other similar feminines in M. Compare § 142 (*kanās*, etc.).

But a similar change occurs in other languages; thus:—

<i>dyūṭākam</i> , gambling	<i>jūḍū</i> or <i>jūḍū</i>	P. <i>jūā</i> , but S. H. <i>jūā</i> .
<i>dīpākāḥ</i> , a light	<i>dīvāu</i> or <i>dīvāu</i>	P. <i>dīyā</i> , but H. <i>dīyā</i> .
<i>abhyāñjitaḥ</i> , anointed	<i>abbhijjīū</i>	H. <i>bhijā</i> , but M. Bg. O. A. <i>bhijā</i> , wet.
<i>abhyāntarē</i> , within	<i>abbhīntaraḥ</i>	H. <i>bhīlār</i> , but M. Bg. O. A. <i>bhīlār</i> .

¹ The accuracy of this statement has been doubted by eminent scholars, but further inquiry has not induced me to alter it. It is based on Bhn., 137.—'There is a rule, which in M. is almost universal, and in G. often observable, in virtue of which the accent or the whole weight of the sound of a word falls on the final *ā* or *ī* of nouns in the former, and the final *ō* or *ū* in the latter; and the preceding vowels are rendered short, while in the original Sanskrit and in Hindi they are long.' He then gives as examples—M. *kīḍā*; M. *kīḍā*; G. *kuvō*; M. *citā*; M. *cūḍā*; G. *cūḍō*; M. *cūnā*; G. *cūnō*. He gives further examples on p. 161. On the point of the question of the correct pronunciation of these two languages, Dr. Bhandarkar's evidence is entitled to great respect. As regards M., Molesworth's dictionary gives *kīḍ* and *kīḍā*, *citā*, *cūḍā*, *cūn*, and *cūnā*, all of which exactly bear out his remarks. A. Master (JBRA., NS. I, 80) combats Bhn.'s statement about Gujarātī, and maintains that the words are *kūḍō*, *cūḍō*, and *cūnō*. It is here probably a question of dialect, G. Dy. gives only *kuvō*, but both *cūḍō* and *cūḍā*, *cūnō* and *cūnā*.

Turner, in JRAS., 1910, gives a different explanation of these forms with the stress-accent on the final syllable. For Gujarātī, on p. 220, he denies that the shortening of the penultimate is due to final stress, and maintains that it is due to the essential character of the vowels *i* and *u*, which are peculiarly liable to shortening. As regards Marāṭhī (pp. 231 ff.) he follows Pischel's theory (§ 138, n. 2) that in Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit, though not in Śaurasēni, etc., the stress-accent is a substitute for the old Vedic tones, and is not subject to the rules for stress-accent given for other languages. In Marāṭhī, he maintains that the effects of Vedic tones can still be observed. His arguments are interesting, but are too complicated to give here. Under any circumstances, the facts of the present day are as given above.

146. The shortening and elision of the vowel following the accented syllable, as in *dēval(a)* for *dēvāla* and *dūbālā*, has had one very important result. It follows that when a word ends in a short vowel, that vowel, under the influence of the stress or the secondary accent on the penultimate, has a tendency to disappear.

Taking Tadbhava words first.—These come to the IAVs. through the Apabhramśa, and nouns pass into the IAVs. in the form of the nominative singular. Nearly every Ap. word, and the nominative of every noun in that language ended in *a*, *i*, or *u*, or in one of these vowels nasalized. If one of these final vowels be preceded by a consonant, under the influence of the accent, it disappears in the modern tongues. Thus—

Skr. Nom. Sg.	Pr. Nom. Sg.	Ap. Nom. Sg.	IAV.
<i>ghōṭaḥ</i> , horse	<i>ghōṭō</i>	<i>ghōṭu</i>	<i>ghōṭ</i> (<i>ghōṭ</i>).
<i>pārkaṭi</i> , fig tree	<i>pārkāṭi</i>	<i>pārkāṭi</i>	<i>pārkāṭ</i> (<i>pākar</i>).
<i>bāhuḥ</i> , arm	<i>bāhū</i>	<i>bāhu</i>	<i>bāh</i> .

The same applies to the cases in which a verbal form ends in a short vowel. Thus—

Skr.	Ap.	M.
<i>pāṭhasi</i> , thou readest	<i>pāṭhāsi</i>	<i>pāṭhas</i> (or <i>padhes</i>).

It will be seen that under the influence of the accent there has been a regular weakening of the final vowel at each of the last two stages. Prakrit has *ghōṭō* with the final *ō* long. Apabhramśa weakens it to *u*, and the IAVs. omit it altogether. There is a tendency in some dialects to preserve the final vowel. It is especially the case in Bengali, Oriyā, and Sindhī.¹ On the other hand, some languages are fond of shortening and eliding a final long vowel of a Ts. Thus in Bihārī the word for 'woman' is indifferently *nōri* (purist), *nōri*, or *nār* (poetical and vulgar). In Sindhī and Kāśmīrī the final short vowel of Tadbhavas, though preserved, is only very faintly pronounced. We meet the process, in fact, at an older stage, and can watch the vowel in the very act of disappearing.

In Tatsamas the result is the same. The noun is also used in its nominative form, and a final visarga or anusvāra is omitted, as these letters have ceased to exist in the IAVs. We thus get—

Skr.	Intermediate Stage.	IAV.
<i>bālaḥ</i> , strength	<i>bāla</i>	<i>bal</i> or <i>bāla</i> .
<i>mātiḥ</i> , mind	<i>māti</i>	<i>mat</i> or <i>māti</i> .
<i>vāstu</i> , thing	<i>bāstu</i>	<i>bast</i> or <i>bāstu</i> .

The above remarks only refer to prose pronunciation. In prose these vowels, though they have *disappeared*, are not elided, for they are still there, and again reappear in poetry (see § 125), which always preserves the older forms of the language. Thus—

IAV.	Is pronounced in Prose.	Is pronounced in Poetry.
घोड़	<i>ghōr</i>	<i>ghōra</i> .
पाकड़	<i>pākar</i>	<i>pākāra</i> or <i>pākāri</i> .
बाँह	<i>bāh</i>	<i>bāha</i> or <i>bāhu</i> .
पठस	<i>pāṭhas</i>	<i>pāṭhāsa</i> .
बल	<i>bal</i>	<i>bāla</i> .
मति	<i>mat</i>	<i>māti</i> .
बस्तु	<i>bast</i>	<i>bāstu</i> .

¹ Central and Eastern Pahārī not only elide original short final vowels, but exhibit a strong tendency to shorten final long vowels. In this way, many words in these languages now end in audible short vowels of secondary origin. See Turner in IA., L. 99. So also in Kāśmīrī.

Clause Stress-Accent. The Stress-Accent in Bengali.

147. Besides the stress-accent of each word, the IAVs., as in all languages, lay special stress on the accented syllable of some particular word in each clause. The ordinary rules of emphasis and of logical connexion will here generally be a safe guide, but in Bengali and Assamese the matter is complicated by the old influence of Tibeto-Burman languages still

persisting. According to Risley,¹ the population of Bengal belongs to the Mongolo-Dravidian, and that of Assam to the Mongoloid ethnic type. The true Mongoloid type is still mainly represented by speakers of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages, and there is no doubt that people akin to the Tibeto-Burman Bārā, or Bodo, tribe once occupied a large portion of Bengal.

In regard to the Bārā language two points may be noticed here. The first is the preference for 'portmanteau' words,—i.e., for the use of long strings of roots compounded together into one word indicating a complex idea that in other languages would be expressed by one or more clauses.² Thus the word *nu-zā-hūi-nai-sūi-lā*, lit. see-become-motion-from-observe-much-take, means 'go and take and see and observe carefully.' The second point is that in this language there is a strong tendency to place the stress-accent on the first syllable of a word,³ as in *faī-dang-man* (really a compound word), (I) was coming.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907), i, 294.

² LSJ., III, ii, 13.

³ Endle, *Outline Grammar of the Kachāri (Bārā) Language*, p. 7.

148. We have seen (ante § 138d) that in other IAVs., when the stress-accent does not fall on the first syllable of a word, that syllable has a secondary accent. We have also seen (§ 140) that in other IAVs., in the case of a compound word, the main stress-accent of the compound is on the second member, the first member retaining its own stress-accent as a secondary accent. The case is the same with literary Bengali, when recited *ore rotundo*. Thus *āsītē* means 'coming,' and *chīlā*, 'he was.' When these are compounded, in this form of the language, we get *āsītē-chīlā*, he was coming. But in coll. Bg. Tibeto-Burman influence prevails, the main stress-accent is thrown on to the first syllable of the compound, and as a result all the succeeding syllables are run into each other, so that what is written *āsītē-chīlā*, is pronounced *āschīlō*.

149. But Tibeto-Burman influence does not stop here. In coll. Bg. each clause (on the analogy of the Tibeto-Burman 'portmanteau' word) becomes what is practically one compound word, with the main stress-accent on the first member of the compound, and only secondary accents on the remaining words. Thus let us take the three words, *sē*, he; *baliyā*, having said; *basīlā*, he sat. If we write *sē baliyā basīlā*, it means lit. 'he having said, sat.' But in colloquial Bengali this is pronounced *sē bōlē-bōsīlō*, and means 'he quietly said' or 'he had the impudence to say.'¹

A longer sentence, which I break into clauses by a perpendicular stroke, will illustrate even better the Bengali system of clause accents. Each clause is really a compound word as in Bārā. The sentence and accentuation I owe to the kindness of the late Mr. J. D. Anderson, *Bāilā sādā | ācārāṇē | kālak-gulī | viśeṣ niyam pūwā yāy, | pūrvē tāhār | ālōcanā kārīyāchī | | tāhār-i | ānuvṛtti-kramē | āro kichu | bālibār āchē. | Tāhā | ēi prabāndhē | ābatīraṇē kārītē | icchā kārī. | Kīyat pārimāṇē | pūnarākti | pāthak-diga-kē | mārjanā kārītē hāibē*, i.e., 'Several definite rules can be framed for the pronunciation of Bengali, as I have explained on a previous occasion. But some supplementary remarks remain to be made, and with these I wish to deal in the present essay. My readers must forgive me if there is a certain amount of repetition.'

¹ Cf. Anderson, JRAS, 1912, 1075; 1913, 857, 867.

150. It should also be noted that in such 'portmanteau' compounds, the main accent, or phrase-stress, is accompanied by an audible rise in tone,—another point in which Tibeto-Burman influence manifests itself.

Tone.

151. Tone, in the sense in which it is employed in regard to Indo-Chinese languages, and corresponding to the Vedic musical accents, is not a prominent feature in the IAVs. There is, of course, everywhere the sentence or phrase tone, the words of a phrase being altered in pitch to indicate some special shade of meaning. These can be illustrated by the four different modes of pronouncing the word 'dead.' We may say 'dead' in a raised

monotone, with a slightly plaintive inflexion, to indicate pity; or we may say 'dead?' a simple query; or 'dead?' an incredulous query long drawn out; or 'dead,' a sharp and decisive answer.¹ Such modulations probably occur in every language, and the interrogative tone is especially prominent in the IAVs. owing to the fact that the order of words in a sentence is the same whether the sentence is a direct sentence or an interrogative. But we very rarely come across cases in which the meaning of a word varies according to the musical note in which it is uttered. If a differentiation has to be made, it is done by means of alteration of the stress-accent. Thus the H. *bāṛhā*, increased, has the stress-accent on the first syllable, but *baṛhā*, drive on! (imperative), has the accent on the last.

¹ Examples taken from *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed., vi, 218.

152. We do however find a musical tone taking an important part in Northern Panjābī,¹ in which the accented syllable of a word is pronounced in a raised tone, i.e., in a higher musical pitch, if it is followed by the letter *h* or by an aspirated letter. In such cases the *h* or the aspiration is not pronounced, and its exact position with regard to the following unaccented syllable is immaterial. Thus *qādhā* or *qāhḡā*, severe; *wēndhā* or *wēhḡndā*, looking, are pronounced *qāḡā* and *wēndā*, respectively, with the *ḡā* and *wē* pronounced in a high tone. This tonic *h* must be carefully distinguished from the *h* or aspiration which is written at the beginning of an accented syllable in the same dialect. This *h* or aspiration is sounded something like the Arabic 'ain, and can only be enunciated on a low tone. Thus *lahāi*, descent, is pronounced *l'āi*, something like *لَعَالِي* and *walhēḡḡā*, to wrap up, is pronounced *wal'ēḡḡā*. When an aspirated letter is sonant it is usually, but not always, pronounced in this case as a surd. Thus *bhrā*, brother, is pronounced *pr'ā*; and *dhāi*, two and a half, is pronounced *ḡāi*. The *h* or the aspiration may even be in a syllable preceding the accented syllable and have the same effect. Thus, *hanérnī*, giddiness, is pronounced *n'érnī*; *ghatāḡā*, to lessen, is pronounced *kaḡāḡā*; and *bhaleāi*, goodness, *pale'āi*. It thus follows that two distinct words, differently spelt, may have the same sound. Thus, *kahāḡāi*, a story, and *ghāḡāi*, mud, are both pronounced *k'āḡāi*.²

We also, as already pointed out (§ 150), see a high tone employed in Bengali. It falls on the syllable in a clause which has the peculiar Bengali clause-stress-accent. Here it is probably due to Tibeto-Burman influence.

¹ These tones probably extend into Northern Lahndā, but they have not been described as yet by trustworthy observers.

² For further particulars, and also for the cases in which sonant aspirates do not become surds, see NP. Gr., xvii ff., also T. G. Bailey, *A brief Grammar of Panjābī as spoken in the Wazirabad District, Lahore, 1904*, p. 2. According to Bailey, the same changes also occur in Standard Panjābī and in several of the WPh. dialects.

Intonation.

153. Languages differ widely in the method employed by speakers in placing or focussing the tone of voice. It may be focussed on the back of the mouth, on the hard palate, or even on the teeth, or it may be nasalized.¹ It is this focussing of the tone which is one of the most characteristic features of a language, and the method of focussing employed in one cannot be applied to another without risk of unintelligibility. This is often observed in India, when an Englishman speaks in the vernacular to an uneducated peasant. If, as he often does, he speaks the language with the palatal focus customary in English, the peasant will grasp that fact first of all, and will not attempt to understand what is said to him. He will recognize the English intonation and will therefore assume that the words are English, although the speaker may really be uttering excellently grammatical Hindōstānī. There are few officials in India who have not, when new to India, had their self-conceit diminished, when speaking to a peasant in that peasant's own vernacular, by the latter replying, 'Sāhib, I do not understand English.'

¹ Remarks based on NP. Gr., 19 ff., 22.

154. Nevertheless, hardly any one has paid attention to this important subject. In fact, the only mention of it that has hitherto been made by any writer on Indian languages is contained in the passages already referred to in NP. Gr. For the rest of India no written information is available, and I can only, with much hesitation, quote my own experience, which is confined to the Ganges Valley. In good English, clearly spoken, the tone is focussed, on the hard palatal arch, though professional singers, for the sake of clearness focus it more forward, behind the teeth. In Pañjābī, 'the tone is brought to the very front of the mouth and on the teeth, giving a ringing metallic effect,' and endows the voice with a splendid carrying quality. One result of this clear metallic tone is that vocal indolence is not encouraged. Compound consonants, and, especially, ancient double letters, are preserved, and herein we find a cause for the phonetic facts, that in Pañjābī, double letters are not simplified, and letters difficult to pronounce, such as *ṛ* and *ḷ*, are in common use. As we go west, down the Jamunā and Ganges Dōāb, the focus is placed further back. The result is a less clear-cut tone, accompanied by a vocal indolence that simplifies double consonants with compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel. Thus, P. *sūkṣhā*, but H. *sūkhā*, dry. This change is, however, in these tracts not so universal as we might assume from literary usage, for the double consonant preceded by a short vowel is still often heard in the mouths of the uneducated. With this focus, we find *ṛ* and *ḷ* gradually disappearing, being replaced by the dental *n* and *l* respectively. As we go eastwards, the focus gradually recedes slightly, the chief result being further vocal indolence. A tendency is observable to confuse the letters *n* and *l*. We hear, e.g., a village named *Lakhⁿaur* (Lakṣmanapura), called *Nakhⁿaur* or *Nakhⁿaul*. Similarly there is a tendency to substitute a purely dental *r*, not only for the cerebral *ṛ*, but also for the *r* of the West, which is semi-cerebral. Then again this dental *r* is liable to be exchanged with the dental *l*. By this time we have reached Bihārī, but on our left, we have passed by Audh, a country in which the language is Eastern Hindī. In Central Audh, while the language is still fairly clear-cut, a tendency to nasalization is observable,—not so much of particular words, as of general intonation. This is probably not very manifest to foreigners living in Audh itself, for it is too general; but, when a Magistrate in Bihār, where this nasal intonation is not prevalent, I was frequently struck by the clear-cut nasal intonation of witnesses brought down from Central Audh to give evidence before me. From the Panjāb, down the Ganges Valley as far as Bihār, the letter *s* is invariably dental. The *sh*-sound of *ś* is rarely heard, although we know that in the Prakrit period it existed in South Bihār. So also the clear sound of the letter *a*,—the so-called *a* of 'America,'—has persisted till we come to East Bihār where we find it with a more rounded sound, approaching that of *ō* in 'hot.' Further East we come to Bengal. Here the focus of intonation is decidedly further back in the mouth. I should be inclined, pending further enquiry, to say that it was on the soft palate. The result is a rounded, indistinct, sound of the vowels. The *a* has become distinctly *ō* and broken vowels, such as *æ*, have come into frequent use. Bengali has its own melody. It has been described as possessing 'the mellifluousness of Italian,'¹ but its best friends cannot call it a clear-cut language. Indeed, I have heard it irreverently libelled, by one who came from the Panjāb, as a 'slobbering' form of speech. Without going so far as that, there can be no doubt that in Bengali vocal indolence, consequent on the back-focus of its intonation, has seriously affected its clearness of enunciation. Compound consonants are indolently simplified, *padma* sounds as *pōddō*, *smaraṇ* as *sōrōn*, *vāhya* as *bājgha*, and *hrasva* as *rōssō*. Finally the dental *s*, which requires a certain effort to pronounce clearly, is everywhere superseded by the easily pronounced palatal *ś*.

¹ Cf. Anderson, JRAS., 1912, 1074.

B. VOWELS.

Addition of Vowels.

155. *Prothesis*.—Prakrit does not suffer compound consonants as initials of a word, and hence such do not occur in IAV. Tadbhavas; but we often find them in borrowed words including Tatsamas and semi-Tatsamas, and in such cases, especially when the compound begins with a sibilant, it is usual to prefix a vowel in order to assist pronunciation. We have an example of this in Pr., in the word *itthī*, a woman for **istri* (cf. Shb. *istri*), i.e., *stri*, a woman (Pr. Gr. § 147). In the IAVs. the prefixed vowel is generally an unaccented *a* or *i*. There seems to be no rule as to which vowel is selected, except that *i* seems generally preferred when the following syllable contains *i* or *e*. Thus IAV. *asnān*, bathing (*snāna*-); *istri* or *istiri*, a woman (*stri*) (Hārautī, a dialect of Rājasthānī, and also old Western Rājasthānī have *astri*); *astūti* or (rarely) *istūti*, praise; *iṣṭān*, a station; *iskūl*, a school; *ispānj*, a sponge. This added vowel is often pronounced like a *mātrā*-vowel, so that we hear *asnān*, *istri*, *astūti*, and so on. In many cases we have anaptyxis instead, see below. Sometimes, in cases in which there is no true compound consonant and no sibilant, we find a prothetic *a*, with the accent, as in H. *ācapal*, restless, Skr. *capala*-; *ajwān* (Tbh.), aniseed, Skr. *yavānī*.

[An amusing instance of prothesis is the Bengali pronunciation of the English word 'stink,' as *īṣṭīnk*. This latter word became confused with the surname of the celebrated Warren Hastings, which came to be pronounced 'īṣṭīnk,' with the accent on the final syllable. In the Bengali pronunciation of 'Honorable,' the word is run together, so as to sound like 'hōrbal,' and, when I was in India, it was a common joke among Europeans that the Bg. pronunciation of the 'Honorable Hastings Sāhib' was 'Horrible Stink Sāhib.']

In Dardic prothesis of a vowel is not uncommon. Thus—

a. Bš. *aṣe*, but V. *īe-ṣt*,¹ a bull, compared with Av. *gav*, Šīynī *īāv*, Sarikolī, *īau*; Bš. *arū*, Aš. *arū*, Skr. *rūpa*-, silver.

i. Aš. *istri*, Wai. *īstri*, Av. Skr. *stri*, a woman; Kh. *istōr*, Av. *staora*-, Prs. *stōr*, a horse; Kh. *ispuṣār*, Grw. *īṣpō*, Skr. *svasār*-, a sister; V. *īṣṭi-kh*, Kh. *istāri*, Aš. *istū*, Av. *stār*-, Prs. *sitāra*, a star.

u. Only noted in V. *uṣū*, six, but Wai. *ṣū*, Av. *ṣvaṣ*.

e. Only noted in Gwr. *etsi*, a cow. Cf. Bš. *aṣe*, above.

It will be observed that compound consonants commencing with a sibilant prefer *i*.

¹ See GIP., I², 300, 419. Morgenstierne (Aš. Gr., 245) derives this from *ṣabha*-, but this does not account for the Šīynī and Sarikolī forms.

156. *Anaptyxis* (*Svarabhakti*).

a. *Initial*. We frequently find this instead of prothesis, and, like prothesis, it is chiefly found in borrowed words including Tas. and sTss. Anaptyxis is more common in the upper Gangetic Dōāb, in the Panjāb and the North-West, while prothesis is more common to the East. But while prothesis is nearly confined to compound consonants commencing with *s* initial, anaptyxis also occurs when one of the members of the compound is *y*, *r*, *l*, or a nasal. So also in Prakrit (Pr. Gr. § 131 ff.). Examples are:—

Ts. <i>tyāg</i> , generosity	becomes	S. <i>tiyāg</i> ^u , P. H. E.H.B. <i>tiyāg</i> .
Ts. <i>pratāp</i> , prowess	"	IAV. <i>pārtāp</i> , exc. S. <i>partāp</i> ^u . (This is the regular form which the prefix <i>pra</i> takes in sTss.)
Ts. <i>trās</i> , fear	"	IAV. <i>tarās</i> , exc. S. <i>tīras</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>prāṇ</i> , life	"	Coll. Bg. <i>parān</i> .
Ts. <i>prabhāt</i> , dawn	"	S. <i>piribhāt</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>prīy</i> , a friend	"	S. <i>pirā</i> ^u or <i>prī</i> .
Ts. <i>vr̥kṣ</i> , a tree	"	B. <i>bīrich</i> .
Ts. <i>śrāddh</i> , funeral obsequies	"	S. <i>sirādh</i> ^u , H. E.H. B. <i>sarādh</i> .

Ts. <i>ślōk</i> , a stanza	becomes	H. EH. B. <i>salōk</i> , M. <i>śilōk</i> , S. <i>salōk</i> ^u (Pr. <i>silōa</i>).
Ts. <i>klēs</i> , fatigue	„	IAV. <i>kilēs</i> , or <i>kalēs</i> , exc. S. <i>kilēs</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>snēh</i> , love	„	IAV. <i>sinēh</i> or <i>sanēh</i> , but S. <i>sanēhō</i> .
Ts. <i>snān</i> , bathing	„	poet. H. EH. B. <i>sinān</i> (AMg. Pr. <i>sināna</i> -).
Eng. station	„	<i>siṭēsan</i> (mostly western) or <i>iṭēsan</i> (mostly eastern).

We have both prothesis and anaptyxis in *istiri*, a form occasionally used throughout the Ganges valley for *strī*, a woman.

It will be seen that the inserted vowel is nearly always unaccented, and this accounts for its indeterminate character. It is often pronounced as a mere *mātrā*-vowel, and this is the rule in Sindhī poetry (S. Gr. 29). In other cases the choice between *a* and *i* usually depends on the nature of the contiguous vowels. In the case of contiguity with a labial consonant, *u* is often employed. Thus from *dvāram*, a door, we have IAV. *duwār*, and from *padmam*, a lotus, IAV. *padum* (§ 157).

So universal is the pronunciation of an initial *pra* as *par* (cf. *pārtāp*, above), that even words commencing with an original *par* are often written as commencing with *pra*. Thus, all over the Ganges valley, it is quite common to meet the Prs. *pargāna*, a fiscal division of land, spelt *pragāna*.

With *snān*, *sinān*, bathing, we may also note that *snā*, takes the form *nhā* in most IAVs. (Pr. *nhāi*), but P. H. also have *√ nahā*, while M. employs metathesis and has *√ nāh*.

I have not noted any certain case of initial anaptyxis in Dardic.

157. *b. Medial.* Anaptyxis is also common in the middle of a word, not only in the case of *y*, *r*, *l* and nasals as above, but also with other compounds. Thus :—

Ts. <i>kārya</i> , a business	becomes	H. <i>kāraj</i> , and so elsewhere.
Ts. <i>dhārya</i> , firmness	„	IAV. <i>dhāraj</i> , exc. S. <i>dhāraj</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>sūrya</i> , the sun	„	Most IAVs. <i>sūraj</i> or <i>sūruj</i> , S. <i>sūrij</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>garbh</i> , the womb	„	IAV. <i>garabh</i> .
Ts. <i>hars</i> , joy	„	H. EH. G. B. <i>hārakh</i> , EPh. <i>hār^ukha</i> .
Ts. <i>dharm</i> , virtue	„	IAV. <i>dhāram</i> , exc. S. <i>dhārm</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>pūrva</i> , eastern	„	P. H. EH. EPh. <i>pūrab</i> , B. <i>pūrub</i> , S. <i>pūrab</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>vars</i> , a year	„	P. H. EH. <i>bāras</i> , B. <i>bāris</i> , S. <i>wārih</i> ^u , but L. <i>wārhā</i> . Cf. Kš. <i>wārihy</i> .
Ts. <i>mīśra</i> , name of a Brāhman sept	„	P. H. EH. B. <i>mīsir</i> or <i>mīsar</i> .
Ts. <i>bhakt</i> , a devotee	„	IAV. <i>bhāgat</i> , exc. S. <i>bhāgat</i> ^u .
Ts. <i>śakti</i> , power	„	S. <i>sāgat</i> .
Ts. <i>āgni</i> , fire	„	H. EH. <i>āgani</i> , Bg. <i>āgun</i> . Cf. Pr. <i>āgañi</i> .
Ts. <i>pādma</i> , a lotus	„	H. EH. B. <i>pādum</i> . Cf. Hc. ii, 112, <i>paūma</i> .
Ts. <i>janm</i> , birth	„	IAV. <i>jānam</i> .
Ts. <i>svāpna</i> , a dream	„	H. EH. B. <i>sāpan</i> , S. <i>supanō</i> .
Ts. <i>śabda</i> , a word	„	IAV. <i>sābad</i> , exc. S. <i>sāb^ud</i> (S. Gr. xxxiii).
Ts. <i>vighna</i> , an impediment	„	G. <i>vāghan</i> (GLL., 402).

It will again be seen that no rule can be laid down as to whether *a* or *i* should be inserted. In Bg. *āgun*, the vowel is *u*, and the preceding *a* has been lengthened.

In Dardic medial anaptyxis is also not uncommon. We have seen it above in Kš. *wārihy*, a year. For *a*, we may quote Š. *aiat*, or *ašt*, V. *aste*, eight. The Av. *uštra*, a camel,

becomes Bā. *ṣṭyur*, V. *iṣṭyur*, with anaptyxis of *u*, to which these languages frequently, as in the English 'penury,' prefixes *i* or *y*. In Kś., moreover, the employment of *a-mātrā*, is often an instance of medial anaptyxis. See § 193a.

158. *Other cases.* Vowels are sometimes added as finals. Most IAVs. elide all final short vowels, but Sindhi and Oriyā retain them, and so occasionally does Bengali (see § 146). In Central Pahārī (Kumaunī) a short final vowel is, as elsewhere, elided, but it returns before postpositions. Thus *bālak*, a child; *bālaka-le*, by a child. But these are not instances of the addition of final vowels. The most important case in which this occurs is in the Kanaui dialect of Hindī. Here the letter *i* is often added at the end of a word after a long vowel. Thus *bādi* for *bād*, after; *dēi* for *dē*, giving (masc.); *barbādi* for *barbād*, ruined. This seems to be due to a desire to sound clearly the off glide of the final consonant, for we find *a* added in similar circumstances in the case of borrowed words in Kāśmīrī as in *jahāz^a*, for Prs. *jahūz*, a ship; *niśān^a*, token, for Prs. *niśān* or *niśāna*, and many others. See § 193. In Old Western Rājasthānī *a* is sometimes similarly added after a final *i* (OWR. Gr. § 2 (6)). Thus *jāgia* for *jāgi*, *matia* for *matī*.

Elision of Vowels.

159. *Aphesis.* An initial unaccented vowel, followed by an accented vowel, and therefore in a word of more than one syllable, is often elided in the IAVs. So far as I have noted, this only occurs before a single consonant. The same occurred in Prakrit, as in Skr. *arānya-*, Pr. *rāṇṇa-*, G. M. P. *rān*, H. *ran*. Similarly:—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>araghātṭakḥ</i> , a well-wheel	<i>arahātṭu</i>	H. <i>rāhat</i> . M. has transferred the accent and now has <i>rahāt</i> .
<i>arātnih</i> , the elbow	<i>arātī</i>	M. <i>rētā</i> , a push with the elbow.
<i>ālasikā</i> , linseed	<i>ālasīā</i>	H. <i>āsī</i> , Bg. <i>tīsī</i> , O. <i>tēsī</i> , all with transfer of accent. H. also <i>ālāsī</i> , cf. Kś. <i>ālās</i> .
<i>apātyakakḥ</i> , a child	<i>*avaccanū</i>	IAV. <i>bāccā</i> , etc.
<i>apūpakḥ</i> , a cake	....	sts. IAV. <i>pūp</i> .
<i>abhilāgyatē</i> , he is attached to	....	M. H. <i>√ hilag-</i> , be hung to.
<i>irīṇam</i> , a salt waste	....	S. <i>riṇ^a</i> .
<i>upavīsati</i> , he sits down	<i>uvaisi</i>	H. B. M. <i>baisē</i> , M. also <i>vāsē</i> , N. Bg. O. <i>bāsē</i> , A. <i>bahē</i> , G. <i>bāsē</i> , L. <i>bāhē</i> , S. <i>bihē</i> , Kś. <i>bēhi</i> .
<i>upāskarakḥ</i> , an ingredient,	<i>*uvakkharu</i>	H. <i>bākhar</i> , a tool-bag, M. <i>bākhar</i> , stuffing for cakes, P. <i>wākkhar</i> , stock-in-trade; S. <i>wākhar^a</i> , oilman's wares, L. <i>wākhar</i> , oil-seeds, G. <i>wākh^arō</i> , furniture.
<i>udūmbarakḥ</i> , a fig-tree	<i>udūmbaru</i>	Bg. O. <i>dūmur</i> , but Mw. <i>audūmbar</i> .
<i>upādhyāyakaḥ</i> , a teacher	....	sTs. B. <i>pādhā</i> .

This aphasis is also common in IAV. forms themselves. Thus, H. *nōkhā*, for *anōkhā*, wonderful; *cāncak*, for *acāncak*, suddenly; *nāj* for *andj*, corn; *dhātī* for *adhātī*, two and a half; *dhēlā* for *adhēlā*, half a *paisā*; H. *ādhi rāt*, WPh. *dhardī*, midnight; H. *angīthī*, WPh. *gīthī*, a fireplace. Even *ā* suffers aphasis in NL. (Chibhālī) *smān* for *āsmān*, heaven, through (vulgar H.) *asmān*. So, Skr. *āsīt*, Pr. *āsī*, P. *sī*, was (all three persons). Cf. Dardic below.

We have seen that aphesis of *ā* occurs in Northern Lahndā. We find similar instances in Dardic, a group of languages immediately adjoining NL. Thus, Skr. *ātman*-, self; Wai. Aś. Gwr. Trw. *tānu*, Paś. *tāni-k*, Kh. *tan*, My. *tā*, Grw. *tānā*, Š. *tōmo*, Kš. *pānā*. Av. *āp*-, water; My. *wā*, Š. *wei*; but Bś. *āo*, ōv, Wai. *ao*, Kš. *āb*. In the latter case the aphesis had already occurred in Falcāh, cf. Wai. *vā-k*.

We also find aphesis of *a* in words like Bś. *parma*, a child (Av. *aparmāyu*-). In modern Prs. this is the regular rule before single consonants (GIP. I, ii, 20).

Aphesis of *i* has not been noted by me in Dardic.

Aphesis of *u* in Dardic follows IAV. in regard to the Skr. *upaviśati*. Thus My. *√ bhai*-, Gwr. *√ bai*-, Š. *√ bē*-, Trw. *√ bih*-, Kš. *√ bōh*-. Cf. Skr. *upāya*-, Kš. *pāy*, a device; Skr. *upalaḥ*, Kš. *pal*, a rock; Skr. *ucchiṣṭakāḥ*, Kš. *tshyāt*-, leavings.

Aph. of *ē* occurs in Dardic. Gwr. *√ šā*-, send. Cf. Skr. *ēṣati*, V. *√ es*-, Kh. *√ weš*-.

160. *Syncope*. This occurs in the IAVs. under the influence of the accent. Here, usually, an *a* following an accented syllable becomes *a-mātrā* (the neutral vowel) and this in some dialects tends to disappear. Cf. Skr. *pāga-phālam*. Pr. *pōpphālam* for **pūpphālam* (see § 139); Skr. *dūhitā*, **duhitā*, Pr. *dhīṣā*, a daughter. So IAV. :—

Skr.	Pr. or Ap.	IAV.
<i>viñāptikā</i> , a request	<i>viñpātīā</i>	H. B. <i>bintī</i> for <i>*binātī</i> .
<i>trāsah</i> , terror	....	S. sTs. <i>tārs*</i> for <i>*tārās*</i> .
		In both cases with transfer of accent.

In CPh. (Km.), the word for 'he was' is *chīyō*, which becomes in dialects *chyō*. Here it is simply a case of contraction of three palatal letters. But this syncope is most common when the syncopated vowel is followed by *h*. In such cases, esp. in M. (Kōn.) and NP., the *h* is then usually transferred to the preceding consonant, which is transformed into an aspirate (§ 369). Thus—

Skr.	Ap.	IAV.
<i>gārdabhaḥ</i> , an ass	<i>gāddahu</i> or <i>gāḍḍahu</i>	B. EPh. <i>gād'hā</i> , S. <i>gā-dah*</i> , A. <i>gādh</i> , Bg. <i>gādhā</i> , H. EH. P. O. <i>gādhā</i> , L. and also P. <i>gāddō</i> , G. <i>gādhē(rō)</i> , M. <i>gāḍhav</i> .
<i>dāśakah</i> , ten	<i>dāhau</i>	M. <i>dahā</i> , Kōn. <i>dhā</i> (LSI., VII, 167).

So NP. *bhāi* for *bahāi*, seated (fem.); *jhāz* for Ar. *jahāz*, a ship; *bhānā* for Prs. *bahāna*, a pretence. Cf. § 152.

It will be observed that except in the case of *chyō*, the vowel syncopated is always *a* or (in one case, *tārs**) *ā*.

In the Dardic languages syncope of *a* is most common in Kāfirī.

Av. *parāti*-, Prs. *pušt*, Bś. *pī*, *kī*, V. *kīśeh*, back (Ps. L. 64). In Bś. it is especially frequent when a preposition ending in *a* is prefixed to a noun, as in *p'pāu*, in the jungle, for *pa pāu*; *p'putt*, on the road; *p'tsīr*, on the top; *b'bhīm*, on the ground; *b'doi*, on the arm; *b'gol*, in a valley; *p'aśī*, in the mouth; *p'oštre*, on the hill; and many other similar cases.

Syncope of *i* is more widely spread. E.g. Bś. *pīśāś* or *pīśāś*, Aś. *pīśāś*, V. *pīśkh*, Gwr. *pīśāś*, a cat; Skr. *biḍāla*-, Kš. *brāṣ*-, a cat; Skr. *dīnasa*-, a day, Paś. *dīnas* or *dāwas*; Skr. *nāsikā*, Kh. *nāskā-r*, a nose. For *u*, we have Kl. *kurō* or *krō*, ear; Wai. *√ pus*-, lose; but Bś. *√ pāi*-, V. *√ pāi*-.

161. *Apocope*. We have seen (§ 146) that most IAVs. drop an original final short vowel. The exceptions are Oriyā, Sindhi, and occasionally Bengali. This is due to the influence of the main or secondary stress accent on the penultimate. Some IAVs. carry this tendency even into secondary formations. Thus Eastern and Central Pahārī (Km.) shorten an original final long vowel, and this shortened vowel is apocopated in dialects. Thus the C.P. standard has *celo*, for *cēlō*, a son, and its dialects *cyal*; standard *bojo*, for *bōjō*, a burden, dial. *bwōj*. In the Dardic Kāśmīrī, original short final vowels are elided, but original long final vowels are made short. In Sindhi always, and in Kāśmīrī generally, a final short vowel (whether original or secondary) is so lightly pronounced as to be hardly audible. It becomes, in fact, a mātrā-vowel. Thus S. *khāf*^a, a bed; *ākḥ*^e, an eye; *āngar*^a, a coal; K. *bāt*^a, boiled rice; *pōth*ⁱ, a book; *kqr*^a, a necklace. In Bihārī a final *i*, when derived from *ī*, is usually preserved, as in *pāni* (*pānīyam*) water, but final *i* and *u* generally become mātrā-vowels, as in *dekh^alanhⁱ*, he saw, *dēkhath^a*, let him see. We see a somewhat similar state of affairs in the Kōnkanī dialect of Marāṭhī. In Standard M. final *a*, *i* and *u* are apocopated (except, in the case of *i* and *u*, in Tss.), but in Kōn. these are preserved as mātrā-vowels. Thus *dzān^a*, persons; *pūt^a*, a son (LSI., VII, 16). In this last case we may trace Dravidian influence.

In some dialects of Western Pahārī apocope occurs even in the case of secondary vowels. Thus instead of *gōhrē-rā*, of a horse; *gōhra-bē*, to a house; *kē-sā*, what is it?; and *gōhrē-lē*, from a horse; we find in dialects *gōhrēr*, *gōhrāb*, *kēs*, and *gōhrēl*.

The final *ā* of Skr. and Pr. fem. nouns is commonly apocopated in IAV. Tbh. Thus :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>chāyā</i> , shade	<i>chāyā</i>	IAV. <i>chāw</i> or <i>chāy</i> , with various spellings.
<i>nīdrā</i> , sleep	<i>nīddō</i>	L. <i>nindr</i> , S. <i>nindr^a</i> , M. <i>nīd</i> , EPh. <i>nīn</i> , G. P. H. EH. B. <i>nīd</i> , <i>nīn</i> .

This change had already occurred in Ap. (H., iv, 344), the final *ā*, being shortened to *a*.

Similarly final *i* and *u* are either apocopated in IAV. Tbh., or lengthened exc. in S. where, as usual, they become mātrā-vowels. Thus :—

<i>drāṭh</i> , sight	<i>dīṭhī</i>	M. <i>dīṭh</i> , H. EH. B. <i>dīṭh</i> , P. <i>dīṭh</i> , but S. <i>dēṭhⁱ</i> .
<i>bāḥuḥ</i> , the arm	Ap. <i>bāhi</i> (Hc. iv, 329)	H. <i>bāh</i> , L. <i>bāh</i> , Bg. <i>bāh</i> , O. <i>bākā</i> , EPh. <i>bāhā</i> , M. G. <i>bāhi</i> , but S. <i>bāh^a</i> .

Apocope of *ī* is also common in Tbh. fem. adjectives; as in :—

<i>gārbhīnī</i> , pregnant	<i>gābbhīnī</i>	P. <i>gabbhar</i> , L. <i>gabbhar</i> , M. G. <i>gābhar</i> , H. EH. B. <i>gābhīn</i> ; but S. <i>gābhīn^e</i> , A. <i>gābbhīnī</i> .
----------------------------	-----------------	---

Apocope of other vowels in IAV. is rare, and only occurs in sporadic cases. All the foregoing instances are due to the influence of the stress accent, see § 146.

In Dardic the same apocope of final vowels occurs as in the IAVs. For examples, see Pš. L. There is also apparent apocope of final *u* due to epenthesis, in words such as Kš. *uđdur*, a monkey, for *uđdaru*. The same occurs in L. in words like *jaṅgul*, a forest, for *jaṅgalu*. These will be discussed under the head of epenthesis (§ 164).

Metathesis.

162. Metathesis of vowels occurs only in sporadic instances in the IAVs. When it occurs, one of the vowels is most often *u*. Cf. Pī. *viñchuō*, for **vñchīō*, Skr. *viścikāṣ*, a scorpion. IAV. examples are :—

<i>snāti</i> , he bathes	<i>ñhāi</i>	most IAVs. $\sqrt{\text{nhā}}$ - or $\sqrt{\text{nhāv-}}$, but M. $\sqrt{\text{nāh-}}$
<i>hāriṇi</i> , a deer	<i>hāriṇi</i>	H. <i>hīran</i> .
<i>āṅgulikā</i> , a finger	<i>āṅgulīā</i>	H.B. $\sqrt{\text{g}^{\text{li}}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{guli}}$, but EPh. <i>aālō</i> .
<i>lāghuḥ</i> , light	<i>hālū</i>	H. <i>hālū</i> , slowly.
<i>vāstu</i> , a thing	....	B.EH. (Ch.) sTs. <i>bātus</i> , a thing.
<i>ulkā</i> , a torch	....	S. <i>lūk</i> ^a , H. <i>luk</i> , <i>lūk</i> , <i>lūh</i> , <i>lū</i> , hot wind.
<i>bīnduḥ</i> , a drop	<i>bīndū</i>	G.P.L. <i>bund</i> , S. <i>būd</i> ^a , others <i>būd</i> .

In the last case, the change of *i* to *u* was probably influenced by the preceding *b*.

In Dardic instances have been noted of the metathesis of *u* in Bš. *štyur*, V. *ištiur*, Av. *uštura*-, a camel; V. *iuri*, Wai. *ūrei*, Skr. *rūpa*-, silver; Bš. *kuri* or *krūi*, a dog. We have metathesis of *ē* in Bš. *atēr*, Av. *antarə*, within.

Epenthesis or Umlaut.¹

163. Closely connected with Metathesis is Vowel-Epenthesis or *Umlaut*, i.e., a vowel-change brought about by the influence of a vowel in a succeeding syllable. In the IAVs. the vowel which thus influences a preceding vowel is always either unaccented *i* or unaccented *u*. This epenthesis is almost entirely confined to the OIAVs. and IIAVs.

We shall first take epenthesis of unaccented *i*. This is not uncommon. We see the first stage in what is really metathesis of *i*, in Assamese, Eastern Bengali, dialectic Bihārī, and colloquial Gujarātī. Thus :—

A.sTss. *bākya*, a word, pr. *bāikya* or *bāik*; *χūny*, empty, pr. *χūinya* or *hāin*; *ānya*, another, pr. *ōinya* or *ōin*. In these, and other similar sTss., the *y* is first vocalized to *i*. See LSI., V, 400.

EBg. and SEBg. *kāirā* for *kāriyā*, having done; *śūinbār* for *śūinibār*, on hearing, and other similar forms (LSI., V, i, 203).

B.(Bh.) Nāgpuriyā sub-dialect, spoken in south Chotā Nāgpur, *kāir-ke*, for *kāri-ke*, having done; *mōir-ke* for *māri-ke*, having killed; and so for other conjunctive participles (LSI., V, ii, 281).

¹ Some writers distinguish between 'Umlaut' and 'Epenthesis,' confining the latter to vowel-insertion not caused by a vowel in the succeeding syllable. I follow Brugmann (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, I, 470) in treating them as essentially identical.

Coll. G. *māirō* for *māryō*, struck; *cāilō* for *cālyō*, went; *pōirō* for *pōryō*, a son. So, even in Standard G. *āvyō*, came, pr. *āivyō*; *lāvyō* brought, pr. *lāivyō*. Here, as in A., *y* has first been vocalized to *i*. See LSI., IX, ii, 331, 382.

In the above there has been little more than metathesis of the *i*, but we find a true epenthetic change in the following:—

We have seen above how *a* followed by *i* has become *ai* in EBg. and B. In G. it sometimes becomes *ā* as in *kād*, a waist (Skr. *kāṭih*); *ghār* for **ghāri*, in a house. In the language an original *ai* also becomes *ē*, as in *gebī* (or *gūbī*), secret, Ar. *yaibī*; *bel* (or *bāl*), a bull, Pr. *baēllō*, Skr. *bulivarduh*. For other examples, see LSI., IX, ii, 344.

Similarly in Marāṭhī (Kōn.) we have *gēr*, for *gāri*, in a house; *vair*, for *ūvari*, on (LSI., VII, 167). In some forms of Hindi (Br.) we find forms like *keh* for *kāhi*, having said. Other examples of this umlaut change of *a* to *e* or *ē* are:—

Skr.	Pr.	
<i>āṃhrikah</i> , the foot	(<i>amhiu</i> , Hc., iv, 288)	G. M. P. H. Bg. <i>ē-dī</i> , B. <i>ē-dī</i> , the heel. (Derivation doubtful.)
<i>sāndhih</i> , friendship	<i>sāndhi</i>	S. <i>sēdhē</i> .
<i>sāndhih</i> , a burglar's mine		H. <i>sēdh</i> , B. <i>sēnh</i> , Bg. O. <i>sindh</i> , A. <i>sindhi</i> , but S. <i>sāndhē</i> .

In Western Pahārī and Lahndā, we begin to see traces of the epenthetic changes that occur in the neighbouring Dardic languages. These will be described lower down.

In colloquial Bengali, an accented *ā* preceding *i* is pronounced *ē*, as in *thākiyā*, from, pr. *thēke*; *bāciyā*, having escaped, pr. *bāce*. Cf. Skr. *sālyam*, Bg. *sēl*, a dart.

In Assamese *o* preceding *i* becomes *u* (as in Dardic). Thus *bole*, he says, but *bulise* (pr. *būlise*, see § 113), he is saying.

Epenthesis of *u* is not so common in the IAVs. except in Lahndā, in which the Dardic laws prevail. For the IAVs. proper, we may quote the sporadic instance of M.H. *cāc*, a beak (Skr. *cāncuh*), but G. *cāc*. In M. (Kōn.) *a* followed by *u* has a tendency to become *ō*, as in *kōrn* for *karūn*, having done (LSI., VII, 167). One very common word, viz., *bahut*, much, very, often exhibits epenthesis of the *u*, together with metathesis of the *h*, all over the Ganges valley and the Panjāb, where, in colloquial language, it is commonly pronounced *bhaut* or *bhōt*. In Coll. Bg. *a* (i.e., *ō*) preceding an original *i* is commonly pronounced as *o*, as in *kāriyā*, having done, pronounced *kōre* or *kōrā*; but if the *i* is not original, but is the result of contraction, the *ō*-sound is retained. Thus *kāri* (<**karimī*), I do, is pronounced *kōri* or (lengthened by stress-accent) *kāri*.

164. Epenthesis plays a much more important rôle in Dardic. The only Dardic language in which the subject has been thoroughly investigated is Kāśmīrī. For the Dardic languages generally, we may quote the following examples of epenthesis of *i*:—

- Av. *āst*; V. *īst*, Gwr. *icin*, Kl. Kb. *ec*, eye
Bg. *duēt*, band; plur. *duēt* for *duēst*.
Skr. *āśya-* (i.e., **āśia-*); V. *īś*, Kś. *ṛś* (*ōś*), mouth.
Skr. *sūrya-* (i.e., **sūria-*); V. *isī-kh*, Trw. *sī*, My. *swīr*, Gwr. *sīr*, Kś. *sūre*, sun.

In Kāśmīrī the vowels which epenthetically affect a preceding vowel are the mātrā-vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, and *o*. Of these, it is useful to remember that *ū-mātrā* represents an original *i*. Under *a-mātrā* are included *ā-mātrā* and *e-mātrā*. These epenthetic changes have been fully described in § 126, *ante*, and it is unnecessary to explain them here. In Kā. all these changes are indicated in writing, both in the native character and in the system of transliteration employed in this work.

In the same language there are other cases of epenthesis not depending on the system of mātrā-vowels. These are the following :—

A following *i* or *ī* often changes a preceding *ā* to *ā̃*, pr. *ō*. Thus *bā̃ki* (*bōki*), remaining; *sāk̃sī* (*sōk̃sī*), a witness. A preceding *ai* is liable to be changed to *ā̃*. Thus from *kait-*, how much? sg. dat. *kū̃tis*. A preceding *e* is liable to be changed to *i*, as in *bih̃ih*, seated, from *√ beh-*, sit. A preceding *ē* is liable to be changed to *ī*, as in *ph̃irith*, having been turned, from *√ phēr-*; *dil̃er*, brave, *dil̃irī*, courage. Finally, as in the IAV. Assamese, a preceding *ō* is liable to be changed to *ū*, as in *bū̃zith*, having heard, from *√ bōz-*.

A following *u* often changes a preceding *a* to *o*, and a preceding *ā* to *ā̃*. Thus *agun* or *ogun*, fire; *ph̃āk̃ur*, an idol. A preceding *ē* or *ī* is liable to be changed to *yū*, as in *phỹūrus*, I was turned, from *√ phēr-*; *bima*, a policy of insurance, sg. gen. *byū̃muk̃*.

For full particulars of these changes, and for the principal exceptions, see Kā. Man. 21. They all occur in the processes of declension and conjugation, and will readily be recognized.

But there is another class of words in Kāśmīrī in which, owing to the loss of mātrā-vowels, the fact of epenthesis is disguised. Such are for instance *chānāz* (pr. *chanōz*) for *chānāz̃*, the condition of a carpenter (Kā. Gr., 143), and *bray* (Skr. *badarī*) (pr. *brūy*) for *braỹ*, the jujube tree. Specially interesting is the word *pāz*, for *pāz̃*, a falcon (pr. *pōz*), as compared with the Prs. *bāz*. P. Horn (*Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, No. 162) compares the latter with Skr. *vājīn*, the *i* of which is represented by the Kā. *ū-mātrā*, the *v* being hardened to *p* under the well-known rule of Pā. Pr. But the most important group is that of a number of masculine nouns ending in a consonant preceded by *u*, such as *wā̃dur*, a monkey; *wā̃tul*, a sweeper; and infinitives, such as *mā̃run*, to strike. The bases of these nouns are *wā̃dar-*, *wā̃tal-*, and *mā̃ran-*, respectively. The dative singular in each case is formed by adding *as*, so that we get *wā̃daras*, *wā̃talas*, and *mā̃ranas*. But the nominative singular was in old Kā. formed by adding *u*, thus *wā̃daru*, *wā̃talu*, *mā̃ranu*. In the modern language the final *u* is dropped after epenthetically changing the preceding *a* to *u*, so that the nominatives singular, and the nominatives singular only, are *wā̃dur*, *wā̃tul* and *mā̃run*.

165. *Influence of the Dardic system of epenthesis on the IAVs.* Lahndā closely follows Kāśmīrī in this system of disguised epenthesis. There are a number of masculine nouns ending in a consonant preceded by *u*, exactly like *wā̃dur*. These nouns, like *wā̃dur*, change the *u* to *a* in all the oblique cases of the singular, and in the plural. Thus :—

Nom. sing.	Obl. sing.
<i>chō̃hur</i> , a boy	<i>chō̃har</i> .
<i>kukk̃ur</i> , a cock	<i>kukk̃ar</i> .
<i>jaṅ̃gul</i> , a forest	<i>jaṅ̃gal</i> .

Similarly the old termination of many L. fem. nouns was *i*. Thus the fem. of *chō̃hur* was **chō̃hari*, and of *kukk̃ur*, **kukk̃ari*. But, like the termination *u* of the masculine, in the modern language this *i* has become epenthetically transferred to before the final

consonant. As the old final *i* remained unchanged throughout declension, so does this epenthetic *i*. Thus :—

Nom. sing.	Obl. sing.
<i>chōhir</i> , a girl	<i>chōhir</i> .
<i>kukkir</i> , a hen	<i>kukkir</i> .

In L. this epenthetic change is carried even further back, and when the vowel of the penultimate syllable is *ā*, this is again epenthetically affected by the following *u* (becoming *ū*) or *i* (becoming *ī*). When the *u* disappears in declension, the *ū* again becomes *ā*. Thus :—

Old form.	Modern nom. sing.	Modern obl. sing.
* <i>śāharu</i> , a city	<i>śāhur</i>	<i>śāhar</i> .
* <i>vāharu</i> , a young bull	<i>vāhur</i>	<i>vāhar</i> .
* <i>pāharu</i> , a watch	<i>pāhur</i>	<i>pāhar</i>
* <i>vāharī</i> , a heifer	<i>vāhir</i>	<i>vāhir</i>

Lahndā lies immediately to the south of the Dardic languages. To their south-east lies Western Pahāri, and here also we see traces of the same system of epenthesis. Thus the WPh. (Kth.) word for 'sister' is *būhā* (for an older **baihnī*), with an oblique singular *bauhāē*. Here the occurrences are too sporadic to enable us to lay down any general rule. But in the north-western forms of WPh., especially in the Curāhī and Pangwālī forms of Cameālī, we find the Dardic system of epenthesis firmly established, although as yet we know too little about these wild forms of speech to enable us to formulate rules. In Curāhī, we come across epenthetic *i* in feminines, as in *khāitā*, eating, fem. *khāitī*; *khānā*, edendus, fem. *khāinī*. With the latter compare B. *khainī*, (tobacco) for chewing (not for smoking). In Pangwālī and allied dialects, all of which lie close to the borders of Kāśmīr, epenthesis is still more common. Thus :—

<i>kōā</i> , a boy	<i>kuī</i> , a girl.
<i>māraī</i> , I shall strike	fem. <i>māriī</i>

Bhadarwāh :—

<i>tshērō</i> , a he-goat	fem. <i>tshāillā</i> .
<i>kō</i> , a boy	<i>kuī</i> , a girl.
<i>batālō</i> , a cow	obl. sg. <i>būtshē</i> .
<i>hāthī</i> , an elephant	„ „ <i>hāithē</i> .
<i>kuṭālō</i> , I shall strike	fem. <i>kuṭailāi</i> .

Pādarī :—

<i>ghōrī</i> , a mare	gen. <i>ghūrer</i> .
<i>bhēn</i> , a sister	nom. pl. <i>bhīn</i> .
<i>hunā</i> , he is	<i>hinī</i> , she is.
<i>gā</i> , gone	fem. <i>gēi</i> .
<i>dzhārā</i> , fallen	„ <i>dzhairī</i> .
<i>ōzul</i> , he came	<i>azil</i> , she came.
and many others.	

166. East of Western Pahāri lies Central Pahāri, and here we find many interesting cases of epenthesis. They have been thoroughly investigated only in Km. Here the rules are as follows (LSI., IX, iv, 114 ff.) :—

1. When *a* is followed by *ā* it becomes *ā*. Thus *barō*, great, pl. *bārā*.

2. When *e* is followed by *ā*, it becomes *yā*. Thus, the pl. of *mero*, my, is *myārā*. So the H. *mēlā*, a fair, is Km. *myālā*, for **mēlā*, under a rule that final vowels are shortened, and that a vowel preceding a short vowel is also shortened (vide § 173, *post*). If *e* precedes *o*, in coll. Km. it is changed to *yō*. Thus *mero*, my, becomes *myōro*.

3. When *o* is followed by *ā*, it becomes *wā*. Thus, *rofo*, bread, pl. *ruwāfā*. If it precedes *o*, it is, in coll. Km. changed to *wō*. Thus *rofo*, becomes *ruwōfo*, and *bojo*, a load, becomes *buwōjo*.

We thus see that the epenthesis which plays so prominent a rôle in Dardic phonetics, is also an important feature of Lahndā, which lies immediately to the south, and of Western and Central Pahārī, which lie immediately to the south-east of these languages.

Harmonic Sequence.

167. Somewhat similar to umlaut or epenthesis is the so-called harmonic sequence, or the tendency of the earlier vowels in a word to change so as to agree with the main accented vowel that follows, or *vice versa*. It will be remembered that this is a prominent feature in Turkī grammar, and also occurs in Buruṣaskī, which we have seen (§ 37) has had some influence on Dardic. There are traces of it in the Dardic Kāfir Group (Pé. L., 136, 7). We may quote V. *ti-bzi*, for going, but *tu-gul*, to a country; Skr. *mukha-*, a face, V. *ti-mikh*, before; Bā. *bar-este*, but V. *buṭ-og*, a share.

I have not noted any true cases of Harmonic Sequence in the IAVs.

Change of Quantity.

168. *Lengthening of short Vowels :—*

(1) According to Prakrit rule, when one of the members of a following consonantal nexus is elided a preceding short vowel is lengthened. In such cases, in the IAVs., the vowel is often nasalized (§ 184). It will be seen under the head of consonants that the tendency to lengthen these vowels is especially common in the EIAVs., but also occurs in the west. It is very rare in NWIAVs. and in Dardic in which the consonant is usually simplified without lengthening the vowel. Examples :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>mārgaḥ</i> , road	<i>mārgu</i>	M.G. <i>māg</i> , a road (G. room, space), H.P.G.B. <i>māg</i> , L. <i>māgh</i> , parting of the hair, S. <i>māṅga</i> , a hair-chain. Bg. <i>mā</i> , vulva; cf. IAV. <i>√māy-</i> or <i>māg-</i> , ask, but L. <i>māgan</i> , S. <i>māṇaṇa</i> , Kś. <i>māngun</i> , to ask.
<i>bhāktāḥ</i> , food	<i>bhāttu</i>	IAV. <i>bhāt</i> , boiled rice, but L. <i>bhat</i> , S. <i>bhāt</i> , Kś. <i>bāta</i> .
<i>khātpā</i> , bed	<i>khātpā</i>	IAV. <i>khāt</i> , but L. <i>khat</i> , S. <i>khāt</i> .
<i>pākvaḥ</i> , ripe	<i>pāḍku</i> , <i>pāḍku</i>	M. <i>pāḍ</i> , ripe crops; other IAVs. <i>√pāk-</i> or <i>pakk-</i> exc. L. <i>√pak-</i> , S. <i>pakō</i> , 'ripe.'
<i>jihvā</i> , tongue	<i>jibbhā</i>	IAV. <i>jibh</i> , except L. <i>jibh</i> , S. <i>jibhā</i> , Kś. <i>zev</i> , Eph. <i>jibārō</i> . See also § 175.
<i>cūrṇākam</i> , powder	<i>cūrṇadu</i>	H.P.B.Bg.O.L. <i>cūrṇā</i> , Kś. <i>tsūrṇ</i> , <i>tsūr</i> , but G. <i>cunō</i> , M. <i>cunā</i> , S. <i>cunā</i> , Eph.A. <i>cun</i> , lime.
<i>uccaḥ</i> , <i>uccākaḥ</i> , high	<i>uccu</i> , <i>uccāu</i>	G.S. <i>ūcō</i> , H. <i>ūcā</i> , B.Bg.O. <i>ūc</i> , M. <i>ūnc</i> (for <i>ūc</i>), but P.L. <i>uccā</i> , A. <i>ōkha</i> (pr. <i>ūkhō</i>).
<i>mṛtyuḥ</i> , death	<i>mīccū</i>	H. <i>mic</i> .

We meet continually, even in the same language, all these forms coexisting, viz., the short vowel before the double letter, the long vowel before the single letter, and the nasalized long vowel. E.g., Skr. *madhyē*, Pr. *majjhi*, O.H. *majjh*, *mājḥ* or *mājḥ*. These instances are, however, not always easy to quote, as usually one form only has been adopted by the literary language, and the rest are found only in rustic speech. For further information on this point see under the head of conjunct consonants §§ 273, 275. An important group of conjunct consonants demands special notice,—those which in Prakrit consist of a consonant preceded by a nasal consonant or anusvāra. As will be explained when dealing with consonants, the anusvāra is either converted into the nasal of the class corresponding to the consonant, to which it is attached and the consonant remains unchanged, in which case a preceding short vowel remains short, or else the anusvāra is elided, and the preceding vowel is lengthened and nasalized in compensation. For further information see § 275. Sometimes both forms are used in the literary language in different meanings.

Examples :—

<i>kāṅkaṇam</i> , bracelet	<i>kāṅkaṇu</i> or <i>kaṇ-</i> <i>kaṇu</i>	H. <i>kāṅkan</i> , P.G.M. <i>kāṅgan</i> , S. <i>kāṅ-</i> <i>gaṇa</i> , Bg.O. <i>kōṅgan</i> .
<i>simbaḥ</i> , lion	<i>siṅghu</i> or <i>siṅghu</i>	IAV. generally <i>siṅgh</i> (often written <i>siṅh</i>), or <i>siṅgh</i> .
<i>skāṇdhākaḥ</i> , shoulder	<i>khāṇdhāu</i>	H. <i>kēdhā</i> , P. <i>kāṇdhā</i> , &c.

vāṃśaḥ, family, or
bamboo

vāṃsu

H. *bans* or *vans* (often written *vamś*),
a family, and so in all; H. *bās*, a
bamboo, and so in all; S. *bāś*, A.
bāh.

The same rule is followed in M., even in the case of Tatsamas. Thus *sampradāya* is also written *sāpradāy*.

On the other hand words which are derived from Skr. words containing *ṃ* followed by *h* or a sibilant, are frequently written by purists in their Skr. form, though they are pronounced as above. Thus they write *siṃh*, *vamś*, but say *siṅh*, *bans*.

(2) Vowels are also lengthened under the influence of stress-accent, mostly in isolated instances. Thus :—

mādanah, the God of
Love

sTs.M. *mādan*.

rāthah, a carriage

sTs.M. *rāth*, H.B. *rānth*.

√sah-, endure

√sah-

M.(inf) *sāh^añē*, but H. *sāh^anā*.

kāṭhinah, hard

M.sTs. *kāṭhin*.

pibati, he drinks

piāi

EIAV. *piyai*, he drinks, but M. *√pi*-,

-inī, fem. termina-
tion

inī

M. *hattin*, a she-elephant, *bahin*, a
sister, and so on; so B. *bahin*, a
sister; but H. *hāthinī*, *bāhin*.

dhvānīh, a sound

dhūñi (Pischel
on Ho. i, 52).

M.G.H. *dhūn*; but S. *dhunē*.

kūlam, a family

kūlu

M. *kūl*, but others *kūl*.

pūram, a town

pūru

Pronounced *pūr* in all IAVs. though
written *pur*, cf. Urdū *پور*.

ścōlati, he drips

cūai

H. *cūai*.

parīkṣā, a test

parikkhā

M. *pārakh*, S. *pārakh^a*, G. also *pārakh*,
but H.P.L. and EIAV. *pārakh*.

See the remarks on this point in § 141.

This lengthening is especially common in M. (see § 145), in which it is a general rule that *i* and *u* are always lengthened when originally penultimate, but now, owing to the dropping of a final *a*, ultimate in prose. Thus *mārit(a)*, striking; *lākūḍ(a)*, wood (LSI, VII, 22). According to Bloch (FLM, § 41) the vowel of every monosyllable in the language is pronounced long, even when written short. As an example of the latter, he gives *kac*, difficulty, pr. *kāc*.

(3) Vowels are sometimes lengthened in compensation for the loss of a vowel in a neighbouring syllable.

śīthilākaḥ, loose

śīthilāu.

H. *qhilā*, M.B.Bg.O. *qhīl*, but S. *qhīlō*,
qhīrō. In P.L. *qhīliā*, the com-
pensatory lengthening is obtained
by doubling the *l*, instead of by
lengthening the vowel.

This is very common in the IAV. terminations *i* and *u*. E.g. :—

tālikah, oil man

tēlliu

IAV. *tēli*.

bhāginīpātīkah,

bāhinivāiu

B. *bāhinōi*.

sister's husband

ghōṭikā, mare

ghōḍiā

IAV. *ghōḍi* or *ghōṛi*.

lāḍḍukaḥ, sweetmeat

lāḍḍūu

IAV. *lāḍḍu*, *lāḍḍū*.

In all these last cases of lengthening, there is a secondary accent on the Prakrit penultimate, see § 145.

169. In Dardic, we have seen, that compensatory lengthening is rare. We can quote the following :—

Skr. *naśyati* ; Kl. $\sqrt{nāś-}$, die.

Av. *karəna-*, Skr. *karṇa-*; Bś. *kōr*, Wai., Kh. *kār*, Paś. *kār*, My. *kāṇ*, but Kś. Trw. *kan*, S. *kon*, Grw. *kyn*.

Av. *aspa-*; Kl. *hāś* (through **aśp*, **aśś*), but S. *aśpu*, horse.

Av. *danta-*, Prs. *dandān*, Skr. *danta-*; Aś. *dōnt*, *dont*, Paś. *dānd* (for *dāḍ*), My. *dūn*, but others *dāt*, *dand*, *dan*, *let-em*, &c., tooth.

Skr. *nasta-*; S. *nātō*, Paś. (not compensatory) *nāst*, Kl. *nātc-ur*, but others *nath-ur*, *nast*, *nat*, &c., nose.

Examples of *a* being lengthened, but not in compensation are :—

Av. *χara-*, Skr. *khara-*; Paś. *kār*, V. *kōru* (with epenthesis of *u*), but others *khar*, *kur*, *ass*.

Skr. *divasa-*; Paś. *davās*, *dwās*, Wai. *wās*, Grw. *bā*, but others *bas*, *dōh*, day.

Av. Skr. $\sqrt{kar-}$; Kl. $\sqrt{kār-}$ (perhaps from *kārya-*), others *kar-*, &c., do.

Lengthening of *i* is more rare. We have :—

Av. *niśhidati*, Skr. *niśidati*; Paś. $\sqrt{ni-}$, but others *niś-*, *ni-*, &c., sit.

Grw. *jibh*, a tongue (borrowed from IAV.)

For lengthening of *u*, we have :—

Skr. *uttiṣṭhati*; Aś. Kl. $\sqrt{uśt-}$, but others *uśt-*, *uth-*, *wōth-*, &c., rise.

Skr. *uṣṭra-*; Wai. *ūk* (probably borrowed from Pāṣtō *ūχ*), a camel.

Skr. *puṣpa-*; Wai. *pūś*, Kl. *pūś-ik*, Kś. *pōś* (compensatory lengthening), a flower.

Skr. *kukkuṭa-*; Grw. *kūkur*, Kh. *kūkū* (compensatory lengthening), a cock.

Av. *puṣra-*; Skr. *putra-*; Kl. *pūtr*, M. *pūth*, Trw. S. *pūc*, Grw. *pūc*, *pūt*, but others *pulr*, *puc*, &c., a son.

Except where the lengthening is clearly compensatory, I do not venture to suggest any reason for these changes of quantity, as our knowledge of these languages is as yet imperfect.

170. Shortening of Long Vowels :—

In Pr. long vowels were frequently shortened under the influence of stress-accent (Pr. Gr. §§ 79 ff.). The same shortening is naturally carried on into the IAVs. E.g. Skr. *kum-āraḥ* (Pr. Gr. § 81), M.Pr. *kūmarō*, M. *kūmar*. In Śaurasēnī Pr. and Māgadhī Pr. the long *a* in this word was retained, but this is not the case now in the modern Śr. and Mg. country. Here also the vowel is shortened as in B.E.H. *kūwar*, a prince. This is probably due to the influence of literary M.Pr. (see § 60). Exactly parallel is the S. *lūhar**, a blacksmith (S.Gr., xiii), from Skr. *lōhakāraḥ*, Pr. *lōhārō* (Pr. Gr. § 167) through **lōharō*, with change of accent, and shortening of the accented syllable because it falls in the antepenultimate. Another similar case is the S. *tārs** for **tarās**, from Skr. *trāśaḥ* with anaptyxis of *a*. The preservation of the conjunct *tr* is typical of Dardic, whose influence extended into Sindh (see §§ 10, 24, 25, 35).

When vowels are shortened, in writing, *ē*, as a rule, becomes *i*, as in H. *bīṣiyā*, a daughter, from *bēṣi*, and *ō* similarly becomes *u*, as in S. *lūhar**, above; but in EH. and B. they often remain unchanged in appearance, but really become *e* and *o* respectively. Thus, *bīṣiyā* (written *bēṣiyā*), *lōhār* (written *lōhār*). The vowel *ā* is shortened to *ā*, not to *a*, in those languages which possess the vowel *ā*.

171. As regards the shortening of long vowels in the IAVs. themselves, the following general rules may be noted. It is often due to the influence of the stress-accent, vide §§ 142,

143. The following list of examples is arranged on a system different from that of those sections, and is more full :—

(a) Accent on the final syllable of IAVS. (Cf. Bloch, FLM. § 44) :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>kīṭākaḥ</i> , a worm	<i>kīṭāu</i>	M. <i>kīṭā</i> , but H. <i>kīṭ</i> .
<i>kīlākaḥ</i> , a wedge	<i>kīlāu</i>	M. <i>kīlā</i> , but H. <i>kīl</i> .
<i>kūpākaḥ</i> , a well	<i>kūvāu</i>	G. <i>kūvō</i> , but H. <i>kūā</i> .
<i>citrākaḥ</i> , a leopard	<i>citlāu</i>	M. <i>citā</i> , but G. <i>citō</i> , H. <i>cit</i> .

See also § 145.

(b) Accent on penultimate of IAV. words :—

<i>kāśisaḥ</i> , vitriol	<i>kāśisu</i>	H. <i>kāśis</i> .
<i>dīpālāyaḥ</i> , a lamp-recess	<i>dīvālāu</i>	B. <i>dīvār</i> .
<i>āṅgārākaḥ</i> , charcoal	<i>āṅgārāu</i>	IAV. <i>āṅārā</i> (here the first <i>a</i> was long by position).

Cf. also H. *mīṭhā*, sweet, *mīṭhās*, sweetness; *bāt*, a way, *bāṭōhī*, a wayfarer; and many others similar forms. So also M. *cōr*, a thief, dat. *cōrās*; *kīṭ*, a worm, dat. *kīṭis*; *bhik*, beggary, dat. *bhikēs*; *hāt*, a hand, dat. *hōṭās*; *nīṭ*, straight, *nīṭāi*, straightness; *kām*, work, *kāmāū*, that which earns; G. *bhikh*, beggary, *bhikhārī*, a beggar; P. *bij*, seed, *bijāi*, sowing.

(c) Accent on the IAV. antepenultimate. In this case the vowel following the accented syllable is by § 139, if long, shortened; moreover in the Eastern IAVs. the accented syllable is also itself shortened, if the word ends in a long vowel bearing the secondary accent described in § 145. In such words, also, the penultimate vowel, if it is *a*, is further reduced to the neutral vowel.

<i>ādēśaḥ</i> , a command	<i>ādēsu</i>	H.B. <i>āesu</i> .
<i>cāmāraṃ</i>	<i>cāmāru</i>	M. <i>cāmār</i> .
<i>cāmarākaṃ</i>	<i>cāmarāū</i>	Bg. <i>cāmarā</i> .
<i>cārma</i>	<i>cārma</i>	IAV. { (cām), or
<i>cārmākaṃ</i>	<i>cārmāū</i>	<i>cārmārā</i> .
<i>gābhīrākaḥ</i> , deep	<i>gāhīrāu</i>	IAV. <i>gāhīrā</i> .
<i>cāndrikā</i> , moonlight	<i>*cāndalā</i> (with diminutive <i>l</i>).	M. <i>cāḍānī</i> (for <i>cāndānī</i>), a star-ray.

Long forms of nouns in *ā*, *i*, and *ū* give numerous examples. Thus :—

<i>ghōṭaḥ</i>	<i>ghōṭu</i>	B. { (ghōr), or
<i>ghōṭākaḥ</i>	<i>ghōṭāū</i>	

So also :—

EIAV. *ghōrī*, a mare, lg.fm. *ghōriā* or *ghōriyā*.

EIAV. *bālū*, sand, lg.fm. *bālūā*.

(d) These rules are followed even when the vowel is not written short, e.g., in (a) *Tatśamas*, or (b) in certain derived forms. Thus (a) Skr. *kāśisaṃ*, green vitriol, becomes the Hindi *kāśis*, with the first syllable short, because the accent is on the final syllable. (b) The datives of the M. words *hāt*, hand and *kān*, ear, are written *हातस* and *कातस* respectively, with long vowels in the first syllable, but they are pronounced *hōṭās*, and *kānās*, so also M. *hātī*, fem. *hātīn*, pronounced *hōṭīn*. Regarding these Marāṭhī forms, see §§ 143, 145.

172. The quantity of a vowel is also dependent on its position in a word. In H.P. and B. there is a tendency to shorten vowels which are in the antepenultimate or further back. In those languages, if a *tadbhava* word ends in a long vowel (i.e., if the final syllable is one syllable

contracted from two syllables, so that the antepenultimate was originally one syllable further back, or three syllables from the end), the vowel *ā* in the antepenultimate syllable is always shortened. In a similar position, the vowels *i* and *ū* are shortened if they are followed by a consonant which is not euphonic *y* or *v*. Thus B. *ṛāmāvā*, lg.fm. of *ṛām*, N.P.; from *√ khā-*, eat, *khāibō* or *khāibō*, I shall eat; from *gidh*, a vulture, lg.fm. *gidhāvā*; from *√ sūt-*, sleep, *sūtāi*, he slept; from *bētā*, a son, lg.fm. *bētāvā*; from *ghōṛā*, a horse, lg.fm. *ghōṛāvā*; from *√ mār-*, kill, *mārāi*, I killed. But from *√ pī-*, drink, *pīyāi*, I drank, in which the *i* is followed by euphonic *y*, and *chūāi*, I touched, from *√ chū-*, in which the *ū* is followed by a vowel. It will be observed that the final syllable must be long. If it is short, the long vowel in the antepenultimate must be retained. E.g., B. *āesu* (<*ādēsah*), a command. As an example of a vowel long by position, we may quote Skr. *āpsarā*, a fairy; Ap. *ācchara*; OEH. *ācchar*, in which the first *ā* is long by position. The plural of this word in OEH. is formed by adding *ē*, and this *a*, being now in the antepenultimate, must be shortened. The nominative plural is therefore *ācharē*, not *āccharē*.

It is probable that in all IAVs. every vowel further back than the antepenultimate must be shortened, but the occurrence in a Tadbhava word of a long vowel in that position is so extremely rare that no general rule can be framed. We come across instances, however, in colloquial and dialectic forms of speech with some frequency, as in H.Bn. (Banāpharī) *khūiyai*, sport ye, from *√ khēl-*; *manihāi*, I shall heed, from *√ mān-*. So also G. *cusvū* (Skr. *√ cūṣ-*), to suck; *upāṇvū* (Skr. *utpunāti*), to winnow (through *upp-*, *ūp-*) and many others given in G.Ph. § 20. Compound words form common examples of such a case, and in them the rule for shortening the vowels earlier than the antepenultimate is universal. Thus:—

From H. <i>ādhā</i> , half, and <i>pākkā</i> , ripe	we get <i>ādhāpākkā</i> , half ripe.
„ Skr. <i>dēvālāyāḥ</i> , a temple, Ap. <i>dēvālāu</i>	„ P. <i>dēvālā</i> , a temple.
„ M.H., &c., <i>lākh</i> , a lakh, and <i>pāti</i> , lord	„ <i>lākh-pāti</i> or <i>lākh-pāt</i> , a millionaire.
„ M.H., &c., <i>phūl</i> , a flower, and <i>tēl</i> , oil	„ <i>phūl-tēl</i> , scented oil.
„ M. <i>dhūp</i> , incense, <i>āgārā</i> , charcoal	„ <i>dhūp-āgārā</i> , live coal with incense.
„ G. <i>pāṇī</i> , water, <i>ghāt</i> , a landing stage.	„ <i>pāṇ-ghāt</i> , a watering-place.
„ Skr. <i>śitakālakaḥ</i> , Ap. <i>siārāu</i>	„ S. <i>siārō</i> , the cold season.

So also words like M. *dhūl*, dust, but *dhūl-vārānē*, to scatter dust; *mūt*, urine, *mūt-khā-dā*, urinary calculus.

Again, as in Prakrit, no vowel can remain long before a compound consonant. So H. *baghāmbār*, N.P. for *vyāghrāmbārā*. In Tbh. words, since they have come through the Prakrit, no such long vowels are possible, but they are met with in Tss. In such cases, though under the influence of the teaching of the purist schools, usually written long, they are pronounced short, or else the compound consonant is pronounced as if it were a single one, and the vowel preserves its length. Thus, the word *śrāddha*, an oblation, is written as a Ts. *श्राद्ध* or *श्राद्ध*, but is pronounced *śrāddh*, or *śrādh*. For the purposes of this rule, *mh* and *nh*, are, as usual, considered to be not compound, but simple aspirated consonants, so that long letters can stand before them. Thus Mth. *dekhalāthūnh*, they saw.

In Assamese, the only long vowels are *ā*, *ū*, and *au* (not a diphthong in Assamese). *ā* is written as *ā*, but the written character also represents *ā*. *i* is never pronounced or written, *i* only being used. *u* does not exist as representing *u*, being always lengthened to *ū*, but *ū* is never written and *u* is written in its place. *e* is always short. *ō* is written *ō*, but is pronounced *u*. *ai* is pronounced *oi*, and *au* is pronounced *ō*. The above is a truly remarkable instance of vowel interchange. Only two vowels are pronounced as they are written.

173. In colloquial Gujarāṭī there is a tendency for *ā* to become *a*, when it precedes *i*. Thus *bhāi*, a brother, is pronounced *bhāi*, and *khāinē*, having eaten, becomes *khāinē* (LSI.

IX, ii, 425). Similarly in Central Pahārī (Km.) *ā* is shortened before *i* or *u*, and the two together become, respectively, the diphthongs *ai* and *au*. Thus *āi*, having come, becomes *ai*; *sunāin*, he caused (me) to hear them, becomes *sunain*; Skr. *ghātaḥ*, a wound, is *ghāu* in H., but *ghau* in Km.; H. *nāu*, a name, is *nau* in Km. (LSI. IX, iv, 115).

Km. exhibits in other respects a preference for short vowels. It shortens nearly every final long vowel. Moreover, every long vowel in a syllable preceding a short vowel is shortened, *ā* being shortened to *ā*, not to *u*. Thus, H. *bhārā*, hire, is Km. *bhāro*; H. *sīrhī*, a ladder, is Km. *sīrhi*; H. *bhūlā*, forgot, is Km. *bhulo*; H. *cēlā*, a son, becomes *cilo* or *cylo*; and we have Km. *rōṭ*, a cake, but *roto* or *rwōṭo*, bread. A similar tendency to shorten a final vowel is observable in Eastern Pahārī, but not to the same extent. E.g., EPh. *nāri* or *nāri*, a woman (LSI. IX, iv, 23).

So lightly are the shortened final vowels of Km. pronounced, that in the coll. forms of this speech they are altogether dropped, leaving, however, their results behind them. Thus the Standard *bhāro* becomes *bhār*; *sīrhī* becomes *sīrh*; *cylo*, a son, becomes *cyal*; and *rwōṭo*, bread, becomes *rwat*. Cf. LSI. IX., iv, 180 ff., for details.

¹ For details regarding this peculiar law for shortening vowels in Km., which is closely allied to the epenthetic changes occurring in the same language (see § 166), see LSI. IX, iv, 114. It is probable that the same law holds over the whole CPh. area, but information on the subject is only available for Km.

174. We have seen (§ 168) that a short vowel before a compound consonant is lengthened when one of the members of the compound consonant is elided, as in Pr. *māggō*, M. *māg*, a road. In some IAV. coll. dialects we observe the reverse process, by which a vowel naturally long, and preceding a single consonant, is shortened, the consonant being doubled in compensation. This is especially common in dialectic Hindī (LSI. IX, i, 213) and dialectic Gujarātī (LSI. IX, ii, 331, 382). Thus H. *bāssanḥ*, a vessel, for *bāsan*; *gāddī*, a cart, for *gādī*; *beṭṭā*, a son, for *bēṭā*; *roṭṭī*, bread, for *rōṭī*; G. *nāllō*, for *nālō*, small; *nokkar*, for *nōkar*, a servant; *choṭṭā* for *chōṭā*, small, and others.

175. Reference may here again be made to the fact that NWIAVs. and Dardic do not lengthen a vowel when in other languages a following compound consonant is simplified. Thus S. *bhāt*, Ks. *bāt*, cooked rice, but H. *bhāt*, P. *bhatt* (Skr. *bhāktam*). (See §§ 97, 274, and Grierson, JRAS., 1913, 143; 1925, 222.) The same peculiarity is observable in M. (Kōn), as in *tēl*, not *tēl* (M.Pr. *tēllam*), oil; *śet* (M.Pr. *chēttam*), a field; *put* or *pūt* (*piṭṭō*), a son (LSI. VII, 168). So also often in O. and sometimes in Bg. and A. Thus:—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>cākram</i> , a wheel	<i>cākkū</i>	O. <i>cāka</i> , but H. <i>cāk</i> .
<i>śuṣkākaḥ</i> , dry	<i>śukkhāu</i>	Bg.O. <i>sūkā</i> .
<i>pāścāt</i> , behind	<i>pācchahē</i>	O. <i>pāchē</i> , A. <i>pīcē</i> (<i>pīse</i>), but H. <i>pāchē</i> , <i>pīchē</i> .
<i>svidyati</i> , he is fomented.	<i>sijjai</i>	O.A. \sqrt{sij} , H. \sqrt{sij} , be stewed.
<i>mādhyē</i> , in	<i>mājghahi</i>	O. <i>mājhi</i> , H. <i>mājhi</i> .
<i>prsthām</i> , the back	<i>piṭṭhu</i>	Bg. <i>piṭh</i> , O. <i>piṭha</i> , A. <i>piṭhi</i> , H. <i>piṭh</i> .
<i>mūstākāḥ</i> , <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> .	<i>mōṭṭhāu</i>	Bg.O.A. <i>muthā</i> , H. <i>mōṭhā</i> .
<i>ārdṛākam</i> , green ginger.	<i>ādḍāu</i>	O. <i>ādā</i> , A. <i>ēdā</i> , H. <i>ādā</i> .
<i>dūgdham</i> , milk	<i>dūddhu</i>	O. <i>dudha</i> , Bg. <i>dudh</i> , H. <i>dūdh</i> .
<i>jihvā</i> , tongue	<i>jibbhā</i>	O. <i>jibha</i> , A. <i>jibā</i> , H. <i>jibh</i> .

176. Not only is this the rule in Dardic, but there are also instances of a true shortening of Dardic long vowels. These, however, are sporadic, and, as yet, it is impossible to lay down any general rule for them. Such are :—

Skr. *ānāyati* ; Gwr.Kh.Kš.Trw. $\sqrt{\text{an-}}$, but Kl. $\sqrt{\text{ōn-}}$, bring.

Skr. *khādati* ; My. Ś. $\sqrt{\text{kha-}}$, Kš. $\sqrt{\text{khe-}}$, but Grw.Trw. $\sqrt{\text{khō-}}$, eat.

Skr. *āśyaṃ* ; Bš. Kl. *aśi*, Gwr. *hāsi*, but Kš. *āśi*, mouth.

Skr. *rūpa-* ; Gwr. *rup*, Kš. *rōp*, but others *rūp*, &c., silver.

Skr. *ghōṭakaḥ* ; Wai. *gur*, Kš. *gur*, but others *gōṛa*, &c., horse.

Crisis, or Vocal Sandhi.

177. The rule for Kāśmīrī contained in the first and second *sūtras* of Iśvarakaula's *Kāśmīrasabddmṛta*—(1) *saṃdhisiddhiḥ padēṣu*, (2) *na vākyēṣu*—applies to all IAVs. According to this, concurrent vowels are liable to contraction, when they are both in the same word, but not when they are in different words. Except in the colloquial language, there is no external *Sandhi*, such as we find in Skr.

Owing to the tendency that Prakrit has to elide single medial consonants, hiatus in the interior of a word is frequent in that language. Thus in *niśāṇrō* the *ā* and the *a* are in contact and form a hiatus by the elision of *c* (Skr. *niśācārah*). In Pr. (cf. Pr.Gr. § 165) it is not usual to contract this hiatus by Sandhi, if it occurs in the interior of a word (as distinct from external Sandhi) (Hc. i, 8), but some writers, especially Jainas, inserted a euphonic *v*, thus, *niśāṇvārō*.

In IAV.Tbhs., there is, on the contrary, a distinct tendency to contract by Sandhi this Prakrit-begotten hiatus. The rules of this vocalic Sandhi are not always the same as those in Skr.

Vowels in contact may, therefore, in the IAVs. be treated in one of three ways, viz. :—

1. They may be contracted by Sandhi.
2. They may be separated by the insertion of a euphonic letter, usually *y* or *v*.
3. They may remain in hiatus.

As one of the most frequent instances of hiatus occurs in the termination of the long forms of nouns, it will be useful again to remind the reader that all Tbh. nouns appear in a form derived from the Ap. nominative singular, and that for the purposes of the present exposition, long forms are formed by the addition of the pleonastic suffixes (*k*)*a* and (*k*)*a*(*k*)*a*. The nominative terminations of these long forms in Ap. are :—

Masc. (1) *āu* ; (2) *iū* ; (3) *ūu* } See Hc. iv, 429, 430 ; ii, 164.
(1a) *adū* ; (2a) *idū* ; (3a) *udū*

Fem. *iā* (Hc. iv, 433).

Neut. (1) *āū* ; (2) *iū* ; (3) *ūū* } Hc. as above ; also iv, 354.
(1a) *adū* ; (2a) *idū* ; (3a) *udū*

All these have a secondary accent on the penultimate, and in all a final *a* may be substituted for the final *u*. Thus *aa*, *ia*, &c. (Hc. iv, 344). We shall now treat the various groups of vowels in contact in order.

(1) *a+a*, *ā+a*, *a+ā*, *ā+ā*, becomes *ā*. Thus :—

Skr.
ājagāra, a boa-con-
strictor

(?) *ētāsmīn* (*sthānē*),
here

Ap.
aaāru

ēhāhā

M. *ār* (through *āar*).

H. *yāhā* (for *ihāā*). B. *ihā*, *hiyā*,
G. *hiyā*, EPh. *hiyā*, A. *iyā-i*.

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>khādāti</i> , he eats	<i>khāṛi</i>	H. <i>khāi</i> (<i>khāy</i>).
<i>rājadūtaḥ</i> , name of a caste	<i>rāṣṭtu</i>	B. <i>rāut</i> .
<i>cārmakārah</i> , leather-worker	<i>cāmmaāru</i>	IAV. <i>cāmār</i> .

Possibly also M.P.H.B. nominatives in *ā* are to be referred to this rule ; see, however, § 181 note. Often, however, a euphonic *y* or *v* is inserted :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>rājā</i> , king	<i>rāu</i>	IAV. <i>rāy</i> , WIAV. <i>rāv</i> .
<i>kātarah</i> , a coward	<i>kāaru</i>	G.H.B. <i>kāyar</i> , M. <i>kāwarā</i> .
<i>pādah</i> , a foot	<i>pāu</i>	M. <i>pāy</i> (for <i>pāa</i>), H. <i>pāv</i> .
<i>rāmakāśya</i> , of Rāma	(Ap.Mg. <i>*rāmaāha</i>)	B.lg. form. obl. <i>rāmavā</i> (for <i>rāmaā</i>).
<i>ghōṭakākaḥ</i> , a horse	<i>ghōṭhāu</i>	M.obl. <i>ghōṭyā</i> (for <i>ghōṭayā</i>), B. <i>ghōrvā</i> .

178. *aya* is liable to be further contracted to *ai* or *ā*, *e*, or *ē*, whether original or resulting from *a+a* with euphonic *y*. So also *ava* is liable to be contracted to *au*, *ā* or *ō*. Examples :—

(A) Original : (Cf. Skr. *lavanam*, salt, Pr. *lōnam*, M. *lōṇ*).

<i>nāyānam</i> , the eye	....	sTs.H. <i>nain</i> , P. <i>naiṇ</i> , G. <i>nāṇ</i> , S. <i>nāṇu</i> (written <i>nēṇu</i>).
<i>sāmāyaḥ</i> , time	....	sTs.B. <i>sāmai</i> , H. <i>sāmē</i> .
<i>kṣāyāḥ</i> , destruction	....	H.P. <i>chai</i> , M. <i>khai</i> , G. <i>khā</i> .
<i>bhāyam</i> , fear	....	S.P.H. <i>bhai</i> , O.M. <i>bhē</i> , but S. also <i>bhau</i> with rejection of <i>y</i> , and insertion of euphonic <i>v</i> .
<i>dhāvalākaḥ</i> , white	<i>dhāvalāu</i>	H.P. <i>dhāulā</i> , G. <i>dhālū</i> , S. <i>dhāūrā</i> .
<i>bhāvanam</i> , a house	....	H. <i>bhaun</i> , P. <i>bhaun</i> .
<i>nāvanītam</i> , butter	<i>nāvanīu</i>	H. <i>nāunī</i> , P. <i>nāunī</i> , M. <i>lōnī</i> .

As a rule Modern M.B.O. and A. retain the original form in sTs. (as indeed may be done optionally by all IAVs.) under the influence of Paṇḍits. Thus, *nayan* ; *kṣay*, *chay*, or *khay* ; *bhay* ; *bhavan*.

(B) Resultant :

<i>vācanam</i> , a word	<i>vāvaṇu</i>	B. <i>bain</i> , G. <i>vāṇ</i> , S. <i>vāṇu</i> (written <i>vēṇu</i>).
<i>rājani</i> , night	<i>rāvāṇi</i>	H.P. <i>rain</i> , B. <i>rain</i> , G. <i>rāṇ</i> .
<i>nāgarām</i> , a town	<i>nāvāru</i>	IAV. <i>nair</i> or <i>nēr</i> .
<i>pāḍāntākaḥ</i> , near the feet	<i>pāvāntāu</i>	H.B. <i>pāitā</i> , the foot of a bed.
<i>kādalākaḥ</i> , plantain	<i>kāvalāa</i>	H.P. <i>kēlā</i> , M.G. <i>kēl</i> .
<i>bādarāḥ</i> , jujube tree	<i>bāvāru</i>	B. <i>bair</i> , H.P. <i>bēr</i> , S. <i>bār</i> (written <i>bēr</i>).
<i>bhrāmarākaḥ</i> , a bee	<i>bhāvārāu</i>	IAV. <i>bhāūrā</i> .
<i>samārpayati</i> , to entrust	<i>sāvappēi</i>	B.H.P. <i>sāupē</i> , M. <i>sōpē</i> .
<i>āparaḥ</i> , other	<i>āvaru</i>	H.B. <i>aur</i> , G. <i>ār</i> .
<i>kāmaṭhākaḥ</i> , a gourd	<i>kāvāḍhāu</i>	H.B. <i>kōrhā</i> .
<i>Rāmākākāḥ</i> , Rāma	<i>rāmāāu</i>	WIAV. (red. form. <i>rāmāiyā</i> , for <i>*rāmāyayā</i> , EIAV. <i>rāmāuā</i> (for <i>*rāmāvāā</i>))

179. (2) $a+i$, $a+u$, become regularly ai and au respectively, also liable to be weakened to e , $ē$ and $ā$, $ō$ respectively. Thus :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>khādiraḥ</i> , catechu	<i>khāiru</i>	I.A.V. <i>khair</i> , exc. G. <i>khēr</i> (or <i>khār</i>).
<i>pravīṣṭakaḥ</i> , entered	<i>paṭṭhau</i>	M.H.B. <i>paṭṭhā</i> , S. <i>pēṭhō</i> , G. <i>pāṭhō</i> .
<i>balivārdāḥ</i> , a bull	<i>baṭṭu</i>	I.A.V. <i>bail</i> , but G. <i>bel</i> (or <i>bāl</i>).
<i>bhāginī</i> , sister	<i>bhāṇi</i>	M.P. <i>bhain</i> , B. (dial.) <i>bhāini</i> , G. <i>bēhn</i> (or <i>bāhn</i>).
<i>mākuṭam</i> , a tiara	<i>māṭṭu</i>	I.A.V. <i>mauṭ</i> , <i>mōṭ</i> , or <i>mauṭā</i> , exc. G. <i>mār</i> , a wreath.
<i>catūṣkaṁ</i> , a square	<i>catūku</i>	I.A.V. <i>cauk</i> , exc. G. <i>cūkō</i> .
<i>ghōṣṭakaḥ</i> , a horse	<i>ghōṣṭai</i>	H. (dial.) <i>ghōṣṭau</i> or <i>ghōṣṭō</i> .
<i>śātam</i> , a hundred	Pr. <i>sāam</i> , or masc. <i>sāo</i> (M.Pr.), <i>sāē</i> (Mg.)	H.P.S. <i>sau</i> (for <i>sa(v)u</i>), H.P. <i>sai</i> (for <i>sa(y)i</i>), G. <i>sō</i> , M. <i>sē</i> , O. <i>sāe</i> , B. <i>say</i> , A. <i>sa</i> (χδ), EPH. <i>sai</i> , <i>saiyā</i> .

Note.— ai final is often written ay . Thus B. *kīrāy* for *kārāi*, he does. This is merely a mode of writing and does not affect the pronunciation.

180. This weakening of ai to $ē$ is very common at the end of a word, especially in the 3rd. person sg. of verbs. Thus :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>upaviśati</i> , he sits	<i>uvaiśai</i>	B. <i>baisai</i> , but other I.A.Vs. <i>baisē</i> , <i>basē</i> , <i>bāhē</i> , &c.

So also as an old termination of the strong forms in Eastern dialects derived from Ap.Mg.Pr. [Skr. *-ākaḥ*, Mg.Pr. *-āē* or *-āi* (Mk. xii, 20), Ap.Mg.Pr. **-āi*, hence OELAV. *ē*]. E.g., OB. *sinānē*, bathing, < Skr. *snānākaṁ*, Ap.Mg.Pr. **sinānāi* (see §§ 29, 65).

Again, as a termination of the obl. form of strong nouns, in H.P.L.B. and S. Thus H. *ghōṣṭē* (-kā), of a horse, is reduced from *ghōṣṭai*. *ghōṣṭai* is thus arrived at :—

Skr. <i>ghōṣṭakasya</i>	Ap. <i>ghōṣṭadhē</i>	O.I.A.V. <i>ghōṣṭadhi</i> , <i>ghōṣṭadī</i> , <i>ghōṣṭāi</i> .
-------------------------	----------------------	--

Similarly, as a rare obl. form of weak nouns, such as B. *gām*, a village, which has an obl. form *gāmē*, for *gāmai* < *gāmahi* < Ap. *gāmahē*, Skr. *grāmasya*.

As a neuter termination in M. E.g. :—

<i>śātam</i> , a hundred	<i>sāam</i>	M. neut. <i>sē</i> for <i>*sai</i> .
<i>bhāṇḍakaṁ</i> , a chest	<i>bhāṇḍaam</i>	M. <i>bhāṇḍē</i> .

Several instances of the weakening of medial ai to $ē$ (or $ā$) will be found in lists A & B in § 178. The same change occurs when the ai is original, as in Prs. *paīdā*, produced, G. *pādā*, and other similar cases. G. usually writes $ē$, which in this case sounds as $ā$, as in *nēn* (*nān*), *vēn* (*vān*), *rēn* (*rān*), *pēṭhō* (*pāṭhō*), *bēl* (*bāl*), and *bēhn* (*bāhn*) (see LSI. IX, ii, 329, 344).¹ This weakening of ai to e or $ē$ ($ā$) is especially common in G. and S. In L. ai is generally weakened to $ā$, not e or $ē$, as in *bāhē*, he sits (*upaviśati*), and *mā* for *maī*, I (cf. § 209).

This ai , e , is again sometimes weakened to i . E.g., in the termination of the M. Past Habitual (i.e., Old Present), of the second or transitive conjugation. E.g., *mōḍi*, for *mōḍai*, he used to break. So also the M. locative termination $ī$ for $a(h)ī$; e.g., *ghārī*, in a house, for *ghārāi*. So also G. *pāṭhī* (Ap. *pacchāi*), after, and other similar words. Cf. Kā. *bēhi* < *upaviśati*; R(J.) *pīsō* for H. *paīsā*, a pice. See also OWR.Gr. § 10 (1).

ai is finally sometimes weakened to a . This is especially common in P. Examples :—

<i>vairāgi</i> , a mendicant	P.sTs. <i>bārāgi</i> .
<i>vaitarāni</i> , name of a river	P.sTs. <i>bātārāni</i> .

Ar. *ḡīrāt*, almsP. *khārāt*.Skr. *ūpaviśati*, he
sits downM.Bg.G. *bāsē*, A. *bāhē*.

So also H. (Upper Dōāb) *ṽ baṭṭh* for *ṽ baṭh*, sit; M. *mḥais* or *mḥas*, a buffalo; IAV. *tas* or *tais*, of that kind; NL. *ḡatān*, for *ḡaitān*, Satan.

ūvāisēi becomes *bihē* in S. and *bāhē* in L.; but in H.M. and others *baisē*.

It will be observed that the first three examples are all due to the influence of the stress-accent.

At the end of a word, *a(y)a* is sometimes contracted to *ai*, and then weakened to *a*, which is not pronounced (exc. in S.), thus :—

svāśurālayam *śurālaya*
(-*ālayākam*), a
father-in-law's
house

H. *sūs^arāl*, M. *sās^arē*.

dēvālayam, a
temple

H.Bg. *dēval*, G. *dēval*, B. *dēvāl*, P. *dēvālā*,
S. *dēvili*.*āśrayaḥ*, refuge**ārau*S. *āsar^a*, cf. M.P.H.B.N.Bg.O.A. *āsrā*.

¹ In LSI, I have described this G. sound as a short *e*, but subsequent enquiries show that the true sound is more nearly that of *ū*, long or short according to position. See § 209.

181. Similarly *au* is regularly weakened to *ō* in the termination of the nominative of strong masc. nouns in G. and S. E.g. :—

Skr. *ghōṣākāḥ*, a horseAp. *ghōṣāu*G.S. *ghōṣā*.

So also as a final in the 2nd person plur. of IAV. verbs. Thus :—

pāṭhathāḥ (dual), you
two read

pāṭhahu (pl.)OH. *pāṭhahu* or *pāṭhau*, Br. *pāṭhau*,
H.P.L.G.S. *pāṭhō*, ye (pl.) read; but B.
parhā.

Several instances of the weakening of medial *au* to *ā* or *ō* will be seen in lists A and B in § 178. The change to *ā* is almost confined to Gujarātī (LSI. IX, ii, 329, 345), and that to *ō* is most common in Sindhī. But G. sometimes has *ō*, and this change also occurs elsewhere, as in M. *lōṇ*, H. *lōn*, salt; M. *lōṇi*, butter; H. *saṭp^anā*, M. *sōp^anē*, G. *sōp^anū*, to entrust. Other examples for G. and S. are :—

H. *maūṇā*, a wreath; G. *māṇ*; S. *mōṇ*.H. *caūthā*, fourth; G. *cāthō*; S. *cōthō*.H. *kaūṇī*, a shell; G. *kāṇī*; S. *kōṇī*.Ar. *darūlat*, riches; G. *dōlat*.

So, many others. A full list of the G. words containing *ā*, is given in LSI. IX, ii, 345 ff. In B. the 2nd plur. of verbs, also has *ā* instead of the *ō* mentioned above.

Here it may be mentioned that in Varhāḍī M. *avi* is contracted to *ō*, as in *uḡōlā*, for *uḡavilā*, caused to fly (LSI. VII, 219).

In Assamese, *au*, though usually written, is invariably pronounced as *ō*. Thus Ts. *aūṣadh*, medicine, is written *aūṣadh*, and is pronounced *ōṣadh*.

au, *ō*, is also sometimes further weakened to *u* or *ū*. E.g. :—

Regularly in Gujarātī in forming the termination of neuter nouns in *ū*. Thus :—

Skr. *pāṭvatam*, ripeAp. *pākkāū*G. *pākkū*, cf. H. *pākkau*, *pākkā*.

Occasionally also in isolated words. E.g., IAV. *ṽ bhul-*, *bhūl-*, *bhur-* or *bhūr-*, forget, from Skr. *bhramarayaṭi*, through the Ap. *bhaṭaraṭi* or (Mg.Pr.) *bhaṭalāṭi*. Hence OIAV. *bhāurāi* or *bhāulāi*. Cf. also Skr. *lāvaṇam*, Ap. *lōṇu*, M. *lōṇ*, H. *lōn*, but EIAV. also *lūn* or *nūn*, salt.

Finally this *au*, *ō*, *u* is sometimes further reduced to *a* or *ā*. E.g. :—

Regularly in forming the termination of the nominative of strong masc. nouns in M.P.H.B. (See, however, the note at the end of this paragraph.) Thus :—

ghōṭākaḥ, a horse Ap. *ghōṭāu* M.H., &c., *ghōṭā*, *ghōṭā* for *ghōṭāu*.

In Bg.O. and A. this termination is sometimes, and also always the *ō* (*ahū*, *au*, &c.) termination of verbs (in this also B.), reduced to *a*, which however is pronounced as a long *ō*, thus really remaining in the first stage of weakening from *au*. Thus H.M., &c., *chōṭā*, small, but Bg.O. *चोट*, pronounced *chōṭ*; H. *bhālā*, well, Bg.O.A. *बाल*, pronounced *bhālā*. Again H. *kārō*, imperat., do, but B.Bg.O.A. *कर*, pronounced *kārō*, exc. in B., in which it is *kārā*.

Again, as a medial it is reduced to *a*, pronounced as short *ō*, in Bg.G. *dhālā*, A. *dhāla*, white, equivalent to the H. *dhālā*, Skr. *dhāvalākaḥ*.

This reduction of *au* to *a* (*ō*) is by no means uncommon in dialectic Bg., though it is rigidly excluded by purists from the dictionary. A good example is the Northern Bg. *nānī* (pr. *nōnī*), but H. *nāunī*, butter, for the Skr. *nāvantām*. The same change occurs in R. (Mw.), when *au* is pr. *ō* (LSI. IX, ii, 20).

Note.—The apparent change of *au* to *ā* may be a result of the adoption of the termination *āka* for *āka*, see § 145. Thus in Ap.Pr. *ghōṭāku*, *ghōṭāu*, instead of *ghōṭāku*, *ghōṭāu*. Under the influence of the strongly accented *ā*, the *u* would be elided, and the form *ghōṭā* would remain, with, in Eastern dialects, the accent transferred to the resultant penultimate. Or, again, only the accented *ā* termination of M. (in *kiṭā*, &c.) may come from *āka*, as a contraction of *ā+a*, and in P.H.B. the unaccented *ā* may be a contraction of *ā+a*. According to Hc. iv, 344, the termination *u* of *a*-bases may be dropped, and the original *a* of the base will then only remain, we thus get :—

ghōṭākaḥ or *ghōṭākaḥ* *ghōṭāu* or *ghōṭāu* Hence P.H.B. *ghōṭā*, M. *ghōṭā*.
or (H.C. iv, 344)
ghōṭāa or *ghōṭāa*

See however § 177 above.

Instances of *au* preceding an accented vowel are very rare. The only example I have noted is the borrowed Prs. word *saudāgar*, a merchant. This is generally retained unchanged, but in NL. we meet *sadāgar*.

182. (3) *a + i*, *a + ū*. These usually remain in hiatus. The combination is rare, and is principally met as a termination of abstract and other derivative noun-forms in B. Thus, *garuvāi*, heaviness; *gharāū*, a pitcher (red. form); so M. *salāi*, a pencil. They are sometimes written *garuvāi* and *gharāu*.

(4) *a + ē*; *a + ō*. These are treated like *a + ī* and *a + ū* respectively.

(5) *ā + ī*, *ā + ū*, usually remain in hiatus. Thus LAV. *māī*, mother; *nāū*, barber. Even when written long, owing to the accent, the final vowel is usually pronounced short.

When the *ā* in *āi* and *āu* is shortened either owing to the accent or to its position, the rules for *a + i* and *a + u* apply. Thus H.B. *pāidal*, but M. and Bg. *pāidal* (or *pāyidal*), foot soldiers, as H. and B. shorten the *a* in the third syllable from the end. So also :—

Skr. *vāmanākaḥ*, a dwarf, Ap. *bāvandū*, H. *bāunā*, P. *bāunā*; but Bg. *bāuniyā*.

The *ī* in *āī* is sometimes written as *y(a)*, thus *māy*, mother. In coll. Bg. *āi* is sometimes pronounced *ē*, as in *khāilē*, to eat, pr. *khāilē* (see J. D. Anderson JRAS., 1913, 538).

(6) *āē*, *āō*, follow the example of *āī* and *āū*, but *ē* and *ō* can be shortened to *ya* and *va*; or a euphonic *y* or *v* may be inserted. *e* is often shortened to *i*. Thus :—

Skr. *ādēśaḥ*, an order Ap. *āḍesu* Old B. *āesu* (the *ē* is shortened owing to the accent), *āyasu*, *āyesu* (with euphonic *y*) or *āisa*
Hindi *jāō*, imperat, go; also written *jāo* or *jāu*.

(7) $\check{i} + a$, $\check{u} + a$, $\check{e} + a$, $\check{o} + a$. The a is elided, and, if the accent falls on the i , u , or e , it is lengthened. Thus :—

<i>dīvarah</i> , a husband's brother	<i>dīaru</i>	M. <i>dīr</i> .
<i>pītalākam</i> , yellow	<i>pītalāi</i>	G. <i>pīlū</i> , H. <i>pīlā</i> .
<i>yūgalam</i> , a pair	<i>jūalu</i>	M. <i>jūl</i> , twins.
<i>vēdanā</i> , a pang	<i>vēṇa</i>	M. <i>vēṇ</i> .
<i>dhāvat</i> , washing	<i>dhōāntu</i>	H. <i>dhōtā</i> .

Sometimes the elision of the a is optional. Thus B. *dhōat*, washing, a euphonic y or v being optionally inserted (*dhōyat*, or *dhōvat*; B. *pīyat*, drinking, H. *pītā*). Sometimes $i + a$ becomes \bar{e} . Thus :—

<i>nīkaṭē</i> , near	<i>nīaḍahi</i>	H.B. <i>nīyarē</i> , or <i>nērē</i> , or <i>nērē</i> .
<i>nīgaḍaḥ</i> , a fetter	<i>nīaḍu</i>	S. <i>nēr</i> °.
<i>vyājanākam</i> , a fan	<i>vīanaū</i>	H. <i>bēnā</i> .

(8) $\check{i} + ā$, $\check{u} + ā$, may optionally insert a euphonic y or v respectively. The insertion of v is not usual. The long i is usually shortened.

<i>pipāsā</i> , thirst	<i>piāsa</i>	IAV. <i>piyās</i> or <i>pyās</i> .
<i>śīvakālākam</i> , the cold season	<i>śīāālāi</i>	S. <i>siyārō</i> , G. <i>siyālō</i> .
<i>śukākūḥ</i> , a parrot	<i>śūāu</i>	IAV. <i>śūā</i> , rarely <i>śūvā</i> .
<i>kūpākam</i> , a well	<i>kūāū</i>	H.P.B. <i>kūā</i> , Bg.O. <i>kūā</i> , EPh. <i>kūvā</i> , M. <i>kūvā</i> , G. <i>kūvō</i> , S. <i>khūh</i> * (with euph. h), L. <i>khūh</i> , P. <i>khūh</i> or <i>khūhā</i> .

(9) $iā$ and $uā$ are common as the termination of nouns. As $iā$, $uā$, or $iyā$, $uvā$, they make long forms. Thus *ghōriyā*, a mare, *bālūā*, sand.

They are liable to contraction, as in the case of medial ia , and ua , the a being elided and the i or u (which has a secondary accent) being lengthened. They then form strong forms. E.g., from *ghōriyā*, *ghōrī*. From Skr. *mañṭikākam*, Ap. *mōṭiyāū*, IAV. *mōṭī* from *mītiyā*, a pearl. So again from *bālūā*, *bālū*, sand.

It is possible, however, that this feminine i is really derived from a termination $ikā$ or $iā$, corresponding to the termination $āka$ described in §§ 145 and 181 note. Under the influence of the preceding long vowel, the final vowel would then be first shortened, and then elided. The stages would be *ghōḍikā*, *ghōḍīkā*, *ghōḍīā*, *ghōḍīa*, *ghōḍī*, with retransferred accent to the resultant penultimate.

183. (10) $\check{i} + \check{u}$, $\check{u} + \check{i}$, remain unchanged, or insert euphonic y . Thus O.H. *pīyu* or *pīu*, beloved; Skr. *sūcikā*, Ap. *sūiā*, IAV. *sūi*, a needle.

In Kāśmīrī the second declension consists of nouns with i -bases. These mostly correspond to IAV. strong nouns with a -bases. Thus IAV. base *ghōda-* (< *ghōdaa-*), but Kā. base *guri-*, horse. It is therefore evident that for Kā. we must presuppose an ancient suffix $-ika-$ corresponding to the IAV. $-aka-$. In this way we get the Kā. nom. sg. *gur** for **guri(k)u*, **guryu*. That this assumption is not unreasonable is shown by Kā. words of the same declension which correspond to Skr. i -bases, not a -bases. Thus, corresponding to Skr. *kṛmih*, a worm, we have Kā. *kim**, for **kimi(k)u*, **kimyu*.¹

(11) $i + \check{e}$, becomes either *iya* or \bar{e} or simply a . Example :—

<i>nārikēlah</i> , a cocoa-nut	<i>nārēlō</i>	H. <i>nāriyal</i> , B. <i>nāriyar</i> , G. <i>nāriyal</i> , M. <i>nārāl</i> , Bg. <i>nārēl</i> , P. <i>nārēl</i> , S. <i>nārīl</i> °, and <i>nāir</i> °; EPh. has <i>nārival</i> , with euph. v .
--------------------------------	---------------	--

- (12) $\tilde{i} + \tilde{i}$, $\tilde{u} + \tilde{u}$, become i and u , respectively. Thus :—
pāsyati, he will drink Ap. Pr. **pūhai* O.H. *pīhai*.
dviguṇākaḥ, two-fold *ḍūnāu* IAV. *ḍūnā*.

¹ For further particulars, see Grierson and Barnett, *Lallā-vākyāni* (London, 1920), 137 ff.

Nasalization and Denasalization.

184. The nasalization of long vowels, by means of *anunāsika*, is a striking feature in all IAVs. It varies with the personal equation of the speaker or according to locality. The nasal tone is strongly heard in Audh, where Eastern Hindī is spoken, and in Northern Lahndā. In the latter, every final long vowel may optionally be nasalized, as in *bahū* or *bahū̃*, much; *nā* or *nā̃*, of. Similarly (NP.Gr. v), in Northern Panjābī there is a tendency to nasalize the vowel of a syllable containing *n* or *ṇ*. Thus, *sāpē* or *sāpē̃*, *jānā*, *jānā̃*, or *jāṇā̃*. Again, in Sindhī, nasalization is frequent, and imparts a distinct tone to the language. Long vowels, and especially final long vowels, are most subject to this, as in *mīhā*, rain (Skr. *mēghaḥ*); *prī*, a friend (Skr. *priyāḥ*). In the latter, there has been loss of a final syllable, with the old penultimate vowel lengthened in compensation. So, in Gujarātī, final long vowels are often nasalized, as in *mā̃*, a face (*mukha-*), or *duniyā̃*, the world (Ar. *dunyā*) (GLL. 332).

Just as we have the above instances of spontaneous nasalization, so we sometimes come across sporadic cases in which an original nasal has been lost. This, again, is often a mere matter of personal equation, but in some languages it has crept into literature. Thus :—

<i>riṅkhati</i> or <i>riṅgati</i> , he crawls	<i>riṅkhai</i> , <i>riṅgai</i>	H. $\sqrt{\text{r}}\tilde{g}$ -, M. $\sqrt{\text{r}}\tilde{g}$ -, crawl; but G. $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rikh}$ -, roam.
<i>samāpayati</i> , he harasses	<i>samāvēi</i>	O. $\sqrt{\text{santā}}$ -, but M. $\sqrt{\text{santāvi}}$ -, H. $\sqrt{\text{santā}}$ -, G. $\sqrt{\text{santā}}$ -, P. $\sqrt{\text{santā}}$ -, S. $\sqrt{\text{santā}}$ -,
<i>pañcāśat</i> , fifty	<i>pañcāsam</i>	M. <i>pañnās</i> , A.Bg.O. <i>pañcās</i> , P.L. <i>pañjāh</i> , S. <i>pañjāh</i> *, but H.G. <i>pacās</i> .

In the last two instances, the denasalization has been induced by the stress-accent in the following syllable, but no such explanation is available for the first.

185. We have seen, under the head of lengthening of vowels (§ 168), how, when a conjunct consonant of which the first member is a class-nasal, the class-nasal is liable to be dropped, while the preceding vowel is lengthened and nasalized in compensation. But this compensatory nasalization is not confined to words which, in the literary Sanskrit or Prakrit, have conjuncts involving a class-nasal. In the IAVs, we sometimes come across cases in which there is nasalization of a vowel which has been lengthened in compensation, although there was no class-nasal in the literary Prakrit conjunct which has been simplified. In the vulgar speech, not found in dictionaries, this is everywhere very common, but this unexpected nasalization also finds its way into literary words. E. g. :—

<i>ākṣikam</i> , an eye	<i>ākṣiam</i>	H.G. $\tilde{ā}kh$, B. $\tilde{ā}kh$, Bg.O. $\tilde{ā}kh$, EPh. CPh. $\tilde{ā}khā$, but A. $\tilde{ā}kh$, P.L. $\tilde{ā}kh$, S. $\tilde{ā}kh$ *, etc.
-------------------------	---------------	---

J. Bloch (FLM. § 70) and Turner (JRAS., 1921, 344) look upon this nasalization as due to the length of the vowel, which, according to Bloch spontaneously develops a nasal resonance, but I am unable to accept this explanation (see Grierson, JRAS., 1922, 381 ff.). Such spontaneous nasalization could occur only if it was introduced in the present stage of the development of the IAVs. in which the vowel had become long. But this is not the case, for the nasal was introduced not later than the Prakrit stage, and has nothing to do with the length of the vowel.

In the IAVs. we sometimes find cases in which the vowel remains short, and is not nasalized, but, instead, a conjunct with a class-nasal is substituted for the Prakrit conjunct which has no class nasal. Thus in :—

<i>kārkaram</i> , gravel	<i>kākkaru</i>	H. not only <i>kākar</i> , but also <i>kāṅkar</i> , and so elsewhere.
Similarly :— <i>mārgati</i> , he asks	<i>māggai</i>	G.M.O.A. $\sqrt{māg-}$, H.S.Bg.EPh. $\sqrt{māg-}$, but H. also $\sqrt{maṅg-}$, P.L.Kā. $\sqrt{maṅg-}$, S. $\sqrt{maṅ-}$.
<i>uccākaḥ</i> , high	<i>uccāu</i>	P.L. <i>uccā</i> , A. <i>ucc</i> , H. <i>ūcā</i> , G.S. <i>ūcō</i> , B. <i>ūc</i> , but M. <i>uñc</i> , Bg.O. <i>uñcā</i> .
<i>bhittih</i> , a wall	<i>bhittī</i>	H. <i>bhīt</i> or <i>bhīṭ</i> , but M. <i>bhīṭ</i> or <i>bhīnt</i> .
<i>satyaḥ</i> , true	<i>saccu</i>	P.L. <i>sacc</i> , M. <i>sāc</i> , T.B. <i>sāc</i> , but H. also <i>sañc</i> .

The Skr. *nīdrā*, sleep, Pr. *niddā*, becomes *nīd* in H., and also *nind* or *nin* in the speech of the vulgar (§ 275). *nin*, with a diminutive *i*, becomes *ninī* or *nindī*, and this is liable to a further change to *ninnī*. Anglo-Indian mothers soothe their children with a crooning song beginning 'ninny babba ninny,' which is their mispronunciation of the Ayah's lullaby *ninnāi bābā ninnī*, sleep, darling, sleep.

In Prakrit, while an original conjunct is usually represented merely by the doubled form of one of its members, in certain words, instead of this doubled letter, we find a conjunct consisting of a class-nasal (or anusvāra) with a single consonant. Such are, for instance, *vaṅka-*, for **vakka-* (*vakra-*), *phaṃsa-*, for **phassa-* (*sparśa-*), *aiṃmūṭṭaya-* or *aiṃmūṭṭaya-* (*aiṃmūṭṭaka-*), *pūṃcha-* for *puccha-*, and others (Mk. iv, 20; Hc. i, 26; Pr.Gr. § 74). These forms with class-nasals were specially common in Dēśya forms of speech, and the above examples are evidently borrowed from such dialects (cf. Jacobi, *Bhavisatta Kaha*, *63 ff.). It thus follows that, beside the regular Prakrit form *akḥhi-* for *akṣi-*, there must also have been a Dēśya form **aṅkhi-*, from which *ākh*, etc., are regularly descended.¹ For a long list of these words in Gujarātī, see GLL., 319 ff.

Similarly, such words as *kaṅkar*, *maṅg*, *uñc*, *bhīnt*, *sañc*, etc., are Dēśya survivals, and are the parents of *kākar*, *māg*, *ūcā*, *bhīṭ*, *sāc*, and so on, and are not, as some suppose, modern corruptions of the latter forms.

¹ For detailed proof of this, see Grierson, JRAS, 1922, 381 ff., and *The Prakrit Dhātu-śāstra* (Mem. ASB. VIII, 86). J. Bloch, in *La Nasalité en Indo-Aryen* (Cinquantième de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études) discusses the subject at some length, but without referring to the Dēśya origin of these conjuncts. Cf. also §§ 147, 149, and Hl.Gd.Gr., pp. 27 ff. There are traces of a somewhat similar nasalization even in Vedic times. Cf. Bloch, l.c., and Bühler's edition of the text of the *Āpastambīya-dharma-sūtra*, p. vi, n. For Dardic, see § 282.

186. In Apabhraṃśa an intervocalic *m* is liable to become *ṣ* (Pr.Gr. § 251), as in *kaṃala-* or *kaṃāla-*. This change is also found in the IAVs., but the *v* is usually pronounced as a vowel and the vowel preceding, and not the *v* itself, is nasalized. Thus :—

<i>nāmā</i> , a name	Ap. <i>nāma</i> or <i>nāṃva</i>	IAV. <i>nām</i> or <i>nāv</i> , pr. <i>nāv</i> .
<i>smarāmi</i> , I remember	Ap. <i>sūmaravū</i> or <i>sūṃvaravū</i>	OH. <i>sūmaravū</i> .

It is useless to multiply examples of this. There are very many in every IAV. Very often the *v* is written *u* or *o*, to agree with its pronunciation. *Nāv* is as often as not written *nāv*, *nāv*, *nāv*, *nāv*, with long or short *u* or *o*, but perhaps *nāv* most nearly represents the

sound. The word *gāv* (*grāmāḥ*), village, occurring at the end of compounds that are place names, is frequently heard as 'gong' by Anglo-Indians. Thus, *bān-gāv*, the name of a well-known town in Bengal, is usually spelt 'Bongong' in Anglo-Indian newspapers.

Turner (JRAS., 1915, 20 ff.) points out that, in Gujarātī, this change of *m* to *ṽ* occurs only before the stress-accent, when the preceding vowel is short. Thus, *kūvārō* (*kumārāḥ*), unmarried; *sōg*, disguise, (*samāṅgaḥ*); but, with a long vowel originally preceding the stress-accent, *jamāi* (*jāmāṭīkaḥ*), a son-in-law. The change does not occur if the *m* follows the stress-accent, as in *kāmaḥ*, a lotus; *sāmālo* (*syāmalaḥ*), dark; *nām*, a name.

According to J. Bloch (FLM. 141) this change does not occur in Singhalese, but, according, to Sgh.Gr., p. 48, this is wrong. The change does not appear to occur in Dardic (Ps.L., p. 118), or, at least is rare, and in such cases probably borrowed. Thus, 'a village' is Bš. *grom*, Kh. *grōm*, Š. *girōm*, Kš. *gām*; and 'a name' is Bš. *nom*, Kh. *nām*, Š. *nōm*, but Kš. *nāv*.

187. A Sanskrit final *m* is also sometimes represented by a nasalized vowel. This occurs in those languages, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, which have retained the neuter gender. In these languages, the respective terminations of strong neuter nouns in *ū* and *ē*, represent the Skr. *-akam*, which in Ap. becomes *-aū* (Pr.Gr. § 352). From this is directly derived the G. *ū*. The M. *-ē* comes through a corresponding termination **a*ā*, not noted by grammarians. Thus :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>suvarṇakam</i> , gold	<i>soṇṇāū</i>	G. <i>sonū</i> .
	<i>*soṇṇa*ā</i>	M. <i>sonē</i> .

Although the neuter gender has disappeared in other languages, we still find traces of it in the nasalization of the infinitive termination in some dialects of Hindī. Thus the colloquial form of the infinitive in the Braj dialect is more commonly *mār^anaū* than *mār^anavu*, to strike (<Skr. *māraṇakam*) (LSI. IX, i, 70).

188. Anusvāra in the interior of a word also becomes anunāsika, and (as in Pr., cf. Pr. Gr. § 350) is then often dropped. Thus :—

Skr.	Ap.	
<i>vāmśaḥ</i> , a bamboo	<i>vaṃsu</i>	IAV. <i>bās</i> or <i>bās</i> , exc. S. <i>bās*</i> , A. <i>bāh</i> .
<i>hāmśaḥ</i> , a swan	<i>hāṃsu</i>	H.B.EPh.OPh. <i>hās</i> , A. <i>hāh</i> .
<i>māmśam</i> , flesh	<i>māṃsu</i> or <i>māsū</i> (Hc. i, 29; Mk. iv, 25)	IAV. <i>mās</i> or <i>mās</i> , exc. S. <i>mās*</i> or <i>mās*</i> , A. <i>mōnōh</i> .
<i>śimśaḥ</i> , a lion	<i>śimṣu</i>	S. <i>śih*</i> , L. <i>śih</i> , H. <i>śih</i> or <i>śih</i> , B. <i>śih</i> .

The above only refers to Tbhs. In the case of Tss. and sTss. the practice differs. In most IAVs. (except M.) *ṃs*, is pronounced as *ns*, but in Bg. and O. as, *nś*, and A. as *ns*. So for *ṃś* also. Thus :—

<i>vāmśaḥ</i> , lineage	sTs. most IAVs. <i>vanś</i> , <i>vans</i> , or <i>bans</i> (written <i>vaṃś</i>). Bg.O. <i>bōnśō</i> . A. <i>bōns</i> , S. <i>vans*</i> .
<i>hāmśaḥ</i> , a swan	sTs. IAV. <i>hans</i> , &c., as above.

So Ts. or sTs. *ṃh* is usually pronounced *ngh*, although written *ṃh*. Thus :—

<i>śimśaḥ</i> , a lion	sTs. S. <i>śingh*</i> , other IAVs. <i>śingh</i> (written <i>śimh</i>).
------------------------	--

See also §§ 271, 276.

The above remarks do not apply to M. In sTss. in that language *ṃ* preceding *r*, *ś*, *s*, *ṣ*, or *h* is pronounced as *ṽ*, as in *saṽrakṣaṇ*, protection; *saṽsar*, the universe; *saṽhār*, destruction.

Before *y*, *i*, or *v*, it becomes *ĩ*, *ĩ*, or *ẽ* respectively, as in *saĩyĩg*, junction; *saĩlagna*, united (LSI. VII, 22).

There are traces of the dropping of the anusvāra, with consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, in Pr. Before a sibilant, anusvāra usually remains unchanged, but it is elided, with lengthening of the preceding vowel, in Skr. *viṣṭatīḥ*, twenty, Pr. *viṣatp*, hence IAV. *biṣ*, &c. There are occasional similar cases found in the IAVs. An example is Skr. *spāṅkhalah*, a chain, Pr. *saṅkhalā* (Pr.Gr. § 213), H.B. *sakar*, A. *śikali*, Bg. *śikal*, O. *śikuli*. Similarly a few other sporadic instances. Cf. FLM. § 71. Again, from *saṁśāpayati*, he harasses, we have a *√ saṁś* in H.R.P.G., M.S. and L.

189. In Dardic languages we occasionally come across cases of nasalization. As examples of nasalization due to contraction (§ 185) we may quote :—

Av. *āṣr-*; Wai. *ēr*, fire.

Av. *aṣi-*, Skr. *akṣi-*; Paś. *anc*, My. *ainch*, the eye.

In Skr. *kṣura-*; Bś. *kyur* or *kūr*, a foot, the reason for the nasalization is less obvious.

The IAV. Vowels in Detail.

190. As a rule, the IAVs. and Dardic follow the Prakrit and Apabhramśa vowel-scale with great fidelity.

Even when, in sporadic cases, Pr. takes vowels different from those apparent in the Skr. form of the same word, the IAVs. and Drd. usually follow the Pr., and not the Skr. Thus :—

Skr.	Ap.	IAV.
<i>pākvāṇakah</i> , ripe	<i>pākkāū</i> or <i>pākkāū</i>	G. <i>√ pik</i> or <i>√ pak</i> , ripen, M. <i>pik</i> , a ripe crop, M. <i>pikā</i> , P.H.O. <i>pākkā</i> , S. <i>pākō</i> , A. <i>pākā</i> , Bg. <i>pākā</i> , B. <i>pākal</i> , Eph. <i>pāk</i> , Kś. <i>pāp</i> , all meaning ripe.
<i>vṛṣabhāṇakah</i> , a bull	<i>vāsahāū</i>	H.B. <i>bāsahā</i> . The others use the Ts. form.
<i>vṛddhāṇakah</i> , old	<i>vūddhāū</i>	G. <i>būddhā</i> , S. <i>būddhā</i> , H.P. <i>būddhā</i> , and so others. B. has <i>būddhā</i> , and Kś. <i>būddhā</i> .
<i>vādrāṇakah</i> , large	<i>vāddāū</i>	G. <i>vāddā</i> , S. <i>vāddā</i> , L. <i>vāddā</i> , P. <i>vāddā</i> , H.B. <i>bāddā</i> , Bg.O. <i>bāddā</i> , A. <i>bar</i> , Eph. <i>bārō</i> , Kś. <i>bāddā</i> .
<i>hṛdayam</i> , heart	<i>hāū</i>	H.B.O.A. <i>hā</i> , <i>hā</i> , M. <i>hiyē</i> .
<i>haridrikā</i> , turmeric	<i>halāddā</i> or <i>halāddā</i>	G. <i>hālad</i> , M. <i>halāddā</i> , P. <i>hālādhi</i> , H.B.O. <i>hālādhi</i> , Kś. <i>hālādhi</i> , but Bg. <i>hālud</i> .
<i>sindūrah</i> , vermilion	<i>sindūru</i> or <i>sendūru</i>	M. <i>śindūr</i> , H. <i>śindūr</i> , B. <i>śindūr</i> , <i>śēnur</i> , A. <i>śēndūr</i> or <i>śindūr</i> , G.Bg. <i>śindūr</i> , S. <i>śindūr</i> , Kś. <i>śindūr</i> .
<i>śāyā</i> , a bed	<i>śējā</i>	H. <i>śēj</i> , M. <i>śēj</i> , and so on.
<i>aṅgārāṇakah</i> , embers	<i>ingāldāū</i> or <i>aṅgāldāū</i>	M. <i>āgārā</i> , (dial.) <i>īgal</i> , <i>īgalō</i> , S. <i>āgār</i> , Kl. Gwr. Paś. Kh. <i>angār</i> , Š. <i>agār</i> ; other IAV. <i>āgār</i> , &c., but Kś. <i>yīngar</i> .
<i>kūṣṭham</i> , leprosy	<i>kōṭhu</i>	M. <i>kōḍ</i> , G.H.B.O. <i>kōḍh</i> , S. <i>kōṭh</i> , Bg. <i>kōṭh</i> , Eph. <i>kōr</i> , but A. <i>kūṭh</i> , Kś. <i>kōṭh</i> .
<i>lalāṭam</i> , the forehead	<i>niḍālu</i> or <i>ṇadālam</i>	H. <i>lālār</i> , &c.
<i>khunḍitāḥ</i> , broken	<i>khūḍiu</i>	M.G. <i>khūṭ</i> , S. <i>khūṭ</i> , H. <i>khōṭ</i> , and others.
<i>budaram</i> , the jujube-tree	<i>bōru</i> (H.C. I., 170)	M. <i>bōr</i> , but others <i>bair</i> , <i>bēr</i> , &c. Exc. O. <i>bar</i> (<i>bōr</i>), Kś. <i>bray</i> (<i>brūy</i>).