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OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXIX.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.).

(NOS. I AND II.—1900.)

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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

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CONTENTS.

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VOL. LXIX, PART I.—1900.

No. 1, (issued 15th August, 1900).

PAGE.

Jangnāmah of Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh, a Hindī poem by Çrīdhar (Murlīdhar) Brahman, of Prāg.—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *late of the Bengal Civil Service* 1

A New Copper-plate Inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena.—By BABU AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA, B.L. 61

The Manahali Copper-plate Inscription of Madanapāladeva.—By BABU N. N. VASU 66

On the identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.—By W. HOEY, ESQ., LITT.D., I.C.S. (With an edition of a new Copper-plate Inscription of Jayādityadeva II.—*By* DR. T. BLOCH) 74

No. 2, (issued 28th February, 1901).

An Epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper and Birch-bark —By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D., C.I.E. 93

A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—By THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary* 135

A primer of the Asur dukmā, a dialect of the Kolarian language.—By THE REV. FERD. HAHN, *German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Choṭā Nāgpur. Communicated by* DR. GRIERSON, C.I.E. ... 149

An Inscription of the time of Kapilēndra Dēva of Orissa, from Gōpīnāthapura, District Cuttack. (With an Appendix on the last Hindu Kings of Orissa).—*By* BABU MON MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. 173

An Inscription of the time of Nayapāla Dēva, from the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā Temple at Gayā.—By BABU MON MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. 190

Index to Journal, Vol. LXIX, Part I. 196

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Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

A. FOR THE DĒVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ऋ *ṛ*, ॠ *ṝ*, ऌ *ḷ*, ए *e*, ऐ *ē*,
ओ *o*, औ *ō*, ऐ *ai*, औ *au*, ं *ṁ*, ँ ~ : *ḥ*

क *k*,	ख *kh*,	ग *g*,	घ *gh*,	ङ *ṅ*
च *c*,	छ *ch*,	ज *j*,	झ *jh*,	ञ *ñ*
ट *ṭ*,	ठ *ṭh*,	ड *ḍ*,	ढ *ḍh*,	ण *ṇ*
त *t*,	थ *th*,	द *d*,	ध *dh*,	न *n*
प *p*,	फ *ph*,	ब *b*,	भ *bh*,	म *m*
य *y*,	र *r*,	ल *l*,	व *v*,	(ळ *ḷ*)
श *ç*,	ष *ṣ*,	स *s*,	ह *h*.	

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; ड़ may be represented by *ṛ*, and ढ़ by *ṛh*.

Avagraha is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus सो ऽपि *sō 'pi*. *Visarga* is represented by *ḥ*, *Jihvāmūlīya* by *ḫ*, and *Upadhmānīya* by *ḫ*. *Anusvāra* is represented by *ṁ*, thus संसर्ग *saṁsarga*, and *anunāsika* by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus अँ *ã*, आँ *ã̄*, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ´ and the *svarita* by ˆ. Thus, अग्निः *agníḥ*, जनिता *janitá*, क्वा *kvá*, कन्या *kanyâ*. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by ˋ. Thus, ते अवर्धन्त *té àvardhanta*.

B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(*The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic-speaking countries*) :—

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
اَ a	ب b	بھ bh
آ ā	پ p	پھ ph
اِ i	ت t	تھ th
اِی ī		ٹ ṭ
اے ē		ٹھ ṭh
اُ u	ث ṣ	
اُو ū	ج j	جھ jh
او ō	چ c	چھ ch

Vowels.		Consonants.		Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.	
اَیْ	ai	ح	ḥ		
اَوْ	au	خ	kh		
		د	d	ڈ	dh
				ڈ	ḍ
				ڈھ	ḍh
		ذ	z		
		ر	r	ڑ	ṛ
				ڑھ	ṛh
		ز	z		
		ژ	zh		
		س	s		
		ش	sh		
		ص	ṣ		
		ض	ẓ		
		ط	ṭ		
		ظ	ẓ		
		ع	‘		
		غ	gh		
		ف	f		
		ق	q		
		ک	k	کھ	kh
		گ	g	گھ	gh
		ل	l		
		م	m		
		ن	n		
		ں	when representing *anunāsika* in Dēva Nāgarī, by ˜ on the preceding vowel		
		و	w (or rarely v)		
		ھ	h		
		ی	y		
		Hamzah ا	(where necessary) ’		

The ل of the article ال in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولة Iqbālu-d-daulah.

Tanwīn may be rendered by *n*–e. g., *ittifāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final ہ need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words, but should be written in Arabic words.

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No. I.—1900.

Jangnāmah of Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh, a Hindī poem by Çrīdhar (Murlīdhar) Brahman, of Prāg.—*By* WILLIAM IRVINE, *late of the Bengal Civil Service.*

[Read April, 1899.]

The following long poem of 1630 lines, on the above subject, was lately traced for me by Maulvī 'Abdu-l-'azīz of Bhitrī, through a native of the same place now resident in Benares, Bābū Rādhā Kiṣṇ Dās. It was found in the library of the late Bābū Harīṣ Cand of Maḥallah Caukhambah in the city of Benares. For this gentleman see No. 581 of Grierson's "Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān," (1889). After four months' efforts permission to make a copy was obtained through the influence of C. L. M. Eales, Esq., C.S., District and Sessions Judge, to whom I am much indebted. A Hindī copy was made for me by the Judge's Registration Muharrir in his leisure hours, and one in the Persian character by M. 'Abdu-l-'azīz.

The work is so long as to debar its reproduction in full, nor is it throughout of equal interest. While he is expatiating at more or less length on the heroic virtues of the nobles and officers who have gathered round Farrukhsiyar's standard, the poet allows his narrative to stand still; and as a consequence, in spite of the copious vocabulary at his command, he repeats himself considerably, and the epithets soon begin to recur with "damnable iteration." I therefore propose to submit to

the Society no more than extracts (680 lines in all) giving the narrative, and including at least one specimen of each kind of verse. For the rest I append an alphabetical index of the persons, tribes and places introduced.

There are a few, though not many, unhistorical statements. For instance, (lines 31, 32.) 'Abdullāh Khān is made out to have been at Paṭnah when he was really at Allāhābād; in lines 39–42 Mīr Jumlah's asserted opposition to Jahāndār Shāh is pure myth; and the dates in lines 883–886 are hopelessly wrong. On the other hand, some of the details as to localities add to our previous knowledge, and the copious use of actual names shows, to my mind, that the author either was present in the army or wrote immediately afterwards.

In several instances the introduction of tribal names is not only ingenious but effective. Here is one example:

l. 1133. *Rajpūt sohāe sāje āe, Hāḍā, Gaur, Sombaṁsī*
Cauṁhān, Caṁdeṁle, Bais, Baghele, Gaharwār au Raghubaṁsī
Kachwāha, Sulaṁkī, Haihayabaṁsī, Sirnete, Parihāraṁsī,
Gaṁdharb Siṁh Rājā sajyo, dal, Buṁdelo, Sūrajbaṁsī.

The kinds of verse used are thirteen in number and are as follows, stated in their order of frequency. *Kabit*, lines 1109–1248, 1465–1576, 1579–1630 (304 lines), *Bilās Chand*, 895–1108 (214), *Pādānkul Chand* 171–376 (206), *Gītā Chand*, 695–894 (200), *Hārī Gītā Chand*, 1309–1464 (156) *Madhubhār Chand*, 423–548 (126), *Doharā*, 1–20, 39–70, 389–422, 637–656 (108), *Harī Gītā*, 71-170 (100), *Bhujang Prayāt Chand*, 549–636, (88), *Hīrā Chand*, 1249–1308 (60), *Ardhik Chand*, 657–694 (38), *Tomar Chand*, 21–38 (18) *Chappai Chand*, 377–388, (12), total 1630 lines. As there seems some irregularity or oversight in the numbering of the stanzas, I have substituted an enumeration by lines.

On the evidence of the work now brought forward, two emendations may be suggested in the work by Mr. Grierson above referred to. First, the entries No. 156 (Murlīdhar) and No. 157 (Çrīdhar) on p. 65 may be united into one of Çrīdhar *alias* Murlīdhar. Secondly, the date assigned to him, 1685 A.D., may be made at least thirty years later, for the present work, at the very earliest, belongs to 1713 A.D.

In the pursuit of meanings, sometimes hard to catch, I have treated the poet's spelling with scant respect, making aspirated and unaspirated, dental and cerebral letters, *l*'s and *r*'s, freely interchangeable. I have, in fact, chosen "whatever suits the line."

Since I began this paper, I have received a second poem by the same poet, a sort of supplement or continuation of the *Jang-nāmah*. It is on 133 folios, and at a rough computation reaches 3560 lines in length. As it is made up of nothing but laudatory stanzas on various nobles, I shall content myself with stating the headings into which it is divided:—

fol. 1a.	Ratan Cand ke Kabita	verses	15
3b.	Rāo Ras ke Kabita, Phulwārī barnan,	,,	9
5a.	Kabita Bahādur Jī ke, Phāg barnan	,,	12
9b.	Māhārājā Chabīle Rām ke Kabita	,,	18
11a.	Mīr Mushrif ke Kabita	,,	11
13a.	Rājā Jaswant ke Kabita	,,	5
16a.	Kabita Sher Muḥammad	,,	30
20b.	Kabita Mahārājā Chabīle Rām ke	,,	36
26b.	Quṭbu-l-mulk Ḥasan 'Alī Khān		
27b.	Ḥusain 'Alī Khān ke Kabita	,,	43
48	[No heading]	,,	167
71b.	Kabita Muṣliḥ Khān ke	,,	100
82	[No heading]	,,	100
95a.	[Doharā—No heading]	,,	88
104a.	Çrī Rām Jī	,,	100
116a.	[No heading]	,,	51
123a.	[No heading—Stanzas 37–52 wanting]	,,	84
132b.	[No heading]	,,	2
		Total verses	871

After looking through this portentous production, one feels appalled at the enormous facility with which Hindī verse can be written.

दोहरा।

5 श्रीधर मुरलीधर उरध द्विजवर वसत प्रयाग।
रुचिर कथा यह ग्राहि को बच्यो कथन अनुराग॥
फरुकसियर से ग्राहि को वरनो प्रबल प्रबंध।
अरु करतूतैं सबन की जे अमीर समकंध॥
चौठी चली महाजनी भई एका एक चाह।
10 छांड़ि देहैं सुरलोक को गए बहादुर ग्राह॥

सुनी षबरि एकबारगी फरुकसियर उदार ।
राषि फौज एकंलगारहीं चलिये यहै बिचार ॥
बकसी आजम खान को कीन्हो हुकुम बोलाइ ।
फौज राषिये जाय अब जेती राषी जाइ ॥
फेरि षबरि दिन दसक में सांची पहुची आइ ।
जुलुफिकार उमराउ सब मिले मौजदिहि जाइ ॥
जुलुफिकार षां फोरि सब फौज दगा किय संग ।
नातरु वैसे वलिन्ह सो को जीतत सफ जंग ॥
मौजदीन सिर छत्र धरी कुतुवा कुटिल पठाइ ।
चल्यो दिली को चहुं दिसां लिषि फरमान पढ़ाइ ॥

तोमर छंद ।

यह षबरि पहुंचा तत्थ
तब फरुकसियर समत्थ
सिगरे बोलाइ अमीर
सब सो छपा करि बीर
सब सो दियो फरमाइ
अब फौज राषहु जाइ
यह हुकुम करि सुभ वषत
धरि छत्र बैठो तषत
सब शाहि के दिलसोज
तब लगे राषन फौज
सजि अवदुल्लह षान
किय प्रथम कोपि पायान
हुव शाहि को इरशाद
पहुंचो इलाहाबाद
सूवा व मै सरकार
सब कियो अमल उदार
रनवां कुरावल वान
करि रह्यो कायम थान ॥

दोहरा।

तह मीर जुमिला बीर बुद्धि गंभीर बाज़ विसाल।
मड़ि रह्यो मौज्जुद्दीन की कटक गहि करवाल।
सूवा सबै मनसूब वाजवि डारी चाल।
अरु शाहि को सिंगरी हकीकति लिषत तब तत काल॥
तब मीर जुमिला बीर अरज लिख्यो सुपत्र उदार
इन सैद राजे षान कीनो प्राग सूवेदार
वह चल्यो साजि हिरौल अगे सैद अबुलगफार
पीछे पठायो महादलु दै एजदीन कुमार॥
यह मीर जुमिला बीर सब अरज पज़ंची तत्थ
शाहनशाह जहां पनाह सु फरुकसियर समत्थ
सुनिके अमीरन ओर हेरो कोपि कै समरत्थ
बोल्यो हुसेन अलीय खां रनवां कुरा गजहत्थ॥
एकबाल शाहनशाह को इस में न आन की आन
उन को अकेलोवै सैयद अबदुल्लह षान
तिन को क्रिपा करि वेग सो लिष भेजियो फरमान
वह मारि फौज विदारि दल रन मारि है घमशान॥
शाहनशाह लिख्यो जबे फरमान पज़ंचो आइ
तब सैद अबदुल्लह षां लीनो सुअदब बजाइ
वह हुकम सिर धरि दै नगारो सु मिरि प्रभु को पाइ
डेरा सु आलल चंद करि अरि राह रोक्यो जाइ॥
फुनि आपु स्थिर करि रह्यो थानो गह्यो प्राग करार
भाई पठयो जंग को सब संग दै सरदार
सै सुब सज्यो सैफुदी अली षां वंक वीर उदार
साज्यो निजामुद्दी अली षां कोपि गहि कर तरवार॥
साज्यो सिराजुदी अली षां वीर बलवान
फिरि सज्यो राजा रतन चंद गयंद गहि किरवान

फिरि मीर मुहसन षान साज्यो वीर अनवर षान
साज्यो समुदर खान अरु इदगार वेग जवान ॥
मीरजा वली वहराम वेग चढ्यो गहे कर चाप
जेहि वाप वरकंदाज षां सु कितावं पायो आप
अरु सज्यो त्यो दरवेशुली षां सैद वीरत छाप
साजे वली सरदार केते सतु दारन दाप ॥

हरिगीत ।

इत अरे आलम चंद उत कोहउन देरा कियो
भिनसार होत दुहूं दिसा दुहूं दलपती डंका दियो
इत ए चढ़े उत वे वढ़े मन बढ़े दुऊं वागैं लियो
दल भार सों विकरार महि रजधान सूरजो पियो ॥
तव भयो देखादेष दुऊं दल दुऊं दल चापैं चढ़ी
वाजी वंदूषैं रहकले हथनाल घूम घटा मढ़ी
तव वीजु चमकनि झमकि त्यो समसेर म्याननि ते कढ़ी
लागा झराझर नानु गटपट रुधिर की सलिता बढ़ी ॥
ललकारि हांक निदंत सावंत दपट दुऊं दल धावहीं
गरवी मगरवी कर गहे झुंकि झपटि चोट चलावहीं
छिन जात धाई उठाइ एछिन अटल अरि वरआवहीं
दि पहर उसला प्रसल भटरन सिंधु पारन पावहीं ॥

× × × × × ×

यह वारहै के वालकनि को लषो अति गाढ़ो हियो
सैयद सिराजुद्दी अली षां तव सहादति कों लियो
हरषंत हूरनि हाथ को पुर प्रेस सो प्याला पियो
करि हाल निमकहलाल ओप सिपाह सूरनि को दियो ॥
यह सोर भो चऊं ओर ते दौरे सवे सरदारहैं
तित डारि ढालैं टारि कूटैं फारि जिरह अगारहैं

अरु छोरि वषतर तोरि म्याननि गह्यो करनि कटारहैं
चमके चहूं नेजामुनै झमकै घनी करवारहैं ॥
इमि दौरके चऊं ओर ते पर फौज घेरी जायके
तहं तीर वरछा वान गोली अंग अंग रअंगाइ के
समसेर-वार झराझरी कर कर कटारनि घाइ के
झुकि झपटि झुरमुट घेलि अरि दल दियो महिवि थरायके ॥
लोटै कितै भूमे परे कोऊ घाइ सो घूमें घरे
कोउ भये मुरछावंत डर सो ते विना मारे मरे
सरदार अवदुलगफार के अंग अंग घन घाएनि भरे
रन भूमि में पायो नहीं जानै कहां किहिं लै धरे ॥
इमि कूटि भटकनि कटक लूटन लगे दरवर वैदरा
जिहि पाय में पनही नहीं भै खार ते ऊपैदरा
वाजे जसी ले ग्राइनामे धमक सो धमकै धरा
फरमै फतूहनि लै फिरे जस जग्यो सांवंत सैदरा ॥
कुतुवुलमुलुक सों तव मिजा मंजूर अरज सवै कियो
वाजे नगारे गहगहे आनंद सो हरष्यो हियो
सुनिकै सिराजुद्दीं अली षां की दसा गुस्सा पियो
आंषैं करेरी एठि मोछनि दांत ओठनि में दियो ॥
वोले सु अवदुल्लाह षां अव मैं महारन माडि हौं
सिगरी पछांहीं फौज को कर कर कटारनि कांडि हौं
आए जेते सरदार कै तेहि प्राण डांडनि डांडि हौं
सव सो सिराजुद्दी अली षां कै वीअर लेकै छांडि हौं ॥
रनषेत में कुरुषेत सों तरवारि मार मचाइ हौं
भुजजोर तें परओर के सव जोवते गहिल्याइ हौं
तव ग्राहि फरुकसियर को वंदा वनैत कहाइ हौं
[Line wanting in original] ॥

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दिन ओर कुतुवुलमुलुक बोले बोलि साहेब राय सो
लिखि अरज शाहन शाह को सब भेद बात बनाए सो
भई ऊसेन अली षां को लिषो सब समझाइ सो
जिहिं आइ ह्यां एलगार पऊचे साज फौज उपाए सो ॥
सुनि लिष्यो साहेब राय माथुर अरज पत्र तहां तबै
सफ जंग की सब बात जैसी भई जौन जहां जबै
फटनि पक्षाहीं फौज की आदम अमीरन की
औ फिरि लिषो ऊसेन अलीय षां जू कों सबै ॥

× × × × × ×

यह अरज पत्र सबै लिष्यो पटना सो पुऊंचो जाइ के
पहिले ऊसेन अलीय षान लीन्हो लिषा सुषु पाइ के
बांचो सिराजुदी अली षां की दसा पक्षताइ के
रिस घंटि अरज पष्यो सो आपुहि शाहि के ढिकआइ के ॥
बोल्यो कौनो अमीरल उम्मराव सु अरज शाहनशाह सो
रिस रहति रोकी नाहि क्यों ह्वं अनुज को दुष दाह सो
पाऊं ऊकुम इलगार पऊंचो जंग जैतक चाह सो
ललकारि कै कु कु करि फेरों एजदीनहि राह सो ॥
तब ऊकुल कीन्हो शाहि दिन दै अब तहमुल कीजिए
बांके बनैत अमीर तिन को बिदा आगे दीजिए
अब ऐजुदी सो रिस कहां ततबीर सो गहि लीजिए
फिर मोजुदीन पर साजि के चतुरंग फौज चलि लीजिए ॥

पादांकुल छंद ।

और रोज भिनसार भयो जब
सज्यो शाहि दीवान षास तब
मिसिल मिसिल ठाढ़े अमीर सब
लियो मुरतुजा षांन बलि अब

सैद मुरतुजा षां वढ़ि आयो
साहनशाह ता सों फरमायो
फौज साज चाह्यो चित लीजे
प्रथम पछाहे पयानो कीजे ॥
झुकुम होत ही चले महावल
सैद मुरतजा षान साजि दल
कूच कूच यलगार पयानो
कियो वहादुरपुर थिर थानो
हजरति झुकुम फेरि यह कियो
विदा सु आजम षां को दियो

× × × ×

अध सकल मीर अमीर सज्जिय
अरसला षां कों हुकुम किय
पेशषानो लै पयानहु
कूच एलगर ठीक गनहु
अरसला षां झुकुम धारो
चल्यो सजि दल द नगारो
पेशषनो लै पयानेउं
पांच कोस पयान ठानेउं
फजिर शाहनशाह साजेउ
सकल वृंद गयंद गाजेउ
वजी नौवति गह गही तव
भई नौवत रावरी अव
घोर धौंसा धनि धकारत
फतेह फतेह मनु पुकारत
हो झ हो करनाइ बाजत
शाहनशाह हि सगुन साजत

सगुन सो सुरनाइ वाजी
सिद्धि राम करीजु साजी
झारु झारुव झांझ झनकत
षनन लागिहि घंट षनषकत
फीलवार निशान झहरत
मनहु अगा फतूह फहरत
आत पत्र अनूप राजत
इंद्र स्यों प्रभुता विराजत
झालरी मुकु ता सु लच्छक
मनऊ तारा छत्र रच्छक
आफताववी हासकें कर
मनहु रच्छक संग दिनि अर
तोग सुंदर माह माही
सगुन की मनु देत ग्वाही

छप्पै छंद।

फरुकसियर समत्थ शाह शाहां दल सज्जेउ
पष्षर पष्षरि वऊल वारवारन गल गज्जेउ
श्रीधर धौंसा धमक चोर दसहूं दिसान भर
चमकत नेजै फहरवान वैरष निशानवर
भुव दलत मलत जेहि दिसि चलतक्क सोर चहु चक्क ऊव
अतिअक्क धुंधुरित धूरि मढ़ि आगताव धुवलोक धुव ॥
कौन सवल उत्थपिहि काहि निवल वल थप्पिहि
केहि महीप को मुलुक मीड़ि काहि समप्पिहि
काहि पाए गज रजि करिहि केहि पील पिट्ठी पर
षग्ग धनी केहि थरिहि दरिहि केहि तमकि तेग तर
अवहि मंडिहि षंडि सो केहि वढ़ गढ़ गढ़ पति थरथरेउ
सजि शहनशाह फरुकसियत सो जव श्रीधर हय पष्षरेउ ॥

दोहा।

इमि सजि साहनशा जू कियो कोपि पयान
एलगारनि के कूच कों कियोहि एंठिक ठान ॥
कूच कूच एलगार सो मजुरां पहुचे आइ
आजम षां सजि फौज सो दरसे प्रभु के पाइ ॥
साजि कहादुरपुर मिल्यो सैद मुरतजा षान
उतरि वनारस ईद करि एलगार कियेउ पयान ॥
आनि वसेरे बीज जंसी कियो मुकाम
आए संग महावली हटि गे निमकहराम ॥
सयद अवदुल्लह षां को मुलाजिमति आइ
को मुलाजिमति संगही जेतक संग सहाइ ॥
हाथी घोने पालकी टंकी फिरंगी कोर
सरोपाउ सरपेच सज जेगा मनसव ओर ॥
शाहनशाहि दीनो तिने कुतुवमुलुक किताव
दियो इजाफो जौन जेहि मनसव को असवाव ॥
सेतु वांधि मुरसरि उतरि प्राग सु पश्चिम ओर
चारि मुकाम तहां किए आगें दौरादौर ॥
मिल्या तिते फरजंद षां जगतजासु किरवान
सवल सलावति षां मिल्यो सैफ षान वलवान ॥
करे निकट महथा मिल्यो आइ छवीले राम
चारि हजारी राज पद तिन्ह को भयो सलाम ॥
अली असगर षान जू मिल्यो आनि हथिग्राम
चौ हजारि मनसव लह्यो षान जमान नाम ॥
पूरव छ्यो कुवरपुर विंदुकी पश्चिम ओर
वीच शाहि डेरा कियो भयो दुवन दल सोर ॥
पश्चिम फतिहाबाद तजि पूरव विंदुकी ग्राम
एजदीन देरा दियो स कटक किते मुकाम ॥

चार वेद धंदक धनी कटक चारिहूं कोट
चुने अरावे अनगने भरी फौज तिहिं ओट ॥
दुहू मह्यावल फौज सों तीनि कोस के वीच
रची वीच रनभूमि तित मची दंति मट कीच ॥
ग्राहिजादो हिरउल कियो दलपति ग्राहनग्राह
सजे दलपति जित ग्राहि एते कीन्हे तित चाह ॥
अवदुल्लह षां बंकरन हुसेनली षां माल
रन थंभ आगें भए कुतुव कू डरीवाल ॥

मधुभार छंद ।

सज्यो अवदुल्लह षां जित
सज ऊसेन अलीय षां तित
तित इनातुल्लाह षां सजि
रिस सुजाएति अली षां रजि ॥

× × × ×

भुजंग प्रयात छंद ।

549 दुहूं ओर साजे महामत दंती
550 सजे पष्यरो लष्य की पूर पंती
गड़ा दार घेरें सिरि कड्डवंटा
गजै मेघमानो वजै घोर घंटा ॥
घटा स्याम सी दीह तांवि अधि मापे
परां पष्यरैं झलरी झूल झांपैं
555 सजे पष्यरों भष्यरों लष्य घोरे
मनो भानु जी के रथी जोर जोरे
चले चाइ सौं चंचले चाल वांकी
दखाई तुरक्की तजीले ईरांरैकी
करै पौन सी पौन की पायदारी

अरब्बी गरब्बी घुरीले बंधारी ॥
नचैं ताट की से पटी के चन्हावी
कछी पीठ पूठों पले नीरसावी
सजे संदली औ समुंदे सुरंगे
कबूतो बने फूलवारी सुअंगे ॥
जसे बोज संजाफ नीले हरीले
मुसुकी सजे पंचकल्यान पीले
बड़े डील के कान छोटे नवीने
सु चौरी खुरी चाकरे जासु सीने ॥
बड़े चंचले नैन के मुख्य सांचे
घुरीं बाल भूमै घनी दोष बांचे
सजे साजियों चारिहूं ओर जोधा
सजे साज लोहा वटो क्रत क्रोधा ॥
पिले चारिहूं ओर सूबे गरूरी
जिन्हों वार कै सत्रु की फौज चूरी
कहां लौंकहों फौज में सूर राजे
किते कौ वलीले वंदूबैं गराजैं ॥
सबै सूरिवां वीर वांके ब नैते
सजें साज वाजी चढे हांक दैते
कढैं फौज सों दांकि घोरे धपावैं
किते कहूं कै कैसु भालैं फिरावैं ॥
लख्यो दूसरी ओर गाढ़ी अनीको
चल्यो कोपि कै पूत दिल्ली धनी को
दुहूं ओर ठाढ़ी चमूं वाइरों कें
दुहूं ओर के फौज ठाढे विलोकैं ॥
सु फत्रुकसियर शाहि के जोर सूबे
पिले चारहूं ओर साजे अजूबे

वजी दोह धौंसानि आवाज अच्छी
चहूं घां लघी जे बरच्छी बरच्छी ॥
छुटे त्यों अरावे उठी धूरि भारि
धुंवां की उठी धुंधुरारी अंधारी
वढे रोसनी ऊपरी वान छूटैं
मनो आसमानी महालूक टूटे ॥
पिले चोट कों षोट कें चारि फेरे
पिले ओपची तोपचौ तोपो घनेरे
चहूं फौज की वीर ता की वड़ाई
चमूं सत्र का चूर कै कै हटाई ॥
वली उतरी फौज के गवरेठे
महा मोरचा मीड़ि के पेलि पैठे
लष्यो एजु वार छूटो दुवारो
परो भाग भाग्यो तकैं कोह नारो ॥
सभारै न घोरे रथी हेम हाथी
सम्हारे न कोऊ कछू संग साथी
किहूं छाड़ि घोरैनि डाष्यो हथ्यारी
किहूंभागि सों आगेही पथ धारो ॥
करे कोऊ हा हा परै कोऊ पैयां
चले रामरेंगा व भैभ्भा व कैभा
घुसे वाहरौ भागि केते निकामी
कीते को धरे वंदि नामीनि नामी ॥
कीते को सुगुमानी गरूरैनि छाए
वढे हौसला के तिया संगल्याए
तिन्है छोड़ि भागे छुटी चाल वांकी
गए फूटि ताले फटी हौसनाकी ॥
सुरोवै असीले फसीले सहेली

पुकारैं घोदा आप दाकोन मेली
गरो ढावरो झांकि झौवै सुरोसै
सवै मौजदी कों भरें नैन कोसै ॥
कहूं वैदराकों वड़ी धूमधाई
चहूं लुंच लुंचांनि लै आगि लाई
वरै छांहवनी छांहं डेरा सु भारी
महा भीम फैली धूवां की अध्यारी ॥
कहूं आंच के तेज सों लाल फूटै
कहूं वैदरा वीर वाजार लूटै
कहूं वांस की गांठि फूटैं पटक्कैं
चटाचट्ट पाषान भारी पटक्कैं ॥
लुटै केसरौ दाष दाखौ छोहारो
लुटै चारु कस्तूरी का घन्न सारो
कहूं होत मोती वरें चूर चूना
कहूं लैट लुटेरें करें मोट दूना ॥
जरै चार आचार चूरी चिरोंजी
कहूं कौल गटै कसेरु करौंजी
जरें औ लुटें चीर चीरा जरीके
परे भोट के मोट लूटें परीके ॥
भए वैदरा जौंहरी लूटि लटें
किटे ज्वारिलों मोट मुक्तानि कूटै
कितो तीजरैं हाए हारट्ट लागी
कितो कामिनी दामिनी रूप भागी ॥

दोहा ।

एहि विधि दल सव भंगियो एजुदी को जान
श्रीधर कवि आगु सुनो अव सव करो वषान ॥

अरज कियो इमत्याज षान प्रभु को पाइ प्रसाद
ग्राहनग्राहि यह साहिवै फतेह ममारष वाद ॥
कियो षान दौरा ऊतो उन को अंग हर जंग
नौसेरी षां नंद इत सु हो हिरौल रन रंग ॥
अवदुलसमुद अलीअ षां राजे षान अमीर
सादिक लुतफुल्लाह षां दिलदिलेर षां बीर ॥
मौजदीन के ए ऊते इतवारी उमराइ
हजरति के एकवाल सो रहे न रन ठहराइ ॥
एजदीन को जवरई लै सब गए पराइ
पान षइ आए हुते पानि पगए गंवाइ ॥
हाथी घोरे सुतर रथ महल वहल सुषपाल
तोप नगारे रहकले शुतरनाल हथनाल ॥
मोहर जवाहिर को गने ढेर ठौर ही ठौर
ठाढे छुटे सराइचे करी वैदरनि दौर ॥
तहं ठाढे सुमताज षां हजरति निकट वोलाइ
ग्राहनग्राह कीनो हुकुम तुम देषो अव जाइ ॥
मदमोकल हाथी तुरै तोप नगारो लेऊ
ओर लूटि मे जो लहै तोन ताहि को देऊ ॥

अर्धिक छंद ।

करि फतेह ग्राहनग्राह जू
हिय भयो परम उछाह जू
बैठे प्रभात देवान कै
सब बोलियो सनमान कै ॥
तहं वजत नौवति घोरद्वै
रह दीप दीप दोरद्वै
किय कंचु की इतमाम कों
आए अमीर सलाम को ॥

मुकता जंवाहिर वारही
अंजुरी निलै फिटकारहीं
फुंनि भांति भांतिन्ह नजरि दै
लै मिसिल ठाढे भें सवै ॥
कुतुवलमुलुक अरजी भए
उमराए वोलि दु बोलाए
मिलिओ मुजफ्फर षां तहां
कीनी कृपा सहेव जहां ॥
दीनो किताव धुरां धुरी
षानै जहांन वहादुरी
मिल्यो रहमति षां वली हद
सुत्तहौवर षां लह्यौ पद ॥
फिरि ग्राहि वकग्रिस साजियो
सिगरे अमीर नेवाजिओ
हाथी महामद के दए
घोरे इंरांक जएनए ॥
सुभ सरोपांए झलाझली
किय कनक वार सभा थली
जेगा कलंगी झल झलै
सरपेच साज भले भले ॥
समसेर भूषन जाहिरी
सज करो फौज जवाहिरी
तेहि भूमि चारि सुकामु कै
सव कटक कों विसरामु कै ॥
फिरि कूच कूच लगार को
जहं ग्रहर ग्राहि मदार को
पज्जंचो तहां दलु वीर को
किय दरस परसन पीर को ॥

दिन दस वसे तेहि थान जू
किय मेहर गरम देवान जू ॥
[Only two lines to this verse in the original.]

गीता छंद ।

फिरि मीर जुमिला वीर उत सों अरजपत्र पठाइयो
कासीद कागद कर लए दरवार द्वारे आइयो
मुमताज षान लिषान लै सुव शाहि पै पहुंचाइयो
वह ले तकररुब षां तहां मजमून वांचि सुनाइयो ॥
आकिल वकील वजीर सैयद अवदुल्लह षांन को
काएथ सिरोमनि दास राए महीप सांडी थान को
मिलि रह्यो मजिलिसि मौजुदी की सचक तत्व विधान को
उन लिष्यो कुतुवलमुलुक को सव भेद जो परवान को ॥
इत मौजदी मगरूर मस्त अल मस्त अमलै खाइ कै
सिगरे कलांवत ह्वै अमीर भरे रहो चितचाइ कै
आनैन आनै मननि मैं फूलेरहैं इक भाइ कै
माही मरातव अलम पंजा तोग नोवति पाइ कै ॥
दारू सु दारू भरत गोली अमल गोली रंग की
मिरदंग ढोलक तोप औ सुरनाइ रीति तुफंग की
प्याला पलीता सु भरकै तहं जीति मौजैं भंग की
दिन रात यह चरचा रहै ततवीर और रन जंग की ॥
सव कमल लोचन दुःख मोचन काम रूप अगोहरा
अति चतुर नृत्यक लानमे मघवान भंजिलिसि नोहरा
अनुराग उपजत राग सुनि सुनि कवित रस के दोहरा
मनु ढरे सांचे नवल नाचें नटामन के छोहरा ॥
कहूं सभा मस्त कलांवंती कहूं पातुरनि के गाहकी
कहूं नचत हरषे हीजरा झरि लगीऊ हिरुआहिकी

कहूं छोकरे वागे वने दरवार कुं जरी न राहकी
यह मौजदी की मौज है गति और नाहि निवाह की ॥
अषत्यार कोकिलताश घा अरु जुलिफिकार घा लियो
दौऊ रहे दरवार में वर वैर आपुस में कियो
ज्यों कटिन करुई नीव रोगी मूंदि आंखिन घूटियो
[Fourth line wanting in original.] ॥
रह्यो गाजियुद्दी घां वली महमद अमी घां फूटि है
अवदुस्समुद घां कमरुदी घां जकरिआ घां छूटि है
तहं रहम रहमां घांन अरु तूरानिआ सव टूटि हैं
पर पंच कीनो मीर जुमीला जंग एनहिं जूटि है ॥
इक रोज वैठे मौजदी मदिरा वढ़ायो मौज कों
उतसाह सों चित चाह भरि करि कुकुम नव नव रोज को
तेहि वीचि आयो खवरि आएक फरुकशाहि कनोज को
अरु एजुदी भागे लए हमराह सिगरी फौज को ॥
यह सुनत एजुदीन भाग्यो फौज संगरी भगी
तह सकल मजिलिसि मौज मैं इकवारगी दःख सो पगी
तव लगी मुख विष सी विरी अरु गीत गारी सी लगी
अंग अमल की लाली घटी ततवीर औ डर रिस जगी ॥
कहां लों लिखिए कथा सब रीति कछु देखि परी नई
हहरे कलांवत गिरि गए मेह रानि को मुरछा भई
कछ परी छनगति छोलकी सुधि ताल घुघुरु की गई
सव गयो मद कुटि छाक सोरट ऊहि आहि दई दई ॥
अति रिस भयो मन मौजदी वकि उठत वारहि वार है
यह काम चूकि कियो दियो करि छोकरा सरदार है
फिर वे तमीज अमीर सिगरे लै गए अषत्यार है
मन मै न आई मसलहति अपनी मता की हार है ॥
घोजे ऊसेन न जंग जानत वात की कथनी कथी

कहं लरो लुतफुल्लाह सादिक सांचुहै यानोपथी
करि संग दीने और सिगरे मसलहति तिन की न थी ॥
सफ जंग जीते सैद सों हमराह कौन महारथी ॥
अब मैं चलो सजि सामुहैं कहि कौन धों ठहराईगा
मेरी अवाई सुनत सब दल एक एक पराइगा
सब ओस लो तकि उदित सूरज बूंद बूंद विलाइगा
नहिं बचन देंहों भागेहूं रन भागि को कित जाइगा ॥
अब भोर सों करि दौर पञ्जंचत एक एक हिमारिहों
कोउ जियत जान न पाइ है दरवार द्वार पछारिहों
करि सेर देहों मस अहारिन्ह टूक टूक बंटारिहों
फिरि वारहं की ईंट उघारि जल में डारि हों ॥
मेरे भुजावल शाहिजादेन सों नजौं लई गई
तरवारि के वल फौज के वल हिंद की प्रभुता भई
रन मारि तीनो पातशाह हि पातशाहति मैलई
सुलितान चाहत सो दिलि वहकाइ ल्याए औरई ॥
यह ऊकुम पठयो ताहि जे पञ्जंचे भगोरा आगरें
वैठे रहो उतहीं सबै मिलि घाट घाट धराधरें
पुल तीनि बेगि वंधाइयो मजबूत वालंभपुर तरे
इलगार पञ्जंचत आइहों सफ जंग साज महा करें ॥
वकसी वोलाइ कह्यो सबारहिं साज सिगरो कीजिए
सब कों दु माहो पेशगी गनि रातिहिं दीजिए
करि मीर मंजिल कों विदा फिरि खबर सब थल लीजिए
ततबीर ऐसी साधि जो परं भाति राति चलीजिए ॥
फिरि ऊकुम कीन्हो निकट जे सिगरे अमीर वोलाइकै
ततबीर चवे की करो सब राति रातिहिं जाइकै
सब साजि फौज प्रभात होतहिं होऊ हाजिर आइकै
इलगार उतरो आगरो मारों इंटाएं धाइकै ॥

यह ऊकम निकसतहिं एकाएक सहर घरभर सोर भो
साजे अमीर सजी सवारी वजी नौवत भोर भो
जव खार भो षुद घटा घुमडी परे पाहन घोर भो
वद सगुन लषि सव कहै हाय कालिका को कोप भो ॥
दाहिने पर चील्ह सनमुष वाम वोल्यो काग है
अरु गई काटि गली विली थित राडरीत घराग हैं
आत पत्र निग्रान षंडित दंड परम अभाग है
जव खार मौजुदीन भो वद सगुन लागालाग है ॥
दिन कटक माझ उलूक वोलत लूक टूट तरात है
कहूं स्वान रोवत सुरनि सों कहूं स्यार गन फिकरात है
मडरात सिर पर गीध के गनयो वढो उतपात हैं
हहरे सिपाही सुपन में सव भागिवो वर रात है ॥
उतपात औ वद सगुन सिगरो मूढ मन वहराइकैं
एलगार पञ्जंचो आगरे ठहस्यो समोगर जाइकैं
तहं मिले एजुद्दीन औ सिगरे भगोरा आइके
सफ जंग की कथनी कथी अति वात वनक वनाइकै ॥
विकरार वोल्यो मौजदी अव सैयदों सों वूझि हों
रन मारि लेउं गनीम कों तव वारहाहि अरूझि हों
सिगरो फिसाद कीयो इन्हो दिल मांह कीन्हो सूझि हों
एई अगो हर जंग के इनको लगावत लूझि हों ॥
सादाति षां मारा जिद कों मानि नातावता
फरजंद षां तिस का पिसर सजि फौज आगें धावता
यह भयो जो समसामदौला तेग फर फर कावता
रन माझ मेरे सांमुहै अव कौन धों ठहरावता ॥
पहिले छवीले राम एजुद्दीन सो मोजरा कियो
फिरि जाइकें उतहीं मिल्यो वदवषत मोहि दगा दियो
अरु अली असकर षां मिल्यो उत जाइकें आगें ह्वै लियो

मन में न ल्याए मोजदीनहिं देखिए इनको हियो ॥
यों कहि मोहला लेन लाग्यो पांच लाख सवार भो
तित तो वखानो लाख दै गजराज कैक हजार भो
फिरि करी तोपन की झलगे गगन धूआं धार भो
धुरि धरा धसकत मेरु मसकत सबल यों दल भार भो ॥
यों लिखि सिरोमनि दास राए उलांक वेगि पठाइयो
दरवार कुतुवुलमुलुक के कासीद जोरी आइयो
सब अरथ साहेब राम माथुर प्रगट वांचि सुनाइयो
यह सुनत नैन रंगे भए अति वीर रस चित छाइयो ॥
हंसि कह्यो अवदुल्लाह वां गलवा भयो उत झाह का
पांऊं जो अब मैं नैकहूं करि ऊकुम झाहनझाह का
एकवाल फरुक्कासियर को अरु करम एक इलाह का
रन दौरि तोरों आजुहीं वल मौजदी की वांह का ॥
मजमून सुनित तजवीज करि करि फेरि अपने कर लयो
खारी तयार भईनई असवार सैयदहै भयो
मुखहाल मोकलि हाथ फेरत झाहि के मोजरें गयो
सब अरज कीनो अरथ झाहनझाह को हिय हरषयो ॥
वह मीर जुमिला को लिख्यो अरज सैद वजीर की
दोऊ वरावर सी विदी वरवात मीर अमीर की
अंखियानि सरस्यो वीर रस साहेव जहां रनधीर की
फर तेग वाहक हाथ फरक्यो मरी मोछैं वीर की ॥
वर वारहांपति वीर सैयद वजीर त्यों अरजी भयो
आयो महमद खान वंगस साजि साज नयो नयो
असवार वीस हजार वखतरपोश ज्यों घन उनयो
सबरैत वीर वली सवै पखरैत हाथी औ हयो ॥
तव ऊकुम कीन्हो झाहि फरक वा को कियो कूच करार है
मिलिओ महमद खां मोहल्ला दै चल्यो इलगार है

हमराह वीर अमीर जंगी साज तेज तयार है
गहि अरसला षां पेशषानो चलत आजु अगार है ॥
खारी तयार भई प्रभातहि शाहनशाह सवार भो
मिलियो महमद षां सही असवार वीस हजार भो
षुद आपु पंज हजार सव सरदार मनसवदार भो
हमराह हिरउल कें कियो एलगार वीर अगार भो ॥
करि कूच कूच लगार को एलगार पहुंच्यो आगरें
जल पियत जमुना को दुओ दल सवल वालभंपुर तरे
तित पार वार मोहार सों मिलि दलप दोउ देरा करें
ए पेलि चाहत पार उत वे घाट वाट धराधरें ॥
दुहुं ओर नौवत घोर घुमरत सकल जल हल कंपिओ
दुहुं ओर झंडे झलमलें फहरानि उड़गन भंपिओ
रजधान भानु विमान वे लषत असमान सु ढंपिओ
दुहुं ओर दल भर सहस फनिफन तुरग चरनि चंपिओ ॥
दुह्न ओर वादल सूदल सूर मयूर ज्यों हरषा करै
दुज्ज ओर तोपन की सलंगें गाज गरज रषा करै
दुज्ज ओर चात कपिक गुनो गन किन्ति सों कषा करै
जुह्न ओर गोला वान वूंदनि राति दिन वरषा करै ॥
दुज्ज ओर भट ठट मन वढे सफ जंग की अति मनमनी
दोउ पेलि चाहत पार भो नित टठत ठाठ दुओ अनी
लगि नीर आवत कुद्ध उद्धत दलप दोऊ दिल्लीधनी
विकरार धार महानदी पछतात त्यो दोऊ पनी ॥
तेहं वीच वजीर सैयद अरज आवतहीं कियो
प्रभु राज चक्र प्रतक्ष लषि थल षवरि आनि हमैं दियो
कछु दूर पश्चिम आगरे थाह जमुना को लियो
पायाव पारहुं वार लों सुनि शाहि को हिय हरषियो ॥
करि झूठ दीन्हो गुलगुला तिरि भोंजदी उरवार भो

यह सोर भो चहुं ओर जोर दिलेर दल तैयार भो
कछ फौज भेजि गनीम मुष पर ग्राहनग्राह तयार भो
तव राति रातिहि दौरि सैयद थहरि तरि करि पार भो ॥
अडि रही जौन गनीम मुष पर फौज तोन वलाइकै
चलि कोस चारिक पहर एक तितैं रह्यो ठहराइकै
जव भयो भोर अंदोर दहुं दिसि चह्यो ध्यान वजाइकै
अति वेग तेंग धनेस जमुना कूल पहुंचे आइकै ॥
जव आनि पहुंच्यो जोर दल वल समय साधन सो सध्यो
अति धार भार षभार फनि पुर फनि सह सौ फन षध्यो
रजधांन सों असमान मुद्रित सेतु सिंधुन मे वंध्यो
जल प्रथम कौ वनि वीच के थल पाछि ले तरिवो नध्यो ॥
एहि भांति ग्राहनग्राहि जमुना उत्तरहि तें उत्तरो
पर ओर रोज विहां सुं पुरव कोस द्वैक सिकंदरो
तेहि वीच सरिता निकट भोकुलि कटक को डेरा धरो
सुनतै अवाई मौजदी की फौज मे घरभर परो ॥
यह षवर सुनतें मौजदी मन में महा रिस सो भरों
वकि उठ्यो यारहु देषना अव दौरि जीवतहि धरों
वांचे न कोऊ भागेहूं गहि एक एकहि संघरो
इन्ह कियो ढाढ सु कै ढिठाई सो सजाई इन्हे करो ॥
कहियो करेरे नैन करि करिपि डेरनि ते कढ्यो
समसेर सरकत धुनिस धरकत मोछ फरकत मन वढ्यो
चतुरंन अंगी साज जंगी मत्त मैगल मैं चढ्यो
धौसा धोकारत धरनि धुकि धुवलोक धुरिन्ह सो मढ्यो ॥
हमरा हवै भट पाच लाष भिलाष मन रन के भरे
सव जिरह वषतर पोग्ग भष्षर वारहें पर पष्षरे
एह भांति राति वस्यो वली चलि और दच्छिन आगरे
फिरि भोर होतहिं दौर करि डेरा करे इसकंदरे ॥

रन भूमि बीच रची सु अंतर कोस द्वै दुऊ फौज सों
थित पूरबी पर ओर ओपरवार पूरब औज सों
दोऊ वीर वांकै हरषि हांकै त्यों अमीरनि सौज सों
फर भोर सत्रु संघारिए मजू जमन की मौज सों ॥
संवत सु सत्रह सै ओन्नत्तरि पूस पून्यो बुध तहि
सम सो अग्यारह तेतिसा माहे मोहरम चौदहीं
अरु पातसाही माह आजुर वाएसी श्रीधर कही
सफ जंग की साएत सधी साहेब जहां कीनी सही ॥
तित भोर सो लगि पहर द्वै वनवारि धर वरषा कियो
जब घुले वादर हरष सों दियो धनी डंका दियो
दल सजे वीर अमीर सैयद वजीर त्योहि यह रचियो
चतुरंग जंग उमंग रन भूमि पिलि पहिले लियो ॥
फर वीर चढि ठाढो भयो हमराह सब खारी ठटी
जिहिं ओर जो दलु चाहिए तिहि ओर त्यों फौजें वंटी
लहि मिसिल सिगरे अगुहरे रजधान सो सरिता पटी
अति सूर झंपत कुम्मि कंपत सेस की वलता घटी ॥

विलास छंद ।

झुकुम शाहि को लै गल गज्जेउ
कुतुवुलमुलुक दाहिने सज्जेउ
वषतर पोश वीर हमराही
काल वारहें काल सिपाही
सैद सुर रन काल सिपाही अति उतसाही द्वै हमराही सकल सजै
जे शाहि हुकुम लहि तेगे गहि २ मारऊ २ कहि कहि कहि गरजै
वागें ढोली धरो घोरें दप करि मन में भरि सफ जंग मजे
अवदुल्लह षान सैयद के धौसे दछिन गहिरी वंव वजे ॥
दीलाजाक लोदी लोहाणी

पन्नी तरीन सूर सरवाणी
905 दाउदजई षेशगी गबी
सु महमद विट्टनी पबी
विट्टनी पवी मत्ती गबी अस्य अरबी पषरैतै
वनि वषतर झिलमै दाए दिल मै जैत कतिल मै सषरैतै
पाठे पठनैतटे लोह लपेटे कोहनि फैटे अषरैतै
910 यों अवदुल्ल षां संग वीर महमद षां वंगश अगरैतै ॥

× × × × × ×

कवित्त ।

1109 रीझत जव नैक मौला षन की मंगन महि को सकल लहै
वरनै कह लग्गि दीन के दारिद हेमवत्त सो सकल पद है
दरवाजें सदादान को धौंसा वजतु गहिरि वंव रहै
मुमताज षान वलवान वीर ऐसी विधि श्रीधर सु कवि कहै ॥

× × × × × ×

हीर छंद ।

1249 तव मौजदी भन रोस कै
चहुं ओर वांकी फौज कै
हिरउल सु कोकिलताश षां
वल वंक वीर फतूहदां ॥

× × × ×

हरिगीता छंद ।

1309 दुहुं ओर फौजै साजियो गलगाजि भट ठाढे भए
1310 बाजे नगारे फीलवारे घम धुनि धुव कंपए
षुर थार भार दुधार सों छटि छार सूरज झंपए
तह वहलकी झुमके मेरुह हलत पहल समभुअ वंपए ॥

दुज्ज ओर फौजनि औज सो रन मौज देषादेष भो
हथनाल तोपैं वान जाल विसाल गरज अलेष भो
धोरनाल धोर अंदोर दुहुं दल रहकला सवि सेष भो
फर वजीं वह कि वंदुष अगनित तित वनैतनि तेष भो ॥
कड कड कडा कड सो अरावे कुटें तट पकनि टाप की
चहुं ओर घोर घटा मढी धुंव धार ताप तराव की
वर वान वगरत वीजुरी सम गोल ओला थाप की
नहि पहरकै एक पिछानि का हूरही पर की आप की ॥
कुटि गयो धुंधूकार त्यो भिनुसार सो दुहुं दिसि भयो
ललकारि वीर अमीर सांवत चापसर कर वर लयो
दप करत आगे वाजि वागें मौज मोदमने भयो
वजि उठे मारु मारु मारु अंदोर रन मंडल छयो ॥
तहं तीर तर तर वान सर सर सु भर भर गोला चले
पग पिलत आगेहीं आगेहीं सावत भूप भले भले
भाट लाल मुष सुष भरे पीरे रंग कायर हलहले
जिमि देषि जाचक दानि सुष सूम मुष दुष मुष वेकले ॥
इत उत दुहू दल के जितैं जे वीर वीर वीरों बिरे
ते करनसाके वलिक वांके हांकि भट भट सों भिरे
समसेर सरकि सिरोहवार सन्हार सांवत सिर चिरे
दीनी झमाझम कि झरझ भूमि झूमि लेते गिरे ॥

× × × × × ×

कल लेन देतन रहकले हथनाल घन घुरनाल है
तूफान फहरत तुफंग की फहरात वान विसाल है
तहं तीर सलभ समूह सम सुरलोक तरस रजाल है
असमान भानु विमान गोलंकि भयो धुधु काल है ॥
तव वीर वीर विरां विरे मनु गहवरे भट भट भिरे
वजि उठे मारु मारु मारु पुकार करि करि मुख भिरे

बानैत गवीहै अरवी वीर गबी कर घिरे
1440 तहं होतहू हफ काफ की फर सुषन काहू फिरे ॥

× × × × × ×

1453 चहुं ओर फौजनि फौज सों मन मौज मारु महा परी
हथियार भार दुधार भर मनु मघा मेघनि की भरी
1455 जिर जिलम कुंडि कुरी कुरी किरि गई वषतर की करी
करि मारु मारु सन्हारु यार सन्हारु सुनि यतलल करी ॥
घमन घटा घोर घमंड सो सम घुमडि फर फौज रहीं
धौंसे धोकारत गरज गहि तरवारि चमक छटा सही
झर तीर गोलिन वार गोला परत ओला स तहां महि
1460 मची मेदनि गूद कीच कृपान सैयद जव गही ॥
मद भरे झूमत षरे घाइ अघाइ करि वरघरि अरै
सिर सरत श्रोनि धार मनज्ञ पहार सो झरना झरै
वढि चली लोऊन की नदी लहरै लषें कहि को तरै
तेहि तीर दल दल मास को वल पठान काहूं को परै ॥

कवित्त छंद ।

1465 वकसत कहा मौज रोज रोज कवि गनत काहेते करत वांकै
वैरन की कर है
हिम गिरि अरि हद कै हट को वदेस लगि कोन ऐवु दे कै
जीत्यो जस सो मयंकु है
श्रीधर भनत पंच सुष को परम प्यारो पंच सुष विक्रम भर
थारे पांचे अकु है
कीरति महीपनि लाल गुरुसाल जू की काहेतें वढति विर
दातानि कलंकु है

× × × × × ×

1533 फरुकसियर ग्राहि जहांदार ग्राहि दोऊ आगरे अगारी अरे
पातग्राहीहेत मै
श्रीधर वजत मारू वाजे वाजे वीर मुडि गई वागैं रहे
केतक न चेत मै
अंगद सो अडो पादग्राहति पलटि डाख्यौ एवी एतो
आजम षां सवल वनैत मै
महा हव भारथ को कमनैती पारथ की जैसी भीम भुज
वल भाख्यो कुरुखेत मै ॥

× × × × × ×

1545 श्रीधर अवाई देषि फरुकसियर जू की आयो मत्त
मौजदी अनेक अभिलाष कै
धरि कु घमइ घोर माख्यौ गई मुरि वागैं अडिओ छवीले
राम राजा मन माष के
मारि पर दल हरषायो जूथ जो गिनी को करत वडाई
सिवा संकर हि साष कै
एकै वीर कैयो लाषें एककैन आन्यो मन एकही गनत
कैयो लाष कै ॥

× × × × × ×

1599 ग्रादी ग्रादनामह की उछाह अति पतरन की अंग अंग
वाढी रंग वाढीहीं रषत के
1600 तेरी पातग्राही पातग्राही पायो जेव फल श्रीधर सु
वरषत के
श्रीधर भनत पातग्राहन को पातग्राह फरुकसियर नर
जवर नषत के
तिनके वकत जेवाई लषत तषत तूहि वैषत तषत वाढी
वषत तषत के ॥

दखिन धील मील पछम ऊदी जेजीत पूरव अपूरव
हटेलो हाथ लायो है
श्रीधर शाहनशाह फरुकसियर नर सातों दीप सरहद
हिन्द के मिलायो है
1605 दिन दिन बाढतहि बाढही दिन दिन दिन दिन दूनि
पातशाहत बढायो है
अरु पातशाह पातशाहि पावें जेव पाए तो सो
पातशाहि जेव पायो है ॥
घेरी खारा वूतार भोरी सु वदार दल बल बूंद
कीनो छीन एजुदी को
धावा करि पूरव तें डावादार फौजनि की मीना सो
वकर लीनो शाह मौजदी को
श्रीधर भनत वातशाहन को वातशाह फरुकसियर
भू पनाह दोऊ दीन को
1610 मुलुक मुलुक दौरें खवरें फतूहन की कांपियो डर
गब्बर हरष बढयो दीन को ॥
कोऊ ढूंढो कोऊ दारू काहूं में न गुन भारो कोऊ
वारनारी वस में न आयो हैं
सुन्दर सूजियान सुजा शीलवन्त और जवान
पूरो एक तोहि विधि नय बनायो है
श्रीधर भनत सानी जलालुद्दीन अकवर वातशाह
फरुकसियर वातशाह भर पायो है
1614 वाल पातशाहेत सों पूर करि करत तोहि देख
रीझ जे जे माला पहराइयो है ॥

× × × × × ×

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1–4, Invocation.]

Çrīdhar *alias* Murlidhar, twice-born, lives in Prāg,
By telling this pleasing tale of kings he increases affection;
Farrukhsiyar the king is young, strong, eloquent,
And the giver of gold to all the nobles.
A trader's letter came, suddenly arose desire,
Having vomited, Bahādur Shāh went to heaven.
Hearing the news, forthwith the generous Farrukhsiyar
Decided to raise a force and make a rapid march,
He sent for his *Bakhshī*, A'ẓam Khān, and gave order:—
"Now let troops be raised, as many as can be got."
Then, after ten days or so, came the trustworthy news,
Ẓū'lfiqār and the nobles had all gone over to Mu'izzu-d-dīn,
Ẓū'lfiqār Khān lead astray all the army, using deceit,
Otherwise who could overcome in battle one so powerful.
Mu'izzu-d-dīn raised the umbrella, ordered the public prayer perversely,
Set out for Dihlī, wrote and sent out rescripts to the four quarters.

Tomar Chand (21–38).

When this news came
Then the wise Farrukhsiyar
Called for all the nobles,
Conferred gifts on all the heroes.
To all he gave the order—
"Now get together an army."
After this order, the next morning,
He raised the umbrella, sat on the throne.
All the king's friends
Then began to enlist soldiers.
'Abdullāh Khān made ready,
He fell into a great rage,
The king's order issued,
He reached Allāhābād.
Of *ṣūbah* as well as *sarkār*,
Of all he took full possession,
The heroic head of the vanguard
Set up his armed posts.

Doharā (39–70).

Then Mīr Jumlah, a noble, clever, deep, strong of arm,
Fought Mu'izzu-d-dīn's army, grasping the sword,
Arranged all the *ṣūbahs*, walked circumspectly,
And reported all the facts to the king, where, when, and how.
Thus Mīr Jumlah, the hero, reported in a long letter—
"They have made Sayyid Rājī Khān governor of Prāg,
"He has started, his avant-garde is Sayyid 'Abdu-l-ghaffār,
"Behind comes a great army led by Prince 'Izzu-d-dīn."
When all these details from Mīr Jumlah, the hero, arrived
Before the king, shelter of the world, the powerful Farrukhsiyar,
Hearing them and looking at the nobles, with fitting anger,
Spoke Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the fighter of Kūrā, strong as an elephant,—
"By this the fortunes of the king of kings are not one moment threatened,
"To meet him 'Abdullāh Khān singly would be enough,
"Let grace be shown him quickly, send him a written command,
"That wretched army will he rend, will overcome it in battle array."
When the rescript that the king of kings had written arrived,
Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān took it, carried out the usages of respect,
He placed the order on his head, with his drums remembered his Lord,
He raised tents towards Ālam Cand and blocked the road.
Then he stood fast, making Prāg his fixed place,
Sent on his brothers to battle, under them all the leaders,
Thus joined Saifu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, brave, heroic, liberal,
Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, the fierce, started sword in hand,
Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, too, joined, the brave and strong;
There also came Rājā Ratn Cand, the wise, armed with sword,
Mīr Muḥsan Khān also joined and brave Anwar Khān,
Then joined Samandar Khān and Yādgār Beg, the fighter,
Mīrzā Walī Bahrām Beg, mounted, grasping his bow,
(He whose father is Barqandāz Khān, a title he too obtained),
Darwesh 'Alī Khān joined, the Sayyid marked for victory,
There came many brave leaders, severe and proud of nature.

Harigīt (71–170).

This side halted at Ālam Cand, that side encamped at Kohun,
On both sides when day broke both lords of battle beat their drums,
As these mounted, those advanced, full of zeal both seized their reins,
The whole army was in agitation, and the court beloved of the sun;
When the armies came in sight, they both cocked their guns,
Muskets, swivel-guns, elephant-pieces sounded loud as thunder,
Then lightening gleamed and glistened as the swords left their scabbards,
It began like heavy rain of sorts, in the mêlée blood ran in streams,
Urged on with unceasing cries, the brave warriors galloped, both armies rushed,
Seizing their swords, jumping and springing, they delivered blows,
One moment down, then up again, and the next moment on without flinching,
For six hours, in confusion, the heroes braved the clouds and streams of war.
[The Sayyids fight on (83–98) till Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān is killed].
99 Having made firm his heart, the Bārhah boy,
100 Sayyid Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, received his martyr's crown,
Joyous from the Hūrī's hand he drank the full cup of love,
He did his duty loyally, bestowed lustre on the illustrious army.
Thus noise arose on every side, all the leaders rushed,
Advancing they threw down buckler, cast off head-pieces, tore their shirts of mail,
105 Quitted breast-plate, broke their scabbards, laid hand on dagger,
Lances glittered everywhere, the sword blows fell many and thick.
Meanwhile men ran from all sides, surrounded the whole army,
There arrow, spear, rocket, bullet, reddened body after body,
Swords shone and glittered, daggers wounded with a "kar-kar,"
110 Tossed to and fro the crowd struggled, the chiefs of the army stood fast.

Many lay on the ground writhing, many wandered wounded,
Many were like to faint from fear, and died without being struck.
The leader, 'Abdu-l-ghaffār's, body was covered with wounds,
In the battle-field he knew not where nor how to hold his footing.
Then the army made off, the scamps rob the money bags,
He whose foot had no shoes was exalted on horseback;
Rushed the famous one, shouting the king's name, threatens with thumps,
Wherever he goes the hero bears the decree of victory.
When Mīrzā Manẓūr told all the story to Quṭbu-l-mulk,
The drums beat with long throbs, delight blossomed in his breast,
Hearing of Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān's fate, he fell into a rage,
His eyes stared, he twisted his moustache, his teeth bit his lips.
Then spoke 'Abdullāh Khān, "Now will I fight a great fight,
"To cut to pieces the whole western army I draw my dagger,
"As many leaders as are come, their souls shall pay the penalty,
"None shall be let go till I am revenged for Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān;
"In a battle-field like Kūrukhet, I will raise a contest of swords,
"By strength of arm when I and my kindred have been wounded unto death,
"Then may I be styled a faithful follower of Farrukhsiyar."
[Line 130 is wanting. (Lines 131–138) The Sayyid's brothers return to Allahābād; they and their commanders are commended and rewarded.]
Next day Quṭbu-l-Mulk called for Ṣāḥib Rāe, and said,
"Write to the king of kings the news, telling the whole story;
"Write to brother Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, instructing him of all,
"Wherever he is, let him hurry here, gathering a sufficient army."
Ṣāḥib Rāe, the Māthur, heard and wrote there and then a letter,
Told of the battle array, all things as they happened—how, where, and when,
The repulse of the western force, the advance of the nobles;
Again he wrote to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the whole story.
[The contents of the letter are then given (lines 146–158).]

This humble letter was sent off and reached Paṭnah,
First Ḥusain 'Alī Khān took the letter and was pleased,
Read of Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khan's fate and sorrowed,
When his anger had decreased, he read out the petition to the king.
Thus spoke the noble of nobles to the king of kings:—
" When angry, none can stop me; my grief burns for my young brother,
" Give me orders, I make forced marches, I am ardent to fight,
" By calling " hish-hish " I will turn 'Izzu-d-dīn back."
Then the king gave orders—" Please wait a day or two,
" Let some smart, loyal noble be sent off ahead,
" What good is rage at 'Izzu-d-dīn now, better take counsel,
" Then let us start with a perfect army against Mu'izzu-d-dīn."

Pādānkul Chand (171–376).

Next day when morn appeared
Then the king held privy audience,
Group by group stood all the nobles.
Murtaẓā Khān took the lead.
Sayyid Murtaẓā Khān advanced,
The king of kings addressed him,—
" See to getting ready an army,
" You be the first to start to the west."
Instantly obeying, the hero went.
Sayyid Murtaẓā Khān took an army,
Set out by forced marches,
Made Bahādurpur his fixed camp.
Again His Majesty gave an order,
A'ẓam Khān was despatched.
[Here follow (185–228) the names of many men who joined. Darbars were held daily. Ashraf Khān arrives and is made Khān Daurān, 229–236. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain was sent towards Bhāgalpur, 243, 244. Ghairat Khān was left in charge of Paṭnah, 251, 252. The following couplet, 257, 258, is worth quoting for the quaint inversion in the second line:—

Sajyo Husen Alie Khān, bal,
Mahābīr, Umrāu-amīr-al.

He took command of the vanguard. We come next to Farrukhsiyar's march from Paṭnah.]
All the nobles and chiefs got ready,
The order was given to Arslān Khān,—

"Take out the advanced tents,
"Count the forced marches exactly."
Arslān Khān obeyed the order,
Mounting took his army with drums beating,
He took out the advanced tents,
Marched five kos and encamped.
Next morning the king of kings started,
The throng of elephants roared,
The royal march was beaten loudly.
Then played the music of His Majesty,
The big drums shook with mutterings and growlings,
Men shouted "Victory! Victory"!
The trumpets brayed "ho-hū-ho,"
The king of kings' good omens appeared,
The hautboys sounded happy augury,
Rāma and the sages joined the throng.
"Clash, clash," clanged the cymbals,
Jingling bells began their "tinkle, tinkle,"
The elephant-riders displayed their standards,
In front ran men shouting "Victory"!
Everywhere incomparable brightness reigns,
The splendour is as that of Indra's heaven,
Fringes hang over their faces,
Guardians of stars and umbrellas,
Sunscreens waving in their hands.
Hearts full of joy shout for the Faith,
Yak-tails, *sundar*, the fish-dignity,
Give evidence of happy augury.

Chappai Chand (377–388).

Farrukhsiyar, powerful, king of kings, led his army,
Many armour-clad elephants trumpeted and roared repeatedly,
The lordly drums resound and thunder, filling all the air,
Lances glitter, pennants flutter, as also the ensigns,
Soldiers wherever you turned, uproar everywhere,
It was very dark from mist, the sun hidden, the sky covered.
No strong man failed to arise, the weak ones gathered up strength,
Many rulers came from afar to conquer kingdoms,
Many were lords of elephants, many sought that rank,
Many swordsmen stood, holding proudly sword and sabre,
Now from every hut and corner throngs of men confusedly jostled,

To join Farrukhsiyar, king of kings, whose good fortune called aloud.

Dohā (389–422).

Meanwhile the king of kings marched in extreme rage,
Made forced marches, halted at several places.
By hurried stages he reached Khajurān,
A'ẓam Khān rejoined and beheld the face of his lord.
At Bahādurpur they found Sayyid Murtaẓā Khān;
Crossing to Banāras they observed the *'Īd*, then hastened on,
Came through Baserī, encamped in Jhūnsī,
The valiant followed, the faithless vanished.
Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān did homage,
With him made obeisance all his followers;
Elephants, horses, litters, swords, shields, weapons,
Robes, jewelled aigrettes, and high rank
The king of kings gave with the title of Quṭbu-l-Mulk,
Gave promotion and all things pertaining to rank.
He made a temporary bridge, crossed to the west of Prāg,
There halted four days, then rushed again onward.
Then came Farzand Khān, world-renowned swordsman,
Strong Ṣalābat Khān came and Saif Khān, the valorous,
Acting ever a leader's part Chabīla Rām appeared,
As his welcome he was made Rājā and *Cār-hazārī*.
Next joined 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, who came to Hāthīgrām,
Received the rank of *Cār-hazārī* and the name of Khān Zamān.
Passing east of Kumwarpur and to the west of Bindukī
The king encamped between them; there was tumult in both armies.
Leaving Fatḥābād on the west and on the east Bindukī village,
'Izzu-d-dīn placed his tents and encamped his army,
Fenced himself and dug a ditch, made a fort round his army,
Collected countless carts, made of them a bulwark to his force.
The two strong armies lay three *kos* apart,
Kept the battle-field in the midst, the mad elephants trampled it into mud.
The prince was sent in advance by the ruler, the king of kings;
When the king's army arrived, they had forthwith desire.
'Abdullāh Khān, quick in battle, the champion Ḥusain 'Alī Khān,
In front of the battle-pillar went the upholder of the Axis.

Madhubhār Chand (423–548).

Then joined 'Abdullāh Khān
Also Ḥusain 'Alī Khān,
'Ināyat Khān, too, joined,
And Shujā'at 'Alī Khān, the fierce.
[Then follows (427–548) a long list of chiefs and nobles, each with some epithet.]

Bhujangprayāt Chand (549–636).

On both sides were ranged the raging tuskers,
Clothed in armour, row upon row,
The mace-bearers surrounded them, their heads were lacerated,
The dusky ones screamed, the loud bells rang.
Their bodies like lowering clouds, great beyond measuring,
Bearing iron armour, covered with fringed housings.
Thousands of armour-clad horses came clattering,
It seemed like the sun's chariots gathered together.
Eagerly, with playful gait, went the spirited ones,
Streams of Turkī, Tāzī, Īrāqī horses,
They steadied each other, foot close by foot,
Arabs, and western ones, sportive Qandahārīs.
They leapt like acrobats, their forelocks plaited,
Flanks, backs, loins, eyelids, free of fault,
Cream-coloured, bright bays and chestnuts,
Handsome shapes making a flower-garden.
Like the splendour of borders, blue and green,
Dark bays, with the five lucky marks, and light duns,
Great in girth, small-eared, full of youth,
Their hoofs large, their chests broad.
Restless-eyed, their heads good-tempered,
Hoofs and coat shining, compact, ready for fatigue ;
Warrior allies came from all quarters,
All the iron-clad heroes joined, boiling over with rage.
Everywhere proud governors jostled each other,
A crowd enough to pulverize the enemy,
Wherever you look the army is full of kings and heroes,
Many strutting about discharge their guns.
All the valorous, heroic, active, loyal,
Came with harness rattling, mount with shouts,

Issue from the army, and shouting urge their steeds ;
How relate the twirling of their spears !
Behold on the other side, rare and undaunted,
Advances raging the ruler of Dihlī's son ;
On two sides stand the enemies like flower-beds,
On two sides the armies stand looking.
With king Farrukhsiyar are the governors of provinces,
A wondrous crowd of allies jostled everywhere,
Loudly resounded enlivening music,
Everywhere spears thick as gathering clouds.
As the field-pieces fired a great dust arose,
There arose from the smoke great clouds and darkness,
Flashes of light came where the rockets flew,
It was as if the great vault of heaven had burst.
They threw their missiles, doing harm every time,
Armed men and gunners fired many cannon,
The heroes of both armies advanced,
They dispelled and trode into dust the enemy's array.
Verily that army's conceit deserted it,
Taking the chief batteries they crowded in,
'Izzu-d-dīn's men began to quit the walls,
Turned and fled on beholding those wrathful men.
They abandoned horses, carriages, gold, elephants,
No one collected aught of his belongings,
Some left their horses, threw down their weapons,
Some fled, taking the road in front of them.
Some moaned "hā, hā," some fell at the men's feet,
They went creeping and crawling, as best they could,
They ran out and fled, those miserable wretches,
Many stood calling aloud the names of God.
Many mighty men abated their pride,
Valorously abandoned all they had,
Leaving all they fled, forgot their strutting gait,
Their star had set, their wits had fled :
Everybody, servants, learned men, waiting maids
Calling "Lord ! bestow on us some helper" !
[Garo ḍhāwaro jhāṇki jhībai surosai,]
All piled on Mu'izzu-d-dīn fitting curses.
Some seized on money-bags with great glee,
Everywhere the camp plunderers ran with torches,
Lighted the thatches and the mighty tents ;
Great fear spread, the smoke made a darkness.

Here from the hot flames red light broke forth,
Elsewhere the heroes of the *bāzār* stole the money bags,
There the bambū knots split with a spluttering sound,
Crashing and snapping, the heavy thatches crackled.
They plundered saffron, wine, spirits, dried dates,
They took all the bags of walnuts and musk,
At places pearls were burnt into powder and dust,
Everywhere squatted plunders tying huge bundles.
Pickles, powders, and *cironjī* nuts were burnt,
Elsewhere jujube fruit, tubers, and fever-nuts,
They burnt or took clothes and turbans of gold brocade,
There lay about many bundles, women were robbed.
The jeweller's bags were carried off,
The jewellers dispersed, their bundles lay scattered,
Crowds of traders cried, "Alas! we are undone,"
Numerous lovely women fled, their faces veiled.

Doharā (637–656).

Know then that thus fled 'Izzu-d-dīn and all his men,
Listen to Çrīdhar, the poet, as he tells the whole story.
Imtiyāz Khān reported, bringing a good gift for his lord,
"My Lord! may this victory be of good fortune to the king of kings!
"They sent Khān Daurān as chief, one fit for any enterprize,
"Nausherī Khān, his son, was sent with the vanguard to battle.
"'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Rāje Khān, the noble,
"Luṭfullāh Khān, Ṣādiq, Dildiler Khān, the brave,
"Such were the nobles trusted by Mu'izzu-d-dīn,
"Against your Majesty's good fortune they could not stand in battle;
"From 'Izzu-d-dīn's harshness all went wrong,
"They came to eat *pān*, they threw away hand and foot,
"Elephants, horses, camels, ox-carriages large and small, litters,
"Cannon, kettle-drums, swivel-pieces, camel-guns, elephant-guns,
"Gold coins, jewels uncounted, in heaps strewn everywhere,
"The vacant enclosure stands, surrounded by bags."
There stood Mumtāz Khān; His Majesty called him near,
The king of kings gave order—"Go you now and see,
"Take the war elephants, trumpets, cannon and drums,
"All the rest of the plunder leave with whoever took it."

Ardhik Chand (657–694).

The king of kings having gained a victory,
His heart was filled with supreme delight;
In the morning he sat in audience,
All spoke words of reverence.
Then sounded the royal music loudly,
It sent forth its loud, shrill cries,
They summoned dancing women,
The nobles came to make obeisance.
Many jewels shone,
White, blue, and crystal,
They offered gifts of many sorts,
They all stood group by group.
Quṭbu-l-mulk made his petition,
Asked for two nobles to be called,
Then Muẓaffar Khān was presented,
The Lord of the World conferred favours,
Gave the title of the very utmost degree,
"Khān Jahān" with "Bahādurī":
Raḥmat Khān, bravest of the brave, attended,
And received the title of Mutaḥawwar Khān.
Then the king bestowed gifts,
Rewarded all the nobles,
Gave elephants, fierce in battle,
'Irāqī horses with saddles.
Auspicious robes of honour glistened,
Made the assembly a golden garden,
Turban ornaments glittered, plumes fluttered,
Lovely jewelled bands and trappings,
Jewelled swords were displayed,
The whole army was covered with jewels;
On that spot they made four halts,
All the army took repose.
Then began again the long marches;
Where stands the town of Shāh Madār,
There the lord of the army arrived,
And worshipped the wonder-working saint,
Some ten days they halted there,
Many gifts were given in the audience hall.

Gītā Chand (695–894).

Again Mīr Jumlah, the hero, forwarded thence a report,
The runner with paper in hand came to the darbār door,
Mumtāz Khān took the writing, delivered it to the king,
Taqarrub Khān took it, and forthwith read out the contents.
The clever agent of the Wazīr, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān,
The *Kāyath*, Siroman Dās Rāe, lord of Sāndī town,
Frequenting the audiences of Mu'izzu-d-dīn he learnt the truth,
He wrote to Quṭbu-l-mulk all the news of importance.
" Here Mu'izzu-d-dīn, puffed-up, maddest of the mad, goes on drinking,
" All the musicians are made nobles, they do what their heart desires,
" At every moment in their mind arises joy for some brother,
" Who has got fish-dignity, flag, hand, yak-tail, and kettle-drums.
" They load with wine, their bullets are opium pills,
" Long and short drums are their cannon, long horns replace muskets,
" Instead of a gun-match they fill cups, they conquer floods of *bhang*,
" Night and day are thus noised abroad their plans for war and battle-field.
" All the lily-eyed, pain-quelling beauties are collected,
" The cleverest dancers wave in the hall their dusky locks,
" Passion kindles by their songs, he hears sweet poet's rhymes,
" He beholds attentively the dances of the pretty juggler boys.
" Here a group of drunken players, there the overtures of loose women,
" Here dance joyous eunuchs, moving with great quickness,
" There boys run about, making the *darbār* a sodomites' resort,
" This is Mu'izzu-d-dīn's madness, he attends to nothing else.
" Power is usurped by Kokaltāsh Khān and Ẓū'lfiqār Khān,
" Both attend the *darbār*, there is great enmity between them,
" As a sick man shuts his eyes and gulps down bitter juice reluctantly,
[Line wanting in original.]
" Brave Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān have been gained,
" 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Qamru-d-dīn Khān, Zakarīyā Khān, have come over,
" Then Raḥīm Khān and all the Tūrānīs have been got at,

"They have made Mīr Jumlah referee, will join and fight for him.
"One day Mu'izzu-d-dīn sat, streams of wine were flowing,
"Full of happiness to his heart's desire, he gave new orders for each day;
"In the midst of this came the news,—'Farrukh Shāh is at Kannauj,
"'And 'Izzu-d-dīn has fled, taking with him all his army.'
"Hearing of 'Izzu-d-dīn's flight, that all his army had fled,
"The whole drunken gathering was forthwith immersed in sorrow,
"Then began their mouths to burn as if poisoned, the songs sounded like curses,
"Their drunken joy subsided, thought and fear and anger awoke.
"It is too much to write all the story, nothing received attention,
"Perturbed, the musicians made 'rain,' the queen went into a swoon,
"Drums of sorts were dropped, they forgot their cymbals and rattles,
"Drunkenness vanished, the wine-cups dropped, the tunes stopped, they cried and groaned.
"Mu'izzu-d-dīn was exceeding wroth, time after time he talked wildly,—
"'This affair has mis-carried because I made a child into a leader,
"'Furthermore, power was granted to a group of injudicious nobles,
"'My mind conceived not wise plans, the defeat is through my own error.
"'Khwājah Ḥusain knows naught of war, nor the intricacies of affairs;
"Where did Luṭfullāh Khān ever fight, he of Pānīpat, the True One?
"'With them went many others, none of whom could give advice,
"'Among them who was skilled to overcome the Sayyid in battle array?
"'Now I start with my followers, say, who will stand fast, and how?
"'Hearing of my approach the whole army will fall to pieces,

"'All the dew, every drop of it, is dissipated by the risen sun;
"'I will not spare one rebel; who will there be to appear in the field?
"'Now to-morrow I will run and arrive with all my followers,
"'Not one will be let go alive, I have thrown down the door of audience,
"'Like a tiger I will devour their flesh, I will divide them into little bits,
"'Then rooting up Bārah brick by brick, I will throw it into the water.
"'By my strong arm I obtained superiority over the Princes,
"'By strength of sword, by strength of war I became lord of Hind,
"'Defeating three Kings in battle, I took the sovereignty,
"'He claims the throne and to seize Dihlī by stratagem.'
"This order was sent, when the runaway reached Āgrah,
"'Stand fast there all together, seize all the fords and ferries,
"'Quickly erect three strong bridges below Bālambhpur,
"'I come by forced marches, collect supplies for a campaign.'
"He sent for his *Bakhshī* and said;—'Make ready the horsemen,
"'Count out to all a two months' advance, give them supplies,
"'Send off the quarter-master-general, then see to every place,
"'Make such plans that you may start in good order this night.'
"Next orders issued to send for all the nobles near at hand,
"He enforced on them the order, they must move that very night;
"As morn arose the whole army must gather in splendour,
"Must hurry on to Āgrah and occupy Iṭāwah,
"As soon as the order went forth, at once arose confusion and shouts in the city,
"The nobles armed, the horsemen made ready, at dawn the kettle-drums sounded;
"When he himself mounted, thick clouds gathered, great dread arose;
"It was an ill omen, all said—'Alas! Kālī is angry'!
"On the right a kite called, in front to the left a crow croaked,
"And a cow's throat was cut, cats spat, and wrangled,
"The standard caught, the staff broke, a very bad omen,
"When Mu'izzu-d-dīn started, evil omens succeeded each other.
"In daylight an owl screeched amidst the camp, and foxes called,
"Here a dog howls like a *surunī*, there a pack of jackals yells,

"Groups of vultures whirl over their heads, this is very unlucky;
"The soldiers in their dreams thought they fled all the night.
"With their heads all full of portents and evil omens,
"They speedily reached Āgrah, halted at Samūgaṛh;
"There came 'Izzu-d-dīn and all the runaways,
"As to the hardships of the battle they invented many fables.
"Angrily spoke Mu'izzu-d-dīn;—'I will now pay out the Sayyids,
"'When I have overcome the enemy, then I shall triumph over the Bārhah,
"'All the trouble is their doing, rancour appeared in their hearts,
"'I will fight them in every way and try conclusions with them.
"'Sādāt Khān, acting out of spite, obeys his kinsman's word,
"'Farzand Khān, his son, galloped in front of all the army,
"'The man called Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, his sword I will splinter;
"'In battle-field against me who will now venture to stand?
"'At first Chabīle Rām attended 'Izzu-d-dīn's court,
"'Then went off to the other side, the wretch, and deceived me,
"'Also 'Alī Aṣghar Khān came, then marched away to the others,
"'Thought lightly of Mu'izzu-d-dīn. Behold their hearts'!
"Saying this he paraded his army, there were five *lakhs* of horsemen,
"When naming *lakhs*, two lords of elephants count as many thousands,
"Then he discharged his cannon, the sky was hidden by smoke,
"Earth's axis yielded, Meru was rent, such was the strength of this army."
Thus wrote Siroman Dās Rāe, ordered it to be carried quickly thither;
The letter-carrier reached the audience-hall of Quṭbu-l-mulk,
The contents were read aloud clearly by Ṣāhib Rām, Māthur;
Hearing it his eyes reddened, his mind was overcast with rage.
Laughing spoke 'Abdullāh Khān, "That king is very aggressive,
"If I now get the auspicious order of the king of kings,
"Farrukhsiyar's good fortune and God's grace being inseparable,
"This very day I rush to battle and break the strength of Mu'izzu-d-dīn's arm."

On hearing the news he made a resolve, he went the rounds,
His retinue having been made ready, the Sayyid rode forth,
Joyous, with hand on moustache, he went to see the king,
Reported everything, made glad the heart of the king of kings.
What Mīr Jumlah wrote in his report to the Sayyid Wazīr,
Both were of like contents, the degradation of lord and noble;
The eyes of the World Lord were filled with heroism, the steadfast in battle,
His sword trailing at his side, the hero's hand played on his moustache till it bristled,
When the lord of all the Bārhahs, the hero, Sayyid and Wazīr, had told his tale,
Came Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, and joined with new equipments,
Twenty thousand mail-clad horse came, looking like a cloud,
All heroes and strong, all hard of heart and hand.
Then king Farrukh gave him orders: "I have decided to march,
"Muḥammad Khān! parade your men and march at once,
"To go with you brave fighting nobles and all things are ready,
"Arslān Khān has got out the advance tents, and starts to the front this very day."
The retinue was made ready, at dawn the king of kings mounted,
Then came Muḥammad Khān, verified twenty thousand horse,
He was made a *panj-hazārī*, all his officers became *manṣabdārs*,
They joined the vanguard, the hero hurried to the front.
March by march they hurried on, quickly came to Āgrah,
Both strong armies drank Jamnā's waters below Bālambhpur,
They met face to face on opposite banks, both armies pitched their tents,
These wished to cross and attack, those on that side held all paths and passages.
On both sides the drums resounded, all the waters were moved and trembled,
On both sides flags fluttered, the pennants blazed to the stars,
The royal tents, lustrous as the cars of the gods, hid out the heavens,
Throughout both armies were thousands of brisk movements, the horses stamped their hoofs.

On both sides handsome tents, like suns and peacocks, delight the eye,
On both sides cannon are fired, keeping up their thunder,
On both sides all kinds of crash and thump set up all sorts of sounds,
On both sides, night and day, the bullets and rockets fall like rain-drops.
Both sides are full of spirit, with eager desire for the contest,
Both desired to cross and try their fortune, one constantly harassed the other;
As they draw near, the armies of the two Dilhī lords leap and bound,
The waves of the great river were restless, the waters grieved for both.
At this time the hero, Sayyid and Wazīr, reported as soon as he came,
"My lord! Incarnation of Deity! they have come to tell us of firm ground,
"Not far to the west of Āgrah, the Jamnā has been forded,
"It can be forded right across." Hearing, the king's heart rejoiced.
They made up a story, spread rumours that Mu'izzu-d-dīn had crossed,
This was noised on all sides, the strong, bold army made ready,
Sending some men to face the enemy, the king of kings stood ready,
In the night rushed the Sayyid, then shivering and shaking crossed over.
The army standing in the enemy's face to bar the way was recalled,
It marched some four *kos*, and for three or four hours halted,
When the morning dawned, both parties mounted, with music playing,
In great haste the Lord of sword and bow came to the Jamnā crossing.
When the strong, valiant army arrived, the lucky time was fixed,
It was a swift stream, very powerful, full of tricks, hundreds of twists and turns,
The heaven-seated court fixed a bridge on the ocean,
First they found firm ground through the water, then they crossed the stream.

In this way the king of kings crossed the Jamnā without hindrance,
Then next day at dawn, a *kos* or two east of Sikrandah,
In that place, near the river, the hungry army pitched its tents;
Learning their approach, confusion fell on Mu'izzu-d-dīn's army.
Hearing this news, Mu'izzu-d-dīn's mind was filled with rage,
He talked idly, "Friends, behold! now I rush and take him alive,
"Not one rebel shall escape, drawing I seize every one,
"I will torture those who have had the effrontery to join him."
So saying he rolled his eyes, drew his dagger from its sheath,
Flourishing his sword, trembling with rancour, twisting his moustaches, full of rage,
Sheathing every limb in armour, he mounted a war elephant,
The deep drums rumbled, in fear and trembling the fixed-pole turned on its axis.
Five lakhs of fighters followed, filled with eagerness for battle,
All clad in hauberk and breast-plate, themselves hard as steel through and through,
Thus the heroes passed the night, then marched forward south of Āgrah,
Then as morn broke, they hastened to their camp at Sikandrah.
The field of battle lay between, the two armies were some two *kos* apart,
These on the east side, and on the further side from the east in splendour
Both heroes shouted with joy, along with their nobles,
Then at dawn moved to slay their enemy, like the waves of Jamnā.
Wednesday, the full moon of Pūs, *Sambat* seventeen sixty-nine,
In the year eleven hundred and thirty-three, the fourteenth of Muḥarram month,
And of the imperial month Āẕar the twenty-third, Çrīdhar avers,
The lucky hour for battle was fixed, the Lord of the World approved it.
Then next day for six hours Krishen sent rain in torrents,
When the clouds dispersed, the Sun Lord joyfully struck up his drums,

The army followed the hero and noble, the Sayyid Wazīr, as he did this,
Entirely filled with the joy of battle, he made the first venture into the battle-field.
Then the heroes mounted and stood, all the horsemen followed and stood,
Wherever troops were needed, thither they were despatched,
All the groups advanced, the king's camp was filled like a river,
The sun hastened, the tortoise trembled, the snake-king lost his strength.

Bilās Chand (895–999).

Receiving the king's orders with shouts,
Quṭbu-l-mulk rode to the right,
Followed by the steel-clad heroes,
Death-dealing and death-receiving warriors.
The Sayyid was followed by all the death-dealing warriors, full of efforts,
On the king's order they drew their swords, shouted, "Strike, Strike," roared hoarsely,
Throwing down their reins, full of courage they galloped their horses into the battle,
The big drums of 'Abdullāh Khān, the Sayyid, boomed deep and loud to the south.
Dilāzāk, Lodī, Lohānī,
Pannī, Tarīn, Sūr, Sarwānī,
Dāūdzāī, Khweshgī, Gabī,
Mahmand, Biṭṭanī, Pabī,
Biṭṭanī, Pabī, Mattī, Gabī, holding their Arab horses,
Clad in breastplate and shirt of mail, full of heart, joint in death or victory,
Youthful, bold Pathāns, iron-covered, renders of mountains, in crowds,
Thus with 'Abdullah Khān advanced the hero Muḥammad Khān, the Bangash.

[Lines 911–999 deal with episodes in the battle, introducing in each stanza the name of some chief. About twenty-eight men are mentioned, the only verse of special note is one (951–958) bringing in some tribal names :

Gutrānī, Tarīn, Tīrāhī,
Sarwānī, Mattanī, Enwāhī,
Nassur, Giljī, Kāsab, Kākar,

Arab, Sūr, Niānjī, Nāgar,
In front the Bhanār, Kāsi, Āgar, Panī, Ujāgar, Roshānī,
Mahmand, Bitṭanī, Jepharmanni (?), Chabī, Lodī, Lohānī,
Bakhtiyārī, Rohelah, Yūsuf-khailī, Dilāzāk, and Sarwānī,
These formed the brave array of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, the Dāūdzāī.

Then the metre changes to *Doharā* (1000–8), and two more names occur, those of the Nāgar leaders. Again from lines 1009–1248 we change to *Kavitta*, the verses being of the same character, the heroes of them being chiefly Chabīla Rām, Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah Khān Daurān, Sādāt Khān and Amīr Khān with their relations and followers. One verse will suffice as a specimen :

1109 Delighted, the Pure Master bestowed instantly the whole earth's wealth,

1110 By describing a giver of gold to the needy and wretched you name his full titles,
The big drums of continuous charity beat at his door loud and deep,
Of Mumtāz Khān, the strong, the hero, thus speaks, Çrīdhar the Poet.

[From 1113 to 1248 there are stanzas devoted each to the praise of one man, his relations or followers. The poet exerts himself to give each some special praise but necessarily falls into a good deal of repetition. The metre then changes.]

Hīra Chand (1249–1308).

1249 Then Mu'izzu-d-dīn waxed wroth,
Put on all sides active troops,
In the vanguard Kokaltāsh Khān,
Strong, alert, heroic, used to victory.

[In a similar manner the names of various nobles are introduced into the next fourteen verses (1253–1308).]

Harigīta Chand (1309–1464).

1309 On both sides the armies were ready, shouting the fighters stood,

1310 Then beat the kettle-drums on the elephants, the haughty north-pole trembled,
A mist spread, white as milk, the sun's brightness was hid,
Meru tottered and stooped, its sides moved, its very being was threatened.

On both sides the splendid armies were emulous in the battle-waves,
Elephant-pieces, cannon, rockets, often kindled, thundered inexpressibly,
Fire-locks raised dust and darkness, both sides fired all their field-pieces,
Next spoke uncounted matchlocks, then the faithful fell in heaps,
The field-pieces went off "kar, kar, karā, kar," striking with a sharp blow,
On all sides the drum-beats rolled, smoke and dust floated, with great heat,
Many rockets sped like lightning, the bullets struck like hail,
No one's garb could be seen, whether the fighter was of your side or the other.
Then the veil of mist lifted, to both sides it was like the dawn,
The valiant nobles and heroes shouted, they took their bows in their hands,
They galloped onwards, their reins moved like stormy waves,
Loud cries arose, "Strike, Strike, Strike," a darkness covered the field.
Their arrows flew "tar-tar," rockets hissed "sar-sar," bullets whistled "bhar-bhar,"
With foot advanced, onward and onward went many excellent heroes and lords,
The valiant with reddened faces, full of joy, the cowards all pallid and trembling,
Just as seeing a beggar the generous look happy, the miser, uneasy and displeased.
On both sides, in both armies, brave fought with brave most bravely,
The scamps were driven off by the valiant forcibly, hero fought with hero,
Swords whirled, scimitars were grasped, the heroes cut heads open,
With a flash came a wound; how many fell smarting!
[Lines 1332–1432, these describe the doughty deeds of each leader, one by one, but do not advance the story.]
Death giving and taking, the field-pieces and elephant-guns roared and sounded,
There was a tempest of matchlocks, the strong rockets twisted about,

There arrows, eager, bewildering, brought to many the hoped-for mercy of Paradise,
The sky-chariot of the sun reached its setting, the time was clouded.
Then hero struggled with hero, with angry looks brave strove with brave,
Cries arose, "Strike, Strike, Strike," shouting they fell in heaps,
The loyal, comely Arabs, the comely heroes, stood fast,
Where there is meeting and assembly how could they turn away their faces.
[Lines 1441–1452 are devoted to a recital of the names of fighters.]
Everywhere the armies, full of zeal, caused much slaughter,
Weapons, heavy, two-edged, numerous, fell like torrents of rain,
Chain-mail, vizor, helm were beaten soft, the plates of the fish-scales fell off,
Calling "Strike, Strike," hearing "Stand fast, friend, stand fast," they made effort.
Growling and dark like lowering clouds the proud army moved in circles,
Great drums roared and rattled, drawn swords glanced and glittered,
With a swish fell the arrows, bullet upon bullet came like hail at that time,
A mire of brains collected, when the Sayyid drew his sword.
He stands full of anger, tossing his head, causing many wounds, holding his ground,
Heads are lost, ears drop, bodies were collected in mounds,
Blood began to flow in rivers, the stream began to flow on,
The flesh-rending arrows carried destruction wherever they fell.

Kavita Chand (1465–1576).

When waves expand day by day, how can the poet keep count, 'tis the work of the mad-like fighters,
To the edge of the snowy hills he drives the invader, who can come that he overcomes not at will,
The well-named leader, the loved lord of prowess, the great chief and peerless,
Of the famous king, Lord Shatrusāl, great, brave, liberal, he tells the lustre.

[1469–1532, Chattarsāl, Muṣliḥ Khān and some others are introduced. We draw near to the end of the battle.]

1533 King Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh both fought for the throne in front of Āgrah,

The conqueror beats his drums, the defeated fled, the warriors forgetting all turned their bridle-reins,

1535 Resolutely, verily diverting rivers, did A'ẓam Khān, strong and loyal, uphold the cause of his king,

As in the Mahābhārat the weak king was chased away by Bhīm, strong of arm, at Kurukhet.

[Lines 1537–1544 give the praises of A'ẓam Khān.]

1545 To see Farrukhsiyar, the conqueror, full of delight at Mu'izzu-d-dīn's defeat,

Beating drums, turning his reins, came Chabīla Rām

[Māri par dal har khāyo jūth jogini ko karat baḍāi siwā sañkar hilākh hai]

One hero many thousands has slain in one moment, counting them one.

[Lines 1549–1576 relate various phases of the fighting, and introduce the names of many leaders. A *dohā*, 1577-78 is of the same nature.]

Kavita (1579–1632).

[Lines 1579–1598 are mere catalogues of names.]

1599 A festival of joy and gladness heightened the delight of all, the colour of things had brightened,

1600 Thy reign adds lustre to sovereignty, the fruit of fortune and felicity;

The happily-named king of kings, Farrukhsiyar, the man of the lucky star,

In his day the throne was adorned, when he sat on the throne, the good fortune of that throne was enhanced.

Shaking the south, conquering west and east, this unparalleled man has come with strong hand,

The fortunate king of kings, Farrukhsiyar, has brought the seven isles within the realm of Hind,

1605 Daily he increases, also the Faith, he has extended his sovereignty over faith and the world,

When a king is adorned with sovereignty, he should thus obtain it.

His horsemen herded them like a flock of sheep, the army rent, he robbed the nest of A'azzu-d-dīn,

Rushed from the east, scared away like starlings the army of the pretender, Mu'izzu-d-dīn,
The fortunate king of kings, Farrukhsiyar, defender of the two faiths;
From realm to realm ran the news of victory, the haughty feared, the humble were enraptured,
Some pod, some pea free from weevil, some one not the slave of a harlot,
Handsome, graceful, brave, excellent, young, a man beyond compare,
Fortunate, a second King Akbar, has Farrukhsiyar obtained sovereignty,
He wields sovereign strength, to see him is delight, wearing the garland of victory.
[The remaining lines are devoted to Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Anwar Khān, Sarbuland Khān, and Mīr Mushrif, ending with line 1630.]

Notes.

Line 18, the allusion is to 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān, Farrukhsiyar's father. —l. 145, *ādam* for *āmad*, (Persian) "coming, approach,"—l. 394. This is the *'Īd* of the 1st Shawwāl, 1124 H.=31st Oct., 1712. According to Kāmwar Khān, the prince observed the *'Īd* on the right bank of the Ganges, opposite Benares, and crossed the river on the 2nd Shawwāl. Farrukhsiyar was at Jhūsī on the 13th (12th November, 1712)—ll. 411, 413, Kumwarpur and Bindukī are both named by Kāmwar Khān; Fatḥābād is probably a name for Kajwah—l. 422. The "battle-pillar" is possibly an allusion to the *ran-khambh*, a wooden post said to have stood in the midst of the Kurukhet at Thānesar—l. 615, I have failed to make anything of this line——l. 706, "hand" =*panjah*, the figure of an open hand, one of the honorary distinctions granted by the Emperors—l. 744, *Sāṁchuhai*, "the true one," a Hindī equivalent of the epithet *Ṣādiq*, borne by Luṭfullāh Khān, in token of his descent from one of the twelve Imāms, Ja'faru-ṣ-ṣādiq.—l. 780, *Suranī*, a long horn, to the sound of which a dog's howling may well be likened. ll. 883–85. Not only do these dates seem wrong, but they are hopelessly irreconcilable with each other. If we take the day of the week, Wednesday, as correct, then the battle was fought on the 11th January, 1713, N.S., which by the usual computation agrees with the 13th Ẓu'l-Ḥijjah 1124 H., the date given by the historians. The 14th Muḥarram (1125) was a Thursday or Friday, not a Wednesday. As for

the *tetisā* (33) of the text, this may be a clerical error for *teīsā* (23); but the latter year (1123 H.) is equally impossible, for Bahādur Shāh did not die till the 21st Muḥarram, 1124 H., more than a year afterwards. Then the *Saṁbat* year 1769 began, according to Cunningham's tables, on the 28th March, 1712, and Pūs pūranmāsī, being the 280th day, comes out as the 1st January, 1713 (3rd Ẓu'l-Ḥijjah 1124 H.), or ten days too early. Nor does the poet's Mahomedan date, 14th Muḥarram, agree, as will be seen, with this *Saṁbat* date. So with the Ilāhī era. Āẓar being the 9th month, and the year beginning on the 20th March, the 23rd of that month is the 270th day of the year, equivalent to the 15th December, 1712, agreeing neither with the Hijra nor Sambat date. I make out the synchronism, to be, 13th Ẓu'l-Ḥijjah 1124 H.=22nd Day of the Ilāhī era=S. 1769, Māgh badi 10th=11th January, 1713.* Khāfī Khān, II, 721, has 13th Ẓu'l-Ḥijjah=19th Day.—ll.905, 906, I am not sure whether *Gabī* is a tribal name, or a mere epithet used to fill out the line. The Pabbī are a sub-division of the Afrīdīs, *see* "Dictionary of the Pathan Tribes," Calcutta, 1899.—l. 1547, I can make nothing out of this line.

INDEX. (Persons.)

A.

'Abdu-l-ghaffār (Sayyid), 45, 113, 1259, 1432.
'Abdullāh Khān (also Quṭbu-l-mulk and Sayyad Wazīr), 31, 52, 56, 119, 123, 134, 139, 397, 401, 421, 423, 669, 699, 702, 804, 807, 815, 819, 847, 854, 889, 896, 902, 910, 918, 926, 934, 1261, 1421, 1428, 1441, 1452, 1579, 1583.
'Abdullāh (Khwājah), 345, 469.
'Abdu-r-rasūl, 988.
'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad ('Alī) Khān, 643, 724, 1258, 1285, 1431, 1445.
Afrasyāb Khān, 311, 521, 1162, 1168.
Afẓal Khān (also Ashraf K.), Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣudūr, 301, 1169, 1176.
Aḥmad Khān, Sarwānī, 1402.
Akbar (Emperor), 1613.
Akbar 'Alī Khān, 334, 480, 1054.
Akram (Mīr), 218, 500.
'Ālamgīr (Emperor), 1095.
'Alī Aṣghar Khān (Khān Zamān), 149, 409, 410, 467, 797, 969, 1337, 1354.
'Alī Naqī Khān, 253.
Amīnu-d-dīn Khān, 459.
Amīru-l-Umarā, *see* Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.

* [By Prof. Jacobi's Tables, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. i, pp. 443 ff., I find that *Samvat 1769, full-moon day of Pūs* fell on Wednesday, 11th January, 1713, N.S., as required. *Māgha vadi 10* corresponds to Sunday, 22nd January, 1713, N.S., according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar fortnights, or to Monday, 20th February, 1713, N.S., according to the *amānta* scheme of lunar fortnights.—Ed.]

Amīr Khān (Governor of Kābul), 303, 1093.
Amīr Khān (son of A. K. Kābulī), 305, 497, 1100.
Anwar Khān (Sayyid), 65, 85, 335, 439, 531, 534, 928, 1177, 1184, 1192, 1425, 1450, 1619.
Arslān Khān, 348, 351, 525, 826, 1211, 1216.
Asad 'Alī Khān, 269, 433, 945.
Ashraf Khan, Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣudūr, *see* Afẓal Khān.
Ashraf Khān, *see* Khān Daurān (Khwājah 'Āṣim).
Ashraf or Sharaf (Mīr), 267, 429, 968, 1334, 1349.
Ātash Khān, 271, 434.
'Azīz Khān (Mīr), 195.
A'ẓam Khān (Mḥd. Māh, son of Fidāe Khān), 13, 184, 185, 192, 193, 392, 462, 464, 976, 982, 1255, 1277, 1281, 1372, 1374, 1405, 1409, 1413, 1414, 1430, 1442, 1535, 1538, 1543, 1558, 1564, 1567, 1572, 1576, 1585.
'Aẓīmu-sh-shān (Prince), 1246.
'A'azzu-d-dīn (Prince), 46, 147, 166, 169, 231, 414, 599, 637, 647, 730, 731, 785, 795, 1595, 1607.

B.

Bahādur Dil Khan, *see* Ilāicīn Beg.
Bahādur Khān, 246.
Bahādur Shāh (Emperor), 10.
Bahram Beg, 67.
Bairām Khān, 339, 541, 1218.
Barqandāz Khān, 68, 84, 441, 927.
Benī Rām, Nāgar, 1399.
Bhagautī Dās (son of Chabīla Rām), 1003.
Bhagwant Rāe, Kāyath (of Kākorī, dīwān of Chabīla Rām), 1397.
Bhīm, 1536.
Bhopatī Rāe, 1629.

C.

Chabīla Rām, 148, 407, 457, 795, 992, 1013, 1018, 1279, 1374, 1385, 1389, 1546, 1551, 1553, 1589, 1597.
Chattarsāl, *see* Shatrusāl.
Cīn Qilīc Khān, *see* Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān.
Çrīdhar (Murlīdhar), 5, 638, 885, 1108, 1112, 1127, 1376, 1411, 1507, 1559, 1576, 1620, 1627.

D.

Darbār Khān, 331, 523, 1193, 1200.
Darvesh 'Alī Khān (Sayyid), 69.
Darvesh Muḥammad (Sayyid), 415.
Dāūd Khān Dopaṭṭe-bāz, 297, 513, 1139, 1140.
Dayā Bahādur, 1005.
Dilāwar Khān, 201, 1055.
Dil Dilāwar Khān, 482.
Dil Daler Khān, 644, 1273, 1371.
Dost 'Alī Khān, 284, 477, 1047, 1052.

F.

Faqīrullāh Khān (Mīrzā), 154, 249, 535, 1220.
Farrukhsiyar (Prince), also Shāhan-Shāh, Pādshāh, Shāh, Ḥaẓrat, and Ṣāḥib-i-jahān, 7, 11, 22, 48, 129, 140, 163, 167, 172, 176, 183, 205, 233, 235, 239, 275, 355, 362, 377, 388, 389, 401, 585, 653, 654, 657, 672, 677, 697, 729, 809, 814, 823, 827, 850, 853, 863, 886, 1348, 1525, 1533, 1541, 1545, 1570, 1587, 1601, 1604, 1609, 1613.
Farzand Khān, 206, 405, 493, 498, 502, (son of Sādāt Khān), 792, 1071, 1076, 1078, 1527.
Fatḥ 'Alī Khān (Sayyid), 315, 431, 519, 962, 963, 968, 1339, 1356, 1360.
Fatḥullāh Khān, 310, 518, 1217.
Fidāe Khān, 975, 1484.

G.

Gandharb Singh (Rājah), Bundelah, 317, 529, 1129, 1136.
Ghairat Khān, 251.
Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān, 293, 511, 1137, 1144.
Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān (Cīn Qilīc Khān), 723, 1288, 1579.
Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān (Fīrūz Jang), 1287.
Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *see* Zu'lfiqār Khān.
Ghulām Muḥīu-d-dīn Khān, 191, 463, 983, 1405.

Girdhar Lāl, Bahādur, 1007, 1393, 1524, 1563.
Gulāb Rāe (Rāo), son-in-law of Chabīla Rām, 1014, 1390, 1395.

H.

Ḥalīm Khān (Dilāzāk), 196, 501, 1122, 1128, 1531.
Ḥasan Khān, dīwān of Prāg, 447.
Ḥaẓrat, *see* Farrukhsiyar.
Ḥizbar Khān, 338, 533, 1192.
Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, also Amīru-l-umarā, Sayyid, and Bakhshī, 50, 141, 146, 160, 163, 257, 273, 421, 424, 937, 950, 966, 1265, 1340, 1341, 1345, 1363, 1579, 1583.
Ḥusain (Khwājah), 743.

I

Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, 157, 243.
Iftikhār Khān, 537, 1201.
Ikhtiyār Khān, 343.
Ilāicīn Beg (Bahādur Dil Khān), 341, 342, 543, 544, 1203, 1204, 1208.
Imām (Sayyid), 1400.
Imtiyāz Khān, 327, 507, 639, 1113, 1120.
'Ināyat Khān (Shaikh), 283, 476, 1045.
'Ināyatullāh Khān, 261, 425, 943.
'Ināyat Shāh, 1584.
I'timād Khān (Miyān Nihāl), 1241, 1242.

J.

Jahāndār Shāh, *see* Mu'izzu-d-dīn.
Jai Kriṣn Dās (dīwān of Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān), 1424, 1449.
Jalālu-d-dīn, *see* Akbar.
Jānbāz Khān, 152, 247, 455, 1219.
Jānī Khān, 1269, 1369, 1412, 1413, 1416.
Jān Niṣār Khān, 1271, 1369.

K.

Khān Daurān (Khwājah 'Āṣim, Ashraf Khān), also Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, 229, 236, 277, 278, 280, 286, 472, 474, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 641, 793, 1029, 1031, 1033, 1037, 1052, 1062.
Khān Jahān, *see* Muẓaffar Khān (Sayyid).
Khānahzād Khān, *see* Shāistah Khān.
Khān Zamān, *see* 'Alī Aṣghar Khān.
Khairu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, 200, 481, 1055.
Kokaltāsh Khān, 719, 1251, 1430, 1441.

L.

Luṭfullāh Khān, Ṣādiq, 644, 744, 1272, 1370.

M.

Madār Shāh (saint), 690.
Mahdī 'Alī Khān (Phandī A. K.), 87.
Māhyār (or Mahpār) Khān, 154.
Manẓūr (Mirza or Miyān) 119, 446, 932.
Muṣlih Khān (son of Fidāe Khān), 1475, 1480, 1484, 1488, 1489, 1493, 1499, 1504, 1507, 1509, 1514, 1517.
Mīr Jumlah, 39, 43, 47, 215, 499, 695, 726, 815, 1291, 1301.
Mīr Khān, 306, 497.
Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, 820, 824, 828, 910, 1422, 1442.
Muḥammad Amān Beg, 202.
Mḥd. Amīn Khān, 723, 1283.
Mḥd. 'Askarī (Miyān), 1566.
Mḥd. Bāqir, 985.
Mḥd. Ḥaiyāt (Sayyid), 198, 265, 428, 970.
Mḥd. Ḥasan, 188.
Mḥd. Ḥusain, 188.
Mḥd. Imām, 985.
Mḥd. Shākir (Mīr), 1403.
Mḥd. Shujā', 187.
Mḥd. Wasī' Khān, 314, 522.
Mu'izzu-d-dīn, also Jahāndār Shāh, 16 19, 40, 170, 230, 616, 645, 701, 703, 717, 727, 739, 778, 787, 798, 810, 851, 866, 867, 1015, 1020, 1243, 1248, 1249, 1521, 1525, 1531, 1533, 1538, 1541, 1545, 1554, 1557, 1561, 1569, 1587, 1595, 1608.
Muḥsin Khān (Mīr), 65, 84, 440, 928.
Mukāram (Mīr), 217, 499.
Mukhliṣ Khān, 344, 538, 1202.
Mukhtār Khān, 1274, 1369, 1391, 1392.
Mumtāz Khān, 323, 505, 508, 653, 697, 1102, 1108, 1112, 1121, 1127.
Murlīdhar, *see* Çrīdhar.
Murtaẓā Khān (Sayyid), 174, 175, 180, 393, 527, 1225.

Mushrif (Mīr), 263, 268, 427, 967, 1333, 1349, 1353, 1629.
Mutaḥawwar Khān (Raḥmat Khān), 435, 436, 675, 676.
Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān, Ṭurrah-bāz (properly Ẓafar Khān), 153, 449, 450.
Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān (Khān Jahān, Sayyid), 333, 479, 671, 674, 926, 1053.
Muẓaffar Khān (brother of Khān Daurān, Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah), 279, 473, 1038.

N.

Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, 62, 88, 132, 1424, 1449, 1579, 1617.
Nausherī Khān (son of Kokaltāsh Khān), 642, 1253, 1432, 1443.
Neknām Khān, 199.
Nihāl (Miyān), *see* I'timād Khān.
Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, *see* Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān (Cīn Qilīc Khān).
Nūrullāh Khān, 281, 475.

P.

Pādshāh, *see* Farrukhsiyar.
Phandī 'Alī Khān, *see* Mahdī A. K.
Pīr Muḥammad (Shaikh), 1400.

Q.

Qamaru-d-dīn Khān, 724, 1284.
Qāsim Beg Khān (Mīrzā), 308, 1146.
Quṭbu-l-mulk, *see* 'Abdullāh Khān.

R.

Raḥmān Khān, 725, 1289.
Raḥmat Khān, *see* Mutaḥawwar Khān.
Raḥmatullāh (Shaikh), 221.
Raḥmatullāh (Khwājah), 346, 470.
Rājī Khān (Sayyid), 44, 643, 1257, 1431, 1445.
Rashīd Khān, 340, 542, 1217.
Rasūkhīyat Khān (Sayyid), 1375, 1407, 1410.
Ratan Cand (Rājā), 64, 83, 437, 918, 1423, 1446.
Rustam Khān (Rustam Dil Khān), 295, 512, 1138.

S.

Ṣādāt Khān, Māzandarānī, 209, 287, 491, 496, 504, 791, 1061, 1068, 1069, 1077, 1085, 1092.
Ṣaff Shikan Khān, 319, 539, 961, 1339, 1356, 1360.
Ṣāḥib Rāe, Māthur, 139, 143, 805, 1451.
Saif Khān (third son of Sādāt Khān), 208, 406, 495, 1087, 1092.
Saifu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, 61, 131.
Saifullāh Khān, 307, 432, 515, 969, 1145, 1152.
Ṣalābat Khān (second son of Sādāt Khān), 207, 406, 494, 1079, 1084.
Ṣāliḥ Khān, 187.
Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, *see* Khān Daurān.
Samūdar Khān, 66, 85, 443, 928, 1425, 1450.
Sangī Beg, 220.
Sarbuland Khān, 1624.
Sayyid Wazīr, *see* 'Abdullāh Khān.
Shādī Khān, 1422, 1443.
Shāh Madār (saint), 690.
Shāh or Shāhanshāh, *see* Farrukhsiyar.
Shāistah Khān (Khānahzād Khān), 291, 292, 509, 510, 1155, 1156, 1160.
Sharaf, *see* Ashraf (Mīr).
Shatrusāl (Chattarsāl), 1468, 1469.
Shujā'atullāh Khān (Mīr), 262, 426, 944.
Shujā'atullāh, 219, 500.
Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, 63, 89, 97, 100, 121, 126, 161.
Siromani Dās Rāe (Kāyath,) 700, 803.
Subans (Rāe), son of Bhagwant Rāe, 1398.
Sulṭān Beg Khān, 309, 516, 1148.
Sulṭān Jahān (Sayyid), 1558.
Sulṭān Qulī Khān, 197, 984, 1375, 1406, 1410.

T.

Taimūr Khān, 226.
Taqarrub Khān, 299, 465, 698.
Ṭīkā Rām, 1233, 1240.

W.

Walī (Mīrzā), 67.
Walī Muḥammad, 285, 478, 1046.
Wasī' Khān, 522 (Mḥd. W. K., 314).

Y.

Yādgār Beg, 66, 86, 444, 930, 1426.

Z.

Zabardast Khān, 1146.
Ẓafar Khān, *see* Muẓaffar Khān, Ṭurrahbāz.
Ẓafar Jang Khān (Muṣlih Khān) 1508, 1618.
Zainu-d-dīn Khān, 151, 245, 453, 958, 1338, 1355, 1360.
Zakarīyā Khān, 724, 1286.
Ẓu'lfiqār Khān (Nuṣrat Jang), 16, 17, 719, 1342, 1361, 1364, 1625.
Ẓu'lfiqār Khān (Ghulām 'Alī Khān), 321, 540, 959, 960, 1266, 1335.

INDEX. (Places and Tribes.)

A.

Afghān (tribes), 1124, 1125, 1401.
Āgar (tribe), 955.
Āgrah, 759, 770, 784, 831, 849, 877.
Allāhābād (Ilāhābād), 34 (*see* also Prāg).
Ālam Cand (sarāe), 58, 71.
Ang (country), 1592.
Arkhang (country), 1592.
Arabī (horses), 907 (swords), 1021, 1023.
Arab (tribe), 954.
Aṭak, 304.

B.

Baghelah (tribe), 1134.
Bahādurpur, 182, 393.
Bais (tribe), 1134.
Bakhtiyārī (tribe), 957.
Bālambhpur, 761, 932.
Banāras, 394.
Bang (country, *i.e.*, Bengal), 1592.
Bangash (tribe), *see* Muḥammad Khān.
Bārhah (tribe), 788.
Basera, 395.
Bhāgalpur, 244.
Bindukī, 411, 413.
Biṭṭanī (tribe), 906, 907, 956.
Bundelah (tribe), 1136.

C.

Candelah (tribe), 1134.
Cauhān (tribe), 1134.
Chabī (tribe), 956.

D.

Dāūdzāī (tribe), 905, 958.
Dilāzāk (tribe), 903, 957, 1128, 1531.
Dillī, 20, 582, 758, 845, 1591.

F.

Fatḥābād, 413.
Firang (country), 1592.

G.

Gabī (tribe), 905, 907.
Gaharwār (tribe), 1134.
Gaur (tribe), 1133.
Ghiljī (tribe), 953.
Gutrānī (tribe), 951.

H.

Hāḍā (tribe), 1133.
Haihaya-baṁsī (tribe), 1135.
Hāthigrām, 409.
Hind (country), 756, 1586, 1604.

I.

Irān (country), 1094.
Iṭāwah, 149, 170.
Īwāhī or Eṁwāhī (tribe), 952.

J.

Jamnā (river), 832, 849, 858, 863, 882, 1473.
Jhūsī, 395.

K.

Kābul, 304, 1093, 1098, 1592.
Kachwāhah (tribe), 1135.
Kākar (tribe), 953.
Kākorī, 1497.
Kāling (country), 1592.
Kannauj, 729.
Kāsab (tribe), 953.
Kāsī (tribe), 955.
Khajurāh, 391.
Khweshgī (tribe), 905, 1055.
Kohūn, 71.
Korah, 147.
Kumwarpur, 411.
Kurukhet, 127, 1536.

L.

Lodī (tribe), 903, 956.
Lohānī (tribe), 903, 956.

M.

Maghribī (sword), 1023.
Mahmand (tribe), 906, 956.
Maṭṭanī (tribe), 952.
Maṭṭī (tribe), 907.
Mazandarān (Persian province), 210, 222, 492, 1062, 1068, 1070, 1084.

N.

Nāgar (tribe), 954.
Nasar (tribe), 953.
Niāzī (tribe), 954.

P.

Pabī (tribe), 906, 907.
Pannī (tribe), 904, 955.
Pānīpat, 744.
Parīhār (tribe), 1135.
Paṭnā (Paṭṭan), 155, 159, 251.
Prāg (Allāhābād), 5, 34, 44, 59, 403, 447.

R.

Raghubaṁsī (tribe), 1134.
Rājput (tribes), 1132, 1133.
Rohelā (tribe), 957.
Roshānī (tribe), 955.

S.

Samūgaṛh, 784.
Sarwānī (tribe), 904, 952, 957, 1401.
Sikandrah, 864, 878.
Sirnet (tribe), 1135.
Sombaṁsī (tribe), 1133.
Sulankī (tribe), 1135.
Sūr (tribe,) 904, 954.
Sūrajbaṁsī (tribe), 1136.

T.

Tarīn (tribe), 904, 951.
Tīrāhī (tribe), 951.
Turāh (Tīrāh ?), 304.
Turānī (tribe), 725.

U.

Ujāgar (tribe), 955.

Y.

Yūsufkhail (tribe), 957.

Z.

Ẓafarmanī (tribe), 956.

A New Copper-plate Inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena.—*By* Babu Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L.

[Read, June 1899.]

The copper-plate — bearing this Inscription, was discovered in the month of Bhādra 1898, in the village of Anulia, near Ranaghat, in the District of Nadia. It has been edited previously in my journal, the *Aitihāsika Citra*, by Pandit Rajanikanta Cakravartti of Maldah. I now re-edit it from the original plate.

The plate measures $13\frac{1}{4}''$ by $12\frac{1}{2}''$ and bears on both sides a Sanskrit Inscription in 56 lines partly in prose and partly in verse. The writing is of the Bengali variety of the North-East Indian Alphabet of the 12th century and intimately agrees with the characters of the other well-known documents of the Sena Dynasty. The spelling is on the whole very correct, and no remarks as to orthography are called for. The seal, bearing the image of a ten-armed deity, is attached to the top of the plate.

The Inscription opens with the words *Oṁ! Namo Nārāyaṇāya*, and an invocation to Çambhu and the Moon, after which the well-known genealogy of the Sena Kings from Hemanta to Lakṣmaṇasena is recorded in exactly the same words as in the Tarpan Dighi Plate,[1] but with this exception only that instead of verse VIII of the Tarpan Dighi Plate, three other verses are added (ll. 18–24) in praise of the liberality and bravety of Lakṣmaṇasena, which, however, do not mention a single historical fact.

The object of the Inscription is to record a grant made by *Lakṣmaṇasenadeva*, who is styled as *Parameçvara-Paramavaiṣṇava-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* and who is described as meditating over the feet of *Mahārājādhirāja-çrī-Vallālasena*. The grant was made

[1] Edited in *this Journal*, Vol. XLIV, for 1875, Part I, pp. 1–15, with two facsimile Plates. Another copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena has been discovered last year at Madhainagar, near Serajganj, in the Pabna District. It is, however, yet unedited.

by him while he was staying at his camp in *Vikramapura* (ll. 27 ff.), and consisted of a portion of a field in Matharaṇḍiyā (*Mātharaṇḍiyā-khaṇḍa-kṣetra;* l. 38) which is described as lying in *Vyāghrataṭī*, a place or district belonging to the *bhukti* of *Pauṇḍravarddhana* (ll. 37 ff.). This piece of land was given to a Pandit, *Raghudevaçarmman* by name, the son of *Devadāsadevaçarmman* and grandson of *Çaṅkaradevaçarmman*, and great-grandson of *Vipradāsadevaçarmman*, who belonged to the *Kauçika-gotra*, and studied the *Kāṇva-çākhā* of the Yajurveda (ll. 70 ff.).

The grant was made on the 9th day of Bhādra, in the 3rd year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign (l. 56). This date taking the year 1119 A.D., the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era, as the beginning of his reign, corresponds to A.D. 1121-22. The Minister for piece and war, *Nārāyaṇa-datta*, acted as *dūtaka* (ll. 54-55).

Historically we gather no new information from this inscription. I am unable to identify the exact position of the localities mentioned in the grant.

I now edit the Inscription from the original Plate :—

Obverse :

(l. 1,) Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya ॥ Vidyud[1]=yatra maṇi-dyutiḥ phaṇi-
pater=vvā(bbā)lendur=indr-āyudhaṁ vāri
(l. 2,) svargga-taraṇgiṇī sita-çiro-mālā valāk-āvaliḥ | dhyān-
ābhyāsa-samīraṇ-opani-
(l. 3,) hitaḥ çreyo-ṇkur-odbhūtaye bhūyād=vaḥ sa bhav-ārtti-tāpa-
bhiduraḥ Çambhoḥ kapardd-āmvu(mbu)daḥ ॥
(l. 4,) Ānando=mvu(mbu)-nidhau cakora-nikare duḥkhacchid=
ātyantikī kalhāre hata-mohatā Rati-
(l. 5,) patāv=eko=ham=ev=eti dhīḥ | yasy=āmī amṛt-ātmanaḥ
samudayanty=āçu prakāçāj=jagaty=A-
(l. 6,) trer=dhyāna-paramparā-pariṇataṁ jyotis=tav=āstām=mude ॥
Sev[2]-āvanamra-nṛpa-koṭi-kirī-
(l. 7,) ṭa-rocir-amv(mb)-ūllasat-pada-nakha-dyuti-vallarībhiḥ |
tejo-viṣa-jvara-muṣo dviṣatām=a-
(l. 8,) bhūvan bhūmībhujaḥ sphuṭam=ath=auṣadhi-nātha-vaṁçe ॥
Ā[3]-kaumāra-vikasvarair=ddiçi di-
(l. 9,) çi prasyandibhir=ddor-yaçaḥ-prāleyai ripu-rāja-vaktra-
nalina-mlānīḥ samunmīlayan | He-
(l. 10,) MANTAḤ sphuṭam=eva Sena-janana[4]-ksetr-augha-puṇy-āvalī-
çāli-çlāghya-vipāka-pīvara-guṇas=te-

[1] Metre : Çārdūlavikrīḍita ; and of the next verse. [2] Metre : Vasantatilakā.
[3] Metre : Çārdūlavikrīḍita. [4] The second *na* has been inserted later.

(l. 11,) ṣām=abhūd=vaṁçajaḥ ‖ Yadīyair[1]=ady=āpi pracita-bhuja-
(l. 12,) tejas-sahacarair=yaçobhiḥ çobhante paridhi-pariṇaddhā iva diçaḥ | tataḥ kāñcī-līlā-catura-catur-
(l. 13,) ambhodhi-laharī-parīt-orvvī-bharttā=jani VIJAYASENAḤ sa vijayī ‖ Pratyūhaḥ[2] kali-
(l. 14,) sampadām=analaso vedāya naik-ādhvagaḥ saṇgrāmaḥ çrita-jaṇgam-ākṛtir=abhūd=VALLĀLASENAS=tataḥ |
(l. 15,) yaç=cetomayam=eva çaurya-vijayī da[t*]tv=auṣadhaṁ tat-kṣaṇād=akṣīṇā racayāñ=cakāra
(l. 16,) vaçagāḥ svasmin pareṣāṁ çriyaḥ ‖ Sambhukt-ā-nya-dig-aṇganā-gaṇa-guṇ-ābhoga-pralobhād=diçām=īçair=
(l. 17,) aṁça-samarppaṇena ghaṭitas=tat-tat-prabhāva-sphu-ṭaiḥ | dor-uṣma-kṣapit-āri-saṇgara-raso rājanya-dharmm-
(l. 18,) āçrayaḥ çrīmal-LAKṢMAṆASENA-bhūpatir=a-taḥ saujanya-sīmā=jani ‖ Āmnāyaḥ praṇināya yāni munayo
(l. 19,) yāny=asmaran saṁstutāny=ā-cāreṣu ca yāni tāni dadire dānāni dainya-druhā | hrīṇattve
(l. 20,) ca tathā=py=anena niyamaṁ kā-leṣu saṁkhyātatān=deyeṣv=artthinam=antareṇa ca phal-
(l. 21,) āçaṁsā-vidhau çṛṇvatā ‖ Samayam[3]=api sa-muddhataṁ numas=taṁ tad-asi-mah-auṣadham=udva(dba)-
(l. 22,) bhūva yatra | bhavati para-pura-praveça-siddhiḥ kara-vi-dhṛte sakṛd=eva yasya mūle ‖ Yān[4] samva(mba)ndhya
(l. 23,) jagat-trayī-vitaraṇe mittrair=Vva(Bba)lir=vvāritoyaiḥ sa-ṇgamya na Gaṇgayā kṣaṇam=api svarggo=pi saṁsmaryyate |
(l. 24,) tān=uccair=atiçāyi-çāli-vasudhān=ā-rāma-ramy-āntarān=viprebhyo=yam=adatta pattana-gaṇān
(l. 25,) bhūmīpatir=vbhū(bbhū)yasa(ça)ḥ ‖ Sa khalu çrī-VI-KRAMAPURA-samāvāsita-çrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt | Mahārājā-
(l. 26,) dhirāja-çrī-VALLĀLASENA-DEVA-pād-ānudhyāta-Parameçvara-Paramavaiṣṇava-Pa[ra*]-
(l. 27,) mabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-çrīma-l-LAKṢMAṆASENADEVAḤ kuçalī samupagat-āçeṣa-rāja-rājanya-
(l. 28,) ka-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājapu-tra-rājāmātya-purohita-mahādharmmādhyakṣa-mahāsān-dhivigrahika-mahāsenāpati-

Reverse :

(l. 29,) mahāmudrādhikṛta-antaraṇgavṛ(bṛ)haduparika-mahākṣa-paṭalika-mahāpratīhāra-mahā-

[1] Metre: Çikhariṇī. [2] Metre: Çārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next two verses.
[3] Metre: Puṣpitāgrā. [4] Metre: Çārdūlavikrīḍita.

(l. 30,) bhogika-mahāpīlupati-mahāgaṇastha-daussādhika-caurod-
dharaṇika-nau-va (ba)la-ha-
(l. 31,) sty-açva-go-mahiṣ-ājāvik-ādi-vyāpṛtaka-gaulmika-daṇḍapā-
çika-daṇḍanāyaka-viṣa-
(l. 32,) yapaty-ādīn | anyāṁç=ca sakala-rāja-pādopajīvino ऽ dhyakṣa-
pracār-oktān=ih=ākī-
(l. 33,) rttitān | caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātīyān janapadān | kṣetrakarāṁç=ca
vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇottarān yathā-
(l. 34,) rhaṁ mānayati vo(bo)dhayati samādiçati ca | matam=astu
bhavatāṁ | yathā çrī-Pauṇḍravarddhana-bhukty-antaḥ-
(l. 35,) pāti-Vyāghratāṭyām | pūrvve açvattha-vṛkṣaḥ sīmā | dakṣiṇe
jala-pillā sīmā | paçcime Çā-
(l. 36,) ntigopī-çāsanaṁ sīmā | uttare mālāmañca-vāṭī sīmā | itthaṁ
catuḥ-sīm-āvacchinnaṁ vṛṣabha-ça-
(l. 37,) ṅkara-nalina-sakākinīka-sapta-triṁçad-unmān-ādhik-ādh-
āvāp-ānvita-nava-droṇ-ottara-bhū-pāṭa-
(l. 38,) k-aik-ātmakaṁ saṁvatsareṇa kaparddaka-purāṇa-çat-aik-
otpattikaṁ Mātharaṇḍiyā-khaṇḍa-kṣetraṁ sa-jhā-
(l. 39,) ṭa-viṭapaṁ[1] sa-jala-sthalaṁ sa-gartt-oṣaraṁ sa-guvāka-
nārikelaṁ sahya-daç-āparādhaṁ parihṛta-sarvva-
(l. 40,) pīḍaṁ a-caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-praveçaṁ a-kiñcit-pragrāhyaṁ tṛṇa-
yūti-gocara-paryantaṁ Vipradāsadeva-
(l. 41,) çarmmaṇaḥ prapauttrāya Çaṅkaradevaçarmmaṇaḥ pauttrāya
Devadāsadevaçarmmaṇaḥ puttrāya Kau-
(l. 42,) çika-sagotrāya Viçvāmitra-Va(Ba)ndhula-Kauçika-prava-
rāya Yajurvveda-Kāṇva-çākh-ādhyāyi-
(l. 43,) ne Paṇḍita-çrī-Raghudevaçarmmaṇe puṇye ऽ hani vidhivad=
udaka-pūrvvakaṁ Bhagavantaṁ çrīman-Nā-
(l. 44,) rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiçya mātāpitror=ātmanaç=ca puṇya-
yaço ऽ bhivṛddhaye[2] utsṛjya ā-
(l. 45,) candr-ārkkaṁ kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ[3] yāvat bhūmi-cchidra-
nyāyena tāmraçāsanī-kṛtya pradattam=asmā-
(l. 46,) bhiḥ | Tad=bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ev=ānumantavyaṁ | Bhāvi-
bhir=api nṛpatibhir=apaharaṇe nara-
(l. 47,) ka-pāta-bhayāt pālane dharmma-gauravāt pālanīyam |
Bhavanti c=ātra dharmm-ānuçaṁ-
(l. 48,) sinaḥ çlokāḥ | Bhūmiṁ[4] yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yaç=ca bhūmiṁ
prayacchati | ubhau[5] tau puṇya-

[1] This reading has been first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, p. 185, note 1. [2] Read *puṇya-yaço-bhivṛddhaye*, without *avagraha* sign. [3] Read *ā-candr-ārkka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ*. [4] Metre: Anuṣṭubh (Çloka); and of the next two verses. [5] The letter *u* has been added later.

(l. 49,) karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau ॥ Sva-dattāṁ para-
dattām=vā yo hareta va-
(l. 50,) sundharām | sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhis=saha
pacyate ॥ Āsphoṭayanti
(l. 51,) pitaro valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kule jātas=sa nas=
trātā bhavi-
(l. 52,) ṣyati ॥ Iti[1] kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lolāṁ Çriyam=
anucintya manuṣya-jīvitaṁ ca |
(l. 53,) sakalam=idam=udāhṛtaṁ ca vuddhā(buddhvā) na hi
puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayo vilo-
(l. 54,) pyāḥ ॥ Çrīmal[2]-Lakṣmaṇaseno Nārāyaṇadatta-Sāndhivigra-
hikam |
(l. 55,) Raghudevaçāsane ṣkṛta dūtaṁ bhū-maṇḍalī-va(ba)la-
bhit ॥
(l. 56,) Saṁ 3 Bhādra-dine 9 mahāsāṁ ni ॥ çrīni[3] ॥

[1] Metre: Puṣpitāgrā.

[2] Metre: Āryā.

[3] *Mahāsāṁ ni* probably is an abbreviation for *mahāsāṁdhivigrahikena nibaddham.* The last two syllables perhaps are the king's endorsement of the document.

The Manahali Copper-plate Inscription of Madanapāladeva.—
By Babu N. N. Vasu.

[Read, March 1899.]

The subjoined edition of a new inscription of Madanapāladeva has been prepared from a copper-plate kindly presented to this Society in 1899 by Mr. N. K. Bose, C.S., then Magistrate of Dinajpur. The plate on which the inscription is engraved, was discovered in excavating a tank in 1875 within a park of the village of Manahali,[1] in District Dinajpur, Bengal.

The Inscription consists of 53 lines of writing, engraved on the two sides of a single copper-plate, measuring $15\frac{3}{4}''$ by $16''$. At the top of the plate the Seal is soldered on. It shows the usual emblem of the Pāla kings, *viz.*, the Buddhistic wheel of Law with a deer kneeling on each side, facing it. Below this we may still recognize the king's name: *Çrī-Madanapālaḥ*, and on the top of the seal traces of small Stūpa are still visible. The writing belongs to the Bengali variety of the Nāgarī Alphabet of about the 12th century; as compared with the earlier inscriptions of the Pāla Dynasty, it shows a marked development towards more modern forms. Its execution is on the whole done fairly well; in one place, however, it has been impossible to make out exactly the meaning of the letters; unfortunately, this passage contains the name of the village, granted by the king (ll. 32-33). The *avagraha* sign is frequently used in this inscription; final letters are marked by the sign of *virāma*, which, however, seems to have been left out by carelessness in some instances, where in order to avoid unnecessary corrections in the subjoined transcript the letter has been put down as final. In regard to orthography, I desire to draw attention to the spelling *ttajan*, for *tyajan* in l. 14; *prattarthi*, for *pratyarthi* in l. 24; and also *puṇair*, for *puṇyair* in l. 16. Instances of this kind may be taken as originating from a pronunciation of the compound letters *tya* and *ṇya*,

[1] The "Munholee" of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 119, 6 miles south of Deokot; Long. 88° 35′ E.; Lat. 25° 19′ N.

which almost closely resembled the modern Bengali pronunciation of the same. The LANGUAGE is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory benediction (in line 1) and the portion containing the grant (lines 27–49), it is in verse. At the top of the inscription, we find the letter *ni* engraved four times in one line; this appears to be the official endorsement of the document, *ni* probably being an abbreviation of the term *nibaddham* used in similar cases.

The INSCRIPTION divides itself into:—

(*a*) a genealogical portion, in verse, giving the names of 19 princes of the Pāla family of Magadha, 17 of which appear to have been reigning kings (ll. 1–27);

(*b*) the portion containing the grant, in prose (ll. 27–49);

(*c*) the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses; this portion ends with the mention of the name of the person who acted as *dūtaka* and of the engraver; it is in verse throughout (ll. 49–58).

With reference to the GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS as recorded in this Inscriptions, I need merely point out that up to Vigrahapāla III. it almost verbally agrees with the corresponding passage in the Amgachi Plate (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 100). The only notable difference is that the verses beginning with *yaṁ svāminaṁ rāja-guṇair=anūnam* (ll. 13-14), and with *deçe prāci pracura-payasi* (ll. 19–21) have been left out in this Inscription. I may also note that by the reading of this Inscription it is now possible to correct the passage read doubtfully as *viçva-priye* in l. 15 of the Amgachi Plate and in l. 20 of the Dinajpur Plate of Mahīpāla (*this Journal*, Vol. LXI, 1892, Part I, p. 83); the corresponding passage in the present Inscription (l. 13) distinctly reads *netra-priye*, which appears to be the correct reading. From Vigrahapāla III., onwards, we then have the following succesion of kings:—

(1) MAHĪPĀLA II., son of Vigrahapāla III., (l. 18);
(2) ÇŪRAPĀLA, son of Vigrahapāla III., and younger brother of Mahīpāla II., (l. 20);
(3) RĀMAPĀLA, another son of Vigrahapāla III., and brother of Mahīpāla II., and of Çūrapāla (l. 21);
(4) KUMĀRAPĀLA, son of Rāmapāla (l. 23);
(5) GOPĀLA III., son of Kumārapāla (l. 24);
(6) MADANAPĀLA, son of Rāmapāla and Madanadevī (l. 26).

The portion of the inscription giving the pedigree of these six kings, appears to be corrupt in some passages, and is not entirely intelligible to me. As, however, no real historical facts are mentioned in those verses, I trust that I will be excused in refraining myself from giving a translation. I merely wish to point out here, that the names

of the first two kings, Mahīpāla II., and Çūrapāla, have been made known to us for the first time only very recently in a notice on the *Rāmacarita*, a poetical biography of Rāmapāla, discovered by my learned friend, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, and published in the *Proceedings of this Society*, March 1900, p. 70 ff. They are omitted in the pedigree of Pāla kings, occurring in the Kamauli Plates of Vaidyadeva of Prāgjyotiṣa (*Epigr. Indica*, Vol. II, p. 350), from which record we have been already acquainted with the names of their two successors, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla. Of Madanapāla, we possess a short dedicatory inscription, dated in his 19th year, while the name of Gopāla III., his nephew and predecessor on the Pāla throne, is entirely new to us. As to Madanapāla's time, I can only say that I believe him to have lived in the first half of the 12th century A.D.

The grant made by him on the occasion of his queen, the Paṭṭamahādevī Citramatikā, consisted of a village perhaps named Kāṣṭhāgiri, lying in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya, and belonging to the Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti. It was given to a Brahman, Vaṭeçvarasvāmiçarman, son of Çaunakasvāmin, grandson of Prajāpatisvāmin, and great-grandson of Vatsasvāmin, an inhabitant of Campāhiṭṭī, student of the Kautthuma Çākhā of the Sāmaveda, fellow-student of Bhūṣaṇa, and belonging to the Kautsa Gotra and Çāṇḍilya-Asitadevala Pravara (ll. 42–45). The village was given to him as a *dakṣiṇā*, after having read the Mahābhārata for the benefit of the Queen. The passage recording this fact, is of peculiar interest; it reads (l. 45 ff.): *Paṭṭamahādevī-çrī-Citramatikayā Vedavyāsa-prokta-prapāṭhita-Mahābhārata-samutsarjjita-dakṣiṇātvena Bhagavantaṁ Buddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiçya çāsanī-kṛtya pradatto ʃ smābhiḥ.* The order confirming the grant was issued from the royal camp at Rāmāvatī, situated on the banks of the Ganges (l. 30). It was given in the king's 8th year, on the 15th lunar day of Caitra (ll. 49 and 57). The minister of peace and war, Bhīmadeva, acted as *dūtaka* (l. 57). The engraver's name was Tathāgatasara (l. 58). With the exception of the Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti and the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya, the names of the localities mentioned in this inscription are new to us; I am unable to identify any of them.

I now edit the Inscription from the original plate.

The Seal:

(Çrī-Madanapālaḥ.)

The Plate. Obverse:

(l. 1,) Oṁ namo Vu(Bu)ddhāya ‖ Svasti ‖ Maitrīṁ[1] kāruṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ preyasīṁ sandadhānaḥ samyak-

[1] Metre Sragdharā.

samvo(mbo)dhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-jalaḥ(la)-kṣāli-

(l. 2,) t-ājñāna-paṇkaḥ | jitvā yaḥ kāma-kāri-prabhavam=abhibhavaṁ çāçvatāṁ(tīṁ) prāpa çāntī(ntiṁ) sa çrīmān lokanātho jayati Daçava(ba)lo ऽ nyaç=ca Gōpāladeva-

(l. 3,) ḥ ॥ Lakṣmī[1]-janma-niketanaṁ sama karo voḍhu[ṁ*] kṣamaḥ kṣmābharaṁ pakṣa-ccheda-bhayād=upasthitavatām=ekāçrayo bhūbhṛtāṁ | maryādā-paripālan-aika-ni-

(l. 4,) rataḥ çaury-ālayo ऽ smād=abhūt dugdh-āmbhodhi-vilāsahāsa-vasatiḥ çrī-Dharmmapālo nṛpaḥ ॥ Rāmasy=eva gṛhīta-satya-tapasas=tasy=ānurūpo guṇaiḥ

(l. 5,) Saumitrer=udapādi tulya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām=ānujaḥ [ṭ*] yaḥ çrīmān naya-vikram-aika-vasatir=bhrātuḥ sthitaḥ çāsane çūnyāḥ çatru-patākinībhir=a-

(l. 6,) karod=ek-ātpatro[2] diçaḥ ॥ Tasmād[3]=Upendra-caritair=jagatīṁ punānaḥ putro va(ba)bhūva vijayī Jayapāla-nāmā | dharmma-dviṣāṁ çamayitā yudhi Devapāle yaḥ pū-

(l. 7,) rvva-je bhuvana-rājya-sukhāny=anaiṣīt ॥ Çrīmad[4]-Vigrahapālas=tat-sūnur=Ajātaçatrur=iva jātaḥ | çatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilopi-vimal-āsi-jala-dhāraḥ ॥

(l. 8,) Dik-pālaiḥ[5] kṣiti-pālanāya dadhataṁ dehe vibhaktān guṇān çrīmantaṁ janayām=va(ba)bhūva tanayaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ sa tābhūṁ[6] | yaḥ kṣoṇī-patibhiḥ si(çi)romaṇi- rucā=

(l. 9,) çliṣṭ-āṇghri-pīṭh-opalaṁ nyāy-opāttam=alañ-cakāra caritaiḥ svair=eva dharmm-āsanaṁ ॥ Toy-āçayair[7]=jjaladhi-mūlagabhīra-garvbhai(rbbhai)r=dev-ālayaiç=ca kula-bhūdhara-

(l. 10,) tulya-kakṣaiḥ[ḷ*]vikhyāta-kīrti(rtti)r=abhavat=tanayaç=ca tasya çrī-Rājyapāla iti madhyama-loka-pālaḥ ॥ Tasmā-[t*][8]=pūrvva-kṣitidhrān=nidhir=iva mahasāṁ Rāṣṭra-

(l. 11,) kūṭ-ānvay-e[n*]dos=Tuṇgasy=ottuṇga-mauler=duhitari tanayo Bhāgyadevyāṁ prasūtaḥ | çrīmān Gōpāladevaç=cirataram=avaner=eka-patnyā iv=ai-

(l. 12,) ko bharttā=bhūn=n-aika-ratna-dyuti-khacita-catuḥ-sindhu-citr-āṇçu(ṁçu)kāyāḥ ॥ Tasmād[9]=va(ba)bhūva savitur=vvasu-koṭi-vardhī kālena candra iva Vigrahapāla-

(l. 13,) devaḥ | netra-priyeṇa vimalena kalāmayena yen=oditena

[1] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.
[2] Read *ekātapatro.*
[3] Metre Vasantatilakā.
[4] Metre Āryā.
[5] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.
[6] Read *prabhuṁ* with the Amgachi and Dinajpur plates.
[7] Metre Vasantatilakā.
[8] Metre Sragdharā.
[9] Metre Vasantatilakā.

dalito bhuvanasya tāpaḥ ‖ Hata[1]-sakala-vipakṣaḥ saṇgare vā(bā)hu-darpā(d[2]=a)nadhi-

(l. 14,) kṛta-viluptaṁ rājyam=āsādya pitryaṁ | nihita-caraṇa-padmo bhūbhṛtāṁ mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālaḥ çrī-MAHĪPĀLADEVAḤ ‖ Ttajan[3] yo-

(l. 15,) ṣ-āsaṇgaṁ çirasi kṛta-pādaḥ ksitibhṛtāṁ vitanvan sarvv-āçāḥ prasabham=uday-ādrer=iva raviḥ | guṇa-grāmyā[4] snigdha-prakṛtir=anurāg-ai-

(l. 16,) ka-vasatis=tato dhanyaḥ puṇ[y*]air=ajani NAYAPĀLO nara-patiḥ ‖ Pītaḥ[5] saj-jana-locanaiḥ Smara-ripoḥ pūjā-nuraktaḥ sadā saṁgrāme dha-

(l. 17,) valo=dhika-grahakṛtāṁ[6] kālaḥ kule vidviṣāṁ | cāturvvarṇya-samāçrayah sita-yaçaḥ-pūrair=jagal=lambhayan tasmā-d=VIGRAHAPĀLADEVA-nṛ-

(l. 18,) patiḥ puṇyair=jjanānām=abhūt ‖ Tan-[7]nandanaç=candana-vāri-hāri-kīrtti-prabh-ānandita-viçva-gītaḥ | çrīmān=MAHĪPĀLA iti dvitīyo

(l. 19,) dvij-eça-mauliḥ Çiva-vad=va(ba)bhūva ‖ Tasyā[8]=bhūd=anujo Mahendra-mahimā kandaḥ pratāpa-çriyām=ekaḥ sāhasa-sārathir=guṇa-na(ma)yaḥ

(l. 20,) çrī-ÇŪRAPĀLO nṛpaḥ[ı*]yaḥ svacha(ccha)nda-nisargga-vibhrama-bharā[n*] vivbhra(bibbhra)t sarvv-āyudha[9] prāgalbhyena manaḥsu vismaya-bhayaṁ sadyas=tatāna dviṣāṁ ‖ E-

(l. 21,) tasyā=pi sahodaro narapatir=ddivya-prajā-nirvbha(rbbha)ra-kṣobh-āhūta-vidhūta-vāsava-dhṛtiḥ çrī-RĀMAPĀLO ś bhavat | çāsaty=eva

(l. 22,) ciraṁ jaganti janake yaḥ çaiçave visphurat-tejobhiḥ para-cakra-cetasi camat-kāraṁ cakāra sthiraṁ ‖ Tasmād[10]=ajāyata nij-ā-

(l. 23,) yata-vā(bā)hu-vīrya-nispī(ṣpī)ta-pīvara-virodhi-yaçaḥ-payodhiḥ | medasvi-kīrttir=amar-endra-vadhū-kapola-karppūra-pattra-makarī sa KU-

1 Metre Mālinī.
2 The akṣara *da* has been added later; it looks rather like the *avagraha* sign.
3 Metre Çikhariṇī. Read *Tyajan doṣāsaṇgam* with the Amgachi plate.
4 Read *guṇ-āgrāmyaḥ*; the Amgachi plate here reads *hata-dhvāntaḥ*.
5 Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.
6 Read *caturo = dhikaṁ ca Haritaḥ* with the Amgachi plate.
7 Metre Upajāti,
8 Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.
9 Read *sa-sarvv-āyudhān.*
10 Metre Vasantatilakā.

(l. 24,) MĀRAPĀLAḤ ॥ Pratta(tya)rtthi[1]-pramadā-kadamva(mba)-ka-çiraḥ-sindūra-lopa-krama-krīḍā-pāṭala-pāṇir=eṣa susuve GOPĀLAM=ū(u)rvvī-bhujaṁ ।

(l. 25,) dhātrī-pālana-jṛmbhamāṇa-mahimā karpūra-pāṁç-ūtkarair=devaḥ kīrttim=a-yonija[ṁ*]vitanute yaḥ çaiçave krīḍitaṁ ॥ Tad[2]=anu MADANA-

(l. 26,) DEVĪ-nandanaç=candra-gauraiç=carita-bhuvana-garvbha-(rbbha)ḥ prāṁçubhiḥ kīrtti-pūraiḥ । kṣitim=avaramatātas=tasya sapt-āvdhi (bdhi)-dāmnīm=abhṛta MADANAPĀ-

(l. 27,) LO Rāmapāl-ātmajanmā । (॥) Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-pathapravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nauvāṭaka-sampādita-setuva(ba)ndha-nihita-çaila-

(l. 28,) çikhar[i*]ṇī-vibhramān=niratiçaya-ghanāghana-kari-ghaṭāçyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakṣmī-samāravdha(bdha)-santatajalada-samaya-sandehā-

(l. 29,) d=udi(dī)cīn-āneka-narapati-prābhṛtīkṛt-āprameya-hayavāhinī-khara-khur-otkhāta-dhūlī-dhūṣa(sa)rita-dig-antarālāt parameçvara-sevā-

(l. 30,) samāgat-āçeṣa-Jamvu(mbu)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pādabhara-namad-avaneḥ çrī-RĀMĀVATĪ-nagara-parisara-samāvāsita-çrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvā-

(l. 31,) rāt । Parama-saugato Mahārājādhirājaḥ[3] çrī-RĀMAPĀLADEVApād-ānudhyātaḥ Parameçvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭārako Mahārājādhirā-

(l. 32,) jaḥ çrīman-MADANAPĀLADEVAḤ kuçalī ॥ çrī-PAUṆḌRAVARDDHANA-bhuktau KOṬĪVARṢA-viṣaye HALĀVARTTAmaṇḍale [KĀṢṬHĀgiri-saṁviṁçatyāvādhikopetasa-

(l. 33,) kaivadārvvacaṭṭaraṭṭake][4] tṛ[ṁ*]çatikāyāṁ bhūmau samupāgat-āçeṣa-rāja-puruṣān rāja-rājā(ja)nyaka-rājaputra-rājāmatya-mahāsāndhivi-

(l. 34,) grahika-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahāsāmanta-mahāsepā(nā)patimahāpratīhāra-dauḥsādhasādhanika-mahākumārāmātyarājasthānī-

(l. 35,) yoparika-cauroddharaṇika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsi(çi)ka-çaunika-kṣetrapa-prāntapāla-koṭṭapāla-aṇgarakṣa-tad-āyuktaviniyuktaka-

[1] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.

[2] Metre Mālinī.

[3] Read *Mahārājādhirāja-çrī-Rāmapāladeva.*

[4] The reading of this passage remains very doubtful.

Reverse :

(l. 36,) hasty-asv(çv)-oṣṭra-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛtaka-kiçora-vaḍavā-go-mahiṣ-āj-āvik-ādhyakṣa-dūta-preṣaṇika-gamāgamika-ati(bhi)tvaramāṇa-vi-

(l. 37,) ṣayapati-grāmapati-tarika-çaulkika-gaulmika-Gauḍa-Māla-va-Coḍa-Khasa-Hūṇa-kulika-Karṇṇāṭa-Lāṭa-cāṭa-bhaṭa-sevak-ādī-

(l. 38,) n anyām̐ç=c=ākīrttitān rāja-pād-opajīvina[ḥ*]prativāsino vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ottarān mahattam-ottama-kuṭumvīṁ(mbi)-purogama-caṇḍāla-paryantān ya-

(l. 39,) thārha[ṁ*] mānayati vo(bo)dhayati samādisa(ça)ti ca viditam=astu bhavatāṁ ॥ yath=opari-likṣi(khi)to=yaṁ grāmaḥ ॥ sva-sīmā-tṛṇa-pluti-gocara-paryantaḥ ॥

(l. 40,) sa-talaḥ s-oddeçaḥ s-āmra-madhūkaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-gartt-oça(ṣa)raḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ sa-dara-çāpasāraḥ[1] sa-cauroddharaṇikaḥ parihṛta-sarvva-

(l. 41,) pīḍaḥ a-cāṭa-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-prāveçaḥ a-kiñcita-paragrāhyaḥ[2] [samasta*]-bhāga-bhoga-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāya-sametaḥ ratna-traya-rāja-sambhoga-varjjitaḥ

(l. 42,) bhūmi-cchidra-nyāyena ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ mā-tāpitror=ātmanaç=ca puṇya-yaço-bhivṛddhaye [Kautsa]-sagotrāya Çāṇḍi-

(l. 43,) ly-Āçi(si)ta-Devala-pravarāya paṇḍita-çrī-Bhūṣaṇa-savra-(bra)hmacāriṇe Sāmaved-āntarggata-Kautthuma-çākh-ādhyāyine Campāhiṭṭīyāya

(l. 44,) CAMPĀHIṬṬĪ-vāstavyāya VATSAÇVĀ(SVĀ)MI-prapautrāya PRAJĀ-PATIÇVĀ(SVĀ)MI-pautrāya ÇAUNAKAÇVĀ(SVĀ)MI-putrāya paṇḍita-bhaṭṭaputra-çrī-VAṬEÇVARAÇVĀ(SVĀ)-

(l. 45,) MIÇARMMAṆE Paṭṭamahādevī-çrī-CITRAMATIKAYĀ Vedavyāsa-prokta-prapāṭhita-Mahābhārata-samutsarjjita-dakṣiṇā-tvena Bhagava-

(l. 46,) ntaṁ Buddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiçya çāsanī-kṛtya pradatto ऽ smābhiḥ । ato bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ev-ānumantavyaṁ bhāvibhir=api pa(bhū)mipati-

(l. 47,) bhir=bhūmer=ddāna-phala-gauravāt apaharaṇe mahāna-naraka[3]-pāta-bhayāc=ca dānam=idam=anumody-ānu-modya pālanīyaṁ prativāsi-

(l. 48,) bhiç=ca kṣetra-karair=ājñā-çravaṇa-vidheyī-bhūyaḥ(ya) yathā-kālaṁ samucita-bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-opanayaḥ kārya iti ॥

[1] Read *sa-daç-āparādhaḥ.* [2] Read *a-kiñcit-pragrāhyaḥ.* [3] Read *mahānaraka-.*

(l. 49,) Samvat 8 candra-gatyā caitrakarmma-dine 15 [॥*]Bhavanti c=ātra dharmm-ānusa(ça)ṁsinaḥ çlokāḥ॥ Va(Ba)-

(l. 50,) hubhir[1]=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [।*]yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ॥ Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yaç=ca bhūmiṁ prayacchati। ubhau tau puṇya-

(l. 51,) karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau॥ Gām=ekāṁ svarṇṇam=ekañ=ca। bhūmer=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ [।*] haraṁ narakam[2]=āyāti। yāvad=āhūti(ta)-

(l. 52,) saṁplavaṁ॥ Ṣaṣṭiṁ(ṣṭiṁ)varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge tiṣṭhati bhūmidaḥ [।*] ākṣeptā c=ānumantā ca tāny=eva narake vaset॥ Sva-dattāṁ pa-

(l. 53,) ra-dattā vāṁ(dattāṁ vā) yo hareta vasundharāṁ[।*]sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyate॥ Āsphoṭayanti pitaro valgayanti pitāma-

(l. 54,) hāḥ। bhūmido ऽsmada(t)-kule jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhavisya-(ṣya)ti॥ Sarvvān[3]=etān bhāvinaḥ pārthivendrān bhūyo bhūya[ḥ*] prārthayaty=e-

(l. 55,) sa(ṣa) Rāmaḥ [।*] sāmānyo=yaṁ dharmma-setur=narāṇāṁ kāle kāle pālanīyaḥ krameṇa॥ Iti[4] kamala-dal-āmvu-(mbu)-vindu-lolāṁ Çriyam=a-

(l. 56,) nucintya manusya(ṣya)-jīvitaṁ ca[।*]sakalam=idam= udāhṛtañ=ca vu(bu)ddhvā na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ॥ Kṛtaḥ[5] sakala-

(l. 57,) nītijño dhairya-sthairya-mahodadhiḥ[।*]Sāndhivigrahikaḥ çrīmān Bhīmadevo ऽstra dūtakaḥ॥ Rājye Madanapālasya aṣṭame

(l. 58,) parivaccha(tsa)re। tāmrapaṭṭam=imaṁ çilpī Tathāgatasaro ऽkhanat॥

[1] Metre Anuṣṭubh; and of the next five verses.
[2] Read *haran=narakam.*
[3] Metre Çālinī.
[4] Metre Puṣpitāgrā.
[5] Metre Anuṣṭubh; and of the next verse.

On the identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.—*By* W. Hoey, Esq., Litt.D., I.C.S.

(*With an edition of a new copper-plate Inscription of Jayādityadeva* II.—*By* Dr. T. Bloch.)

[Read, May 1899.]

The hitherto accepted identification of some places noticed by Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang must be subjected to a very careful re-examination because the discovery of the Lumbini Garden has shown that Kapilavastu lies in a direction quite different from that indicated by General Cunningham and his assistants of the Archaeological Department, and I think it is incumbent on any one who has doubts and can propose points for discussion which may assist in determining the geographical position of ancient places of interest, to lay his views before this Society. It is purely because I am anxious to reach the truth that I venture upon this communication. My main object at present is to show that Cherand and not Besarh is Vaisali and that Kusinara is Sewan itself or near it, but it is as well to use this opportunity to furnish notes regarding other places.

There is no doubt that the city referred to by Fa Hian as Ki-jou-i and by Hwen Thsang as Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo is Kanauj,[1] and I shall take this as my starting point. Proceeding from this the later pilgrim visited, or seems to have visited, Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo, which has been correctly identified with Newal, an ancient site a little north of Baṅgarmau in the Unao District. I visited this place in 1876-77 and obtained Kuṣaṇa coins and independently arrived at this identification. Fa Hian on leaving Kanauj went in the same direction which Hwen Thsang subsequently took and he reached a forest which he called

[1] In view of the frequent appearance of the name 'Lorik' in connection with Buddhist places and the possible connection of a part of that hero's legendary history with Buddha, I here note that it is remarkable to find his father's name given as Buṛhkubbha, 'the old hunchback.' Has this any connection with 'Kanyākubja'? The Ahirs who sing of Lorik are—Kanaujiā Gwālās. Lorik is clearly the younger (lahura) brother of Sauru, 'the dark one' (Sānvala).

A-li (*var.* Ho-lo, A-lo) and here he found traces of Buddha in the usual form of memorial buildings. He and Hwen Thsang probably visited the same place. Anyhow I have no doubt that Asī-vana is the forest of A-li, and the present pargana of Asiwan probably represents approximately the area of the forest of Fa Hian's time. The people have a local tradition that the town of Asiwan was founded by one Asan, a name which will be seen to be of importance when I recur later on to the route subsequently taken by Hwen Thsang.

On leaving the A-li Forest Fa Hian proceeded to the country of the Sha-chi. He travelled direct, but Hwen Thsang on leaving Newal went to other places before he reached Pi-so-kia, which is, I think, plainly the capital of the Sha-chi. One is tempted to say that the Sha-chi must be the Sāketas (Sansc.), the inhabitants of Sāketa or Ayodhyā, and to restore Pi-so-kia as Vi-sāka (not Viçākha) so as to introduce a common root to connect Sa-chi and Pi-so-kia as Chinese renderings of Sanscrit names. The temptation is all the stronger because at the S.E. of Ramkot, the ancient citadel of Ayodhyā, we have the mani parbat [1] (Orajhār), which might be thought to be a stūpa, and beside it there are numerous 'chilbil' (Sansc. *civillika*) trees. The twigs of the chilbil are largely used to serve the purpose of tooth brushes. All this bears a plausible resemblance to what both pilgrims record as to the place which they visited but doubt still remains. I have been unable to find any trace of Deva-çarman at Ayodhyā, but I do find that the hermitage of this sage is still pointed out near the Varaha sangam, the junction of the Sarju and Gogra rivers near Pasha, in the Gonda District, where there is still a shrine to which Hindu pilgrims resort. They attach sanctity to this locality because of the image of the Boar here placed which is said to mark the scene of the Varāha Avatāra. I believe that Pasha will be found to be Pi-so-kia, the capital of the kingdom or country of the Sha-chi.

Proceeding from this both pilgrims went on to Çrāvastī, which may be held to be Set-mahet until something tangible be shown to upset the identification. It is true that Kapilavastu is said to have lain S.E. from Çrāvastī or rather the pilgrims went S.E. from that city to visit places on their way to Kapilavastu, whereas the direction of the *supposed* site of Kaṇakamuni's stupa is slightly N. of E. from Set-mahet, but we find so many instances in which directions given by the pilgrims do not tally with directions shown on modern maps, prepared on the basis of careful surveys with modern instruments that we must not argue too strenuously on the directions loosely recorded and often

[1] This spot, however, may really preserve the name of Maṇi-cūḍa, one of the prehistoric kings of Ayodhyā.

palpably misstated by the Chinese pilgrims, who travelled over a country where impenetrable forest and dense jungle rendered an accurate estimate of direction impossible, and where even the distances stated cannot accurately correspond to those taken out by straight lines run across the maps of to-day. Routes were devious 1,250 years ago. A chinese pilgrim may have left a city A by the S.E. gate and travelled for a time S.E. and then have turned in the tortuous mazes of a jungle northward and traversed what he called 12 yojanas before reaching another city B. He would have recorded: 'Proceeding from this place A to the S.E., after travelling 12 yojanas, we reach B.' To-day it may be that there is a direct road and we should say, 'Leaving A and going E. along a metalled road for 60 miles we reach B.' I note this here simply to show that we have need to be very cautious in treating the directions and distances stated by the Chinese pilgrims as fixed data in themselves sufficient to enable us to determine locations. The descriptions of places and the names and objects which are said to have existed in their days are much safer data for identification.

From Çrāvastī the pilgrims proceeded to Kapilavastu. Of this centre of intense interest I need now say nothing. Government has undertaken inquiries and I trust that the present examination of sites north of Basti will lead to satisfactory identifications. Meanwhile I have only to say that I recently obtained a copper-plate inscription which will enable the Society to test the accuracy or probable correctness of the results reported. An edition of this plate will be found in an Appendix to this paper. It will suffice here to note the recorded facts. The document is a deed of gift by King Jayāditya of certain land to a Kāyastha named Keçava. The area of the grant seems to have been considerable. It consisted of the town land Kumāraṣaṇḍikā including the hamlets of Patraṣaṇḍā, Çaṇkuṣaṇḍā, Gāddhī, and Deulī, situated in the Leḍḍikā subdivision of the Daddaraṇḍikā district. The boundaries are given: on the east the Rohiṇīnadī; on the south the tilaka tree (? forest); on the north the kumbhī tree (? forest) and on the west the Hastilaṇḍākhya khāta *i.e.*, the Ditch or moat known as that where the elephant was thrown. The date of this inscription is Samvat 921, or 864-5 A.D. Thus we have the name of the moat where Buddha cast away the elephant still preserved about two centuries and a quarter after Hwen Thsang's visit. The great captain, as he is described in the text, who brought the orders for the gift was Grahakuṇḍa, a name perhaps of importance with reference to the Grah Kuṇḍ near Tirbeni. There is no other proper name which at present strikes me as relevant.

We do not hear of a ditch where an elephant was thrown anywhere save in connection with Kapilavastu, but unfortunately I cannot yet

trace the villages or territorial divisions named in the plate, but inasmuch as they contained mines of salt and iron the tract referred to must be near the hills. Is it not possible that Saina Maina (Çāyana Māyana: the dream couch), 5 miles S.W. of Butwal may be Kapilavastu? I think it may be near it at any rate, unless there were more than one sculptured or painted representations of the dream of Māyā which gave to places their names.

I omit for the present the places between the Lumbini Garden and Vaisali but shall return again to discuss them also.

I have long entertained grave doubts as to the identity of Besarh and Vaisali. When Buddha left his home he visited Vaisali and he also consulted the teachers mentioned as Arāḍa Kalāma and Uruvilva Kāçyapa before he reached Gaya. The Kāçyapa here alluded to seems to have resided at the place known as Urwal on the East bank of the Son river, and as Uruvilva Kāçyapa is Kāçyapa of Uruvilva we may conceive Arāḍa Kalāma to be Kalāma of Arāḍa and Arāḍa to be the modern Arrah. In that case, any one will see that Buddha would have been guilty of making a foolish out-of-the-way detour if he went across the Great Gandak to Besarh before going to Arrah, Urwal and Gaya. If, when he fled from his home, he went down country *viâ* Kasia and the Saran district, crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Arrah, then crossed the Son and took Urwal on his way to Gaya, we have a probable route and there is no ground for supposing that he did not take as direct a course as reasonable. These considerations led me to believe that Vaisali must be found in the Saran district, west of the Great Gandak and north of the Ganges.

When Rāma was proceeding from Ayodhyā to Mithilā with Viçvāmitra, he passed through certain places until they reached the banks of the Son, but this river they did not cross. They crossed the Ganges and when they had landed on the other side they beheld the city named Viçāla, where they were entertained by the king Sumati. Viçvāmitra narrated the legendary history of the kingdom over which this king reigned. I need not quote it here, but I refer the curious to the XLV and following sections of the Bālakāṇḍa of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. There is much that is suggestive in connection with the stories told by Hwen Thsang and I think that the reference by Vālmīki to Çakra justifies the suggestion that Saran may possibly be Çakra + araṇya the forest of Çakra or Indra.

We know that when Buddha left Magadha for the last time he went towards Vaisali. The gate by which he left Pataliputra was afterwards called the Gotama gate and the place where he crossed the Ganges was called thereafter the Gotama Ferry. The Gotama Ghat is

still known east of Revilganj. We also have the story of Ānanda's leaving Pataliputra for Vaisali and we read that when he reached the Ganges he discovered that the people of Vaisali had come out to meet him in the hope of obtaining his body as they knew he was about to die and they wished to do it honour: but he was pursued by Ajātaçatru's army which had been sent with the same object. He therefore surrendered himself to death (entered samādhi) on an island in the river and his body parted in two so that the rival claimants obtained equal parts. This story is preserved for us in the name Cherand, which is simply Chidra + aŋga: the divided body.

It is very remarkable that there is a local tradition at Cherand based on this story. It is this. There was a king at Cherand named Moraddhuj (Mayūradhvaja) in the Dwāpara Yuga who professed great devotion to the gods. Krishna determined to put the king's faith to a test and came one day to his palace disguised as a mendicant and asked for the right half of the king's body for some sacrificial purpose. He explained to the king that his wife and son must each hold one end of a saw (ārā) and saw him in two, but if he shed tears the gift would not be acceptable. The king agreed and the operation commenced but presently he began to shed tears from his left eye. The mendicant reminded the king that the professed gift was liable to rejection but the latter explained that the left eye wept because the right half of the body was alone being taken and the other left. Krishna was so pleased with this devotion that he exercised his divine power, stopped the operation, restored the body to its former state and flung the saw away. It fell at Arrah in the Shahabad district, giving its name to that place. This story is certainly the same in origin as that told of Ānanda. It is a Hindu version of facts underlying the Buddhist story.

The conclusion to which I come is that Vaisali did not lie on the east but on the west of the present Great Gandak. I shall presently fix it beyond doubt east of Chupra probably at Cherand itself. The whole of the northern bank of the Ganges from Hajipur right up to Manjhi (Mangchi in the Āīn-i-Akbari) would repay careful and minute examination.

I may here digress for a moment to make some notes as to Saran Khass which I at first erroneously surmised to be Vaisali and visited for that reason. Saran Khass lies about 16 miles due north of Manjhi, and contains extensive ancient remains covered for the most part by cultivated fields. There is an abrupt rise at Makhdum Shah's Dargah, a little south of Harpur, which continues for a couple of miles south until it terminates somewhat more abruptly beyond Khwajah Pir's

Mazar. On the east of this elevated site runs a stream known locally by two names, Gandaki and Sarayu. This is well defined and may have been a channel made in ancient days for water supply. West of this and parallel to it the high ground extends for an average width of not less than half a mile. As I passed from the northern end I observed undulations with occasional very prominent heights and noticed that cultivators have taken out numerous bricks while ploughing. On approaching the southern end I observed a pile near a mound on which are the remains of a brick building. I learned that this pile is the Ganj-i-Shahīdān or Martyr's Heap near the traditional Raja's kot. This indicates a desperate assault at some time on a Hindu stronghold. Further on I came to Khwajah Pir's Mazar and found two tombs in an open enclosure. In one corner there was a large black stone about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long on which I observed Hindu sculptures of the *Navagraha* or nine planets. On the back of the slab there was a long inscription in Tughra character of which I had not then the means of taking a rubbing. It is much worn and could not be read at sight. It is probably historically important.

A few miles west by north of Saran khass is a village called Bhikaband on the map. I visited this spot also and find that there is here a large banian tree which is said to cover about ten acres. In the ground near there are brick remains and an old well lately reopened. Somewhat S. E. of this is an old temple and the attendant Brahmans wrote the name for me: *Bhīkaban*, which is clearly the 'Bhikshu's Grove.' About a mile west of this are two villages bearing the name Kapia, which suggests the story of the service rendered to Buddha by the monkey (*kapi*) as mentioned by the later Chinese traveller.

I shall now proceed to resume my discussion as regards Vaisali itself. There are some suggestions based on a study of the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta which I must note. When Buddha had crossed the Ganges for the last time on his way to Vaisali he first visited Koṭigāma and then Nāḍika, after which he arrived at the great city. There he was entertained by the courtesan, Ambapali, at her mango grove outside the city. From Vaisali Buddha went on to Veluva where he was seized with the illness which eventually terminated his life. This is probably the modern Belwa, N.E. of Cherand. Near it we meet with such remarkable names as Sārnāth Chak and Dharma Chak. Buddha then seems to have turned again towards Vaisali for he went to the Cāpāla Caitya, which the text would lead us to believe to have been near the city, if not in it. This name is probably either from *Capalā* or *cāpalā* (Sansc.), a loose woman, and thus alludes to the concubine

spoken of by the pilgrims; or from *cāpa* + *ālaya* (Sansc.), the 'bow-place,' where the bow was deposited. Anyhow there can be no mistake as to the mound lying to the east of the town of Chupra, called Telpa. This is undoubtedly the sanscrit *talpa* 'a tower,' and is that built for the mother of the thousand sons and the site of Vaisali is therefore fixed. It is the modern Cherand and was spread along the bank of the Ganges east and west of the present town.

The five rivers to the junction of which the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian proceeded was the mouth of the Son. The five rivers are the Jumna, Ganges, Rapti, Sarayu or Gogra, and the Son. Fa Hian crossed at Paleza-Digha Ghat, and had only to go one yojana to reach Pataliputra (Patna). The distance from Cherand to Paleza Ghat is $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This was four yojanas and gives a trifle over $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the yojana. According to Hwen Thsang the yojana consisted of 4000 bow lengths, each 6 cubits, This means 8000 yards which give us 4·54 miles to the yojana.

We learn from Rockhill's Life of the Buddha based on Tibetan authorities that Buddha on finally leaving Vaisali visited a place called Amra, which may be Amnaur (Amranagara), Jambugāma, Bhaṇḍagāma, Hastigāma, which may be the present Hathwa, and Bhoganagara. After this he reached Pāva.

I now come to speak of a place of which I have some personal knowledge. There is a village known as Papaur or Pappaur (Pāva + pura or Pāpa + pura) about three miles east of Sewan. I visited it some years ago. Near the present homestead there are the remains of a more ancient habitation from which I obtained some copper Indo-Bactrian coins. It represents a place of great antiquity and must be the Pāva where the goldsmith Cunda lived. When Buddha came thus far he went with his followers to the goldsmith's grove and while there he accepted an invitation to dine with the goldsmith to whose house he went. There he was served with the *sūkara*[1] which aggravated the symptoms developed at Veluva and gave his illness a fatal turn. This led him to resolve to push on to Kusinara and he set out with Ānanda in that direction. He was then at least 80 years old and suffering from dysentery. He could not have travelled far and we observe that the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta represents him as halting under a tree at least once and reaching a river with difficulty. The salient points in connection with his last brief journey are that he left Pāva, halted under a tree, moved on again to a stream called Kakuttha and having crossed

[1] This is not boar's flesh, but *Sūkara-kanda* 'hog's root,' a bulbous root found chiefly in mounds and jungles, which I have seen Hindus eat with avidity. It is a *phalahar*, permissible to eat on fast days.

a river bearing a name suggestive of gold, he reached the people's park near Kusinara and lay down under some sal trees. Possibly he had not come to Kusinara because he sent Ananda to bring the Mallas to him. After his death there was an imposing ceremony to do honour to his remains. He was laid out on a golden bier and is said to have been kept for seven days: and it is said that he showed his feet from out his winding sheet and he even raised himself and spoke. There was difficulty in moving his remains until Kāçyapa came. Thus the spot where his bier rested was one that must have borne a name associated with it. That name is Sewan, the Sanscrit *çavayāna:* a litter or bier. There is something in names. It is remarkable that we have a particular tree of great age at a mound near Sewan Railway Station. This is known as Jagattra, the Protector or Deliverer of the world. One would expect Hindus to venerate this spot but they do not. They consider it ill-omened. The late Raja of Hathwa desired to enclose all this spot, but the Pandits told him that the act would bring him bad luck. He enclosed a large patch but left the tree outside the walls. He died soon after. This Jagattra is looked upon as the oldest place about Sewan, and its name and associations are significant. There is also a very high mound not far off which has not been explored. I can have no doubt that Kusinara lies somewhere close to Sewan if it be not Sewan itself.

The indefatigable Major Waddell has in the third number of the Journal of this Society for 1896, published an abstract of a Tibetan Guide Book to Buddhist sites in India. It is unfortunately a brief and vague *vade mecum* for the traveller and is absolutely unreliable in some of the directions which it gives, but it tells us that the Bāla grove where Buddha died is in the N.W. of the Kamalla or Bāliya des, 'the powerful country.' I find that the tract of country eastward from the Daha river near Sewan and stretching north of the Manjhi and Cherand tappas or parganas is called Ball. Sewan is in the N.W. of the Ball country. This is probably the country of the 'powerful' people (*bala*) and is possibly the same as *malla* (powerful, athletic). When Buddha left Vaisali and visited various places before reaching Pāva the places are said to have been villages of the Licchavis and the Mallas.

Hwen Thsang tells us two Jātaka stories in connection with the country of Kusinara. The one is that of the pheasant which tried to extinguish a forest fire by dipping in water, flying aloft, and shaking its wings that the water might fall on the fire: but the bird's efforts were unavailing and at last Çakra (Indra) put out the fire. This is not a misplaced story in Sewan, the Çakra-araṇya. The second story is that of the deer which, when the forest was burning, helped animals across the river and last of all saved a helpless hare, and itself perished. Now,

both stories mention a conflagration and a river. There is one word in Sanscrit which expresses both conflagration and cremation. It is '*daha*.' The river so named is the river of 'conflagration' and also the Çava-daha, the cremation river of the Malla or Balla people.

The Daha takes its rise N.E. of Gopalganj and in its course forms the sheet of water known as Sasa Mansa (*Çaça-mokṣita* 'the rescued hare') and then flows southward to Andur. Near this (at Faridpur) it is joined by the Sondi River and thence its course is S.E. until it falls into the Gogra east of Manjhi. The Sondi is said to be an offshoot of another stream called Narayani but I cannot find this on the maps. It comes down past Manjha Mutkar and Manjha Mallaon. I have said that we must find the word for gold entering into the composition of a river near Kusinara. It is given in the Chinese as Hi-lian and Shi-lai-na-fa-ti. The latter is obviously Suvarṇavatī, which, anyone accustomed to note mutations from Sanscrit to Hindi will see, becomes Soṇa-vatī, or Soṇa-nadī, or Sondi or Sundi.

I have not been able to visit any places near Sewan except Pappaur, but a gentleman who has taken considerable trouble to help me in my researches tells me that there is a very extensive ancient mound covered with trees, locally called a fort of the Cheroos, between Luhsi and Kulinjura about 3 miles N. W. of Sewan. There are also remains of great age on the west bank of the Daha in Gosopali opposite Salannapur. This name suggests *Sāla-vana-pura*, the city of the Sāla forest. The mention of the Sāla here in any form is interesting. These places should be examined.

There are also considerable remains and a large basalt image further down the Daha at Hasanpur which should be looked to. From this place I received an inscription on a brass plate not yet deciphered.

South-east of Kusinara and west of Vaisali lay the place where Buddha parted from the Licchavis. This is probably Manjhi, the Māngchi of the Āin-i-Akbarī. It is the 'Māng' or 'Mānjha', the middle line, the parting, and lies on the west of the Daha or Sundi where it joins the Ganges. The Sundi or Daha river was probably the western boundary of the Vaisali kingdom, a narrow tract lying along the bank of the Ganges.

I now return to the Lumbini Garden and ask what were the points visited by the Chinese pilgrims between that place and Kusinara. It is not yet settled what the Rāmagāma Kingdom was or where the town called after Rāma lay. I may mention that the very old town of Kanapar near Dham is also called Ramnagar, but that is not necessarily significant. I can, however, with knowledge point to a very ancient mound called Ghagharra between Pipraich and Captainganj, which

should be examined as a possible Stūpa *cum* Vihāra site. After the Rāmagāma stūpa, the pilgrims visited the place where Buddha performed the three great acts of renunciation, where (1) he sent back his horse, (2) he took off his crest-jewel and cut his hair, and (3) he put on the *kaṣāya* robe of the ascetic. We know from the Lalita Vistara and the Romantic Legend that the memorial stūpas erected to mark the place where these three acts were performed were close together. We also know that on his flight from home the Prince came to the country of the Mainas. Kasia lies on the Mainpur tappa, and I believe that the Prince crossed the Chota Gandak in the morning after he left home, and that a black stone image still lying under a tree opposite Hetimpur is a remnant of some memorial there placed to mark the spot where he crossed. The Prince then entered the country of the Mainas, as I have shown above, and the remains at Māta Kunwar, at Ramabhar, and inside the cane-brake in Kasia town, are what we have left of the memorial buildings placed to commemorate the Great Renunciation. Kasia is the place where the Prince received the *kaṣāya* garment or robe of the mendicant.

The Charcoal stūpa has yet to be found but I am in hopes that it will be identifiable in the mound of Agarwa, N. E. of Taria Sujan which I have not yet seen. The name itself being obviously derivable from *aṅgārika*, charcoal or embers, is promising.

Having located Vaisali at Cherand, I may ask: 'What then is Besarh?' Fortunately that is easily explained. When Hwen Thsang speaks of the country Fo-li-shi, north east of Vaisali, he means Pa-lā-sa or Parāsa,[1] the country of the dāk tree, a name which was given to at least the trans-Ganges part of Magadha. He tells us an exaggerated story about a monster fish in this country and a stūpa commemorating the conversion of 500 fishermen by Buddha. Besarh is the Sanskrit word *vasāḍhya*, the Gangetic porpoise, and the remains at Besarh are those of the town or city of the Monster Fish.

The mere fact that an Asoka pillar may be found somewhere near Besarh does not make it Vaisali: nor are we entitled to say that Cherand is not Vaisali, because an Asoka pillar has not yet come to sight there. It would be interesting to know why Asoka placed his pillars in many places which he selected. I would suggest that he selected Kesaria and Araraj as pillar sites because they probably represent the places where Buddha was believed to have been in former lives respectively a *Kesarī* or lion and the *Arindama Rājā*.

Let me now return to Kanauj and take up Hwen Thsang's route. I assume that he visited Newal and we have to look for 'O-yu-t'o and

[1] The country of the *ποδσιοι* mentioned by Megasthenes.

'O-ye-mu-khi. The first thing to observe is that the Life of Hwen Thsang shows that he travelled by boat on the Ganges. He must have used a boat to cross from Kanauj on his way to Newal. He was certainly on a boat when attacked by the river-dacoits while on his way from 'O-yu-t'o to 'O-ye-mu-khi. No place that he mentions between Newal and Prayāga can have been very far from the Ganges. The Life differs from the Travels in important details. If we read the latter alone it would seem that Hwen Thsang speaks as if he was reckoning from Newal to 'O-yu-t'o, while the Life represents as a starting point the Bhadra Vihāra where the pilgrims had stayed for three months at Kanauj. These apparently trivial variations are important, because they affect the position of 'O-yu-t'o with reference to the Ganges. Anyhow the distances are 600 li to 'O-yu-t'o, 300 li to 'O-ye-mu-khi and thence 700 to Allahabad. The direction of the intermediate length is described as East. The general direction of the Ganges between Kanauj and Allahabad is S. E. There is a stretch of the river roughly W. to E. between Baksar Ghat and Dalman. The last named place is the spot where Dālabhya Ṛṣi spent his life and west of it a few miles is Chilanla, a name which recalls the Shi-lo-ta-lo of the pilgrim. This is the traditional abode of the Ṛṣi Cyavana, restored to youth by the Açvins. A little farther west is Gagason, venerated by Hindus as the *āçrama* of Garga, a muni who left a host of descendants; and close to this again is Sinhaur, another place of great antiquity. Taking the Singhar Tāra crossing near Sinhaur crossing and crossing south of the river we reach Tāra Bhitaura or Bhati-ura, supposed to be a dwelling place of descendants of Bhṛgu, and proceeding a few miles east we reach Asni, opposite Gagason. At Asni is the shrine[1] of the Açvins, the twin sons of Sūrya (the sun) who are represented by two brass images with their hair coiled over their heads. The myth runs that these deities were born from the nostrils of a mare. May not 'O-ye-mu-khi be *Açvā-mukha*, 'the mare's Head,' and this cluster of sacred places be the kingdom referred to by the pilgrim. The story of the Rishi at Chilanla restored to youth by the Açvins may be another form of the narrative of the conversion of Buddha Simha and of the three pious Buddhists who made the bargain about reappearing after death. Anyhow these places are connected and mark what may have been regarded by Hwen Thsang as a kingdom with its capital on the northern bank of the Ganges, that on which the majority of the shrines lies.

[1] A modern shrine built by the late Maharajah of Benares, but the place was known as Asni long before. It may be that Āsanga and his brother were remembered here as "The pair of brothers."

I have when writing about Asiwan referred to the significance of the name Asan as the founder of that place. Might not this name be the Āsanga of the Chinese Traveller? We meet with a similar eponym in connection with Asoha, the chief town of Asoha pargana in Unao district, where the people call the founder Asa Rikh. There are some remains at this place where Bactrian Coins have been found: and these remains may be Buddhist, but it would be rash to say as yet that Asoha is 'O-yu-t'o.

I need not say anything as regards Prayāga which can be no other spot than Allahabad. From this undoubtedly fixed point Hwen Thsang went to Kosambī which has been identified with Kosam *cum* Pabhosa on the northern bank of the Jumna. My learned friend Mr. Vincent Smith, has lately written disputing the correctness of this identification and I must admit that my faith was at first shaken by his arguments. I have a great respect for his acumen but I venture to say that, after considering all that he has written, I cannot but hold to the original identification. Mr. Smith has not himself visited Kosam.

As Hwen Thsang travelled by boat on the Ganges it is highly probable he moved by boat along the Jumna. In that case his first direction would have been S.W. and on his left at any rate we would have had forest as one can see who has traversed the Barah Tahsil of Allahabad District and the adjoining parts of Bandah District. The journey by river would be long and tedious enough to account for the great distance recorded, 500 li. When the traveller left Kōsambī and went north he passed through a dense forest. This may possibly be the present Atharban pargana. As we have the Antar-ved for the Ganges-Jumna Doab, the name may really be correctly *Antar-vana*. This point is worth examination. At any rate *vana* (forest) is beyond doubt.

In Rockhill's "Life of the Buddha" (page 74), where the account of the conversion of the king of Kosambī [1] is given, we are told that at that time the king of Vatsala had assembled his army with the intention of conquering the city of Kanakavatī. West of Kosam about 16 miles on the southern bank of the Jumna where it is joined by that Paisuni river, there are extensive ruins known as Kankotah or Kanak Kot. I have seen them. I excavated a part some years ago and found inscribed stone lintels. This is, I believe, the Kanakavatī referred to, and the position of the two capitals recalls the similar location of Pataliputra and Vaisali.

[1] I see no reason to suppose that the Vatsa country is not the Kingdom of Kosambī.

There has not been much reliable result obtained yet by attempts to identify the places between Benares and Pataliputra. We have to find the kingdom of Chen-Chu, 'lord of battles.' General Cunningham's endeavour to make Ghazipur the equivalent of Chen-Chu is strained and unfortunately, I fear, does not rest on any solid fact. The form locally given of the ancient name is not, I understand, Garjapur but Gadhipur. The General might as well have said that 'Ghāzī' is equivalent to 'lord of battles.' The name of the kingdom or, may it not be, of its ruler, is *translated* into Chinese as Chen-Chu. Its capital was on the banks of the Ganges. This is, unfortunately, not a certain key to the place in modern times. A careful examination of local traditions in connection with existing ruins and names may lead to identifications.

I may illustrate the value of tradition by quoting a very curious history handed down of a kingdom which may be that referred to by the Traveller. There was a king somewhere who had a daughter called Kanchavi for whom he could not get a husband. His pandits told him that it was written in her destiny that she should marry a man of low caste. He asked who this might be and they said he was a certain servant in the king's retinue who was a Piçvān. A Piçvān is explained in the story as being a Cheru and the Cherus are said to be represented now by the Dusadhs. The king resolved to send this servant to the end of the earth. He therefore wrote a letter and calling him up told him that Rāmacandra had been born and that he must take this letter, an invitation to Kanchavi's wedding and find Rāmacandra and hand him the letter. He warned him further that, if he returned without delivering the letter, he would be sawn in two. The servant set out and endured great privations and hardships, wandering here and there from place to place, until he met a venerable man in a jungle, who was in reality Rāmacandra and who asked him who he was and where he was going. The king's messenger then told him all about his mission and the letter which he carried. Rāmacandra informed him that he was a *cela* or follower of the person sought and he would accept the letter for him. The messenger delivered the invitation which Rāmacandra read and said: 'Go back, I have accepted the invitation. It is you who will marry the girl.' The Piçvān now turned homeward and as he was passing through the Waina forest he heard a voice calling out: 'Who are you?' but he could see no one. He heard the question repeated again and again and at length replied: "Who are you that I hear calling while I see no one?" The answer came: "I am a tree that bears no fruit and I am sad because other trees have fruit while I

yield none. If you know any remedy for this, tell me." The messenger though a Dusadh had been a king in a former birth but because of his misconduct he had been reborn as a Dusadh, and all his wealth and greatness and evil deeds lay buried at the root of this tree, and prevented the tree fulfilling its purpose as a fruit-bearer. Now, by his interview with Rāmacandra, he had obtained illumination and was enabled to see his former life, and he at once knew that it was under this tree that his wealth lay buried: so he told the tree to lean over that he might take out what lay at its root. This the tree did and the man took out his former wealth and recovered his greatness. He became a Raja once more, employed a number of men and built a palace on the spot. He enlisted an army and marched to marry the princess Kanchavi. He encamped in her father's country. The king thinking of his daughter's unmarried state came out and asked him to marry her but, not desiring to seem anxious, he refused, saying that he did not intend to marry for he preferred to spend his days in visiting places of pilgrimage. When the king pressed him he married Kanchavi, who subsequently recognised him by certain marks which he bore. When he returned to his country he built four forts and his descendants were kings for four hundred years. The four forts lie in the Ballia District: the first Waina is in the Wainaban where he had found his wealth under the tree; the second is Kopachit; the third is Sikandarpur;[1] and the fourth was where Husenabad now is in the Banodih Tahsil.

At first sight this seems a very silly tale but the key to its value lies in the word 'Piçvān,' which is from the Sanscrit Piç 'yellow.' There is no caste or race in India called Piçvān but the word refers obviously to a yellow Race. This is the Mongolian or Chinese people. Hwen Thsang tells us of the men from Tu-ko-lo beyond the snowy mountains (obviously yellow people) who came and wandered in India friendless and inhospitably treated, till they met a king who built for them the monastery of the 'unpierced ears.' It was an ornamented building of small dimensions near a lake. The modern Waina in Ballia has ancient remains and it lies to the south of the broad expanse of water known as the Suraha Tal. A few miles S. E. is Ballia itself, the Bhṛgvāçrama, the Kapileçvara and the Dharmāraṇya; and until the last floods washed it away here too on the Ganges bank, I am told, was a temple of the Sun-God, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. The general conclusion is that the monastery of the unpierced ears will be found at

[1] There are extensive ruins at Sikandarpur and close by we meet with Rahilapāli, which reminds us of Rāhula and the old Brahman. This place with reference to Sewan as Kusinara fits in with the place visited by Hwen Thsang on his way to Benares.

Waina[1] or in its neighbourhood, and that it was at Ballia that Hwen Thsang crossed the Ganges to go to Mo-ha-so-lo (Masār).

I regret the length of this communication but I have been anxious for sometime past to contribute what I could to the researches now in progress. I have endeavoured to avoid all appearance of dogmatic assertions and remembered that it is extremely unsafe to argue about places which I have not seen or which others have not fully explored. If I can by suggestions, however crude, assist others in research, I am satisfied.

APPENDIX.

An edition of a new copper-plate inscription of Jayādityadeva II.—*By* Dr. T. Bloch.

This Inscription, which is edited here for the first time, has been referred to in the preceding paper on page 76. Regarding its find-place, etc., Dr. Hoey makes the following remarks :—

"I have found it very difficult to trace out the place where this copper-plate, which the son of the Raja of Bansi made over to me, was originally found. It came into the possession of the Bansi family through Durbali Ram Tewari, a Pandit employed to look after a Sanscrit library which the Bansi Rajas have kept up. A very old man named Gauri Charan Lal of Kubabar tells me that a Brahman of Gurmha brought in this copper-plate two years after the mutiny and asked to have it read. So he sent it on through his brother, then employed at Bansi, to the Pandit. The mode of discovery was this. Some men were employed to dig kunkar at the North-East corner of the large sheet of water covering over 30 acres at the village Gurmha. It is a long strip of water extending within Rakhnakhor and Pachgawan. The kunkar was to be supplied for some purpose by two Dakhani Brahmans, who had taken a contract. The labourers, in the course of excavation, found two pots, one containing silver coins, the other gold coins and this Copper-plate. Of course the coins have long since disappeared. I have not been able to visit this place, but I shall now furnish some notes regarding it, and other places of interest, in the same Tappa *Pachgawan*, which lies North of Gorakhpur City. These notes are reliable, because they have been recorded by an English-speaking, well-educated native Magistrate, who is a graduate, and has, in his enquiries, acted under my instructions and provided me with photographs.

Gurhma is not a large village, but the lake is remarkable for a very massive high mound of bricks at the East side, on top of which rises a

[1] Wainaban is clearly the Vinayaka-vana, the forest of discipline (Vinaya), a parallel to the dharmāraṇya of the Hindus and Buddhists.

huge pipal tree Some sculptured remains have been found here, and taken to the monastic cell of a goshain who lives North of the lake. *Pachgawan*, which is south-west of the lake, is a very old place, from which people have recovered grindstones of antique pattern. I think there must be something of importance in the word Gurmha, because the name Gurmhi occurs as that of the small tappa in which Sohgaura, and Tikar, where I recovered the Indo-Pali Copper-plate, are situated.

Bharuhia lies west of Tighra near Peppeganj railway station. Here there is a very ancient temple which has been restored, or repaired, and in one wall of it there is a stone containing a Sanscrit inscription. The temple is called Pitesar Nath. The proper form of the name occurs in the inscription. There was another ancient building in ruins east of Bharuhia called Nakta Dei, which some Tharus overturned about 60 years ago, when they came in a body and searched for treasure.

There are other places which might repay examination, for instance Gāngpār and Khātapār near Bharuhia and Tighra. West of this there is a series of almost continuous village sites: Rāmghat, Pallia, Pachwāra, Dihwa and Ramwapur, in each of which there are ruins. They seem to be a connected block, as though they were the site of one continuous city.

In order, if possible, to discover what was the *Vijayapura* referred to in the copper-plate, I made enquiries as to old sites in this neighbourhood, and I came to find that there are round about Gorakhpur the following remains of ancient fortified posts, which it may be as well to record. (1) *Shergarh* west of the Rapti and of Gorakhpur much cut away by the river. (2) *Ramgarh* which gives its name to a large lake east of Gorakhpur city. (3) *Sumergarh* north of Bhathat about 13 miles north of Gorakhpur. (4) *Bheriagarh* north-east of Gorakhpur city. (5) *Baitalgarh* on some high ground near the road leading from Gorakhpur to Pipraich. (6) *Marwargarh* near the shrine of Tarkulha Devi two miles north-east of Mirzapur village. (7) *Kuwalgarh* at *Kawaldah* in the immediate north of Gorakhpur city. (8) *Domangarh* on the Rapti, west of Gorakhpur city. (9) *Bijaigarh* known as Kotiya, standing in the big sheet of water west of the now ruined Mahesra bridge south of Maniram railway station.

There is a tradition of two kingdoms Bijaipur and Udaipur. A line drawn from Padrauna westward to the Rapti would about indicate the parting line. North of it lay Udaipur and south of it Bijaipur. I am not inclined to say that all the nine forts enumerated were simultaneously existent as fortified posts of the Bijaipur kingdom. Local traditions show that this could not have been so; but the existence of so many of these ancient strongholds, round about the junction of

the Rohiṇī and Rapti rivers, shows that the position was recognized from the earliest times as one of strategic advantage."

The inscription is engraved on a single copper-plate measuring $12\frac{3}{4}''$ by $12\frac{3}{4}.''$ On the top there is an oval projection, upon which we find the representation of full-blown lotus, the centre of which consists of a raised disc bearing the image of some animal, perhaps a boar, with *Çrī-Jayāditya-devaḥ* written below in raised characters. The writing consists of 24 lines, covering only three quarter of one side of the plate. It is fairly well executed and well preserved; however, the meaning of a few passages remains doubtful. The characters belong to the northern alphabet and are in every respect similar to those of the Gorakhpur plate of the same king, belonging to this society, and edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 169 ff. Thus, in the conjunct letter *rya* the *r* is written on the line in *paryanta* (ll. 1 & 12), and *kāryā* (l. 19); and the *anusvāra* is placed after not above the *akṣara* to which it belongs in *pravṛttīnāṁ* (l. 5), and *bhūbhujāṁ* (l. 19). The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of four imprecatory and benedictive verses in ll. 17-21, and a verse referring to the grantee, the Kāyastha Keçava in ll. 22-24, it is in prose.

The object of the Inscription was to record a grant made by king Jayādityadeva II. (l. 8), who was the son of Dharmmādityadeva and his wife Candrādevī (l. 4) and the grandson of Jayādityadeva I. and his wife Yogādevī (ll. 3 & 4), all of whom belonged to the Malayaketu family (l. 3) and received the titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameçvara.* The document was issued from Vijayapura (l. 1). The grant consisted in the village Kumāraṣaṇḍikā, connected with the *pallikās:* Patraṣaṇḍā, Çaṇkuṣaṇḍā, Gāddhī, and Deulī, which lay in the Leḍḍikā *viṣaya* and the Daddaraṇḍikā *maṇḍala* (l. 8). It was given to a *Kāyastha* Keçava, son of a *Kāyastha* Dhemuka, and grandson of a *Kāyastha* Rudra, in recognition of good services rendered by him to the king (l. 13). Its boundaries are laid down in l. 15; they were: in the east the river Rohiṇī; in the south a *tilaka* tree; in the west the ditch called Hastilaṇḍa; in the north a *kumbhī* tree. The document is signed by the minister (*mahāmantri*) Māhaka. The *mahāsāmanta* Grahakuṇḍa acted as *dūtaka.* The inscription was written by the *Kāyastha* Valadduka. Its date is given as *Samvat* 921 (ll. 21-22).

The date doubtless must be referred to the Vikrama era. Of the geographical names mentioned in this inscription, the river Rohiṇī is the only one that at present can be identified. As regards Vijayapura, we learn from the Gorakhpur Inscription (*l.c.* p. 170) that it was situated on the slopes of the Himalaya (*uttaragiri-kaṭake*).

I now edit the inscription from the original plate:—

Transcript.

l. 1, Oṁ Svasti | Çrī-Vijayapurāc=catur-udadhi-paryanta-nirantar-ākrānta-kīrtti-santatīnām=ananta-nitānta-phal-ānumeya-āravdha(bdha)-vividha-kṛtyānāṁ jagad-udayāya gṛhī-

l. 2, ta-dṛḍha-vratānām=ati-saṁrūḍha-rājarṣi-patha-sampravart-tayitṝṇāṁ samantād-gṛhīta-pūrvva-nīti-vyavahārāṇāṁ prajānām=upakarttavyam=ity=evam=ādṛta-matiḥ[1]

l. 3, samastetikāyo[2]Malayaketūnām=anvaye ‖ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameçvara-çrī-Jayādityadevas=tat-putras=tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyāṁ rājñī-

l. 4, çrī-Yogādevyāṁ samutpannaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-dhirāja-parameçvara-çrī-Dharmmādityadevas=tat-putras= tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyāṁ rājñī-çrī-Ca-

l. 5, ndrādevyāṁ samutpannas=sahajasya vidyā-janitasya ca saṁ-skārasy=ādhāro dharmm-ārtha-kāma-viruddhānām=indri-ya-pravṛttīnāṁ sanniroddhā prāyeṇa vikram-aika-ras-ā-

l. 6, bhiprāya-vāda-bhidyamāna-pracaṇḍ-ārāti-maṇḍalō naya-vinaya-prasādhit-āçeṣa-bhū-maṇḍalaḥ sarvva-daiv-ākhaṇ-ḍita-matir=Ākhaṇḍala-tulya-tejā rājabhiḥ

l. 7, çiro-bhiruhyamān-āpratihata-çāsanaḥ çāsanānāṁ pradātā paramamāheçvaro Maheçvara iva sarvva-satva[3]-kṣema-tat-paraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-

l. 8, dhirāja-parameçvara[4]-çrī=Jayādityadevaḥ kuçalī ‖ Daddaraṇ-ḍikā-maṇḍale | Leḍḍikā-viṣay-āntarvvartti-Kumāraṣaṇḍi-kā-grāme | Patraṣaṇḍā | Çaṅkuṣaṇḍā | Gāddhī | Deu-

l. 9, lī-pallik-ānvite | samupagat-āçeṣa-rājana(nya)ka-rājaputra-rājasthānīya-purohit-āmātya-mahāsāmanta-mahāsāndhi-vigrahika-mahāpratīhāra-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahādaṇḍanā-yaka-

l. 10, pañcamaṇḍapādhipati-mauladāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāçika-mahāsā-dhanika-cauroddharaṇika-çaulkika-gaulmikān ‖ anyāṁç[5]=c= ākīrttitān=ā-cāṭa-bhaṭa-vra(brā)hmaṇ-ottara-jana-

l. 11, padaṁç=ca[6] yathārham=mānayati pūjayati vo(bo)dhayati samājñāpayati ca[‖*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ayam=upari-likhita-grāmas=sa-jala-sthalas=s-āmra-m[adh*]ūkaḥ sa-gartt-oṣaras=sa-

l. 12, loha-lavaṇ-ākaraç=catus-sīmā-paryantas=sva-pallik-opetaḥ samasta-rājapratyādāya-samaveto bhūmicchidraka-nyāyen=

1 Read-*matīnāṁ*.
2 I am unable to make out the meaning of this word.
3 Read *sattva*.
4 Originally written *parameçvaraḥ*.
5 Read *anyāṁç*.
6 Read *padāṁç=ca*.

ā-candr-ārkka-kṣiti-sama-kālīna[ṁ*] yāvat=pūrvva-bhukta-bhu-

l. 13, jyamāna-deva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-kṣetra-khaṇḍito=smābhir=atisev-ārādhitau(tai)ç=Caravāsaka-satka-kāyastha-RUDRApautrāya kāyaspha(stha)-DHEMUKA-putrāya Siṇghapaddhateḥ kāyastha-

l. 14, KEÇAVĀYA | çāsanena prasādī-kṛtō matvā bhavadbhir=anumantavyaṁ nivāsibhiç=c=ājñā-çravaṇa-vidheyī-bhūya samucita-bhāga-bhog-ādikam=asya samupanetavyaṁ[॥*]

l. 15, Tatra ca sīmāno likhyante | pūrvvasyāṁ diçi sīma-nirnna-(rṇṇa)ya-kāriṇī Rohiṇī nāma nadī | dakṣiṇasyān=tu tilakatarur=avatiṣṭhate | paçcimāyāṁ Ha-

l. 16, stilaṇḍ-ākhyaḥ khātaḥ | tath=ottarasyāṁ kumbhī-vṛkṣaḥ | evañ=catasṛṣv=api dikṣu vibhakta-sīmakaṁ grāmam=prasādī-kṛtya tat=kṣaṇam=eva nṛpati-

l. 17, r=idam=avādit | Va(Ba)hubhir[1]=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis= Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis= tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ | (॥) Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā yo hareta

l. 18, vasundharāṁ | sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmir=bhūtvā pitṛbhis=saha pacyate ॥ Dattāyāḥ[2] paripālanaṁ bhavati yad=deva-dvijebhyo bhuva[s*]=tyāgas=tatra na ko=pi praṇga-

l. 19, mahatiḥ kāryānu(nta)ram=bhūbhujāṁ ॥ (।) n=aiv=ānyaḥ parakīrtti-pālana-guṇo vyāçasyate kevalaḥ | īdṛçyāḥ(çyā)khalu ve(vai) sadā vanāratā[ḥ*] stutyā stute(tās)=tyā-

l. 20, ginaḥ ॥ Iti[3] kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lolāṁ Çriyam= a[nu*]cintya manuṣya-jivitañ=ca[।*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛtañ=ca vudhvā(buddhvā) na hi puruṣaih para-

l. 21, kīrttayo vilopyāḥ | (॥) Jñātam=mahāmantri-çrī-MĀHAKENA mahattara-çrī-Vappeka-sutena[॥*] Dūtako=tra mahāsāmanta-çrī-GRAHAKUṆḌAḤ | (॥) Likhitañ=c=aitan=Mahā-

l. 22, nadi-putreṇa | Saiṇghapura-kāyastha-mahākṣapaṭalika-çrī-VALADDUKEN=eti ॥ Samvat 921[॥*] Yena[4] grāma-turaṅgahema-surabhī-vastr-ādinā tarppitā viprā ye-

l. 23, na ca devatālaya-miṣeṇ=ākāri dharmm-occayaḥ | pūrṇṇaṁ puṇya-jalais=taḍāgam=akarod=yaḥ kṣīra-sindh-ūpamaṁ ten=edaṁ nija-çāsanaṁ karaṇika-çrī-KEÇAVEN=ārjjitaṁ

l. 24, ॥

[1] Metre Anuṣṭubh ; and of the next verse.

[2] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita ; I am unable to correct all the mistakes occurring in this verse. [3] Metre Puṣpitāgrā. [4] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.

An Epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper and Birch-bark.—By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph.D., C.I.E.

[Read May, 1898.]

In his admirable summary of Indian Palæography which forms a part of the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research, the late Professor Bühler says (I translate from the German) that "it cannot be doubted but that the two large-leaved palms, the *tāḍatāla* (Borassus flabelliformis) and the *tāḍitāli* (Corypha umbraculifera, C. taliera) which probably were originally indigenous in South-India, but have now spread into the Panjāb, are those the leaves of which were principally employed" in India as writing-material (see § 37, C.). This statement, which merely repeats a general, oft-repeated opinion, is not quite accurate and therefore apt to mislead. It conveys the impression as if the leaves of those two palms had been used contemporaneously and indifferently throughout India. This is not correct. In preparing the introduction to my edition of the Bower Manuscript, I had occasion to specially enquire into this point. In the result I found (1) that up to a certain point of time, Corypha umbr. was the only palm, the leaves of which were used throughout India, and (2) that the use of the leaves of Borassus fl. commenced at a comparatively late period, and was, and is still, limited to the South and East of India. In the sequel I will try to show this. There are some minor inaccuracies in the above-quoted statement, which the following explanation will also set right.

The two Indian palms, which alone come into question in this connection, are (1) the (true) Talipat palm, *Corypha umbraculifera*, also *C. Taliera;* and (2) the Palmyra palm or Tarigach, *Borassus flabellifer.*[1]

[1] In Bengal the *Corypha umbr.* is called *Teḍeḷ*, while the *Borassus fl.* is called *Tāl*, and the proportion of the two palms is about 1 : 1000. The correct name of the *Borassus*, as Dr. Prain, the Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sibpur, informs me, is not *flabelliformis*, as usually given, but *flabellifer*, this being the name given to the palm by *Linnaeus* who first determined it. There is every

The former grows *wild* in Ceylon and on the Malabar coast, up to about the 13th Lat.; thence it freely grows *cultivated* up the west coast as far as the Concan (16th Lat.), and much less so as far as Bombay (19th Lat.); it also grows (but very uncommonly) *cultivated* up the whole of the East coast into Lower Bengal. It does not grow anywhere in the central part, or the high-lands of Southern India.

The *Borassus fl.* does not grow *wild* anywhere in India, but only *cultivated*, near villages. It grows throughout India, excepting only the Panjāb, Upper Sindh, and the northern-most portions of Rājpūtānā and of the North-West Provinces. In fact, its northern limit is (about) the 27th or 28th Lat.

The difference between these two palms is that whereas *Corypha umbr.* is *indigenous* to (Southern) India, *Borassus fl.* is an *introduced* tree, having been brought in from Africa, where it grows wild and is called *Deleb*. The above statements sum up the botanical information of the present day, which has been verified afresh for the purpose of the present paper by Dr. Prain, Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sibpur, near Calcutta.[2] For his assistance, most kindly and readily given, in all matters touching the botany of these palms, I wish here to express my sincere thanks.

The leaves of the two palms can be easily distinguished from one another. Those of the *Corypha umbr.* are thinner and broader than those of the *Borassus fl.*; they also possess clearly marked cross-veins, in the form of rills, while the Borassus leaves rather present a pitted or pock-marked appearance. The width of the Borassus leaf never exceeds $1\frac{3}{4}$, and very rarely exceeds $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Among all the cases that I have actually measured I have found the latter width only exceeded in three cases. These are No. 40 in Table II which measures $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and Nos. 20 and 42 in Table II, which measure $1\frac{9}{16}$ inches; all three being Southern Indian manuscripts. The majority of the Borassus manuscripts are something less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. A width of less than one inch is very rare; I have only met with it in two Southern Indian manuscripts, *viz.*, Nos. 18 and 37 in Table II, which measure only $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch.

The usual width of the Corypha leaf varies between $1\frac{3}{4}$ and 3 inches. Among the inscribed leaves examined by myself, I have not

reason to believe that *C. Taliera* and *C. umbraculifera* are identical. I understand that Dr. Prain is preparing a monograph on the subject of these palms.

[2] I should add, however, that, as I understand, more recent enquiries, made by Dr. Prain seem to render it doubtful whether even the *Corypha umbr.* grows *wild* anywhere in India or Ceylon. A very puzzling question then arises as to the real original home of that palm.

met with any wider than $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; though a few manuscripts which I have not seen are said to exist of the width of 3 inches (see Table III, No. 83). Manuscripts under $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide are uncommon: instances are Nos. 15, 48, 57, 64 and 67 in Table I, and Nos. 4 and 8 in Table II. A width of less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches is very exceptional. I have only found three cases, among all the manuscripts which I have measured; *viz.*, No. 12 in Table II which is $1\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch wide, and No. 55 in Table I and No. 5 in Table II, which are as low as $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The width, therefore, is an almost absolute test; any leaf, measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ and upwards is certain to be Corypha umbr., while any leaf measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ or below, is almost certain to be Borassus fl. With the width of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, there may occasionally be a doubt, but this will be removed by the application of the two additional tests of thickness and venation. In any case where the actual leaf can be examined, the three tests in combination are absolutely decisive. In almost all cases where the leaf itself can not be examined, its width, if recorded, will be found decisive. Thus in the case of Add. 1706 of the Cambridge MSS., probably of A. D. 1261 (Bendall, p. 199 and Table III, No. 57), the width of which is stated to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, I judged it to be a Corypha manuscript; and this was kindly verified for me by Professor Cowell by means of Corypha and Borassus specimens which I transmitted to him.

I have been speaking hitherto of the leaf in its prepared state as writing material. With regard to the natural leaf, which I had an opportunity of examining and measuring, with the kind assistance of Dr. Prain, in the Sibpur Botanic Gardens, the case stands as follows:—Both the Corypha and the Borassus palms, as is well-known, have plicate leaves folding like a fan, consisting of a number of segments. Through the middle of each segment, from end to end, runs a hard rib. The flabs on both sides of the rib are tough and flexible; and these yield the material which is prepared for writing purposes. They taper off from their widest point towards both ends; accordingly suitable strips are cut out from the middle, of such various lengths as the size of the natural half-segment will admit. These strips are prepared for writing, by boiling in water or milk; and finally, when wanted for writing a book, the required number of strips are cut down to a uniform size. Uniformity, however, was always more carefully attended to in point of length than in point of breadth. In manuscripts, of an older date especially, leaves of a much smaller breadth are occasionally mixed with others (forming the majority) which are much wider. Thus in No. 35 of Table I and Nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 11 of Table II the occurrence of narrower leaves is indicated in brackets: they are occasionally found as narrow as $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The half-segment (that is a segment divided longitudinally along the central rib) of a Borassus leaf, at the point of its greatest width, may measure 2 inches, but it usually measures less. It tapers off very rapidly towards both ends; hence it is not possible to cut out from it a piece of practically uniform width of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A strip of about $16 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches is the largest that can be obtained. If a greater length is desired, consistent with uniform width, the latter will be smaller. From the usual size of the natural segment, however, only prepared strips of a smaller width than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches can be obtained. Occasionally the point of uniform width is neglected, and thus leaves are obtained measuring in length up to 20 inches, with a maximum width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Examples are Nos. 77 and 87 in Table I, the width of which grows (as noted in the Table) from 1 or $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the middle of the leaf. As a rule, however, a prepared leaf, measuring a length of more than 16 inches, with a width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is more likely to be a Corypha leaf.

The half-segment of a Corypha leaf, at its widest point, may measure three inches. I measured one leaf of this great size in the Sibpur Royal Botanic Gardens; but it is not improbable that leaves of this size may occur more commonly in Ceylon and Malabar, where the tree grows wild. A Corypha segment is much longer than a Borassus segment, and it tapers off far more gently, than the latter, from its widest point to its ends. Hence it is possible to cut much longer and wider strips from a Corypha segment. The largest manuscripts that I have measured are Nos. 30 and 34 in Table I, which measure $32\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ and $33 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches respectively. The length, however, may extend to 3 feet and more, and the width to 3 inches. The largest manuscript of which I know is No. 2068 in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS. It is said to measure 40×2 inches (see Table III, No. 138, and footnote 11). The next largest are Nos. 262 and 289 (in Professor Peterson's Report for 1884–86, pp. 109 and 142; see also Table III, No. 72). They are said to measure $37\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ and $37 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively. From the particular half segment which I measured to be 3 inches wide[3] strips measuring about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 22$, or $2\frac{1}{4} \times 25$, or 2×30 inches might have been cut. On the other hand, I have also measured narrow specimens of natural Corypha segments which would only yield strips measuring $16 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches or even less. Examples of manuscripts of this kind are Nos. 48, 57, 67 in Table I and Nos. 4, 5, 8, 12 in Table II. Of course when strips of the great width of 3 inches were desired, one would usually

[3] The complete natural segment, of course, measured 6 inches across. Similarly the widest complete Borassus segment measures 4 inches across the widest point.

have had to be contented with but a short length. The only two manuscripts of this great width that I know are No. 187 in Professor Peterson's Third Report for 1884–86 (p. 8), and No. 58 in his Fifth Report for 1892–95 (p. 98, also Table III, No. 83), both of which are 3 inches broad. The former of these is only $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The latter (dated 1369 A.D.) is said to be 32 inches long, but I suspect that this is an error: its measures probably are 12×3 or 32×2.[4] Corypha manuscripts of very great length, however, rarely possess an uniform width. Their leaves are cut from a whole half-segment; their maximum width is in the middle and it decreases towards both ends. A good example is No. 30 in Table I, some of the leaves of which slope from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the other hand, good examples of great length combined with practically uniform width are Nos. 34 and 36 in Table I, the breadth of which varies by no more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch or even less. Sometimes the half-segments of Corypha leaves were cut, across their breadth, into halves, and the strips for writing were cut from these halves. In this case, of course, the maximum width is at one end of the inscribed leaf, and gradually decreases to the other end. Examples of this kind are Nos. 2, 28, 32 in Table I, the leaves of which decrease from 2 to $1\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively.

I may add that there is a kind of Corypha palm, the *Corypha elata*, which grows, probably *cultivated*, in Bengal and Bihār. But its leaves are not suitable for the purpose of writing books, and have never been so used. Its complete natural segments are much too narrow; they measure only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and allow only strips of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch or less to be cut from them.

Having premised this much, I may now proceed to state that I have examined the actual or facsimile leaf of 130 manuscripts. They are

[4] Another clear instance of an error is in the record of No. 86 (Fifth Report, p. 136). This MS., dated 1241 A.D., is said to be of palm-leaf and to measure 16×4 inches. This width of 4 inches, for a palm-leaf MS., is an impossibility; it would indicate a natural segment of the width of at least 8 inches!! Prof. Bhandarkar, whom I consulted, writes to me: "There must be some mistake about the breadth of the leaves of No. 86. I have seen the MSS. in the Deccan College and a good many at Pātān, perhaps the same as those catalogued by Dr. Peterson, but I do not remember having seen any leaves of that breadth. Dr. Peterson's cataloguing work was done by clerks and agents, and it is not unlikely that it was not done with the scrupulous care of the scientific scholar." The measures would suit a paper MS.; and that possibly is the solution of the error. There is a similar error in Bendall's Catalogue of the Cambridge MSS. Here Add. 1633 is described as a palm-leaf MS. of the extraordinary breadth of 5 inches. It is, however, a Paper MS., as I am informed by Professor Cowell, who, at my request, very kindly inspected the manuscript.

shown in the subjoined Tables I and II, with 87 and 43 Nos. respectively. Table I contains manuscripts, of which the date is known, while Table II contains manuscripts of conjectural dates. The lists are not selected ones in any other sense than that I have included in it none but such manuscripts as I have actually seen and examined myself, and thus determined the palm to which their leaves belong. Those manuscripts (27 out of 130) of which I have seen leaves only in photographic facsimile are marked with an asterisk. The manuscripts marked "Kielhorn" and "Bhandarkar" are preserved in the Deccan College in Poona. The opportunity of inspecting them I owe to the kindness of Mr. Giles, Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, and Professor Abaji Kathavate of the Deccan College, who transmitted specimen leaves to me. The numbers refer to the Reports on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency for 1880-81 and 1887–91. The Tanjore manuscripts, which are referred to by their numbers in Burnell's Classified Catalogue, were transmitted to me by Mr. Geo. T. Oliver, the Receiver and Manager of the Tanjore Palace Estate; so were those, marked "in private hands," by Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah, an officer of the Darbhangah Rāj. To both these gentlemen I wish here to express my sincere thanks. Nearly the whole of the remainder of the list are manuscripts preserved in Calcutta in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Government of India. They are referred to as "Mitra," "Ind. Govt." and "Notices." These, of course, I had no difficulty in inspecting. My friends, Mahā-mahōpadhyāya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, and Muni Hans Vijay-ji, the head of one of the Jain Çākhās, were also kind enough to let me see a few palm-leaf manuscripts in their possession. I may add that the measurements of all the manuscripts in the two lists have been made or verified by myself.

TABLE I.[5]

No.	A. D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
1	[450]		Fragments, J. A. S. B.	W. Ind.	Cor.	? × 2
2*	[520]		Horiuzi.	W. Ind.	Cor.	11 × 2 to 1¾
3*	[550]		Add. 1702, Bendall.	W. Ind.	Cor.	12 × 2
4*	859	Harṣa 252.	Add. 1049, Bendall.	W. Ind.	Cor.	16 × 2
5*	1008	Nep. 128.	Add. 866, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	21 × 2
6	1014	Nep. 134.	No. 3828, Ind. Govt.	Nep.	Cor.	12¾ × 2⅓
7*	1015	Nep. 135.	Pal. Soc., No. XXI.	Nep.	Cor.	21½ × 2⅛
	1020	5 Mahipāla.	Add. 1464, Bendall.	Bih.	Cor.	21 × 2⅛
	1026	Nep. 146.	See No. 6 above.		Cor.	
9	1071	Nep. 191.	A 15, Mitra.	Nep.	Cor.	22¾ × 2¼
10	1078	Nep. 198.	No. 3830, Ind. Govt.	Nep.	Cor.	18 × 1¾
11*	1084	Nep. 204.	Pal. Soc., No. XVII.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
12	1089	Sam. 1145.	No. 35, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	25½ × 2¼
13	1090	Sam. 1146.	No. 36, do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	25½ × 2¼

[5] About No. 6 see *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXII (1893), p. 252. The MS. has two dates; *viz*, N. S. 134 on the outside of the first written leaf, and N. S. 146 in the colophon, on the last leaf. These are probably the dates of beginning and finishing the copy. There are similarly two dates on No. 50; *viz.*, Lakṣ. 374 and Çak 1423. As to No. 72 I may note that under No. 2126 of the "Notices" two manuscripts are described. The Government manuscript is a Corypha MS., and is entered here in Table I. The other manuscript, which I have not seen, is entered in Table III, No. 128; and to judge from its measurements, it is a Borassus MS. The date of the Government manuscript, however, is *çakābdāḥ* | 16 | | with a lacuna for the units and tens, which may mean 1600 as Dr. Mitra assumed; but it may be also a later date. The measurements of Nos. 26 and 41 have been kindly verified for me by the Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society. Some leaves of Nos 39 and 42 are much narrower, *viz.*, 32 × 1½ (1) and 15 × 1¾ (1¼) respectively. The equation of the dates of the Lakṣmaṇīya Era has been made with 1105, the present year 1898 being = 793 L. E., and the 1st year of that era running from the 15 Jan., 1106, to the 15th January, 1107. No. 65 is dated Çaka 1555 and San 1041. The latter date refers to the Faṣlī Era of Bengal, and is = 1633 A.D; see Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 82. "Pal. Soc." refers to the Publications of the London Palaeographical Society. In the case of a few manuscripts, such as No. 17, 55, etc., the length is not given by me, because at the time I examined them, I forgot to take a note of it.

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
14[6]	1116	Sam. 1172.	Muni Hans Vijay-ji.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$29 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$
15	1120	Sam. 1176.	No. 53, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$13 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$
16	1120	15 Rāma-pāla.	In my possession.	Bih.	Cor.	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
17	1130	Nep. 250.	With H. P. Shāstri.	Nep.	Cor.	2
18*	1132	Sam. 1189.	With Prof. Bühler.	N. Ind.	Cor.	2
19	113[8]	Sam. 119*.	No. 58, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$28 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
20*	1165	Nep. 285.	Add. 1693, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	$16 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
21*	1165	4 Gōvinda-pāla.	No. 1, R. As. Soc.	Bih.	Cor.	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
22*	1166	Nep. 286.	No. 2, R. As. Soc.	Nep.	Cor.	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
23*	1167	Nep. 287.	Add. 1686, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	11×2
24*	1179	Nep. 299.	Add. 1691, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12×2
25	1185	24 Govinda-pāla.	No. 3822, Ind. Govt.	Bih.	Cor.	$11\frac{3}{4} \times 2$
26*	1198	Nep. 318.	No. 69, R. As. Soc.	Nep.	Cor.	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
27*	1199	38 Gōvinda-pāla.	Add. 1699, Bendall.	Bih.	Cor.	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$
28	1208	Sam. 1264.	No. 8, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$
29*	1229	Çak. 1151.	Pal. Soc., No. I.		Cor.	$17\frac{2}{5} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
30	1238	Sam. 1294.	No. 38, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$
31	1276	Sam. 1332.	No. 3, do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$
32	1284	Sam. 1340.	No. 60, do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$15 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$
33*	1286	Nep. 406.	Pal. Soc., No. XXXII.	Nep.	Cor.	$13 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
34*	1291	Sam. 1348.	Pal. Soc., No. LVIII.		Cor.	$33 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
35	1297	Kal. 4398.	No. 34, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}(1\frac{1}{4})$
36	1303	Sam. 1359.	No. 37, do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$30\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$

[6] This is a manuscript written by Açōka Candra and Dhanēçvara Sādhu, and corrected by Vardhamāna Sūri (apparently the author), Nēmicandra Munīçvara, and Pārçvacandra Upādhyāya. The name of the work is Dharma Karaṇḍaka Sūtra Ṭīkā, and its author is Vardhamāna Sūri, a pupil of Abhayadēva Sūri. Its date is given in the following çloka: *vikramatō varṣāṇāṁ çatēṣv=ēkādaçasv=atītēṣu | dvā-saptatyā varṣair=adhikēṣu kṛtā vikṛtir=ēṣā ||*

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
37	1319	Lakṣ. 214.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$15\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
38	1331	Nep. 451.	No. 3824, Ind. Govt.	Nep.	Cor.	12 ×2
39	1340	Sam. 1396.	Muni Hans Vijay-ji.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32 \times 2\frac{3}{16}(1\frac{1}{2})$
40	1356	Nep. 476.	No. 3823, Ind. Govt.	Nep.	Cor.	$11\frac{1}{4} \times 2$
41*	1364	Nep. 484.	No. 74, R. As. Soc.	Nep.	Cor.	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
42	1368	Sam. 1424.	Muni Hans Vijay-ji.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$15 \times 2\frac{1}{3}(2)$
43*	1372	Nep. 492.	Pal. Soc., No. LVII.	Nep.	Cor.	$20\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$
44*	1385	Nep. 505.	Add. 1395, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
45	1386	Sam. 1442.	No. 1980, Notices.	Beng.	Cor.	11 ×2
46	1395	Nep. 515.	Ind. Gov.	Nep.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
47*	1446	Sam. 1503.	Pal. Soc., No. XXXIII.	Bih.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
48	1450	Lakṣ. 345.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$13 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
49	1467	Lakṣ. 362.	No. 3821, Ind. Govt.	Bih.	Cor.	13 ×2
50	1479	Lakṣ. 374.	No. 4026, Ind. Govt.	Bih.	Cor.	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
	1507	Çak. 1423.	See No. 50 above, and footnote 5.			
51	1504	Lakṣ. 399.	No. 1979, Notices.	Bih.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
52	1513	Lakṣ. 408.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$
53	1514	Çak. 1436.	No. 1273 Notices.	Beng.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
54	1531	Çak. 1453.	No. 1165 do.	Beng.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
55	1553	Çak. 1475.	H. Prasāda Shāstri.	Beng.	Cor.	$1\frac{1}{4}$
56*	1557	Lakṣ. 452.	Pal. Soc., No. LXXXII.	Bih.	Cor.	$13\frac{5}{8} \times 2$
57	1572	Çak. 1494.	No. 1274, Notices.	Beng.	Cor.	$13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
58	1575	Lakṣ. 470.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
59*	1583		Add. 1556, Bendall.		Cor.	$2\frac{1}{2}$
60	1587	Çak. 1509.	No. 1976, Notices.	Beng.	Cor. / Bor.	$12 \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ / $1\frac{1}{2}$
61	1594	Çak. 1516.	No. 1975 do.	Beng.	Bor.	$12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
62	1608	Lakṣ. 503.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
63	1609	Lakṣ. 504.	do.	Bih.	Cor.	$13\frac{3}{4} \times 2$

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
64	1616	Lakṣ. 511.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$
65	1633	Çak. 1555.	do.	Bih.	Cor.	$12 \times 1\frac{7}{8}$
66	1647	Çak. 1569.	do.	Bih.	Cor.	$11\frac{1}{4} \times 2$
67	1661	Lakṣ. 556.	do.	Bih.	Cor.	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
68	1668	Çak. 1590.	do.	Bih.	Cor.	$7\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
69	1669 / 1660	Çak. 1591 / Lakṣ. 555	do.	Bih.	Cor.	$7 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$
70	1675	Çak. 1597.	H. Prasāda Shāstri.	Beng.	Bor.	$1\frac{3}{8}$
71	1677	Çak. 1599.	do. do.	Beng.	Bor.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
72	1678	Çak. 1600.	No. 2126, Notices.	Beng.	Cor.	$15\frac{1}{4} \times 2$
73	1680	Çak. 1602.	In private hands.	Bih.	Cor.	$14 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
74	1683	$\frac{29}{24}$ Mukunda.	Ind. Govt.	Oris.	Bor.	$? \times 1\frac{1}{4}$
75	1683	$\frac{29}{24}$ Mukunda.	do.	Oris.	Bor.	$15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$
76	1687	Çak. 1609.	No. 1551, Notices.	Beng.	Bor.	$11 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$
77	1688	Çak. 1610.	No. 1550 do.	Beng.	Bor.	$20 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
78	1689	Çak. 1611.	No. 1580 do.	Beng.	Bor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
79	1690	$\frac{41}{30}$ Mukunda.	No. 2837, do.	Oris.	Bor.	$16 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$
80	1694	Çak. 1616.	No. 10040, Tanjore.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$10\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$
81	1708	17 Divya-Siṁha.	Ind. Govt.	Oris.	Bor.	$15\frac{1}{3} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
82	1721	Çak. 1643.	H. Prasāda Shāstri.	Beng.	Cor.	$2\frac{1}{4}$
83*	1724		Burnell, S. Ind. Pal.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$15\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$
84	1739	Çak. 1661.	No. 1845, Notices.	Bih.	Cor.	$15\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
85	1752	10 Kēçarī-Dēva.	Ind. Govt.	Oris.	Bor.	$14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$
86	1766	24 do.	do.	Oris.	Bor.	$15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$
87	1815	Çak. 1737.	No. 1607, Notices.	Beng.	Bor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1

All manuscripts in the foregoing Table (with the exception of Nos. 1–3) bear an actual date. The following Table II includes manuscripts the approximate date of which can be fixed with some degree of certainty. This has been done by myself, mainly on palæographic grounds, in all cases except those marked with the letter B. The date

of the latter is that given to them by Dr. Burnell in his Classified Catalogue of Tanjore Manuscripts.

Table II.

No.	A. D.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
1	1150	No. 44, Kielhorn.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ $(1\frac{3}{8})$
2	1150	No. 46 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$29\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
3	1200	No. 33 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$15 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
4	1200	No. 68 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ $(1\frac{1}{4})$
5	1225	No. 40 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$11 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$
6	1250	No. 32 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$12\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{15}{16}$
7	1250	No. 69 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
8	1300	No. 30 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
9	1300	No. 63 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ $(1\frac{1}{8})$
10	1325	No. 20 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ $(1\frac{1}{4})$
11	1375	No. 67 do.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14×2 $(1\frac{1}{2})$
12	1525	No. 1062 Bhandarkar.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$14 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$
13*	1550	Pal. Soc., No. LXX.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$14 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ (B)
14[7]	1550	No. 1056, Bhandarkar.	S. Ind.	Cor.	19×2
15*	1550	No. 11894, Tanjore.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$18\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)
16	1580	No. 10093 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$16 \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)
17	1600	No. 1061, Bhandarkar.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$17\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
18	1600	No. 9075, Tanjore.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$17 \times \frac{15}{16}$ (B)
19	1600	No. 10511 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$11\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)
20	1600	No. 9997 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$18\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ (B)
21	1620	No. 9140 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	18×1 (B)
22	1620	No. 10288 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$18\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ (B)
23	1625	No. 10869 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	15×1 (B)

7. The inner leaves of this manuscript are old. The outer ones, at the beginning and end, are larger $(20\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2})$ and of a much more modern date (about 1700 A.D.). I examined the leaves numbered 1,105 and 260.

No.	A.D.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
24	1650	No. 1060, Bhandarkar.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$19\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$
25	1650	No. 9710, Tanjore.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$13\frac{7}{8} \times 2$
26	1650	No. 9908 do.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$18\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$
27	1650	No. 9066 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$16 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)
28	1650	No. 9185 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$15 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ (B)
29	1650	No. 9760 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$15\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ (B)
30	1650	No. 9076 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$15\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)
31*	1670	No. 9531 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$19\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ (B)
32	1700	No. 989, Bhandarkar.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
33	1700	No. 9169, Tanjore.	S. Ind.	Cor.	$16 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ (B)
34	1700	No. 9605 do	S. Ind.	Cor.	$12 \times 1\frac{11}{16}$
35	1700	No. 9870 do.	S. Ind.	Cor.	14×2
36	1700	No. 9960 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$15\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$ (B)
37	1700	No. 9935 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$16\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{15}{16}$ (B)
38	1700	No. 10910 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$ (B)
39	1720	No. 8974 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$18\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ (B)
40	1720	No. 10868 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$17\frac{1}{6} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ to $1\frac{1}{16}$(B)
41	1750	No. 9098 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$14\frac{2}{5} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$ (B)
42	1750	No. 9739 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$12\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{9}{16}$ (B)
43	1750	No. 10786 do.	S. Ind.	Bor.	$16\frac{3}{5} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ (B)

In the following remarks my arguments will be based entirely on the information furnished by Table I. The information of Table II will be used only as subsidiary and corroborative evidence.

Further, for the present, my remarks will be limited entirely to the conditions obtaining in Northern India, *i.e.*, broadly speaking North of the 20th degree of latitude. The case of Southern India will be considered later on.

The first point, very clearly brought out by Table I, is the exclusive use of Corypha leaves throughout Northern India, up to the latter part of the 17th century A.D. A very marked change begins with 1675 A.D. Before that date (with one exception, No. 60, which I shall

presently refer to) all dated manuscripts are uniformly written on Corypha leaves. From 1675 A.D. the use of the Borassus leaf almost entirely supersedes that of the Corypha leaf. Commencing with that year there are 18 manuscripts examined by me. Two of these are South-Indian which must be excluded. Of the remaining 16 manuscripts 12 are written on Borassus leaves, and only 4 on Corypha leaves; that is to say, 75 per cent. are Borassus manuscripts.

In order to appreciate the very effective character of the evidence of Table I, let it be noted that, between the years 1000 and 1770, there is a total of 77 decades, of which not less than 51 are represented in the Table by one or more manuscripts. The 14th and 17th centuries are the best represented, every decade appearing in the Table, except those beginning with 1320, 1620 and 1650. The 15th century is the worst represented, as the decades beginning with 1400, 1410, 1420, 1430, 1480 and 1490 are wanting. The effectiveness of the representation is corroborated by Table II, which, it may well be assumed, would have filled up many gaps in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, if the exact dates of the manuscripts listed in it were known. The effectiveness will be found still more corroborated by the exact dates given in Table III. With Tables I and III combined, there remain only 9 decades unrepresented; *viz.*, those beginning with 1040, 1100, 1140, 1150, 1430, 1480, 1650, 1710, and 1740, and some of these probably are covered by Table II.

There are only two manuscripts dating before 1675 A.D., which are written on Borassus leaves. These are Nos. 60 and 61, belonging to 1587 and 1594 A.D. respectively. No. 61 is written wholly on Borassus leaves; while No. 60 is only so partially: the body of it is written on Corypha leaves, while the end is on a Borassus leaf. These are exceptional cases: they only indicate, as I shall show further on, that the use of Borassus leaves first began in a sporadic form in Southern Bengal. But for Northern India generally, Table I shows that we may take the year 1675 A.D. as the epoch that marks the change from the use of Corypha to that of Borassus.

Before proceeding further, it may be as well at once to meet an objection that might suggest itself. It appears to be believed that Borassus leaves are much less durable than Corypha leaves. This may or may not be true: I have no special evidence on the subject. But Dr. Burnell in his *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.), p. 41, says: "It is hopeless to look for old specimens, as palm-leaf MSS. perish rapidly in the Tamil country, where they are mostly written on leaves of the 'Borassus flabelliformis,' far inferior to the Talipat leaves in beauty and durability." So also Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyar, in Colombo informs me that "the Talipat leaf is preferred for the purpose

of book writing on account of its durability and polish." These observations may be true with regard to Southern India and Ceylon; they would probably also apply to Bengal and Orissa with their equally damp climate; but would hardly apply to the rest of Northern India with its far drier climate. But be that as it may, I have drawn up Table III for the purpose of showing how little probability there is that all Borassus MSS., dating before 1675 A.D., may have perished on account of their inferior durability, or that, by some unaccountable and improbable chance, none of them may have fallen into my hands when making up Table I.

TABLE III.

No.	A. D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
1	1039	Nep. 159.	Add. 1683, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	21 × 2
2	1054	14 Nayapāla.	Add. 1688 do.	Bih.	Cor.	22 × 2
3	1065	Nep. 185.	Add 1684 do.	Nep.	Cor.	21 × 2
4	1068	Nep. 188.	Add. 1680 do.	Nep.	Cor.	11 × 2
5	1098	Sam. 1154.	Peterson[5], No. 13.	W. Ind.	(Cor.)	73 × 1¼
6	1123	Sam. 1179.	Kielhorn, No. 42.	W. Ind.	Cor.	13 × 2¼
7	1125	Sam. 1181.	Peterson[3], No. 229.	W. Ind.	Cor.	13½ × 1½
8	1125	Sam. 1181.	Peterson[5], No. 66.	W. Ind.	(Cor.)	12 × 1¼
9	1130	Sam. 1186.	do. No. 40.	W. Ind.	Cor.	10 × 1½
10	1130	Sam. 1186.	do. No. 63.	W. Ind.	(Cor.)	13 × 1
11	1131	Sam. 1187.	do. No. 36.	W. Ind.	Cor.	27 × 2½
12	1162	Sam. 1218.	do. No. 31.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14 × 2
13	1162	Sam. 1218.	Kielhorn, No. 13.	W. Ind.	Cor.	29 × 2½
14	1165	Nep. 285.	Add. 1693, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	17 × 2½
15	1165	Sam. 1221.	Peterson[3], No. 240.	W. Ind.	Cor.	27 × 2¼
16	1173	Sam. 1229.	do. No. 215.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14½ × 1¾
17	1175	Sam. 1231.	Peterson[5], No. 1.	W. Ind.	Cor.	12 × 1¾
18	1191	Sam. 1247.	Peterson[3], No. 225.	W. Ind.	Cor.	13½ × 1¾
19	1193	Sam. 1249.	do. No. 309.	W. Ind.	Cor.	29 × 2⅓

No.	A. D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
20	1199	Nep. 319.	Add. 1657, (2), Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
21	1202	Sam. 1258.	Peterson[5], No. 65.	W. Ind.	Cor.	12 × 1½
22	1204	Sam. 1260.	Peterson[3], No. 189.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15½ × 1¾
23	1205	Sam. 1261.	do. No. 220.	W. Ind.	Cor.	33½ × 2½
24	1205	Nep. 325.	Add. 1644, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	21 × 2
25	1207	Sam. 1263.	Peterson[3], No. 198.	W. Ind.	Cor.	10½ × 1½
26	1215	Sam. 1271.	Peterson[5], No. 80.	W. Ind.	Cor.	16½ × 1½
27	1228	Sam. 1284.	do. No. 78.	W. Ind.	Cor.	11 × 2½
28	1228	Sam. 1284.	Peterson[3], No. 226.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14 × 2½
29	1230	Sam. 1286.	do. No. 288.	W. Ind.	Cor.	34½ × 2¾
30	1231	Sam. 1287.	do. No. 266.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15¾ × 1½
31	1232	Sam. 1288.	Peterson[5], No. 55.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15 × 2
32	1235	Sam. 1291.	Peterson[3], No. 320.	W. Ind.	Cor.	36 × 2½
33	1236	Sam. 1292.	do. No. 217.	W. Ind.	Cor.	33½ × 2½
34	1236	Sam. 1292.	do. No. 300.	W. Ind.	Cor.	36 × 2½
35	1236	Sam. 1292.	do. No. 277.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15½ × 2
36	1237	Sam. 1293.	do. No. 267.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14½ × 1⅔
37	1237	Sam. 1293.	Peterson[5], No. 46.	W. Ind.	Cor.	12 × 1½
38	1238	Sam. 1294.	do. No. 34.	W. Ind.	Cor.	29 × 2½
39	1238	Sam. 1294.	Peterson[3], No. 186.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14½ × 2
40	1238	Sam. 1294.	do. No. 275.	W. Ind.	Cor.	29½ × 2¾
41	1240	Sam. 1296.	do. No. 202.	W. Ind.	Cor.	12½ × 1½
42	1240	Sam. 1296.	do. No. 250.	W. Ind.	Cor.	34½ × 2
43	1240	Sam. 1296.	Peterson[5], No. 26.	W. Ind.	Cor.	32 × 2½
44	1242	Sam. 1298.	Peterson[3], No. 319.	W. Ind.	Cor.	34½ × 2½
45	1243	Sam. 1299.	do. No. 276.	W. Ind.	Cor.	34 × 2½
46	1244	Sam. 1300.	Kielhorn, No. 47.	W. Ind.	Cor.	18¼ × 2
47	1245	Sam. 1301.	Peterson[3], No. 219.	W. Ind.	Cor.	33½ × 2½

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
48	1245	Sam. 1301.	Peterson[3], No. 337.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
49	1245	Sam. 1301.	do. No. 247.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$34\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
50	1247	Sam. 1303.	do. No. 286.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$15\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
51	1248	Sam. 1304.	Kielhorn, No. 28.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15×2
52	1251	Sam. 1307.	Peterson[3], No. 235.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$28\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
53	1253	Sam. 1309.	do. No. 283.	W. Ind.	Cor.	18×2
54	1253	Sam. 1309.	do. No. 310.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
55	1258	Sam. 1314.	do. No. 222.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$23\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
56	1259	Sam. 1315.	Kielhorn, No, 62.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
57	1261	Nep. 381.	Add. 1706, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
58	1261	Sam. 1317.	Peterson[5], No. 8.	W. Ind.	Cor.	17×2
59	1264	Sam. 1320.	do. No. 59.	W. Ind.	Cor.	33×2
60	1264	Nep. 384.	Add. 1465, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	13×2
61	1266	Sam. 1322.	Peterson[3], No. 260.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
62	1269	Sam. 1325.	do. No. 199.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$17\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$
63	1270	Sam. 1326.	do. No. 231.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$28\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
64	1271	Sam. 1327.	do. No. 256.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$33\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
65	1272	Sam. 1328.	do. No. 290.	W. Ind.	Cor.	27×2
66	1275	Sam. 1331.	Peterson[5], No. 35.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
67	1280	Sam. 1336.	do. No. 32.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15×2
68	1286	Sam. 1342.	Kielhorn, No. 5.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$32\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
69	1287	Sam. 1343.	Peterson[5], No. 27.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$31\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
70	1302	Nep. 422.	Add. 1306, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	13×2
71	1303	Sam. 1359.	Kielhorn, No. 37.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$30\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
72	1320	Sam. 1376.	Peterson[3], No. 262.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$37\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
73	1324	Sam. 1380.	do. No. 253.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$33 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$
74	1327	Sam. 1383.	do. No. 285.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$19\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
75	1331	Sam. 1387.	do. No. 259.	W. Ind.	Cor.	$35\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
76	1334	Sam. 1390.	Peterson[5], No. 84.	W. Ind.	Cor.	17 × 2½
77	1335	Sam. 1391.	Peterson[3], No. 295.	W. Ind.	Cor.	35¾ × 2¼
78	1336	Sam. 1392.	Peterson[5], No. 77.	W. Ind.	Cor.	15 × 2
79	1342	Sam. 1398.	do. No. 85.	W. Ind.	Cor.	17 × 2
80	1355	Nep. 475.	Add. 1697, (viii), Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
81	1360	Nep. 480.	Add. 1409, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	13 × 2
82	1360	Sam. 1416.	Notices, No. 3308.	Beng.	Cor.	10 × 1½
83	1369	Sam. 1425.	Peterson[5], No. 58.	W. Ind.	Cor.	32 × 3
84	1374	Nep. 494.	Add. 1689, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	16 × 2
85	1380	Nep. 500.	Add. 1685 do.	Nep.	Cor.	13½ × 2
86	1384	Nep. 504.	Add. 1488 do.	Nep.	Cor.	9 × 2
87	1386	Nep. 506.	Add. 1698 do.	Nep.	Cor.	13 × 2
88	1389	Nep. 509.	Add. 1701 do.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
89	1389	Sam. 1445.	Peterson[3], No. 304.	W. Ind.	Cor.	34½ × 1⅓
90	1392	Nep. 512.	Add. 1108, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	13 × 2
91	1395	Sam. 1451.	Peterson,[3] No. 223.	W. Ind.	Cor.	14 × 1½
92	1398	Sam. 1454.	Peterson[5], No. 48.	W. Ind.	Cor.	33 × 2
93	1400	Sam. 1456.	do. No. 28.	W. Ind.	Cor.	25 × 1½
94	1412	Nep. 532.	Add. 1649, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12½ × 2
95	1412	Nep. 532.	Add. 1691 (iv), Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
96	1425	Nep. 545.	Add. 1661 do.	Nep.	Cor.	13 × 2
97	1427	Nep. 547.	Add. 1580 do.	Nep.	Cor.	10 × 2
98	1429	Nep. 549.	Add. 1703 do.	Nep.	Cor.	11½ × 2
99	1440	Nep. 560.	Add. 1691, (iii) do.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
100	1457	Nep. 577.	Add. 1708, (i) do.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
101	1460	Lakṣ. 355.	Notices, No. 1889.	Bih.	Cor.	12 × 1½
102	1463	Nep. 583.	Add. 1697 (iv), Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
103	1468	Lakṣ. 363.	Notices, No. 1913.	Bih.	Cor.	13 × 2

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
104	1495	Çak. 1417.	Notices, No. 1974.	Beng.	Cor.	10 × 2
105	1518	Çak. 1440.	do. No. 1070.	Beng.	Cor.	14 × 2½
106	1526	Lakṣ. 421.	do. No. 1963.	Bih.	Cor.	11 × 2
107	1529	Lakṣ. 424.	do. No. 2390.	Bih.	Cor.	16 × 2
108	1535	Çak. 1457.	do. No. 1978.	Beng.	Cor.	15 × 1¾
109	1536	Lakṣ. 431.	do. No. 1967.	Bih.	Cor.	11 × 2
110	1540	Lakṣ. 435.	do. No. 1907.	Bih.	Cor.	11 × 1½
111	1556	Çak. 1478.	do. No. 2129.	Beng.	Cor.	10 × 2
112	1564	Lakṣ. 459.	do. No. 1909.	Bih.	Cor.	12 × 1½
113	1571	Çak. 1493.	do. No. 2172.	N. Beng.	Cor.	12 × 2
114	1576	Nep. 596.	Add. 1355, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	9½ × 2
115	1607	Lakṣ. 502.	Notices, No. 1879.	Bih.	Cor.	11 × 2
116	1609	Lakṣ. 504.	do. No. 1922.	Bih.	Cor.	12 × 2
117	1617	Lakṣ. 512.	do. No. 2405.	Bih.	Cor.	17 × 2
118	1618	Çak. 1540.	do. No. 2749.	Beng.	Bor.	12 × 1½
119	1619	Nep. 739.	Add. 1662, Bendall.	Nep.	Cor.	12 × 2
120	1622	Çak. 1544.	Notices, No. 2252.	Bih.	Cor.	14 × 2½
121	1624 / 1610	Çak. 1546. / Lakṣ. 505.	do. No. 1992.	Bih.	Cor.	11 × 2
122	1627	Lakṣ. 522.	do. No. 2364.	Bih.	Cor.	14 × 1½
123	1629	Çak. 1551.	do. No. 3382.	Beng.	Cor.	10 × 2
124	1629	Çak. 1551.	do. No. 2000.	Bih.	Cor.	10 × 2
125	1643	Lakṣ. 538.	do. No. 2399.	Bih.	Cor.	16 × 1½
126	1660	Lakṣ. 555.	do. No. 1910.	Bih.	Cor.	14 × 2
127	1673	Lakṣ. 568.	do. No. 1968.	Bih.	Cor.	12 × 1½
128	1678	Çak. 1600.	do. No. 2126.	Beng.	Bor.	10 × 1½
129	1680	Çak. 1602.	do. No. 2759.	Beng.	Cor.	18 × 2
130	1687	Çak. 1609.	do. No. 1645.	W. Beng.	Bor.	19 × 1½
131	1688	Çak. 1610.	do. No. 1642.	W. Beng.	Bor.	19 × 1¼

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Loc.	Mat.	Measure.
132	1689	Lakṣ. 584.	Notices, No. 1987.	Bih.	Cor.	$12 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$
133	1701	Çak. 1623.	do. No. 1643.	W. Beng.	Bor.	$14 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
134	1727	Çak. 1649.	do. No. 2370.	Bih.	Cor.	22×2
135	1732	Çak. 1654.	do. No. 2917.	W. Beng.	Cor.	22×2
136	1734	Çak. 1656.	do. No. 2965.	W. Beng	Bor.	$11 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
137	1739	Çak. 1661.	do. No 1845.	Bih.	Cor.	$15\frac{1}{2} \times 2$
138	1755	Çak. 1677.	do. No. 2068.	N. Beng.	Cor.	40×2
139	1785	Çak. 1707.	do. No. 2069.	N. Beng.	Cor.	19×2
140	1804	Çak. 1726.	do. No. 1129.	Beng.	Bor.	3 or 4 lines
141[8]	1836	Lakṣ. 731.	do. No. 1764.	Bih.	Bor.	11×1

In Table III, I have included none but such palm-leaf MSS, of which exact dates and measurements have been recorded. On the other hand, I have included all manuscripts, satisfying those two conditions, records of which were accessible to me: in fact, Table III, so far as I know, practically includes all such palm-leaf MSS., of which any record exists at all. I do not think it likely that any appreciable number of dated and measured manuscripts have been omitted. Those entered in Table III belong to the collections, noticed in Bendall's Catalogue of Cambridge MSS., Dr. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., and Peterson's and Kielhorn's Reports on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency.[9]

As I have not actually seen and examined any of the manuscripts entered in Table III, the only test for determining their material are their measurements, especially those of their width. Now there are

[8] The description of this manuscript in the "Notices" is wrong. It is said to be dated "L. S. 431 = A.D. 1537," but at the same time it is described as "fresh" in appearance. The fact is, the date which is in numeral words has been wrongly read. *Ambudhi* means "seven"; and the date is Lakṣ. 731 = A.D. 1836. Unfortunately the manuscript is missing from the Calcutta collection; I have not been able to see it. I may here note that though in the older usage "ocean" signifies "four," in the more modern and in the present usage it means "seven." The Çabda-kalpa-druma gives both meanings.

[9] "Peterson[3]" and "Peterson[5]" in the References of Table III mean Professor Peterson's Third Report, 1884–86 (Extra Number in the Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society), and his Fifth Report, 1892–95, respectively. "Kielhorn" means Professor Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81.

in the list of Table III, 127 manuscripts, dating before 1675 A.D. Of these 127 manuscripts, 104 measure $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches or upwards in width. All these must be written on Corypha leaves; for I have already shown that no Borassus leaf admits of that width. Practically the same remark applies to No. 36, which measures $1\frac{2}{3}$ inches. There remain 22 manuscripts, measuring less than $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. Of these, 18 have a width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.[10] There is very little probability of any of them being a Corypha manuscript: in fact, in the case of No. 57, the fact that it is written on Corypha leaves has been verified for me by Professor Cowell; and as to 6 others, *viz.*, Nos. 101, 110, 112, 122, 125 and 127, which are Bihār manuscripts, I shall show presently that in Bihār none but Corypha leaves were used down to a far more recent date than 1675 A.D. Of the remaining 4 manuscripts, No. 89, which is $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches wide, cannot be Borassus, because of its length of $34\frac{1}{2}$ inches; nor are Nos. 5, 8 and 10, which are $1\frac{1}{4}$ and 1 inches wide respectively, likely to be Borassus, on account of their great age: that exceptionally Corypha manuscripts of such very small width are met with, I have already shown (see Nos. 35 and 55 in Table I, and No. 5 in Table II).

It thus appears that (with the exception of one manuscript, No. 118, presently to be referred to) all the manuscripts dating before 1675 A.D. are written on Corypha leaves,—a result which exactly agrees with that obtained from Table I. It is a striking fact that no dated and measured manuscript which can indubitably be proved to be written on Borassus leaves has as yet come to light, dating from before 1675 A.D., or at least (to be quite exact, with a view to the two exceptional cases of No. 60 in Table I, and No. 118 in Table III), dating from before the end of the 16th century. If Borassus manuscripts did exist, it is more than strange that not one of them should have been discovered: it is equally improbable that they—all and every one—should have perished. The only reasonable conclusion, from the facts presented, is that **Borassus leaves were not used at all for book-writing in Northern India before the end of the 16th century, nor used generally before about 1675 A.D.**

The exceptional case of No. 118 in Table III, dated 1618 A.D., is noteworthy. It stands, quite by itself among the surrounding Corypha manuscripts. For the next Borassus MS. we have to go down to No. 128, and the year 1678 A.D. It is also a South-Bengali manuscript. Its case agrees in every way with that of No. 60 in Table I, which has already been referred to. It must be added, however, that it is by no means certain that No. 118 is really a Borassus manuscript. Judged by

[10] These are Nos. 7, 9, 21, 25, 26, 30, 37, 41, 57, 82, 91, 93, 101, 110, 112, 122, 125, 127.

its measurements it might very well be a Corypha manuscript. But the probability perhaps is the other way, and I have accordingly treated it so.

This leads me to the next point. Table I shows that the use of Borassus leaves for book-writing was, and still is, limited to the Eastern portion of Northern India, *i.e.*, to Bengal, Bihār and Orissa. In the rest of Northern India (including Nepal, and "Western India" north of Bombay), Borassus has never been used for that purpose: there none but Corypha leaves were used at all; but as I shall show further on, the use of palm-leaves for book-writing died out there as early as the middle of the 15th century on the west-coast, and in the interior even some centuries earlier. At the time when the use of Borassus came in in the eastern provinces of Northern India, *viz.*, in the 17th century, the use of paper had in its central and western provinces long superseded that of palm-leaves.

Even with regard to Eastern India, a striking difference shows itself between the three provinces composing it. In Bengal the use of the Borassus leaf makes its first appearance in a sporadic way, at the end of the 16th century, and we find it fully established a century later, from about 1675 A.D. On the contrary, in Bihār the exclusive use of Corypha leaves continues down to the middle of the 18th century, while in Orissa Corypha leaves appear to have never been used at all.

To illustrate these conclusions I have prepared the following three Tables of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa palm-leaf manuscripts respectively.

Table IV. Bengal Palm-leaf MSS.

No.	A. D.	Date.	Reference.	Measures.	Material.
1	1360	Sam. 1416.	Table III, No. 82.	$10 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Cor.
2	1386	Sam. 1442.	Table I, No. 45.	11×2	Cor.
3	1495	Çak. 1417.	Table III, No. 104.	10×2	Cor.
4	1514	Çak. 1436.	Table I, No. 53.	$14\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	Cor.
5	1518	Çak. 1440.	Table III, No. 105.	$14 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	Cor.
6	1531	Çak. 1453.	Table I, No. 54.	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	Cor.
7	1535	Çak. 1457.	Table III, No. 108.	$15 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$	Cor.
8	1553	Çak. 1475.	Table I, No. 55.	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Cor.
9	1556	Çak. 1478.	Table III, No. 111.	10×2	Cor.
10	1571	Çak. 1493.	do. No. 112.	12×2	Cor.

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Measure.	Material.
11	1572	Çak. 1494.	Table I, No. 57.	$13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Cor.
12	1587	Çak. 1509.	do. No. 60.	$12 \times \begin{cases} 1\frac{7}{8} \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \end{cases}$	Cor. Bor.
13	1594	Çak. 1516.	do. No. 60.	$12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
14	1618	Çak. 1540.	Table III, No. 118.	$12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
15	1629	Çak. 1551.	do. No. 122.	10×2	Cor.
16	1675	Çak. 1597.	Table I, No. 70.	$1\frac{3}{8}$	Bor.
17	1677	Çak. 1599.	do. No. 71.	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
18	1678	Çak. 1600.	Table III, No. 128.	$10 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
19	1678	Çak. 1600.	Table I, No. 72.	$15\frac{1}{4} \times 2$	Cor.
20	1680	Çak. 1602.	Table III, No. 129.	18×2	Cor.
21	1687	Çak. 1609.	do. No. 130.	$19 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
22	1687	Çak. 1609.	Table I, No. 76.	$11 \times 1\frac{3}{8}$	Bor.
23	1688	Çak. 1610.	do. No. 77.	$20 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$–1	Bor.
24	1688	Çak. 1610.	Table III, No. 131.	$19 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$	Bor.
25	1689	Çak. 1611.	Table I, No. 78.	$14 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
26	1701	Çak. 1623.	Table III, No. 134.	$14 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
27	1721	Çak. 1643.	Table I, No. 82.	$2\frac{1}{4}$	Cor.
28	1732	Çak. 1654.	Table III, No. 136.	22×2	Cor.
29	1734	Çak. 1656.	do. No. 137.	$11 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
30[11]	1755	Çak. 1677.	do. No. 138.	40×2	Cor.
31	1785	Çak. 1707.	do. No. 139.	19×2	Cor.
32	1804	Çak. 1726.	do. No. 140.	3 or 4 ll., $1\frac{1}{4}$	Bor.
33	1815	Çak. 1737.	Table I, No. 87.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$–1	Bor.

It will be seen from Table IV, that up to 1587 A.D. Corypha leaves were in exclusive use in Bengal. In that year the first trace of the use of Borassus leaves makes its appearance. In 1594 there is the

[11] It will be noticed that the length of this manuscript (40 inches) is out of all proportion to that of all other Bengal manuscripts. I am, therefore, disposed to suspect a misprint in its record in "Notices," No. 2068.

first manuscript wholly written on Borassus leaves; another follows in 1618 A.D. Then comes a long interval of 57 years, up to 1675 A.D., in which there is one Corypha manuscript, in 1629 A.D. But from 1675, when there are numerous manuscripts recorded at very short intervals, the use of Borassus shows itself dominant. Among 18 manuscripts, between 1675 and 1815 A.D., there are 12 Borassus and only 6 Corypha ones; that is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole are Borassus manuscripts.

The oldest known Bengal palm-leaf manuscript is referable to the year 1360 A.D. Another described in "Notices," No. 1977, was thought by the late Rāja R. L. Mitra to be older, being supposed to be dated in Lakṣ. 102=1207 A.D. It is a Corypha MS., measuring $13\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$, and is certainly very old, but its date, if any, is not decipherable, and on palæographic grounds it is more likely to belong to the end of the 14th century.

TABLE V. BIHĀR PALM-LEAF MSS.

No.	A. D.	Date.	Reference.	Measure.	Material.
1	1020	5 Mahipāla.	Table I, No. 8.	$21 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$	Cor.
2	1054	14 Nayapāla.	Table III, No. 2.	22×2	Cor.
3	1120	15 Rāmapāla.	Table I, No. 16.	$22 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	Cor.
4	1165	4 Gōvindapāla.	do. No. 21.	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$	Cor.
5	1185	24 do.	do. No. 25.	$11\frac{3}{4} \times 2$	Cor.
6	1199	38 do.	do. No. 27.	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$	Cor.
7	1319	Lakṣ. 214.	do. No. 37.	$15\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$	Cor.
8	1446	Sam. 1503.	do. No. 47.	$13\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$	Cor.
9	1450	Lakṣ. 345.	do. No. 48.	$13 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Cor.
10	1460	Lakṣ. 355.	Table III, No. 101.	$12 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Cor.
11	1467	Lakṣ. 362.	Table I, No. 49.	13×2	Cor.
12	1468	Lakṣ. 363.	Table III, No. 103.	13×2	Cor.
13	1479	Lakṣ. 374.	Table I, No. 50.	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 2$	Cor.
14	1504	Lakṣ. 399.	do. No. 51.	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	Cor.
15	1513	Lakṣ. 408.	do. No. 52.	$13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{13}{16}$	Cor.
16	1526	Lakṣ. 421.	Table III, No. 106.	11×2	Cor.
17	1529	Lakṣ. 424.	do. No. 107.	16×2	Cor.

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Measure.	Material.
18	1536	Lakṣ. 431.	Table III, No. 109.	11 × 2	Cor.
19	1540	Lakṣ. 435.	do. No. 110.	11 × 1½	Cor.
20	1557	Lakṣ. 452.	Table I, No. 56.	13⅜ × 2	Cor.
21	1564	Lakṣ. 459.	Table III, No. 112.	12 × 1½	Cor.
22	1575	Lakṣ. 470.	Table I, No. 58.	13½ × 2¼	Cor.
23	1607	Lakṣ. 502.	Table III, No. 115.	11 × 2	Cor.
24	1608	Lakṣ. 503.	Table I, No. 62.	13½ × 1⅞	Cor.
25	1609	Lakṣ. 504.	do. No. 63.	13¾ × 2	Cor.
26	1609	Lakṣ. 504.	Table III, No. 116.	12 × 2	Cor.
27	1616	Lakṣ. 511.	Table I, No. 64.	14⅛ × 1⅝	Cor.
28	1617	Lakṣ. 512.	Table III, No. 117.	17 × 2	Cor.
29	1622	Çak. 1544.	do. No. 120.	14 × 2½	Cor.
30	1624 / 1610	Çak. 1546 / Lakṣ. 505.	do. No. 121.	11 × 2	Cor.
31	1627	Lakṣ. 522.	do. No. 122.	14 × 1½	Cor.
32	1629	Çak. 1551.	do. No. 124.	10 × 2	Cor.
33	1633	Çak. 1555.	Table I, No. 65.	12 × 1⅞	Cor.
34	1643	Lakṣ. 538.	Table III, No. 125.	16 × 1½	Cor.
35	1647	Çak. 1569.	Table I, No. 66.	11¼ × 2	Cor.
36	1660	Lakṣ. 555.	Table III, No. 126.	14 × 2	Cor.
37	1661	Lakṣ. 556.	Table I, No. 67.	12¾ × 1½	Cor.
38	1668	Çak. 1590.	do. No. 68.	7⅛ × 1¾	Cor.
39	1669 / 1660	Çak. 1591 / Lakṣ. 555.	do. No. 69.	7 × 1⅝	Cor.
40	1673	Lakṣ. 568.	Table III, No. 127.	12 × 1½	Cor.
41	1680	Çak. 1602.	Table I, No. 73.	14 × 1¾	Cor.
42	1689	Lakṣ. 584.	Table III, No. 132.	12 × 2½	Cor.
43	1727	Çak. 1649.	do. No. 134.	22 × 2	Cor.
44	1739	Çak. 1661.	do. No. 137.	15½ × 2	Cor.
45	1836	Lakṣ. 731.	do. No. 141.	11 × 1	Bor.

Among the 45 manuscripts listed in this Table, there are 35 which, as their width shows, are undoubtedly written on Corypha leaves. There are only eight MSS. (Nos. 9, 10, 19, 21, 31, 34, 37 and 40) which, by their width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, might be written on Borassus leaves. But their age, as well as their isolated position among Corypha manuscripts, renders it certain that they are also Corypha manuscripts. Indeed, as a matter of fact, Nos. 9 and 37, which I have myself inspected, are Corypha manuscripts. I may add that down to 1739 A.D. (No. 44) I have not found, among all the Bihār MSS. that I have examined and measured, a single manuscript written on Borassus leaves. So far, therefore, as evidence, at present available, goes, it points to the fact that, **down to the middle of the 18th century, Corypha leaves were in exclusive use in Bihar for book-writing.** About that time, perhaps, the use of Borassus leaves may have been introduced from Bengal; for No. 45, of 1836 A.D., is evidently a Borassus manuscript. Any how, in the present day, as I learn from special enquiries made by me, both kinds of palm-leaf are in use in Bihār, though, for book-writing at least, paper has nearly entirely superseded palm-leaf, so that it is very difficult now-a-days to obtain a quite modern palm-leaf manuscript. In fact, in spite of persistent endeavours, I have failed to obtain for personal inspection a single Bihār palm-leaf manuscript of the 18th and 19th centuries. This remark, regarding the supercession of palm-leaf by paper, also applies to Bengal, but not to Orissa.

With regard to Orissa I am in a somewhat unsatisfactory position. Palm-leaf manuscripts, written in Oriya, are very uncommon in Calcutta, and the majority of those one meets with are not dated. Moreover the few manuscripts which bear some date are not dated in any era, but merely in the regnal years of certain kings. I have been able to examine the following seven manuscripts:—

Table VI.[12] Orissa Palm-leaf MSS.

No.	A.D.	Date.	Reference.	Measures.	Mat.
1	1660–92	Some year of Mukunda	Govt. Ind.	$1\frac{5}{16}$	Bor.
2	1683	24th do. ...	do.	$15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$	Bor.
3	1683	24th do. ...	do.	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Bor.
4	1690	31st do. ...	No. 2837 in Notices.	$16 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$	Bor.
5	1708	17th of Divya Simha ...	Govt. Ind.	$14\frac{9}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$	Bor.
6	1752	10th of Kēçarī ...	do.	$14\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$	Bor.
7	1766	24th of do. ...	do.	$15 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$	Bor.

[12] On the chronology of the kings of Orissa, see Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 267 (in Vol. II of his *Indian Antiquities*, ed. Thomas), also Hunter's *Orissa* and

I have also examined seven other manuscripts which are undated. Their width varied from 1 to 1½ inches, and their number of lines from 3 to 6. They were made of Borassus flab. Their general appearance indicates them as being of the same period as the dated ones.

I have not met with any Oriya palm-leaf manuscript of an earlier date than the 24th year of Mukunda Dēva, or A.D. 1683, though No. 1 may go back to 1660. So far as this evidence goes, it shows that Oriya palm-leaf manuscripts are not older than the second half of the 17th century, and are invariably written on Borassus leaves. The evidence, however, is not complete. It seems to be certain that the Oriyā characters were not employed in Orissa before the 15th century A.D. The earliest epigraphical record in Oriyā characters is an inscription, dated 1436 A.D., of Kapilēçvara Dēva. The earlier inscriptions of the 13th and 14th centuries are in a species of early Bengalī characters.[13] It is not impossible therefore, that manuscripts may have been written in Oriyā characters as early as the 15th century A.D. Possibly among the undated manuscripts some may go back to such an early date; and it is also possible that dated manuscripts of that early period may yet come to light. In the latter case it is probable that they will be found to be Borassus manuscripts; for hitherto not a single manuscript written in Oriyā characters is known to exist which is written on Corypha leaves. At present, however, there is a gap of 200 or 250 years (about 1436–1660 A.D.) in the evidence. On the whole, the probability is that the case of Orissa is much the same as that of Bengal. If Corypha leaves were ever used in Orissa at all, their use must have gone out of fashion, as it did in Bengal, in the course of the 16th century. At present, the available evidence

elsewhere. The exact periods of the several reigns are only approximately known. There were three Mukundas and two Divya Siṁhas. The former reigned 17, 32, and 19 years respectively; accordingly it must be Mukunda II who is referred to in Table VI, and who reigned, approximately, from 1660 to 1692 A.D. The two Divya Siṁhas reigned 28 and 18 years respectively; probably it is Divya Siṁha I who is here intended, and who reigned from 1692-1720 A.D. Kēçarī Dēva (in Prinsep, Bīr Kishore Deo) reigned from 1743–1780 A.D. In the manuscripts the reigns of these kings are quoted in *aṅkas*. On the method of converting these *aṅkas* into regnal years, see Bābū Mon Mohan Chakravarti's explanation in *Journal, A.S.B.* vol. LXII, (1893), p. 89. The number *one* and all numbers ending with zero (except 10) or with 6 are omitted. Hence the 29th *aṅka* of Mukunda is equal to his 24th year; *i.e.*, 5 *aṅkas* (1, 6, 16, 20, 26) are omitted; and so forth. The *aṅkas* of Table VI are: 38 (No. 4), 29 (Nos. 2, 3 and 7), 21 (No. 5), 12 (No. 6). No. 1 simply refers to the reign of Mukunda.

[13] See *Journal, A.S.B.* Vol. LXII (1893), p. 88, 89. Also *ibidem*, Vol. LXIV (1895) and Vol. LXV (1896).

is dead against the use of Corypha leaves in Orissa. Not a single Corypha manuscript in Oriyā characters has as yet been discovered.

Let us now turn to Western India. Here we have the careful catalogues prepared by Professors Kielhorn, Peterson and Bhandarkar. In his Report for 1880-81, Prof. Kielhorn describes 77 palm-leaf MSS. from Pātān. Prof. Peterson in his 3rd Report for 1885–86, describes 157 palm-leaf MSS. from Cambay (Nos. 181–338), and in his 5th Report for 1892–95 he describes 93 palm-leaf MSS. from Pātān. Measurements, however, are only given of 69, 147 and 62 manuscripts respectively of the three sets. The total of measured manuscripts accordingly is 278. Among these there are :

(1) MSS. measuring	$1\frac{3}{4}$	inches and more,	230
(2) MSS. „	$1\frac{1}{2}$	inches	38
(3) MSS. „	less than $1\frac{1}{2}$		10

This statement includes both kinds of manuscripts, undated as well as dated ones, and, therefore, supplements the information given in Table III.

The first-placed manuscripts, of course, as shown by their width, must be Corypha ones; so also, are in all probability, the 38 manuscripts of the width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. More doubtful might seem the case of those ten which measure less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Among these there are 8 manuscripts which are said to measure only $1\frac{3}{8}$, $1\frac{1}{3}$, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and two manuscripts which are said even to be only one inch wide.[14] Four of these 10 manuscripts, being dated, will be found included in Table III; *viz.*, Nos. 10 (1″ wide), 5 and 8 ($1\frac{1}{4}$″), and 89 ($1\frac{1}{3}$″); and in connection with that Table it has been shown what little probability there is that any of these 10 manuscripts should be Borassus ones. As a matter of fact (I may add here), I have found by ocular examination of Kielhorn's No. 34 (or No. 35 in Table I) that among its leaves there are some which are only $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, but which still are Corypha leaves: which circumstance shows that extreme narrowness of the leaves need not preclude their being Corypha. It may, therefore, be taken for certain that **in Western India none but Corypha leaves were ever used for book-writing.**

We will now turn to the paper manuscripts. For Eastern India (Bengal, Behar and Orissa) the "Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts" afford a fair statistical text. I have classified all the dated paper MSS. which are enumerated in volumes I to X, according to centuries, down to 1850, in the subjoined Table VII, in which I have added similar information,

[14] These are Peterson[5] Nos. 7, 63 (both one inch), Peterson[5] No. 13, Kielhorn No. 40, Peterson[5] Nos. 50, 66 (all four, $1\frac{1}{4}$″); Peterson[3] Nos. 304, 305, 308 (all, $1\frac{1}{8}$″); Peterson[3] No. 216 ($1\frac{3}{8}$″).

for Western India, gathered from the Reports of Professors Bhandarkar, Kielhorn and Peterson.[15] For my present statistical purpose these Reports, unfortunately, are not so well fitted as the "Notices;" still such as they are, their evidence distinctly tends in the same direction. A considerable portion of the manuscripts described in the "Notices" belong to the North-West Provinces and Oudh, which form the central portion of Northern India. Accordingly the column for the "Notices" is divided into East and Centre.

Table VII.

Periods.	Notices.			Bhandarkar.		Kielhorn.		Peterson.	
	East.		Centre.	West.					
	Palm-leaf.	Paper.	Paper.	Palm-leaf.	Paper.	Palm-leaf.	Paper.	Palm-leaf.	Paper.
(1) 1050–1150				7		6		14	
(2) 1150–1250			1	14		5		68	
(3) 1250–1350			1	13	1	6		46	
(4) 1350–1400	2	1	1	3	2		2	4	10
(5) 1400–1450		1	4		5	2	9	1	27
(6) 1450–1550	12	7	8		20		47		61
(7) 1550–1650	16	14	40		61		53		162
(8) 1650–1750	18	56	70		93		65		240
(9) 1750–1850	5	107	201		96		48		369

The general drift of this evidence is to show that from the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries paper began to

[15] These are Bhandarkar's Report for 1882–83; Kielhorn's Report for 1880–81, containing also a list of the collection in 1873–74; Peterson's Second Report for 1882–83 (being an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1883); his Third Report for 1884–86 (being another Extra Number for 1887); his Fifth Report, for 1892–95, and his Sixth Report, for 1895–98.

supersede palm-leaf as a material for writing books. The drop in the number of palm-leaf manuscripts between the third and fourth periods is very noticeable; and from the fourth period onwards there is a steady and marked rise in the number of paper manuscripts.

In Western India the supersession of palm-leaf was far more thorough than in Eastern India. **About the middle of the 15th century,**—so far as the evidence at present available goes,—**the use of palm-leaf entirely ceases in Western India.** The three latest palm-leaf manuscripts are dated, one in A.D. 1449 (Sam. 1505), and two in A.D. 1400 (Sam. 1456): see Kielhorn's Report, p. v, and Peterson's Fifth Report, p. 51. During the same period (1400–1449) we have 41 paper manuscripts. The earliest paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1320 (Sam. 1376): see Bhandarkar's Report, p. 51. Then follow 14 paper manuscripts, dated between A.D. 1360 and 1395. This total cessation of the use of palm-leaf at this period is nothing new: it has already been pointed out by Professor Bhandarkar in his Report, pp. 51 and 52.

In Eastern India the use of palm-leaf continued more or less by the side of paper. The Table shows a steady and marked rise in the number of paper manuscripts, while the number of palm-leaf manuscripts remains practically stationary, ending with a marked drop in the last period. This, of course, really implies a steady decrease in the use of palm-leaf, ending with a practically total cessation, in the present day.[16] In Orissa alone its use continuous to some extent. The two latest recorded palm-leaf manuscripts (both not on Corypha, but Borassus leaves) are dated A.D. 1815 (Çaka 1737; "Notices," No. 1607, Table I, No. 87) and A.D. 1836 (Lakṣ. 731, "Notices," No. 1764, Table III, No. 141). The earliest paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1354 (Sam. 1410), and is a Behar (Maithilī) manuscript, No. 1999 in the "Notices." The oldest Bengal paper manuscript is dated A.D. 1404 (Çaka 1326), being No. 2082 in the "Notices." These are two exceptional cases: **the real use of paper in Eastern India only commences about A.D. 1450, that is about one century later than in Western India.**

But the earliest paper manuscript of all, examined by me, is one in the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. It is No. 582 in Volume I of its Library Catalogue, and is dated A.D. 1231 (Sam. 1288).[17] The oldest

[16] Exceptionally, and for a very limited class of certain religious books, palm-leaf is said to be still used in Bengal.

[17] The Calcutta Sanskrit College, in its Library Catalogue, professes to possess extraordinarily old paper manuscripts. No. 553 in Vol. I is said to be dated in 1017 A.D. or Sam. 1073; No. 371 in 1059 A.D. or Sam. 1115, No. 122 in Vol. II. in 1178 A.D. or Sam. 1234; No. 582 in Vol. I. in 1212 A.D. or Sam.

paper manuscript of all, mentioned in the "Notices" is No. 2043. It is dated A.D. 1343 (Sam. 1399), and has no string-hole, but in its place a small read disk, about $\frac{3}{8}''$ diameter. These two earliest paper manuscripts are shown in Table VII in the column for "Notices," under the heading "Centre." They are both written in a distinctly Western type of Nāgarī, and must have been written somewhere in the North-West Provinces: they do not properly belong to Eastern India. Under the heading "Centre" are entered paper manuscripts written in Nāgarī (not in Bengalī, neither in Maithilī) characters. All these properly belong to the North-West Provinces or Oudh, *i.e.*, to the Central part of Northern India. It may be noticed that no palm-leaf manuscripts are recorded for this part of Northern India. This is a noteworthy fact, to which reference will be made subsequently.

To sum up the result of my enquiries into the use of palm-leaf as writing material, it appears that—

(1) Originally none but leaves of the *Corypha umbr.* palm were used throughout India. This state continued down to the 15th century.

(2) From the middle of the 15th century their use was discontinued in Western India, no other kind of palm-leaf replacing them.

(3) From the beginning of the 17th century they ceased to be used in Bengal and probably Orissa, the leaves of the *Borassus fl.* taking their place.

(4) In Behar their exclusive use continued down to the middle of the 18th century.

(5) The use of the *Borassus flab.* is comparatively modern, and it is, and was, nowhere current in Northern India, outside Bengal and Orissa.

(6) Paper began to come into use, in the Centre of Northern India, in Western India and in Eastern India about the middle respectively of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.

(7) In the Centre and West it entirely superseded, in the 15th century, the writing-material previously in use, that is, palm-leaf in the West and perhaps birch-bark in the Centre. In the East it maintained a finally successful rivalry until comparatively recent times.

1268; No. 529 in A.D. 1320 or Sam. 1376. I have examined all these manuscripts. They are all written in Nāgarī, and are North-Western manuscripts (not Bengalī). No. 553 is as modern a manuscript as one can wish, and is dated Sam. 1873, or A.D. 1817! No. 371 is dated Sam. 1715 or A.D. 1659. No. 122 is dated San (*i.e.*, Bengalī year, not Saṁvat) 1234, equal to A.D. 1826. No. 582 is doubly dated in Sam. 1288 (not 1268 as the Catalogue reads), and Çaka 1152, which is A.D. 1231 (*viz.*, 1288−57 and 1152+79); this is the only really old paper manuscript. No. 529 is not dated at all, the compiler of the Catalogue having mistaken some blurred Nāgarī akṣaras for numeral figures.

The *Corypha umbraculifera* being a South-Indian tree, it is clear that its leaves, prepared to serve as writing material, must have formed an article of trade from very early times, and been carried as merchandise over the whole of Northern India. The customers of it, of course, were almost wholly limited to the literary classes, who wrote and copied books, *i.e.*, to the learned in schools and monasteries, etc. Paper came in with the Muhammadans, in the 11th century. It only very slowly and gradually displaced the Corypha palm-leaf, the use of which had the sanction of age and religion among the conservative Indian literates: they looked with distrust upon the product of the Mlecchas. The paper-makers are still, as a rule, Muhammadans; and there exists no indigenous Sanskritic term for paper, the word universally used being *kāgaj* or *kāgad*.[13] With the 14th century, paper began to grow more widely into favour, and the import trade of Corypha leaves proportionately declined. With the beginning of the 17th century we find that paper has displaced the Corypha leaves throughout Northern India excepting Behar, and the trade with it had practically ceased. Palm-leaves were still occasionally wanted; and thus it came to pass (so it seems) that the people of Bengal and Orissa took to the use of the *Borassus flabellifer* which grew plentifully in their own country, because they could no more readily obtain suitable Corypha leaves in sufficient quantities. It is curious to observe that the literati of Behar were the most conservative in the retention of the use of the Corypha leaves; for their latest Corypha MS. is dated A.D. 1739 (No. 44 in Table V).

It would seem that the use of the leaves of the Borassus palm was introduced into Eastern India from the South. For its use in Southern India can be traced to a much earlier period. As Table II shows, the earliest recorded Borassus manuscript in Southern India may be referred to about 1550 A.D., and since that time Borassus is generally, though not exclusively, made use of, in Southern India, for book writing; Corypha also being used occasionally. The case of Southern India, however, I have not been able to thoroughly investigate. In Ceylon the use of Corypha leaves appears to be still predominant; in fact, for book writing, I am informed, it is still in exclusive use. The cause or causes that led to the Borassus growing into favour, and more or less displacing the time-honoured Corypha are obscure. It

[13] This is a Hindū corruption of the Persian *kāghaz* (كاغذ), which itself is a corruption of the Chinese *kog-dz*, the name of their "paper made of the bark of the paper-mulberry tree." When the Arabs, in the 8th century, learned paper-making from the Chinese, they adopted the Chinese name for their own paper made of linen rags. See Professor Fr. Hirth's *Indische Studien*, p. 263, and Professor Karabaček's *Führer durch die Ausstellung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*.

would be interesting to know them, and they would be worth investigation. Perhaps it may be found that the Borassus palm was introduced into India only at a comparatively recent period, and being a more useful tree than the Corypha, it was more frequently cultivated, and more extensively employed. Of the Borassus palm almost everything can be used: its fruits and buds are edible, its juice is made into liquor, its leaves can be used for domestic and literary purposes, its trunks are shaped into boats; and so forth. Of the Corypha palm neither the fruit is edible nor the juice potable. Being a far more useful tree, the Borassus would naturally soon become a greater favorite even with respect to such a matter as the leaves for writing purposes in which it is perhaps hardly superior to the Corypha. But it is difficult to suppose that the employment of the Borassus leaves as a material for writing can be separated by any long interval from the introduction of the Borassus palm into India. The tree could not well have existed long in India without its useful properties being discovered. If the use of its leaves for writing grew up in the 15th or 16th centuries, its introduction can hardly be placed much earlier than the 14th century.

There is a notice in Hiuen Tsiang's Travels (Beal, vol. ii, p. 255) of the existence of "a forest of Tāla trees" near Konkanapura in South-India. The exact site of that place is still a matter of dispute (see *Indian Antiquary*, XII, p. 115, XXIII, p. 28); but it must be somewhere in the Concan, which is the limit to which the Corypha umbr. grows freely in *cultivation* (though not *wild*). The pointed notice of the "forest of Talipat palms" is curious. It must have been a particular feature of that place, and must have been shown to Hiuen Tsiang as such. In the forest there was a Stūpa; and Hiuen Tsiang adds that "in all the countries of India the leaves of the Talipat palm are everywhere used for writing on." Here we seem to have a clear instance of a plantation of Corypha palms, on a large scale, for the purpose of growing leaves for inland use or for export. Writing was mainly carried on in Buddhist and other monasteries, and probably there were Corypha plantations connected with most of the larger monastic establishments in South India; only the Konkanapura plantation would seem to have been one on a particularlylarge scale.

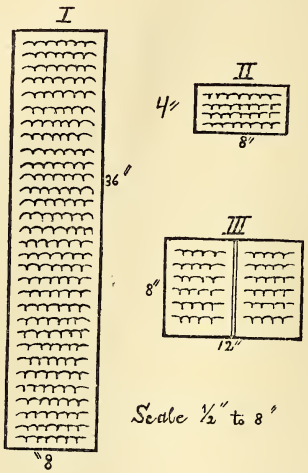
There is a puzzling notice in Alberuni (Sachau, vol. i, p. 171). He says: "The Hindus have in the South of their country a slender tree like the date and cocoanut palms, bearing edible fruits, and leaves of the length of one yard, and as broad as three fingers, one put beside the other. They call these leaves *tārī*, and write on them. They bind a book of these leaves together by a cord on which they are arranged, the cord going through all the leaves by a hole in the middle of each."

This description, with the exception of the remark about the edible fruit, only fits the Corypha palm. At the time of Alberuni (973–1043 A.D.) the Borassus palm, in all probability, did not exist in India. In any case, at his time its leaves were not used anywhere in India for writing books. He says the leaves measured one yard in length, and three fingers in breadth: that gives us a leaf measuring $36 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which, as I have shown, are nearly the maximum measurements of a Corypha leaf, but impossible for a Borassus leaf.[19] He also says that the leaves are called *tāṛī*. At the present day, the term *tāṛī* (ताड़ी) is used to denote palm-wine or "toddy," which, of course, is made from the juice of the Borassus palm. I am not aware that the term is used anywhere for the prepared leaves of either the Corypha or the Borassus. These are called *Tālpat* or *Tālīpat*, and that term is applied to the Corypha palm in South India, and has been adopted into the Botanical terminology. In Alberuni's use of the term *tāṛī* for the leaves, there appears to be some misunderstanding. But a greater difficulty is his remark about the edible fruits, as Alberuni is generally a careful observer and reporter. Personally he can have had no acquaintance with the tree, as neither the Corypha nor the Borassus grows in the localities where he lived: he can only have reported what he was told. But as the Borassus palm is out of the question, he must either have made a slip, or the text of his work is handed down incorrectly. As immediately before he had mentioned a point of resemblance to the date and cocoanut palms, he probably now wanted to point out a point of difference, that the Corypha palm bore no edible fruits; he probably meant to say "a tree, slender like the date and cocoanut palms, but bearing no edible fruits."

Alberuni proceeds to say: "In Central and Northern India people use the bark of the *tūz* tree. It is called *bhūrja*. They take a piece one yard long and as broad as the outstretched fingers of the hand, or somewhat less (about 8 inches) and prepare it in various ways. They oil and polish it so as to make it hard and smooth, and then they write on it. Their letters, and whatever else they have to write, they write on the bark of the *tūz* tree." There can be no doubt that Alberuni is describing the bark of *Betula utilis*. Where he lived, the tree was probably a well-known object to him. The measurements of the strips of bark given by him are borne out by the Kharōṣṭhī birch-bark

[19] In the quoted passage it seems as if Alberuni were speaking of the size of the natural leaves of the palm. Obviously this is not correct; for the size of the segment of the natural leaf of either palm, whether Corypha or Borassus, is much greater. Possibly the translation may be at fault. Anyhow, Alberuni is speaking of the size of the prepared leaf.

manuscript of which portions are preserved in Paris and St. Petersburg, and which may be as old as the 1st century A.D. The strips of bark on which this manuscript is written, measure about 8 inches (or 20 centimeter) in width and one yard, more or less, in length[20] (Woodcut, fig. 1). This seems to show that anciently the strips of bark were used in their full size, perhaps in the form of rolls, like Greek manuscripts of papyrus. Or their length was cut up into smaller pieces, of about 4 inches each. Such is the Bakhshālī MS., which measures about 7 by 4 inches. The latter probably belongs to the 10th or 11th century, *i.e.*, about the time when Alberuni lived; and he may have been thinking of manuscripts of this kind, when he wrote his observations. The writing was made to run parallel with the narrow side of the original strip, as seen in the published plates of the Paris and St. Petersburg MS. This custom was retained, even when the strips were cut up into smaller pieces, as in the Bakhshālī MS. (Woodcut, fig. 2). The latter approaches, in its general form, the typical Indian palm-leaf *pothī*. It consists of a large number of separate oblong leaves, with the writing running parallel with the longer side of the leaf; only the oblong is not so decidedly elongated as in the palm-leaf, and the string-holes are wanting. Still later, after Alberuni's time, the modern book form appears to have been introduced. The strips of bark, cut into smaller pieces of about 12 inches, were folded in the middle, making up a "form" of two leaves or four pages; and the writing was now made to run parallel with the narrow side of the page, so that, if the form is unfolded into the original sheet or strip, the



[20] The exact length is uncertain. M. Senart has measured one of the length of 4 feet (or 1 m. 23), but states that the strips evidently vary in length. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1898. See also Professor v. Oldenburg's Report in the Transactions of the Imperial Russian Academy, for 1897. Woodcut, fig. 3 shows the exact measurements of a Çāradā manuscript in my possession, about 250 years old.

writing is seen to be in two columns and running parallel with the longer side of the strip as shown in fig. 3 of the Woodcut.

A noteworthy point in Alberuni's statement is that it seems to assert that, in his time at least, the use of birch-bark was peculiar to Central and Northern India, while palm-leaf was peculiar to Southern India. At first sight this assertion does not seem to be borne out by the evidence set out in the earlier part of this paper. Hiuen Tsiang also states explicitly that in his time (7th century) palm-leaf was used throughout India, and he travelled over the whole of India, and was in touch with the literary classes of India. All depends on the exact meaning of Alberuni's terms. That he cannot have included in his "Northern India" those portions which I have denoted Western and Eastern India is clear from the fact shown by my evidence that all the oldest manuscripts of those parts of Northern India, going back practically to the time of Alberuni himself, are of palm-leaf. There is no reason why birch-bark manuscripts should not have survived as well as palm-leaf manuscripts in the libraries of Pātān and Cambay, and elsewhere, if any birch-bark manuscripts had existed at all. That birch-bark manuscripts are quite capable of surviving for so long a time is proved by the Bower MS. Alberuni's "Northern India" must be limited to the Panjāb, Sindh, Rājpūtānā and Kashmīr, and his "Central India" must mean the North-West Provinces and Oudh, or what I have called the "Centre" of Northern India. In fact, Alberuni's terms are bounded by about the 24th Lat. and 85th Long., and India below the 24th Lat. is what he designates "Southern India." Understood in this sense, his statement is probably quite correct. It is true the evidence available on the point is very scanty. The only three birch-bark manuscripts of any considerable age, which are known to have survived are (1) the Paris and St. Petersburg MSS., (2) the Bower MS., and (3) the Bakhshālī MS. They all come originally from that portion of India which Alberuni includes in *his* "Northern India;" and—so far—they show that birch-bark was used there for book-writing. Nos. 1 and 2 are much older than Alberuni's time. No. 1 dates probably from the 1st or 2nd century A.D., the period of a still strong Greek influence, and its apparently roll-like form may be due to that influence. No. 2 dates from about 450 A.D., and is in the Indian Pōthī form, oblong, like the corypha leaf, with a string-hole.[21] It belongs to a period of a still strong Buddhist intercourse between what Alberuni calls "Southern India" and Central Asia. This may account for its distinctly Indian Pōthī form. No. 3 probably dates from about the

[21] The Bower MS. contains several distinct works, written on leaves of two distinct sizes, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and $9 \times 2''$, but both imitating the Corypha leaf.

time of Alberuni himself. Its form is peculiar. It resembles the Indian *Pothī*, in consisting of separate leaves, not "bound" in a book, but tied together in a bundle: but it differs from the *Pothī* in not having any string-hole for the passage of the tying string. The string-hole was probably omitted as being too risky for the material. It also differs in its shape, being squarish ($7 \times 4''$), and not so distinctly oblong as the common Indian *Pothī*, made with the long narrow palm-leaves. Now it is noteworthy that the two oldest paper manuscripts known to us point to their having been made in imitation of such a birch-bark prototype as the Bakhshālī MS. The oldest paper manuscript, dated 1231 A.D. (*supra*, p. 121) has exactly the same squarish shape; it measures 6×4 inches. The next oldest paper manuscript, dated A.D. 1343, is rather more oblong, measuring $12\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ inches, but it has no string-hole. Both these manuscripts come from that part of India which Alberuni calls "Central India as above explained." It seems permissible to conclude that when paper came into use, its leaves were cut and treated in imitation of birch-bark book-leaves in those parts of India where birch-bark was the common writing material, and that it was cut and treated in imitation of palm-leaf, wherever the latter material was used for book-writing. In this connection it is worth noting that no old palm-leaf manuscripts are known to come from Alberuni's "Northern and Central India," though, considering the scanty survival of birch-bark manuscripts, too great importance may not be attached to this point.[22] Regarding this point of survival, it may be noted that it applies equally to all kinds of manuscripts, whether of paper or of birch-bark or of palm-leaf. This circumstance shows that the cause of the non-survival is not to be sought in the climatic conditions of Alberuni's "Northern and Central India." These need not have prevented a reasonable amount of survival. The cause is probably rather to be sought in the political and religious troubles which so frequently convulsed those portions of India. During the Muhammadan conquest, for example, large destructions of Hindu literary works are reported to have taken place.

In this connection there is another interesting point to be noted. The Bower MS., which is written on birch-bark and is certainly as

[22] There are a few very old palm-leaf manuscripts, but they all come from Western India; at least there is no reason to assume any other place of origin for them. They are enumerated in Table I, Nos. 1–5. No. 5 is dated by Mr. Bendall in the Harṣa era, and this might seem to suggest the "Centre" of Northern India as its place of origin. But, in the first place, the date may be, and as I believe is, more probably, referable to the Gupta era, in which case the date of the manuscript is A.D. 571-2. In the second place, considering the wide extension of the Harṣa empire, even a Harṣa date is not incompatible with a Western Indian origin which on general grounds is far more probable.

early as the middle of the 5th century, is fashioned exactly like the typical Indian Corypha palm-leaf manuscript. It consists of separate leaves, provided with a string-hole, and these leaves measure from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, which is the width of the Corypha leaf. But further, all the oldest paper manuscripts from Kuchar imitate the Indian Corypha leaf manuscripts, as may be seen from the specimens of the Weber MSS. and the Macartney MSS. which I have published. They all consist of separate, elongated oblong leaves, from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, with a string-hole, and with the writing running parallel with the longer side of the leaf. Everything points to the inscribed Corypha leaf as the model, not even to a Borassus leaf. The Bower MS. and those Weber and Macartney MSS. which are written in Indian Gupta characters must have been written by native Indians migrated to Kuchar, while the other Weber and Macartney MSS. written in the Central Asian modification of the Indian Gupta were probably written by native Kucharis.[23] Why should the people of Northern India and of Central Asia have gone to the trouble of cutting up birch-bark and paper into the shape of palm-leaves, when both kinds of material more naturally lent themselves to other (square) forms, which for writing purposes one would have thought to be obviously more convenient than the long narrow strips of palm-leaf? What else could have caused this, but the sanction of immemorial usage among the literary classes of India, the learned and the "religious," those who occupied themselves with the composing and copying of books; and with the spread of Indian culture, through the Buddhist propaganda, its fashions of writing went with it beyond the borders of India. At the same time the circumstance that they imitated the oblong shape of the palm-leaf rather than the squarish shape of the birch-bark leaf clearly points to the conclusion that the writers of the manuscripts in question either came from Western India, or, at least, were influenced by the literary customs prevailing in that part of India—the part which is included in Alberuni's Southern India.[24]

This suggests another thought. The Corypha palm is a South Indian tree. Its leaves established that immemorial and so strongly

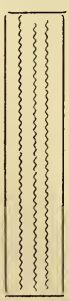
[23] See my paper in the *Journal, A.S.B.*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 257, 258.

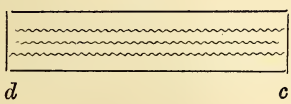
[24] This view is confirmed by the circumstance that the leaves of some of the Weber and Macartney MSS. are numbered on their obverses. This, as the late Professor Bühler has pointed out (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 261), is a custom of Southern India. In Northern India the numbering is on the reverses. We thus seem here to come across a curious indication regarding the particular part of India from which the Buddhist propaganda proceeded to Eastern Turkistan. We should have to look for it in South-western India.

persistent fashion of shaping the writing material, even when it was birch-bark or paper. The people who used those leaves and thus initiated that fashion, must have been the first to learn and adopt the art of writing in India. The late Professor Bühler, in his excellent paper "On the Origin of the Indian Brāhmī Alphabet" (*Indian Studies*, No. III) and in his Indian Palæography (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research, Chap. I, § 4), has shown it to be most probable that the Indian Brāhmī script is derived from a Northern Semitic alphabet and he suggests that it probably came by way of Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. I agree with Professor Bühler; only I believe the original of the Brāhmī script to have been, not the Phenician alphabet of the 8th or 9th century B.C., but the Proto-Aramaean of the 7th or 6th century B.C. All the trustworthy evidence, at present available, points to the conclusion that the maritime commerce of India with the West cannot have commenced before the 7th century B.C., and that it ran from the west coast of India through the Persian Gulf to Mesopotamia. At that time, there existed a flourishing land-trade between Mesopotamia and the further West through the North of Arabia. The Indian sea-trade connected with this land-trade. The latter had a script, common to all the peoples that participitated in it, and it must have been this script with which the Indian merchants and mariners became acquainted in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. This script which may be called the Proto-Aramaean, was a cursive development of the Phenician, and owed its origin to the need of a popular short script by the side of the more cumbrous cuneiform. Further all available evidence seems to show that, though there probably existed a coasting-trade all along the west-coast of India to Ceylon, the Indian sea-trade to Mesopotamia started from the northern part of the west-coast, above Bombay, in the Gulf of Cambay, where the two ancient ports of Bharoch and Supārā, already mentioned in the Jātakas, are situated. **It is here, in the north-western part of Southern India that the Brāhmī script must have originated, say, between 650 and 550 B.C.** It was here that the Proto-Aramaean script was introduced by the Indian mariners, and elaborated into a new script by men belonging to the literary classes of India for the benefit, primarily, of the mercantile classes. These men would not have been slow to notice the advantage of the new importation, and they would naturally alter and enlarge it, and generally adapt it to the needs of their own language and literature. The details of this process of adaptation have been very well worked out by Professor Bühler in his papers above cited. But what I wish to point out is that the three principles on which Professor Bühler shows the adaptation to have been made are most easily accounted for, if we remember the nature of the

writing material to which the Proto-Aramaean script had to be adapted. Professor Bühler accounts for them by "a certain pedantic formalism" of the Indians. But they are far more naturally accounted for by the fact that the South Indians adopted the Corypha palm-leaf to write upon, and took to the fashion of scratching their letters on them. Why they should have chosen palm-leaves and the method of scratching on them, is another question which it would be interesting to explain. But anyhow, as a matter of fact, they did make their choice in that way. And having done so, the principles above referred to followed almost as a matter of course. Considering the venation of the palm-leaf (cross-veins running at right angles with the length of the leaf), one could only scratch letters with comfort on them, if they were made "of vertical lines with appendages attached at the foot" instead of the top, and "set up straight." Considering the extreme narrowness of the palm-leaf (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at most), admitting only a very small number of lines, the letters had to be "made equal in height," lest space was wasted.

In connection with this another point comes in. The Semitic script runs from the right to the left, while the Brāhmī runs from the left to the right. So far as I know, it has never been satisfactorily explained what could have induced the Indians to introduce the change. The boustrophedon method of writing which is supposed to account for the same change of direction in Greece, will not serve as an explanation; for that method has never been observed in any Indian inscription, nor is it ever noticed in Indian tradition. I should like to suggest the following explanation. The original writing material of the Indians were very narrow oblongs: bamboo-slips or palm-leaves. On these they probably wrote (as also the Chinese do) originally in vertical lines, parallel with the longer side, (*ab* in fig. I) and running, after the Semitic fashion, from the right (*a*) to the left (*d*), every letter also facing left. With this method of writing the earlier-written lines would be hidden from view by the hand as it moved across the surface of the writing-material. To avoid this inconvenience, a half-turn was given to the latter, so as to bring its longer side (*ab*) to the top (fig. II). The consequence was a complete change in the direction of writing; for now the letters on the lines ran from the left (*a*) to the right (*b*), and the lines from the top (*a*) to the bottom (*d*), parallel with the longer side (*ab*) as shown in fig. II. This is precisely the way in which all existing Indian *pothīs* are written. By the half-turn, given to the





material, all the letters written on it would also be placed on their sides, and to obviate this inconvenience, they were again set up straight, but now usually facing in the opposite direction. The original practice of vertical writing may have had a cause similar to that above suggested for the half-turn of the material: or it may have been due to the inconvenience of frequent breaks of continuity in writing extremely short horizontal lines (parallel to *ad* in fig. I).

This paper was read to the Society in May 1898. Its publication was delayed, in the hope that I might be able to add the results of an enquiry into another source of evidence. But as my work on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities will prevent this for some time, it seems better to present the evidence as it stands at present, especially as it is of such a direct and reliable character. The other source I refer to is the occurrence of the names of the Corypha and Borassus palms respectively in ancient Indian literature. When the date of an ancient work is known, exactly or approximately, one would suppose the occurrence in it of the name of the palms should be a proof, first, of their existence in India at that time, and secondly, of the use of their leaves as writing material. This seems a perfectly sound assumption, but there are several pitfalls to be guarded against: (1) is the date assigned to the work reliable; (2) is the passage in which the name occurs genuinely old, or possibly a later interpolation; (3) is the application of the terms to the palms in question certain? I have not been able to spare time for the examination of this source of evidence; but I may just mention a few instructive cases to illustrate its difficulties.

(1) Professor Hara Prasad Shastri has drawn my attention to a passage in the Lalita Vistara (Bibliotheca Indica Ed., p. 526, l. 12), in which the fruit of the *Borassus flabellifer* is supposed to be referred to. As the Lalita Vistara certainly existed as early as the 3rd century A.D. (having been translated into Chinese in 308 A.D.), we should thus have a testimony to a very early existence of the Borassus palm in India. The passage runs as follows: *tad-yath=āpi nāma Tāla-phalasya pakvasya samanantaravṛṇṭa-cyutasya bandhan-āçrayaḥ pīta-nirbhāso bhavati ..... , evam= eva Bhagavato Gautamasya ..... pariçuddhaṁ mukha-maṇḍalam*, etc., *i.e.*, "Just as the exocarp of the ripe fruit of the Tāla palm, when it drops from its stalk, is of a brilliant yellow, even so is the face of the Blessed Gautama perfectly pure." On referring this passage to Dr. Prain, I received the following reply: "My only objection as a botanist to the identification of *Tāla-phala* with either the Tāla or Tālī palms, *i.e.*, with either the Borassus or the Corypha, is that the *bandhan-āçraya* (exocarp)

of both is *anything but* 'brilliant yellow.' The fruit of Borassus is 'rusty brown,' that of Corypha 'grey,' when they have respectively dropped from the stalk. Of course, there is a Palm, and that too one which is undoubtedly a native of northern India, with fruits that when ripe *do* most thoroughly deserve the description 'brilliant yellow.' This is the *Kajūr* or wild date. The difficulty then, of course, is the name; was Tāla ever commonly applied to what is now more generally known as *Kajūr?* I find that Dr. Watt has been informed (see his Dictionary under *Phoenix dactylifera*, the Date, and *Phoenix sylvestris*, the *wild* date, which is not really botanically separable from the cultivated tree) that in Sind, where, by the way, according to Mr. James and Mr. Strachan *Borassus* is not grown, one of the names of *Phoenix dactylifera* is *tār* to this day, and that in the Panjāb the name *Tārī* is still applied to the juice (taken to make Toddy) of the wild date, *Phoenix sylvestris.*" This seems to me to speak for itself, and shows the necessity of caution in dealing with botanical terms occurring in old Indian literature.

(2) In the Introduction to the Jātaka book there occurs the following passage: *puratthābhimukho nisīditvā ekaṭṭhitāla-pakkappamāṇe ekūnapaññāsa piṇḍe katvā sabbaṁ appodakaṁ madhupāyāsaṁ paribhuñji, i.e.* (as translated by Mr. Warren in his *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 74) "setting down with his face to the east, he made the whole of the thick, sweet milkrice into forty-nine pellets of the size of the fruit of the single-seeded palmyra-tree, and ate it." The meaning, of course, is that Buddha ate the milkrice in 49 mouthfuls. The passage occurs in the story of the dish of milkrice which was given by Sujātā to Buddha shortly before his enlightenment. I referred this passage to Sir George King who replied "the fruit of Borassus is too big to be likened to the ball which a native of India makes up when he eats rice. So I presume Corypha must be the species of Tāla meant. Its fruit is small, globular, and not longer than a walnut. The fruit of the Palmyra is of the size of a closed human fist or a cricket-ball." Measured by it the milkrice, and the "mouthful" would have been an enormous quantity. By the way, the expression "single-seeded" is curious. The rule with all palms is a single seed. The only Indian palm, which, as Sir George King informs me, has occasionally two seeds in its fruit is the *Caryota urens*, which is common enough in India and Ceylon. If the writer of the Introduction to the Jātaka book knew that the Caryota had sometimes two seeds, it would explain his applying the term "single-seeded" to the Corypha.

(3) There is a well-known passage in Arrian's *Indica* (Ch. VII), in which Megasthenes is qouted as saying: "They (the Indians) eat the inner bark (φλοίος) of trees; the trees are called in the speech of the

Indians *tala*, and there grows on them, just as on the tops (κορυφή) of the date palms (φοίνιξ), something like balls of wool" (οἷάπερ τολύπας). It is commonly assumed that the *tala* tree is the Borassus, and that the "something" means its fruit. But Megasthenes cannot have referred to the fruit of the tree; he clearly meant something, the nature of which he did not know; it was neither fruit nor flower, but could only be described by its resemblance. Anyhow the whole description of the tree fits neither the Borassus nor the Corypha palm. The only Indian palm which agrees with some items of the description is the *Caryota urens*. The pith of it yields sago; and tufts of a kind of woolly stuff grow at the points where the leaves join the stem (see Yule's *Friar Jordanus*, p. 17, Hackluyt Soc., 1862). These may have been intended by the "inner bark" and the "something" of Arrian. But neither the tufts, nor the fruit of this palm—and, indeed, of any palm—grows on its "top," and the reference to the date-palm remains unintelligible.

One thing is clear. The common assumption in all the dictionaries (Sanskrit or Pali) and translations that *tāla* always means the Borassus or palmyra, and *tālī* the Corypha, is quite unfounded. *Tāla* is simply the generic name of any palm, and the context must show which palm is intended in any particular case. This is certainly the case with the older Indian literature, whatever the modern usage may be.

With reference to page 124, I may now add that the earliest evidence that I can find of the existence of the Borassus palm in India, occurs in Friar Jordanus' *Mirabilia descripta*, in 1328 A.D. He calls the tree *tārī* (or *tālī*), and says that it "gives all the year round a white liquor pleasant to drink." (See Yule's *Hodson Jobson*, *s.v.* Toddy). The reference to the "toddy" shows that the Borassus palm is meant.

A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.—By THE REV. H. FRANCKE, *Moravian Missionary, Leh. Communicated by the Philological Secretary.*

[Read June, 1899.]

The Ladakhi word for proverb is *gtamdpe* [pronounced *stamspe*] which means 'word example.' *Stamspe* is the general term for what might be called quotations, the shepherd's calender and the popular moral code.

Ladakhi popular poetry has become famous for the frequent application of the laws of 'parallelism.' Many beautiful examples, illustrative of this form of poetry, will be noticed in the proverbs.

In the following each proverb will be treated in this way—

(*a*) the Proverb in the orthography of Ladaki letter writing, (*b*) pronunciation, (*c*) literal translation [does not claim to be good English], (*d*) application, (*e*) grammatical and other notes.

Concerning the orthography of (*b*) the following will suffice: The vowels are the Italian vowels[1], *ä* rather like *e*. All accents given, refer only to the stress. *sh*=ཤ, *zh*= ཞ, *ng*=ང, *c*=ཅ, *ch*=ཆ, *j*=ཇ, *ts*=ཙ, *ths*=ཚ. The unaspirated Tenuis holds the mean between English tenuis and media. Single *r*=Hindustani *r*. The *r* preceding a consonant is like the German guttural *r*, following a consonant it is like the English *r*, spoken quickly.

THE PROVERBS.

1. (*a*) དཔིད་ཉིན་རིང་མོ་ལ་གྲང་གསུམ་དང་དྲོ་གསུམ།
མི་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལ་སྐྱིད་གསུམ་དང་སྡུག་གསུམ།།

(*b*) spid' nyin ring'moa drang' sumdang dro' sum
mi'thse ring'moa skyid' sum dang dug' sum.

[1] They are long, when ending a syllable, short in all other cases.

(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths
In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determina tivum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Compositа*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum*.

3. (*a*) ཐིགས་པ་བསག་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

4. (*a*) སྨ་སྨྲོའི་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ།
སྦྱེལ་མདོས་མོ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nagrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

5. (*a*) དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep.

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival.

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་སྡུག་རེ།

(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instanee *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc.

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྤྱང་དུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོན་འབྲད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡི་དུས།།

(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.

(*c*) The time when the fly turns [flies] round the mouth, is the time of taking off all clothing and eating everything.

(*d*) A description of summer in the peasant's calendar.

(*e*) About *kha* instead of *khala* see 1 (*e*). If an *r* follows a muta, the muta is often dropped in Ladakhi, thus *rang* is said instead of *brang*; *ci* 'what' is used here in the sense of whatever.

8. (*a*) མཁར་རྫོང་ཡ་ཆུལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
ཆུ་སྦིའི་ལྡམ་ཆུ་ཡང་འབུད།

(*b*) khar'zongi yachula lta'lta,
chu'bii ldam'chu yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the glacier water of the Kharzong pass the gathered water of Chubi (a village) is also lost.

(*d*) take what is nearest!

(*e*) refers to the system of irrigation. Notice the re-duplication of the verb, implying a durative sense = whilst.

9. (*a*) ར་མའི་ཐྲོ་ལ་གོ་བ། ལུག་གི་ཐྲོ་ལ་བེ་ཡ།།

(*b*) ra'mä thro'a go'a, lug'gi thro'abe'a.

(*c*) In the company of goats [he says] *goa*, in the company of sheep [he says] *bea*.

(*d*) Said of a man, who has no will of his own,

(*e*) *Goa* and *bea* imitate the voices of goats and sheep respectively.

10. (*a*) དཔིད་འབད་དུས། སྟོན་རྩུ་དུས།།

(*b*) spid'bad'dus' ston'rdu'dus'.

(*c*) Spring is the time of working, autumn the time of gathering.

(*d*) Do everything at the proper season.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a three-syllabled *Comps. determ.*

11. (*a*) དཔིད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། སྟོན་རྩུ་དུས་ལ་འཇོད་འདུག།།

(*b*) spid' baddusla mabad'na, ston'rdudusla gyod'dug.

(*c*) If you do not work in the spring working time, you will repent in the autumn gathering time.

(*e*) Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rdu* = gather.

12. (*a*) ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཤྲེས་དང་མཉམ་པོ་འབྲུག་སྡིད་ན།
ས་དོ་ཤ་གི་ལིད་ལ་སྟོན་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བྱ་རོས་སྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

14. (*a*) སྒང་ལེས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ།
དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབྲད།།

(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

15. (*a*) བྱ་ཚངས་མ་བྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང་།
བྱ་དན་འུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཅོ་ཤལ་མཇུག་ལ་ལུས།།

(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

16. (*a*) དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་དྲོད་མི་དབབ།
དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྟེ་མན་ནས་གྲང་མི་དབབ།།

(*b*) yar'nyin log'ste man'ne drob' mi bab',
gun'yinlog'ste man'ne drang' mi bab'.

(*c*) Unless the summer-day returns, heat will not come down.
Unless the winter-day returns, cold will not come down.

(*d*) Everything will come at the proper season.

(*e*) *Mannas*, a gerund of *man* = to be not, used in the sense of unless, besides, etc., *yarnyin*, *gunnyin*, see *spidnyin* in 1.

17. (*a*) མཚན་སྟོད་ལ་དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བདབ་དགོས།
མཚན་དཀྱིལ་ལ་གཉིད་ལོག་དགོས།
མཚན་སྨད་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀྱི་ལས་ལ་བསམ་བ་བདང་དགོས།།

(*b*) thsanstod'la konchog'la so'va tab'rgos
thsanskyil'la nyid'log rgos.
thsan smad'la jig'stenni las'la sam'ba tang' rgos.

(*c*) In the first part of the night you must pray to God.
In the middle of the night you must sleep.
In the last part of the night you must think of the work of this world.

(*e*) For *sova* instead of *solva*, see 4 (*e*). In *dgos*, must, the *d* is turned into *r*, *rg* is pronounced like *ch* in Loch, lake.

18. (*a*) ཤ་བ་རི་དྭགས་རི་ན་འཁྲུལ་བ་མིག་གི་རྒྱན།
དམན་ཚར་མོ་སྲང་ན་འཁྲུལ་བ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན།།

(*b*) sha va ri'dags ri'na drul'va mig'gi gyan',
sman thsar'mo shrang'na drul'va id'kyi gyan'.

(*c*) The deer Shava walking in the hills is the delight of the eye, a fine girl walking in the street is the delight of the heart.

(*e*) Notice the classical Participle in *va* in *drulva*. In proper Ladakhi the ending *khan* would be used.

19. (*a*) སྟག་སྣེའི་ཤོ་རེས་མ་སྒྲོའི་ཤོ་རེ་ལ་ཁྲིལ་འདུག།།

(*b*) Stag'nä sho'res Mash'roi sho'rela threl'dug.

(*c*) The harelipped man of Stagna [a village] laughs at the harelip of Mashro.

(*d*) Everybody sees only his neighbour's fault, not his own.

(*e*) *Stagna* = tigernose, on account of a hill of such shape. In the Instrumental *shores*, the *s* is pronounced distinctly, although in pure Ladakhi *shores* would be spoken *shorei*.

20. (*a*) ཆུའི་ཚོད་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཉ་ལ་སྦུར་བཟུམ་མ་བདང་།།

(*b*) chu'ithsod'la lta'ste, nya'la bar'zum ma tang'.

(*c*) Do not grasp a fish, unless you know the depth of the water.

(*d*) Do not accuse a man before the court, unless you know how rich he is. (Refers to the former bad management of justice in Ladakh).

(*e*) The *ma* = not, of the second sentence silently refers also to the first.

21. (*a*) རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག།།

(*b*) sta'zhon go'chag, bong'zhon lag'chag.

(*c*) Horse-riding [may cause] head-breaking, donkey-riding [may cause] hand-breaking.

(*d*) It is safest to remain low and humble.

(*e*) The two sentences consist each of a two-syllabled *Comp. det.*

22. (*a*) རྟ་ལ་རྨིག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཅེས་མཐོང་སྟེ།
བོང་དྲྭའི་ར་གོ་མ་སྐྱང་།།

(*b*) sta'la shmig'pa gyab'ces thong'ste,
bon'gui ra'go ma skyang'.

(*c*) Seeing [them] shoeing a horse, you must not stretch the donkey's foot [for shoeing].

(*d*) Do not imitate high people and become a fool.

23. (*a*) བུ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་དང་།
ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་དཀ་གཤེས།།

(*b*) bu'lon med'na lag'midang'
thser'ka med'na star'gan nyos'

(*c*) If you have no debts, you may be security for another; and if you have no sorrow, buy an old horse!

(*d*) A rich and happy man may do some stupid thing.

24. (*a*) ཨ་བྱ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམས་པིན་ན།
ཏ་རྐན་ཞིག་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོངས།།

(*b*) a'ba shi'in sam'spinna
star'gan cig'la cila ma tsong's.
(*c*) If you thought [knew], that father will die,
Why did you not sell him [before dying] for an old horse.
(*d*) Used derisively. You could not help your misfortune just as you cannot sell your father.
(*e*) *Samspin* a contraction of *bsamspa yin*.

25. (*a*) བཟོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་དགེ་བ་མེད།
ཞེ་སྡང་ལྟ་བུའི་སྡིག་པ་མེད།།

(*b*) zod'pa lta'bui ge'va med
zhed'dang lta'bui dig'pa med.
(*c*) There is no virtue like patience;
There is no sin like hatred.

26. (*a*) བླ་མ་རང་མགོ་མ་འཐོན་ན།
གཤིན་པོའི་ཡར་འདྲེན་ཅི་བཅོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) La'ma rang'go ma thon'na
shin'poi yar'dren ci co'in.
(*c*) If the Lama's own head does not come out [cleanly], how will he manage (do) the drawing upwards of the dead.
(*d*) Used for deriding the immoral life of the lamas.
(*e*) *Thonces* is verb neuter of *btonces*, to put out.

27. (*a*) ཤི་སོང་ཤི་སོང་ཟེར་ན།
གཤིན་མིག་རི་ནས་ལྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) shi'song shi'song zer'na
shin'mig ri'nä lte'n.
(*c*) If you say "he is dead, he is dead,"
The eye of the dead will look out of the hill.
(*d*) Ladakhi superstition. It is not good to speak much of a dead man, his eye might frighten the speaker.

(*e*) For the *n* in *shinmig* or *shinpo* see also *nyin* derived from *nyima*. Syllables ending in a vowel are inclined to add a final *n*, see also *mentog* from *metog* and many others.

28. (*a*) རང་སྐྱོན་ཕད་གང་འབོར་ཏེ།
མི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱེ་གང་ལ་མ་ཁྲིལ།།

(*b*) rang'skyon phad'gang bor'te
mi'skyon rgye'gangla mathrel'.

(*c*) Putting aside the large bag [*phad*] filled with your own faults, do not mock at the little bag [*rgye*] of your neighbour's faults.

(*e*) *Rang skyonphad gang* and *misky on rgye gang* are *Compos. determ.* Notice the change of *s* into *r* in *rgye*.

29. (*a*) རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་སྟེ།
མི་གདོང་ལ་སྡུད་མོ།།

(*b*) rang'dong ma thong'ste
mi'dongla stad'mo.

(*c*) Not seeing your own [ugly] face, [you make] a scene about your neighbour's face

(*d*) See 28.

(*e*) *Ltadmo* derived from *ltaces*, to look at.

30. (*a*) ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན།
གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) lag'shes gun'gyi yog'po in'
stam'shes gun'gyi spon'bo in.

(*c*) Who is clever with his hands, is servant of all, who is clever in his speech, is master of all.

(*e*) The ending *gyi* is retained here. The proper Ladakhi would be *gunni*. The silent *g* and *d* in *gtam* and *dpon bo* become *s*.

31. (*a*) ཆག་པོས་འགས་པོ་ལ་མ་ཁྲིལ།།

(*b*) chag'poe gas'pola ma threl'.

(*c*) What is broken, must not laugh at what is cracked.

(*d*) See 28 and 29.

(*e*) *Chagpo* and *gaspo* are substantives derived from verbs.

32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་སྲན་མའི་སྲན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'thse ring'dugna shran'mä shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

(*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་སྐོ་ཚོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mä chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

(*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྐྱོན་ལ་མ་བདང་ན།
འགྱོད་པ་རྗེང་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

35. (*a*) བོང་དྭའི་རྣ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་བླུག་ན། ཡང་ན་ཐལ་བ་བླུག་ན།
ཙོག་སྟ་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

(*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

36. (*a*) སྔན་མ་སྐག་བརྒྱབ་ན། རྗེས་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

(*d*) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you.

(*e*) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee.

37. (*a*) སྟག་སྣ་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོང་འདུག་ཟེར་དེ།
ཞ་འབུག་ནས་རྡོ་བ་འཁུར་དེ་ཆ་རུག།

(*b*) stag'nanä khyi'yongdug zer'te
zha'bugnä rdo'a khurte cha'rug.

(*c*) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.

(*d*) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.

(*e*) *Zhabug* = *zhabub* = falling headlong into a bog; *charug* = cha'adug; the *d* of *'adug* becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel.

38. (*a*) མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན།
ཤིང་ངན་དུ་ཀུ་དང་ཐུག།

(*b*) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.

(*c*) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.

(*d*) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.

(*e*) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped.

39. (*a*) མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐག།
ར་ལ་ཚིལ་མི་ཐག།

(*b*) mi'la skyid' mithag'
ra'la thsil' mi thag'.

(*c*) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.

(*e*) *Thagces* = *thegpa.*

40. (*a*) ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་བེ་དྲ་ལ་ཤོལ།།

(*b*) khyi'a sgal'dang be'daa shol.

(*c*) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.

(*d*) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

(*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally འབྱེ་གདོལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

41. (*a*) རྟས་འཕང་མྱོང་ངམ། དཔོན་བོས་བཀྱོན་མྱོང་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

(*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

42. (*a*) ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་ཇུང་ལ་ཇའུ།།

(*b*) thrug'ula spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

(*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

(*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

(*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = $3\frac{1}{4}$ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

43. (*a*) ཁྭ་དས་ཀོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་ས་དང་བླ་མའི་ཏོ་ལྷང་ཟེར་ས་ལ་སླེབ་འདུག།།

(*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

(*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

44. (*a*) སྦལ་ཏི་སྙིང་ཅན་ནི་སྙིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།
བོད་སྙིང་མེད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost.

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection.

45. (*a*) མཉམ་པོ་འདུགས་པ་བླ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།།

(*b*) nyam'po dugs'pa la'maa khyod'.

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama.

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang; dugspa = dugpar.* The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund.

46. (*a*) མནའ་མ་མནའ་མ་ཟེར་ར་ནི་མིའི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན།

རྒྱབ་ལ་གཡུ་ཞུང་བཏག་ག་ནི་སེམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar.* The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung.* All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba = sems,* soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁྭ་ཏས་ཀོ་ལྷག་ཟེར་པ། ཙུང་ཀའི་མིག་འཁྲུལ།།

(*b*) Kha'tä ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kä mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka = skyungka.*

48. (*a*) ཟ་བོ་ཁྭ་ཏས་ཟོས། ཅུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ།།

(*b*) za'o kha'tä zos', cung'kä kha' marpo'.

(*c*) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red.

(*d*) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.

(*e*) *Zos* = *bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel.

49. (*a*) ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁ་འགས།།

(*b*) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.

(*c*) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].

(*d*) When you see something nice you want to have it.

(*e*) *Thsil* = mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.

50. (*a*) ནོར་མེད་ཚོང་ས་ལ་ཆ་ན། སྨྱོ་འདོད།།

(*b*) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.

(*c*) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.

(*d*) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.

(*e*) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.* = a liker of foolishness.

51. (*a*) སྟོད་ན་སྟོད་ན་ངའི་སང་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟོད།

སྨད་ན་སྨད་ན་ངའི་སང་ཐུས་པས་སྨད།།

(*b*) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'
smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*c*) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.
Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.

(*d*) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.

(*e*) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyalla* = a good man.

A Primer of the Asur dukmā, a dialect of the Kolarian language.—*By* The Rev. Ferd. Hahn, *German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Choṭā Nāgpur. Communicated by* Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.

[Read December, 1899.]

Introductory Remarks.

The Asurs are a non-Aryan tribe of Choṭā Nāgpur, who number only about 2,500 souls. They chiefly inhabit the Districts of Rañchī and Palāmāu and the Sargujā tributary state. Though small, the tribe is divided into several sections, *viz.*, the Agōriā- the Brijiā or Binjhiā- the Lōharā- the Kōl- and the Pahāṛiā-Asurs. These sub-tribes are again divided into totemistic sections, which are similar in name to those found among other aborigines in Choṭā Nāgpur; as for example: Bes'erā = hawk; Īnd = eel; Baṛeā = wild dog; Hōrō = tortoise; Būā = jackal; Rotē = frog, etc.[1] The chief occupation of the Asurs is melting iron and in the case of the Lōharā-Asurs the making of rude iron utensils and agricultural implements; besides they till the jungle in the most primitive manner. Their homes are made of wood, Bamboo and grass only and chiefly met with at the foot or even at the slopes of the hills which contain iron ore. When the land they have cultivated is exhausted they change their homes and move to another place in the forest.

As to religion the Asurs believe in a Creator and apparently identify him with the sun, whom they call Siŋboŋā; no worship however is rendered to him, since he is benevolent and does not require any expiation. It is peculiar that they do not know of any evil spirits except the manes of their ancestors, which alone are feared and to whom sacrifices are made; the latter exclusively consisting of fowls. The sacrificial altar is the fire-hearth. The Asurs have no priests, the

[1] These totems do not appear to be taboo to the members of its Sept, the only trace of such a thing is to be found in the restriction of intermarriage within the same totemistic Sept; but even here I was told by some men of the Bes'erā section, that they could not help intermarrying, since other sections were living too far away from their homes.

head of each family performs the required religious rites.[2] Every departed parent becomes a spirit and everybody who dies an unnatural death turns into a malignant one. After the death of a member of the household the regular meals are placed in his name outside the home near the door for eight days, after which the nearest relatives and friends come for the funeral meal at which they partake freely of "jharī," Rice-beer, which they brew themselves. The Asurs burn their dead and put some rice on the funeral pile for the journey of the deceased beyond. They do not pick up any relics to keep or put by as other aborigines do. If sickness or any calamity visits the house of the Asur he is sure that some way or other a deceased parent has been disturbed, who must be quieted in the manner described above. The most peculiar feature, however, in the belief of the Asurs is the idea that ancestors or the spirits of the dead are re-born in their children.

The marriage ceremony is very simple, no priestly functions are required. Polygamy is permitted and so is the re-marriage of widows. The price of a bride varies from three to five rupees. Child marriages are unknown to the Asurs. Marriages within the totemistic section is not entirely prohibited, otherwise the common restriction is observed:— "Chachērā, mamērā, phuphērā, musērā." The Asurs do not tattoo and ornaments are worn very sparingly. The Baby gets some anklets of iron to protect him from the evil eye of some person outside the tribe; within there are no witches or persons with evil eye. The Asurs are a stern race, have no musical instruments and seldom sing or dance. Rice-beer is indulged in by both sexes, but only men smoke. They are not very particular about their food and eat almost everything, even the flesh of the carcase of a cow.

I have tried almost in vain to find out any traditions or legends the Asurs might possess; all I could gather is, that they have a remnant of the Asur-legend so well known among the Muṇḍārīs and Uṛāoṉs.

There can be no doubt but that Asurs are the subject of this tradition, according to which they were destroyed by Siṉboṉā, who ruled that their spirits should be worshipped. The meaning of this tradition is apparently the following:—

The Asurs were the first settlers in the country, which is now called Chōṭā Nāgpur; they were living then pretty much in the same way as they do now, *viz.*, chiefly by iron smelting and a little husbandry. It may be that a section of them had acquired some civilization

[2] When they are found to practise demonworship, it is only in aid to the deity of the village in the precincts of which they live. In these cases the baigā or priest of the respective community (Korwā or Uraon) is making the sacrifice.

and that those remnants of copper mines, found in some localities of Chōṭā Nāgpur owe their origin to this advanced section of the Asurs. The Muṇḍārīs entered Chōṭā Nāgpur after them, coming from the West, leaving the Korkus in the Ellichpur District and other Kolarian tribes in other parts of the Central Provinces. Doubtless a fierce struggle between the new comers and the original settlers ensued, in which the Asurs, perhaps in a bloody battle were almost annihilated, the surviving remnant being driven to the hills, where we find them even now; however the spirits of the slain haunted the victors who being horrified by the tremendous slaughter they had committed among their enemies, for ever feared that these spirits would take revenge and hence the deifying and worship and propitiation of them by means of sacrifices on the part of the conquerors. The Asurs have most probably adopted the language of the latter, the Muṇḍāris, retaining only part of their original "dukmā" and making such alterations in the pronunciation of the language of their conquerors, as suited them best. By and bye they added also Dravidian words to their vocabulary and still later on some Hindī words and thus was made up the present Asur Du mā, of which on the following pages a grammatical outline is given.

INDEX.

CHAPTER I: *On transliteration.*

		Page.
1.	Vowels	153
2.	Hiatus and consonants	*ib.*

CHAPTER II: *Nouns.*

3.	Gender and number	*ib.*
4.	Case and signs	154
5.	„ examples...	*ib.*
6.	Declination	155

CHAPTER III: *Adjectives.*

7.	General remarks on adjectives	156
8.	Comparison of „	*ib.*

CHAPTER IV: *Pronouns.*

9.	Personal pronoun	*ib.*
10.	Declination of the first person	157
11.	„ „ second „	*ib.*
12.	Demonstrative pronouns	158
13.	Declination of demonstrative pronouns	*ib.*
14.	Examples of the use of pronouns	*ib.*

		Page.
15.	Relative pronouns	159
16.	Interrogative „	*ib.*
17.	Indefinite „	*ib.*
18.	List of names of relatives	160
	CHAPTER V: *On the Verb.*	
19.	On tense and characteristics	*ib.*
20.	Participles	161
21.	Infinitive and conditional	*ib.*
22.	On the passive voice	*ib.*
23.	General remarks on the verb	*ib.*
24.	Conjugation of *rūta'ā*: to beat. Present tense: I beat or I am beating	162
25.	Imperfect tense: I beat or I was beating ...	*ib.*
26.	Perfect tense: I have beaten	*ib.*
27.	Future tense: I shall or will beat	163
28.	Conjugation of the Conditional	*ib.*
29.	„ „ Passive	*ib.*
30.	The potential	164
31.	Imperative	*ib.*
	CHAPTER VI: *Negatives, Compounds, Causals, etc.*	
32.	Verbs with the negative	*ib.*
33.	Examples of verbs combined with negatives ...	165
34.	Agreement of the verb with its object	*ib.*
35.	Compound verbs	*ib.*
36.	Causal verbs	166
37.	Defective „	*ib.*
38.	The verb *Konoā* = not to be	167
	CHAPTER VII: *Adverbs.*	
39.	Adverbs of time	*ib.*
40.	„ „ place and manner...	*ib.*
41.	„ „ affirmation and negation	168
42.	Elliptical sentences	*ib.*
	CHAPTER VIII: *Numerals, Postpositions, Conjunct. and Interject.*	
43.	Numerals (cardinals)	*ib.*
44.	Ordinals	*ib.*
45.	Postpositions	169
46.	Conjunctions and interjections	*ib.*
	CHAPTER IX: *Asur, a Kolarian Dialect.*	
47.	Similarity with Muṇḍārī	*ib.*
48.	Differences „ „	170
49.	Dravidian words in the Asur dukmā	171
50.	Genuine Asur words?	*ib.*

Chapter I. Transliteration.

1. *Vowels.*

Short *a* and long *ā* like the final *a* in the word America and the *a* in father, respectively:—

e short like the *e* in the English word glen;
ē long, as the *a* in rate;
i and *ī* as *i*, in bit and *ee*, in tree respectively;
o short like the *o* in short;
ō long as in both;
ó a sound similar to the *oa* in broad;
u short and long *ū* as in full and flute respectively;
au dipthong like *ou* in house;
ai resembling the *i* in light.

2. *Hiatus and Consonants.*

The check which often occurs after a vowel and especially when two vowels stand together, is represented by an apostrophe (’). The semivowels *y* and *v* are frequently employed in connection with short vowels for the sake of euphony.

Little is to be said with regard to consonants, since they are the same as in the Hindī alphabet, with which the reader is supposed to be familiar; the guttural nasal *n* is represented by a ruled $n=\underline{n}$. The nasal *n* in connection with the guttural *g* is represented by *ŋ*. The palatial *d* and *t* are written *ḍ* and *ṭ* and the cerebral $r=r$, *c* is pronounced like *ch* in church *ch* is its aspirated form.

Chapter II. Nouns.

3. *Gender and Number.*

The Asur *dukmā* does not distinguish between gender. Whenever it is desired to distinguish sex, the Asur adds with regard to children, *kōṛā* and *kūṛī* to *hopon*, respectively, thus *kōṛā hopon*, means a male child, and *kūṛī hopon*, a female child. For irrational beings he makes use of the word *saṇḍī* and *eŋā;* e.g., *kūl*=tiger, *kūl saṇḍi*=male tiger; *kūl eŋā* =tigress.

Asur has three numbers, the Singular, the Dual, and the Plural. The formation of the latter two is quite easy; for the Dual simply adds *kiŋ* and the Plural *kū;* thus:—

hoṛ, a man;	*haḍḍā*, an ox;
hoṛ kiŋ, two men;	*haḍḍā kiŋ*, two oxen;
hoṛ kū, men;	*haḍḍā kū*, oxen;
īpil, a star;	*dīrī*, a stone;
īpil kiŋ, two stars;	*dīrī kiŋ*, two stones;
īpil kū, stars;	*dīrī kū*, stones;

4. *Cases.*

The Nominative, Accusative and Dative have no case signs and are therefore alike; when however in the Dative direction is implied it takes the sign of the Ablative case *tē*. The sign of the genitive is *ā* and *rā* and that of the corresponding possessive *ren* and *renī*.

The Locative sign is *rē*, the vocative is identical with the nominative and is preceded by the interjection *oe;* therefore

Nominative, Accusative, Vocative, Dative } are the same.
Dative, II form, Ablative } *tē*.
Genit. *ā, rā.*
Possess. *ren, renī.*
Loc. *rē.*

5. *Case examples.*

Nominative, Accusative, and Dative:

niā dīrī īdanā, this is a stone.
minā dīrī aguimē, bring that stone.
hoṛkū vedkanā, the men have come.
hoṛkū alopē rūepē, don't beat the men.
kūl mīad haḍḍā hablidiāe, the tiger has seized an ox.
Asur hoṛku ōt kākū kameā, the Asurs do not cultivate the field, *hukū meṛhed kameā*, they work iron.
Sadom īdimē, take away the horse.
sadom bir ovaiemē, give grass to the horse.

Dative and Ablative:

Jū, hunī tē senōmē! Go up to him.
Jū, amā vatu te senōmē Go to your village.
iŋ oṛā tē rūar tanāiŋ I am returning home.

Ablative and Instrumental:

Am okoāṭē vejulenā? Where do you come from?
Banai banai hoṛkū raŋet tē gojoyanā. Many people died from starvation.
Honā vatu tē iŋ vedlenā. I came from that village.
minīetē paisā rejemē! Take away the money from him!

Genitive and Possessive:

iŋā ōṛā, my house; *aleā oṛā*, our house.
amā nyumū citanā, what's your name?
hinirā gendrā aguime, bring his cloth.

sadom rā caulom, the tail of the horse.
sūtam rā bāver, a rope of cotton.
meṛhed rā kaṭu, a sword of iron.
neā disum ren rājā, the king of this country.
neā oṛā rēnī hoṛkū, the men of this house.
boyoŋ rēnī hopon, this is my younger uncle's son.
Asur rēnī Baigā kuniā, the Asurs have no priests, *lit.* of the Asurs no priest is.

Locative:

oṛā re, in the house.
okoārē dōhótanā? Where (in what) do you stay?
minī rē dārī konoā, he has no strength (in him).
Burū rā usul rē, on the top of the hill.
otē latar rē, underneath the earth.

6. *Declination of the noun.*

hopon, child.

Singular.

Nom. *hopon*	the child.
Gen. *hopon rā* or *hopon ren, renī*	of the child.
Dat. *hopon* or *hopon tē*	to the child.
Acc. *hopon*	the child.
Abl. *hopon tē*	from or by the child.
Loc. *hopon rē*	in or on the child.
Voc. *oē hopon*	oh child.

Dual.

Nom. *hoponkiŋ*	the two children.
Gen. *hoponkiŋ rā* or *ren, renī*	of the two children.
Dat. *hoponkiŋ* or *tē*	to the two children.
Acc. *hoponkiŋ*	the two children.
Abl. *hoponkiŋ tē*	from or by the two children.
Loc. *hoponkiŋ rē*	in or on the two children.
Voc. *oē hoponkiŋ*	oh ye two children!

Plural.

Nom. *hoponkū*	the children.
Gen. *hoponkū rā* or *ren*	of the children.
Dat. *hoponkū* or *tē*	to the children.
Acc. *hoponkū*	the children.
Abl. *hoponkū tē*	from or by the children.
Loc. *hoponkū rē*	in or on the children.
Voc. *oē hoponkū*	oh children.

Chapter III. Adjectives.

7. *General remarks on adjectives.*

Adjectives are subject to no change whatever, they are in reality nouns and are therefore declinable.

hinī buggī hoṛ īdanā, he is a good man.
nihī sadom hetkan īdanā, this horse is bad.
nihī maṇḍī sibil koneā, this meal is not savoury.
Asur hoṛku hudiy īdanākū, the Asurs are a small people.
Ranchī rē banā Gomkekū īdanākū, at Ranchi there are many Sahebs.
Usul buṛū, the high mountain.

Adjectives are formed from nouns by adding the past participle ending of the verb, *e.g.*, *napā*, health, *napākan*, healthy. Verbal adjectives are formed in the same way; example: *rūvā*, to be beaten, *rūvākan*, beaten; *huni napākan hoṛ īdanā*, he is a healthy man. *Hukū rūvākan mudaikū īdanākū*, they are beaten enemies.

8. *Comparison of adjectives.*

The degrees of comparison are expressed in the same manner, we find in Hindī and the Kolarian languages, *viz.*, the word compared stands in the nominative and the word with which it is to be compared, is placed in the Ablative case, thus:—

Iŋā ōṛā amā ōṛā tē baḍeā, my house is larger than your's.
Sadom tē hāthī dāṛiā, the elephant is stronger than the horse.
Iŋā seŋot sanamkū tē usulai, my daughter is the tallest (taller than all).

Chapter IV. Pronouns.

9. *Personal pronouns.*

Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
1. *Iŋ*, I.	*aliŋ*, we two.	*alē*, we.
2. *am*, thou.	*alaŋ*, I and you two.	*abū*, we and you.
	aban, you two.	*apē*, you.
	akiŋ, they two.	

From the above it will be seen that in the Dual and the Plural there are two forms of the second person, the first excluding and the second including the speaker. On the other hand the third person is wanting and the demonstrative pronoun is used instead.

10. *Declination of the first person singular.*

Nom. *Iy*	I.
Gen. *iyā or iyrenī*	of me, my, mine.
Dat. *iy* or *iy etē*	to me.
Acc. *iy*	me.
Abl. *iy tē* or *iy etē*	from or by me.
Loc. *iy rē*	in me.

Dual, first person.

Nom. *aliy*	we two.
alay	I and you two.
Gen. *aliyā* or *rā, renī*	of us two, our.
alayā or *rā, renī*	of me and you two.
Dat. *aliy* or *aliy tē*	to us two.
alay or *alay tē*	to me and you two.
Acc. *aliy*	us two.
alay	me and you two.
Abl. *aliy tē*	from us two.
alay tē	from me and you two.
Loc. *aliy rē*	in us two.
alay rē	in me and you two.

Plural, first person.

Nom. *Alē*	we.
abū	we all, addressees included.
Gen. *alēā* or *rā* or *renī*	of us, our.
abūā or *rā* or *renī*	of us all, our do.
Dat. *alē* or *tē*	to us.
abū or *tē*	to us all do.
Acc. *alē*	us.
abū	us all do.
Abl. *alē tē*	from us.
abū tē	from us all do.
Loc. *alē rē*	in us.
abū rē	in us all do.

11. *Second person singular.*

Nom. *am*	thou.
Gen. *amā* or *amrā* or *amrenī*	of thee, thy, thine.
Dat. *amā* or *amātē*	to thee.
Acc. *am*	thee.
Abl. *amā tē* or *amāetē*	from or by thee.
Loc. *amā rē*	in thee.

Dual, second person.

Nom.	*aban*	you two.
Gen.	*abanā, abanrā, renī*	of you two.
Dat.	*aban, aban tē*	to you two.
Acc.	*aban*	you two.
Abl.	*aban tē*	from you two.
Loc.	*abran rē*	in you two.

Plural, second person.

Nom.	*apē*	you.
Gen.	*apēā, rā, renī*	of you.
Dat.	*apē* or *apēātē*	to you.
Acc.	*apē*	you.
Abl.	*apēatē*	from you.
Loc.	*apē rē*	in you.

12. *Demonstrative pronouns.*

Proximate: *hinī*, this, he, she, it; also *minī*.
remote: *hunī*, that, he, she, it; also *munī*.
proximate: *nihī, nia, nea, minā*, this, it.
They are used both for rational and irrational beings.
Proximate: *hikū, nikū*, these; *hikiy*, these two.
remote: *hukū, nukū*, those; *hukiy*, those two.

13. *Declination of the demonstrative pronoun.*

Gen.	*hiniā, rā, renī*	of him, his, her, of this;
,,	*huniā, rā, renī*	of him, his, her, of that;
,,	*nihā, neā, nerā, niherenī*	of this, of that;
,,	*hikūā, rā, rēnī*	of these, of them, their;
,,	*hukūā, rā, renī*	of those, of them, their;
,,	*hikiyā, rā, renī*	of these two, their;
,,	*hukiyā, rā, renī*	of those two, their;
Acc. and Dat.	*hinī tē*, etc.	to him, from him;
Loc.	*hunī rē*	in him.

14. *Examples on the use of pronouns.*

iyā aḍḍē vejumē, come to me (my place come);
amā ōrā okoā rē? Where is thy house?
hiniā sētā aguimē, bring his dog;
nihā sadom okoerā īdanā? To whom belongs this horse?
nihī hoṛ ovaimē, give to this man;
hunī Asur kunia, he is no Asur;
minī dukmā kāē tuanā, he can't speak the language;
minā citan vatu? Which village is this?

hikūrā sadom nyelēmē, look after their horse.
hukurā meromkū kūl hablidiaē, their goats were destroyed by the tiger.
nukiŋ hoṛ renī kūṛi horkiŋ okoā rē, where are the wives of those two men?

15. *Relative pronouns.*

There appear to be no relative pronouns. The Asur simply relates the facts as they occurred and does not care to combine them in any way; thus the sentence: The man died who came yesterday, he will simply render by relating first that the man came and then that he died: *Hor vedyanā hunī godyonā*, *lit.* man came, that died.

16. *Interrogative pronouns.*

These are *okoe* who, which, what;
oko which, what;
citan which, what; also *okin*, how.
The declination is regular:
okoe rā, *renī*; *okoe tī*; *okoe rē*;
okoe vedlenā, who came?
okoe tē vejuyanā, where did you come from?
okoe nyelkedā, who saw it?
am citan koeyanā, what do you want?

These pronouns are used also of course as pronominal adjectives, in which case they retain their form: *okoe kūrī vejuyanā?* What woman was coming? *Hunī oko orā rē dohótanā?* In which house is he staying? *Okin sayiŋā?* How far will it be?

When the question is put to somebody, whether he should like to do such and such a thing, *ci kā* is generally added to the question; *e.g.*, Will you buy this? *Niā tilaiyā ci kā?* Is there water and fuel at your village? *Amā vatū rē da'ā īdanā ci kā? ci kā* meaning "or not." Where we however would use in a sentence "or not" it is expressed in Asur by *ci konā* or *kuniā*, e.g., Will you obey my order or not? *Iyā dukmā sāriyā ci konā?* Do you know (can you speak) Hindi or not? *Am Sadān dukmā dāriā ci konā?*

17. *Indefinite pronouns.*

For the indefinite pronouns "anyone" and "anything" the demonstrative pronouns *okoe* and *okō* are used, besides *okō* for "any" and "some":

Orā rē okoe īdanā? Is there anybody at home?
Okā hetā hejomē, come at any time.
Okā okā helā kūl hejuā, sometimes the tiger comes.

"Something" and "anything" is also expressed by *citan :*

Amā citanā īdanā ? Have you anything ? (*lit.* of thee, thine anything is) ?

18. *List of names of relatives.*

There is also in Asur the curious method of combining the *pronomen possessivum* with the names of parents, children and relatives in general. As the Asur *dukmā* is rather rich in these names, a list of the principal is given below :—

Iyā	*āpuiy*	my father.
,,	*hālāy*	,, grand-father.
,,	*huniy*	,, elder brother.
,,	*daiy*	,, elder sister.
,,	*gungumiy*	,, father's brother.
,,	*hāloniy*	,, father's sister.
,,	*hoponiy*	,, son.
,,	*huḍiy*	,, grand-son.
	teyamiy	,, son-in-law.
,,	*huhiy*	,, brother-in-law.
,,	*eyāiy*	,, mother.
,,	*jīay*	,, grand-mother.
,,	*boyoy*	,, younger brother.
,,	*bokkōniy*	,, younger sister.
,,	*hiliy*	,, mother's brother.
,,	*daimiy*	,, mother's sister.
,,	*teyotiy*	,, daughter.
,,	*katiy*	,, grand-daughter.
,,	*kūriiy*	,, daughter-in-law.
,,	*īyadiy*	,, sister-in-law.

Chapter V. On the Verb.

19. *On tense characteristics.*

The Asur *dukmā* has strictly speaking only 4 tenses : the present, the imperfect, the past or perfect, and the future.

The present tense active and neuter voice add *tanā* or *ā* to the root : *nyeltanā*, I am seeing ; *druptanā*, I am sitting ; *īdan-ā* (*īdanā*), I am being ; and *yanā* and *tadā* for the indefinite : *botoyanā*, it is hot ; *rabay yanā*, it is cold ; *sentadā*, I go ; *jomtadā*, I eat.

The imperfect of transitive verbs adds to the root *ldiā*, *lidiā*, *lā;* that of intransitive verbs adds *lenā* and *yanā : senlenā*, I was going ; *dohólenā*, I was remaining; *dukmālidiā*, was speaking ; *ovāldiā*, was giving.

The perfect adds to the root the following tense characteristics: *ā, kedā, ked, ledā, ya, yanā, kan, kanā: jomkedā,* I have eaten; *vejukanā,* I have come; *senyanā,* have gone; *dukmāyanā,* have been called.

The future adds *eā, eyā* or *yā* and in some words *nā: seneā,* I shall go; *dukmāyā,* shall speak; *ragēyā,* shall call; *rūeā,* shall beat.

With regard to the future tense it must be observed, that the Asur will never employ the present, as is done in English, when in reality the future is meant; for example "Can you do this?" or "Do you know this?" must be rendered by using the future tense: Nihī kameyā? Nihī tuanā? "I go home this year." Neā mēs rē ōrā tē senōaiŋ, *lit.* this year in house to I will go.

20. *On participles.*

The adverbial participle adds *rē* to the root of the verb: *nyūe rē godyanā,* he died drinking, in the act of drinking.

In the present participle the stem is repeated and then *tē* is added: *jomjomtē,* eating; *nyel nyel tē,* seeing.

The past perfect participle adds *kan* and *tē* to the root: *jomkante,* having eaten; also *len,* e.g., *senlen tē jomeā,* having gone, I will eat; *vejkantē,* having come.

The conjunctive participle adds *ked tē* and *tē* to the root of the verb: *jomked tē* after having eaten; *nyeltē,* after having seen.

21. *On the infinitive and conditional.*

The infinitive adds *ta'ā* to the root of the verb: *nyuta'ā,* to drink; *drupta'ā,* to sit; *nyelta'ā,* to see; *jomta'ā,* to eat.

The conditional adds *rē* together with the particle *dō* which is similar to the Hindī "*tō*," e.g., *iyā sen rēdō bēseyā,* if I go, it will be well; *hunī vejā rēdō nelēyā,* if he had come, he would have seen; *iy rūrēdo,* if I beat; *bugē lekā tē kāmē rē dō-amā pairā yameā,* if you work well, you will receive money; *tē* also is used for the conditional, e.g., *amā tuāetē iy rageyā,* if I knew thee, I would have called thee *lit.* from knowing thee I shall call thee.

22. *On the passive voice.*

Little is to be said with regard to the passive voice. For the present tense *oā* or *vā* is added to the root: *rūvātanā,* I am beaten. In the past tense it is *rūvāyanā,* I was beaten; and in the future *vā* or *goā* is simply added to the root instead of *eā* in the active and neuter verb: *rūgoā,* I shall be beaten.

23. *General remarks.*

The noun of agency is formed by adding *ae* to the root, which is repeated: *jojomae,* eater; *rūrūae,* beater. Nouns are formed from

the verb by dropping the ending of the infinitive: *dukmāta'ā*, to speak; *dukmā*, speech; *jojom*, food, from *jomta'ā*, to eat is an exception.

In conjugation the pronominal termination of the subject is added to the inflectional ending of the verb, but this principle is not so universally applied in the Asur Dukmā as for example in the Mundarī language.

24. *Conjugation of the verb: rūta'a, to beat.*

Present tense: I beat or I am beating.

Sing.	1.	*iŋ rūtanā* or *rūtanaiŋ*	I am beating.
	2.	*am rūtanā* or *rūtanam*	thou art beating.
	3.	*hunī rūtanā* or *rūtanāe*	he, she, it is beating.
Dual.	1.	*aliŋ rūtanā* or *rūtanāliŋ*	we two are beating.
	1+2.	*abaŋ rūtanā* or *rūtanālaŋ*	I and you two are beating.
	2.	*aban rūtanā* or *rūtanāban*	you two are beating.
	3.	*akiŋ rūtanā* or *rūtanākiŋ*	they two are beating.
Plur.	1.	*alē rūtanā* or *rūtanālē*	we are beating.
	1+2.	*abū rūtanā* or *rūtanābū*	we and you are beating.
	2.	*apē rūtanā* or *rūtanāpē*	you are beating.
	3.	*hukū rūtanā* or *rūtanākū*	they are beating.

25. *Imperfect tense: I beat or was beating.*

Sing.	1.	*iŋ rūlidiā* or *rūlidiāiŋ*	I was beating.
	2.	*am rūlidiā* or *rūlidiām*	thou wast beating.
	3.	*hunī rūlidiā* or *rūlidiāe*	he was beating.
Dual.	1.	*aliŋ rūlidiā* or *rūlidiāliŋ*	we two were beating.
	1+2.	*alaŋ rulidiā* or *rūlidilāŋ*	I and you two were beating.
	2.	*aban rūlidiā* or *rūlidiāban*	you two were beating.
	3.	*akiŋ rūlidiā* or *rūlidiākiŋ*	they two were beating.
Plur.	1.	*alē rulidiā* or *rūlidiālē*	we were beating.
	1+2.	*abū rūlidiā* or *rulidiābū*	we and you were beating.
	2.	*apē rūlidiā* or *rūlidiāpē*	you were beating.
	3.	*hukū rūlidiā* or *rūlidiākū*	they were beating.

The imperfect may be formed also with the auxiliary dohótanā, iŋ rū dohókedaiŋ, etc.

26. *Perfect tense: I have beaten.*

Sing.	1.	*iŋ rūkedā* or *rūkedāiŋ*	I have beaten.
	2.	*am rūkedā* or *rūkedām*	thou hast beaten.
	3.	*hunī rūkedā* or *rūkedāe*	he has beaten.
Dual.	1.	*aliŋ rūkedā* or *rūkedāliŋ*	we two have beaten.
	1+2.	*alaŋ rūkedā* or *rūkedālaŋ*	I and you two have beaten.
	2.	*aban rūkedā* or *rūkedāban*	you two have beaten.
	3.	*akiŋ rukedā* or *rukedākiŋ*	they two have beaten.

Plur.	1.	*alē rūkedā* or *rūkedālē*	we have beaten.
	1+2.	*abū rūkedā* or *rūkedābū*	we and you have beaten.
	2.	*apē rūkedā* or *rūkedāpē*	you have beaten.
	3.	*hukū rūkedā* or *rūkedākū*	they have beaten.

27. *Future tense: I shall beat.*

Sing.	1.	*iŋ rūeyā* or *rūeyāiŋ*	I shall beat.
	2.	*am rūeyā* or *rūeyām*	thou wilt beat.
	3.	*hunī rūeyā* or *rūeyāe*	he will beat.
Dual.	1.	*aliŋ rūeyā* or *rūeyāliŋ*	we two shall beat.
	1+2.	*alaŋ rūeyā* or *rūeyāliŋ*	we and you two shall beat.
	2.	*aban rūeyā* or *rūeyāban*	you two will beat.
	3.	*akiŋ rūeyā* or *rūeyākiŋ*	they two will beat.
Plur.	1.	*alē rūeyā* or *rūeyālē*	we shall beat.
	1+2.	*abū rūeyā* or *rūeyabū*	we and you shall beat.
	2.	*apē rūeyā* or *rūeyāpē*	you will beat.
	3.	*hukū rūeyā* or *rūeyākū*	they will beat.

The past future is formed with the help of the auxiliary *cabta'ā*: iŋ rūcabe'aiŋ, I shall or will have beaten.

28. *Conjugation of the conditional.*

Sing.	1.	*iŋ rūrēdō* or *rūrēdoiŋ*	if I beat.
	2.	*am rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōam*	if thou beat.
	3.	*hunī rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōāe*	if he beat.
Dual.	1.	*aliŋ rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōaliŋ*	if we two beat.
	2.	*aban rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōaban*	if you two beat.
	3.	*akiŋ rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōakiŋ*	if they two beat.
Plur.	1.	*alē rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōalē*	if we beat.
	2.	*apē rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōapē*	if you beat.
	3.	*hukū rūrēdō* or *rūrēdōkū*	if they beat.

29. *Conjugation of Passive present: I am beaten or being beaten.*

iŋ rūvātanā or *rūvātanāiŋ*	I am beaten.
am rūvātanā or *rūvātanām*	thou art beaten.
hunī rūvātanā or *rūvātanāe*	he is beaten.
alē rūvātanā or *rūvātanālē*	we are beaten, etc.

Past: I was beaten.

iŋ rūvāyanā or *rūvāyanāiŋ*	I was beaten.
am rūvāyanā or *rūvāyanām*	thou wast beaten.
aliŋ rūvāyanā or *rūvāyanāliŋ*	we two were beaten.
alē rūvāyanā or *rūvāyanālē*	we were beaten.
hukū rūvāyanā or *rūāyanākū*	they were beaten.

Future: I shall be beaten.

iŋ rūgoā or *rūgoāiŋ*	I shall be beaten.
aliŋ rūgoā or *rūgoāliŋ*	we two shall be beaten.
alē rūgoā or *rūgoālē*	we shall be beaten.

30. *The potential.*

For the potential mood *kā* is added to the modified stem of the verb.

Sing.	*iŋ rūēkā* or *rāēkāiŋ*	I may beat.
	am rūēkā or *rūēkām*	thou mayst beat.
	hunī rūekā or *rūēkāe*	he may beat.
Dual.	*aliŋ rūēkā* or *rūēkāliŋ*	we two may beat.
	aban rūēkā or *rūēkāban*	you two may beat.
	akiŋ rūēkā or *rūēkākiŋ*	they two may beat.
Plur.	*alē rūēkā* or *rūēkālē*	we may beat.
	apē rūēkā or *rūēkāpē*	you may beat.
	hukū rūēkā or *rūēkākū*	they may beat.

The verb *tuainā*, "knowing" is frequently used in the sense of a potential; e.g.,

iŋ seneā tuainā	I will be able to go;
iŋ kaiŋ seneā tuainā	I will be unable to go.
Hunī dukmā kāe tuainā	he cannot speak Asur.

It is used also as a permissive:

iŋ jīb jom tuainā, I can, *i.e.*, I am permitted to eat meat.

31. *The Imperative.*

The imperative is the same as in Muṇḍārī, with this difference that for the sake of euphony the imperative endings *mē* and *pē* and *kā* are often preceded by the vowel *e*.

Sing.	2. *rūemē*	beat thou or *am rūemē*.
	3. *rūēkāe*	may he beat.
Dual.	2. *rūēban*	you two beat.
	3. *rūēkākiŋ*	may they two beat.
Plur.	2. *rūēpē* or *apē rūēpē*	you beat.
	3. *rūēkākū*	may they beat.

Chapter VII. Negatives, Compounds, Causals, etc.

32. *Verbs with the negative.*

There are in the Asur dukmā three negatives which can be connected with any verb, *viz.*, *kā*, not; *alōkā*, may not and *alō*, do not.

kāiŋ rūēāiŋ or *iŋ kā rūēaiŋ*	I will not beat.
kām rūēām or *am kā rūēam*	thou will not beat.
kāe rūēāe or *hunī kā rūēāe*	he will not beat.

Alōkaiŋ rūēaiŋ or *rūēgō*	I may not beat.
alōkam rūēam or *rūēgō*	thou mayst not beat.
alōkāe rūēāe or *rūēgō*	he may not beat.
alom rūēmē	do not beat, (thou).
alōpē rūēpē	do not beat, (you).

kā is often employed in the sense of "not" in connection with adjectives; e.g., *kā paṛilā*, not good, *i.e.*, bad, *kā* answers therefore our usual negative prefix *un*.

33. *Examples of verbs combined with negatives.*

iŋ kāiŋ jomtānāiŋ	I do not eat.
am kām jomtanām	thou dost not eat.
apē kāpē jomtanāpē	you do not eat.
iŋ kāiŋ senā	I will not go.
āle kāle senā	they will not go.
āpe kāpe senā	you will not go.
alōkāiŋ senā	I may not go.
alōkākū senā	they may not go.
alom jommē	do not eat.
alōkāhū jomeā	do not let them eat.
alōkāe vejā	do not let him come.
alom senōāe	do not let go.

34. *Agreement of the verb with its object.*

The curious peculiarity of making the active verb to agree with its object, found in the Kolarian languages, is also met with in Asur; for example:

hunī kulkiŋāe	he sent me.
hunī kulkedmeāe	he sent thee.
hunī kulkediā	he sent him.
iŋā alom rūiŋmē	do not beat me.
hunī alom rūiemē	do not beat him.
aliŋ rūkiŋ pē	beat them (two).
hunī kulkedkūāe	he sent them.
ovāiŋmē	give me.
ovālemē	give us.
dukmāetanāiŋ	I am saying to him.
hunī dukmākūtānāe	he says to them.

35. *Compound verbs.*

Compound verbs are frequently used in the Asur dukmā; a noun being followed by the verb *dohóteā*, to be, to remain; *e.g.*:

iŋ hāsu dohótanā	I am ill; *lit.* I pain remain
hunī hāsu dohótanāe	he is ill.

iŋ hāsu dohólenā or *dohólenaiŋ*	I was ill.
am hāsu dohólenā or *dohólenam*	thou wast ill.
alē hāsu dohókedalē	we were ill.
ḳukū hasu dohókedākū	they were ill.
rayet', hunger: *rayet'yanaiŋ*	I was hungry, poor ; *lit.* I hunger was.
rabaŋ, cold: *rabaŋtanā*	it is cold.
lōlō, hot or heat, *lōlō tanaiŋ*	I feel hot.
iŋ rayet dohóeyaiŋ	I shall be hungry.

There are many verbs combined with the word *rúar*, back; which is conjugated regularly.

Sen	*rūaryanaiŋ*	I returned.
	apē sen ruarpē	come ye back, return.
	hukū dukmā rūarkedākū	they replied, answered.

36. *Causal verbs*

are formed by the insertion of the particle *gē* between the root of the verb and its termination ; example:

iŋ druptanāiŋ		I am sitting.
iŋ drupgētanaiŋ		I make to sit.
nyuemē, drink !	*nyūyegēmē*	make to drink !
jommē, eat !	*jomgēmē*	feed !
nirēmē, run !	*niregēmē*	cause to run !

Causals of course are formed also by different words:

hukāyēme, hide; intr. *horogēme*, hide; trans. *gitiŋēmē*, sleep; intr. *konyonemē*, make to sleep; *raputeā*, to break; intr. *raputendemē*, break; trans. *giŋemē*, cut; trans. *magēmē*, make to cut.

The completive is *cabā : Hunī jomcabāyanā*, he has finished eating ; *hukū rūcabākedākū*, they have ceased beating.

37. *Defective verbs*

"*tanā*" is only used as inflectional ending in the verb of the present tense, meaning "to be" "*īdanā*" to be, as a rule is likewise employed only in the present tense sing. and plur. It is often employed where we use the verb to have: *amā aḍḍē paisā īdanā?* have you money ? *lit.* is there money with you ?

āpē cimin hor īdanā	how many men are you ?
amā hoponku īdanā	have you children ?

The verb used to make good for the want of the auxiliary verb to be is *dohóta'ā*, to remain ; which is used also in the present tense.

iŋ Asur dohótanāiŋ	I am an Asur.
iŋ hāsu dohólenā	I was ill.
iŋ rū dohōkedā	I was beating.

In fact it is with the help of *dohóta'ā* that those tenses may be made up in Asur which otherwise are wanting.

38. *The verb: not to be.*

The counterpart of *īdanā* is *konoā* and *konā*, not to be: *iŋ Asur kuniā*, I am not an Asur. *Kuniā*, not to be present: *Sāheb kuniā*, the Saheb is not present. *Kuneā*, will not be present. *Amā haḍḍā idanā ci konoā*, have you oxen or not? *Orā rē okoe īdanā ci konoā?* Is there somebody at home or not? *Okoe kuniā*, there is nobody (man) present. *Iŋā aḍḍē paisā konā*, I have no money; *lit.* with me there is no pice.

Chapter VIII. Adverbs.

39. *Adverbs of time.*

enan	just now.
nahā	now.
niho	then.
bārhiŋ	now-a-days.
okā helā	sometimes.
tihiŋ	to-day.
holā	yesterday.
gapā	to-morrow.
musiŋ	one day.
bārsiŋ	two days.
nēs	this year.
hon kalom	last year.
baggī	time.
orte rē	once, one time.
auri	not yet.

40. *Adverbs of place and manner.*

nenē, nendē	here.
honhon rē	beyond.
nenētē	from here.
hondē	there, thither.
okoārē, okoā tē	where, whither.
hinad rē, himā	near.
saṉīŋ	far.
bekar; kudahā	very; very much.

nimin, nimin rē	this many, much.
hinā rē	namely.
numun, numun rē	thus.
nūi lekā tē	in this way.
oko lekā tē	somehow, anyhow.
thaukā	well, exactly.
rokē, rokē rokē	quickly.

41. *Adverbs of affirmation and negation.*

ā	yes.
koan, kuan	no, not.
gē	indeed, certainly.
alō	do not.

42. *Elliptical sentences.*

Of these the following may be mentioned with the adverbs, *viz.*, *ebā*, come here; *dolā*, come along; *itū*, who knows.

Citanā ci lekā !	What can be done !
Citan ciliyanā ?	What or how do you do ?
jojom tē	right hand.
lengā tē	left hand.

Chapter IX. Numerals, Postpositions, Conjunctions and Interjections.

43. *A. Numerals (Cardinals).*

The Asur can only count up to four.

mīad	one.
bariā	two.
pēā	three.
upun	four,

which are used for all genders: *pēā horkū*, three men; *pēā haḍḍā*, three oxen.

For the rest the Asur employs Hindī numerals; for twenty kūrī is used: *mīad kūrī*, one score.

44. *B. Ordinals.*

The Asur *dukmā* has only three ordinals, *viz.*:

sidā	first.
eṭā	second.
mandē	third.

For single *ōṭay*; for both *bannar* is used.

sanam	all.

45. *Postposition* 5.

maraŋ rē	in front, before.
taiyom rē	after, near.
usul rē	on, above.
latar rē, oṭē rē	under, underneath.
adde, tūlē (urāoṉ)	with, by, along with.
gati	together, in company.
minā	inside.
talā re	among.

46. *Conjunctions and Interjections.*

gā, egā	for.
hinā gē	therefore.
nihī ra'atē	for this reason.
niā mentē	for that.
hentē	therefore.
enan—miyan:	when—then.
ci—kā / *ci—koan* :	or—not.
nīho	then, thereupon.
hed, oṛō	and.
hed tē	and then, from then, thereupon.
pa'en	but.
hōṉ	even.

o'e in addressing, oh; *kó* is added in calling or shouting. *Asur rā oṛā rē alom bolō kó*, do not enter the house of the Asur. *ju, ju ju!* Go, be off! *kó*, halloh!

Chapter X. The Asur dukmā a Kolarian dialect.

47. *Similarity with Muṇḍārī and Santhālī.*

A glance at the preceding pages will convince the student of Kolarian languages that in the Asur Dukmā we have to deal with a Kolarian dialect pure and simple.

The declination of the noun and pronoun, the conjugation of the verb, the dual number, the manner in which the verb is made to agree with the object, the similarity of the pronouns and numerals as well as of the postpositions and conjunctions, all these characterize the Asur Dukmā as a Kolarian Dialect.

Moreover if I were to prove this fact by a Vocabulary, I might simply take out four-fifths of the Muṇḍārī or Santhālī vocabulary. Yet

there are differences between Asur and other Kolarian languages, peculiarities, which it will be worth while to notice.

48. *Differences with Muṇḍārī.*

Wherever a Muṇḍārī word begins with the consonant *h*, the Asur has *v*; e.g.:

Muṇḍārī: *hiju*, Asur: *veju* come.
„ *hātu*, „ *vātū* village.

The Asur is fond of the *y* before vowels as against the Muṇḍārī:

Muṇḍārī *nel*; Asur *nyel* see.
„ *nutum*; „ *nyumun* name.
„ *nam*; „ *yam* to seek, find.

Other differences may be seen from the following words:—

Muṇḍārī:	*hon*;	Asur:	*hopon*	child.
„	*hoṛō*;	„	*hor*	man.
„	*kulā*;	„	*kūl*	tiger.
„	*dub*;	„	*drup*	sit.
„	*reɲē*;	„	*ranget*	hunger.
„	*ɟilū*;	„	*ɟil*	flesh.
„	*om*;	„	*ovat*	give.
„	*gitil*;	„	*bitil*	sand.
„	*akō*;	„	*hukū*	they.
„	*ko*;	„	*kū*	plural ending in arms.
„	*etkan*;	„	*hetkan*	bad, evil.
„	*ni*;	„	*hinī*	this (man).
„	*neā*;	„	*huni*	that.
„	*ne*;	„	*nihī*	this.
„	*nā*;	„	*nahā*	now.
„	*tisiɲ*;	„	*tihiɲ*	to-day.
„	*otē*;	„	*ōt*	earth, field.
„	*hanāṭiɲ*;	„	*hātiɲ*	portion.
„	*nērē, entē*;	„	*nēnē, hondē*	here, there.
„	*aḍeā*;	„	*ad*	lose.
„	*apīā*;	„	*pēā*	three.
„	*hēr*;	„	*rērē*	sow.
„	*calom*;	„	*caulom*	tail.
„	*bāyar*;	„	*bāver*	rope.
„	*atom*;	„	*hātom*	aunt (father's sister).
„	*ged* cut;	„	*ged*	to slaughter, kill.

The most striking difference between Muṇḍārī and Asur appears to be that the auxiliary verbs are different from each other; for whilst the former has *menā* to be, the latter has *īdanā*; and for the negative

"not to be" we find *banoā* and *konoā* respectively, the latter being only found in the Muṇḍārī patois spoken round about Ranchi. Whilst Muṇḍārī has *taikenā* for was or remained, the Asur has *dohólenā*. Even where words in Asur seem to be identical with the corresponding Muṇḍārī words, there is this difference between them that the Asur uses them in a more general sense, than the Muṇḍā does; e.g., *rū* is in Muṇḍārī to play (beat) the drum, also to beat with a stick; but in Asur it means only to beat, strike; *sārī*, to play; but in Asur it means to rejoice.

49. *Dravidian words in the Asur Dukmā.*

There are doubtless words used in Asur which are Dravidian; however these may have been borrowed from the Orāōn̲s; for example *baigā*, priest is the Orāōn̲ *naigā; ēde*, to plant, is the Kurukh *īd*; *eṭā*, second, the Kurukh *eṇḍtā; pōtā*, belly the same as pōtā; *pa'eṉ, paheṉ* and *hōṉ* the emphatic affix are in both languages the same; *eyā, iyyō*, mother, are apparently of the same origin; *cohnā*, kiss *conhā*, love, in Kurukh; *ortē rē*, once in Asur and *ort* one in Kurukh; *ṭhaukā*, right; *aḍḍē*, place, also *tūlē*, with *ōṭoy*, single. Some of these are met with also in Muṇḍārī and it may be a disputable question whether these words are Dravidian or Kolarian; e.g., *aḍḍē, ṭhaukā, coṉ = conhā, eyā.*

50. *Genuine Asur words.*

There are many words in Asur which I am unable to derive either from Muṇḍārī or Kurukh words, for example:

hēṛē	husks;	*hurū*	unhusked rice.
lainī	harlot;	*anyāṉ*	mercy, kindness.
pārilā	good;	*usad*	anger.
lilai	distribute;	*sodor*	arrive, perhaps the seter in Muṇḍārī.
dukmā	speak;	*īrī*	conscience, wise (perhaps
minā	inside;	connected with the Kurukh ērnā, see.)	
baggī	for time, season;	*dohō*	remain.
kaṭiy	a little;	*usul*	high.
nāpā	well, healthy;	*banaī*	many.
teyōt	daughter;	*rokē*	quickly.
hilī	uncle (mother's brother);	*javar*	gather.
teyam	son-in-law;	*rod*	embrace.
hātā	grand-father;	*īdanā*	to be.
huhī	brother-in-law &	*īyad*	sister-in-law, etc.
hed	and;	*barkiy*	now-a-days.

jadau	cloth;	*nēs*	this year.
hinad	near;	*mande*	third.
numun	thus;	*siriy*	to make merry, which in Santhāl is to sing.

Bīr dō roŋōlenā: bir geṭer, geter!
ṭhaukā bir roŋōlena: baṛeā buggī rē.
The grass is burning: grass knack! crack!
Well is the grass burning: in spendid beauty.

(One of the very few songs of the Asurs.)

An Inscription of the time of Kapilēndra Dēva of Orissa, from Gōpīnāthapura, District Cuttack. (With an Appendix on the last Hindu Kings of Orissa.)—*By* Babu Mon Mohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

[Read April, 1899.]

This inscription comes from the village Gōpīnāthapura in District Cuttack, Orissa. The village is 13 miles N. E. of the town Kaṭaka, and stands on the Birūpā branch of the river Mahānadī. Its position would be about 20° 31′ Lat. and 86° 4′ long. The inscription is on a stone slab attached to the eastern gate of a middle sized temple of Jagannātha. It commemorates the erection of that temple and of the companion temple of Guṇḍicā, where the cars used to be driven to at the time of the great Ratha festival. Both the temples now lie dilapidated, and the car-festival is no longer held.

The stone slab containing the inscription is about 3′3″ × 2′6″ × 6″. I edit the inscription from two inked estampages not very well done. The inscription is peculiar at least in one respect. The language is Sanskrit, but the characters are Oṛiyā. As yet this appears to be the earliest known inscription of such a kind.

To begin with, the characters generally resemble the modern Oṛiyā letters. Small differences are observable in ca, ja, ḍa, ta, dha, bha, ra, la, ha, and ya, the differences being mainly in the terminal loop. The letter ṭa is still in Kuṭila type. The vowel marks do not differ. The conjunct consonants often differ, in several instances approaching the modern Bengali conjuncts, such as those of ṅ (in ṅka, ṅga), those of y (in sya, dya), those of v (in dhva). The letters are fairly legible, except in the middle and in some of the lower lines. They vary in size, those in the first line being 1″ × ½″, in the last line 1⅓″ × ¾″, and elsewhere varying from ½″ × ½″ to ¾″ × ¾″. The lines do not run straight, but in a slipshodly curved way.

The orthography presents no great peculiarity. The *halanta* is generally conjuncted with the initial consonant of the next word (*cf.* ls. 6, 9 and 11); the guttural ṅ is sometimes represented by anusvāra

(*saṁga*, *raṁga* l. 8, *bhaṁgī* l. 20), and sometimes by ŋ (*niḥçaŋkaḥ*, *paŋka*, l. 4); the palatal ñ is represented always by anusvāra (*caṁcala* l. 1, *Kāṁcīhara* l. 17); the dental n is sometimes represented by anusvāra (*vaṁdīnāṁ* l. 10); the avagraha is sometimes omitted *kālē(')rpitā* l. 6, *prasannō(')stu* l. 30.

The inscription takes up thirty lines. The language is of the later inflated style. Excepting the invocation and a short passage in line 29, it is entirely in verse, 27 stanzas of various metres. It was composed by Jāgaḷi Kavi, and was inscribed by one Vakākhya. Many verses show elegance and rhetorical skill.

According to the inscription, the temple of Jaganātha at Gōpīnāthapura was built under the orders of Gōpīnātha Mahāpātra, the minister of the king Kapilēndra *alias* Kapilēçvara Dēva of Orissa. The inscription mentions Gōpīnātha's genealogy as follows :—

Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra,[1]
priest of the king
Kapilēndra (l. 11).

Elder son, **Nārāyaṇa,** a minister of the same king (l. 12).	Younger son, **Gōpīnātha Mahāpātra,** (l. 13) of the Hārīta Kula (l. 20)
	Jāgali (l. 29), born of Gōpīnātha.

The inscription mentions **Kapilēndra** also as **Kapilēçvara** (l. 17), and describes him as belonging to the solar line (l. 5) with the title **Bhramaravara** (l. 7). Kapilēndra is said to have defeated and caused terror in the hearts of the kings of **Karṇāṭa, Kalavaraga, Mālava, Gauḍa** and **Ḍhillī** (l. 7, *cf.* also lines 16 to 19). Gōpīnātha is described as having assisted his master materially in the various conquests and to have led an invasion into **Mālavēndra's** territory, crossing many hills (l. 19).

The inscription is undated, but its time can be approximately ascertained. Gōpīnātha's father and elder brother having previously served the same King, Gōpīnātha must have taken service in the latter part of the king's reign. Then again the inroad to Mālava in line 19, verse 16, is apparently identifiable with the invasion of the Orissa

[1] Laksmaṇa Mahāpātra, the donor's father is mentioned in another Oṛiyā inscription as the "*purōhita*" or priest of Kapilēçvara Dēva; *cf.* my article, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 91-2.

king into Bidar. This invasion is timed by Ferishtah as 1461 A.D.[1] After that some time must have elapsed before the new temple was erected. Hence the date of the inscription might approximately be put at 1465 A.D.

The temple contains the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Bhagavatī Subhadrā (l. 22, v. 19). It was endowed with gardens, dancing girls, ornaments and servants, &c., (l. 24, v. 21). A Guṇḍicā temple was also built in accompaniment (l. 26, v. 23).

Text.[2]

l. 1. Ōṁ namaḥ Çrī-Puruṣōttamāya ॥
Maulau caṁ(ñ)cala-cūlinī tilakinī bhālē mukhē hāsinī kaṇṭhē mauktika-mālinī malayajaiḥ praty-aṇgam = ālēpinī | hastā-v(b)jē navanītinī caraṇayōḥ krī—

l. 2. -ḍā-rasān = narttinī jīyāc = chaiçava-çōbhinī cid-amalā Gōpāṇgan-āliṇginī ॥ [1]
Saṁsār-ārṇava-karṇa-dhāram = api taṁ bhakt-ārtha-saṁsāri-ṇaṁ vandē Çrī-Puruṣōttamaṁ tanu-bhṛtāṁ saṁkalpa-kalpa-drumaṁ | vēdānt-ārtham = udāhara—

l. 3. -nti khalu yaṁ yēn = ākhilaṁ bhāsatē hṛṣṭē yatra hṛṇīyatē padam = api svāyaṁbhuvaṁ dēhināṁ ॥ [2]
Sadyaḥ pīyūṣa-pātō manasi nayanayōḥ kāma-cintā durantā çāntā kaṣṭaṁ vinaṣṭaṁ janir = ajani satī lav(b)dha—

l. 4. -m = iṣṭaṁ yathēṣṭaṁ | pāpā-kūpāra-pāraṁ gatam = api pitarō dhvasta-v(b)andh-ānuv(b)andhā (yēnā) = lōki trilōkī-nilaya-maṇir = ayaṁ nīla-çail-āvataṁsaḥ ॥ [3]
Niḥçaṇkaḥ paṇka-magn-ākhila-dharaṇi-ta—

l. 5. -l-ōddhāra-bhū-dāra-siṁhaḥ svacchandaṁ **Mlēccha**-vṛndaṁ prati jagati Kalēr = ādya-bhāgē = pi Kalkī | **bhāsvad-vaṁç-āvat-aṁsas** = tri-jagad-adhipater = nīla-çail-ādhināthasy = ādēçād = **Ōdra-dēçē** samaja—

l. 6. -ni **Kapilēndr**-ābhidhānō narēndraḥ ॥ [4]
Sadā-tulita-yat-tulā-puruṣa-dāna-kālē = rpitān = trilōka-vijayā-rjitān = kanaka-parvatān = sarvataḥ | vividram = animēṣ aṇaṁ diviṣadaç = ciraṁ rakṣituṁ mila—

l. 7. -nti kanak-ācalē vijayinō = sya dāna-bhramāt ॥ [5]
Karṇāṭ-ōjjhāsa-siṁhaḥ **Kalavaraga**-jayī **Mālava**-dhvaṁsalilā-jaṁghālō **Gauḍa**-mardī **Bhramaravara**-nṛpō dhvasta-**Ḍhill** Ī-ndra-garvaḥ | saṁgrāmē dra—

[1] Elphinstone's History of India, Ed. 1874, Appendix, p. 755.

[2] From two ink impressions.

l. 8. -ṣṭum = ēnaṁ pratibhaṭa-subhaṭāḥ kēvalan = tē valantē yēṣāṁ syān = nāka-nārī-kuca-kalaça-taṭī-kuṅkum-āṅk-[ā]ṁga-raṁgaḥ ॥ [6]

Yasy = ōccair = vāji-rāji-vikaṭa-khuraputa-ōdghāṭita-kṣauṇi-pṛṣṭha-prādurbhūta-prabhūta—

l. 9. -kṣiti-kaṇa-nikarair = lakṣyamāṇē prayānē | garjad-gambhīra-bhērī-bhara-rava-vibhav-ākarṇi-karṇā vivarnā murcālāḥ kṣauṇi-pālāḥ sapadi samabhavan = kānan-āntē = py = anantē ॥ [7]

Caṇḍē kō—

l. 10. -daṇḍa-daṇḍē sakṛd = api samarē yasya saṁsakta-kāṇḍē saṁvarttē saṁpravṛttē gatavati vilayaṁ vairi-jālē karālē | vaṁ(n)-dināṁ krandiniināṁ nayana-ghana-ghan-ā(ō)tsādyamānair = amānair = durvārair = vāri-vāraiḥ pratipada-muditō

l. 11. -bhinna-mudraḥ samudraḥ ॥ [8]

Tasy = āpta-haṁsaḥ sa hi haṁsa-vaṁça-kētōḥ purōdhā ma-khakṛd-vataṁsaḥ | vidvān = **Mahāpātra**-kul-āvataṁsaḥ **Çrī-Lakṣmaṇō** = bhūt = prathita-praçaṁsaḥ ॥ [9]

Mantri-çrēṇi-çirōmaṇī(ṇi)ḥ sa(su)manasaḥ santāna-cintā—

l. 12. -maṇiḥ pāpa-vrāja-viṣ-augha-gāruḍa-maṇiḥ sad-vṛtta-rakṣā-maṇiḥ | padm-ōllāsa-vilāsa-vāsara-maṇiḥ putrō ऽ sya **Nārā-yaṇaḥ** satr-ārambha-parāyaṇō ऽ jani jana-trāṇāya Nārāyaṇaḥ ॥ ॥ [10]

Yasy = āsīd = anu—

l. 13. -jō mataḥ kṣiti-bhujāṁ **Çrī-Gōpīnāthō Mahāpātraḥ** pātra-jan-ārccan-aika-rasikaḥ pātraṁ guṇānāṁ mahat | çrī-kāntas = tanayaṁ kṛtāntam = arayaç = cintāmaṇiṁ mārgaṇā rājānaḥ sura-mantriṇaṁ vidur = amuṁ kā—

l. 14. -ntāç-ca kāntaṁ ratēḥ ॥ [11]

Rājēndrād = adhigamya ṣōḍaça vara-cchattrāṇi citrāṇy = asau durgēṣu prayatēṣu ṣōḍaça mitēṣv = āsīd = araṁ nāyakaḥ | va(ba)n-dīkṛtya raṇēṣu ṣōḍaça nṛpāndrō(ṁç = c = ō?)pāharat = svāminē

l. 15. varṣē gacchati ṣoḍaçē svayam = abhūn = mantr-īndra ēkaḥ punaḥ ॥ [12]

Manyē pūrvam = apūrvva-kīrttir = asakṛvid-dvij-āhavē pārthivān = kāruṇy-ākalitā(tō) nutā(n*) pa(pra)ti-bha(bhu)vō(vāṁ)dēvo ऽ bhūd = Bhārgavaḥ | v(b)andī-kṛtya narē—

l. 16. -ndra-maṇḍalam = ayaṁ yad(yō) = Ga(Gō) pinātha-cchalāt = sadyaḥ saṁprati muṁ(ñ)cat = īha vitaran svāṁ svāṁ pratiṣṭhāṁ punaḥ ॥ [13]

Kṛtvā saṁyati **Mālav-ēndra**-jayinaṁ sōn-ādhināthaṁ tu yaṁ **Gauḍ-ēndrasya** nitāntam = **Utkala**-patha-prasthāna-rōdh-ā—

l. 17. -rgalaṁ | **Çrī-Khaṇḍ-ādri**-payō-dhar-ōpari-karaṁ nirmāya **Kāṁ-(Ñ)cī**-haraḥ sānandaṁ **Kapilēçvarō** viharatē **Karṇāṭa-rāja**-çrīyā ॥ [14]
Cētō-vṛttir = iv = ātmanaḥ suvimalā lōkē = dhikā kīrttidā sthir-āçaya-rīti-vad = guṇa-ma—

l. 18. -ṇi-çrēṇī = va vistāriṇī | saṁ(sa)nmārg-ānugatā ca santatir = iva prāyēṇa santāpināṁ santāp-ōnmathanā kṛpāvad = amunā khātā ca khāt-āvalī ॥ [15]
Garv-augha**ṁ Gurjarēndraḥ** pariharati-tarām = āçu **Ḍhillī-Narēndraḥ** sāndrāṁ ta—

l. 19. -ndrām = avindat = kuṇapa-gatim = agād = **Gauḍa-bhūmī-mah-ēndraḥ** | bhū-bhṛn-mālāṁ karālāṁ pathi pathi militāṁ raṁ-(ha*)s = ōllanghya sēnā-nāthē **Çrī-Gōpīnāthē** paribhara(va)ti ca tāṁ **Mālav-ēndrasya** gu (?) tāṁ (?) ॥ [16]
Prāsāda—

l. 20. -m = ētaṁ nayan-ābhirāmaṁ vyadhatta **Hārītakul**-āv(b)dhi-candraḥ | asāra-saṁsāra-gabhīra-paṅka-niḥçaṅka-niṣkrānty-avalamv(b)a-daṇḍaṁ ॥ [17]
Jīyāt-prāsāda-cūḍā-maṇi-rama-ramaṇēḥ prānta-saṁsakta-bhaṁ-(ṅ)gī bhaṁ(ṅ)ga-prāgbhāra-vi(bi)mv(b)a-sphuṭa—

l. 21. -ghaṭita-vṛ(bṛ)hat-manthanī maṇḍalīkaḥ | uttānaṁ nyasta-mūrt-tiḥ prathita-sad-amṛta-prāptik-ārthō bhav-āv(b)dhērugrajō (?)-daṁ(ñ)cad-ūrmmi pracaya-bhaya-bhuvō = mantha-manthāna-daṇḍaḥ ॥ [18]
Rāmaṁ Çrī-Puruṣōttamaṁ Bhagavatīm = asmin = Su—

l. 22. -bhadrāṁ tathā ratn-ālaṁ(ṅ)kṛti-rāji-rājita-tanuṁ bhaktyā =yam = asthāpayat | bhāty = ēṣāṁ tritayaṁ navaṁ tri-jagatī-cintāmaṇināṁ trayaṁ prāsā (dē*) ca samudgakē vinihitaṁ kiṁ madhyamē piṣṭapē ॥ [19]
Sauvarṇṇa-çruti-pāṇi-pā—

l. 23. -da-hṛdayō haima-prabhā-maṇḍalē bhāsvan-maṇḍala-saṁnibhē maṇi-lasat-tulā-sarōj-āsanaḥ | sō ऽ yaṁ hāra-kirīṭa-kuṇḍala-dharaḥ saṁskāra-dhārī sadā dhyēyā(yaḥ) svarṇa-may-ākṛtiṁ pathi dṛsōr = nirmāti Nārāyaṇaḥ ॥ [20]
Udyānā—

l. 24. -ni navāni mālya-vidhayē kartuṁ tri-kāl-ārccanaṁ bhōgān svarga-purōcitān = upacitān rāmāç = ca Rambh-ōpamāḥ | nānā-ratna-vibhuṣaṇāni bahuçō vāsāṁsi bhūyāṁsy = asau prāyacchat -paramēṣṭhinē parijanō da (?)

l. 25. -ttēna kiṁ svāminē ॥ [21]
Pakṣatvaṁ tvayi yāty-ayaṁ dvija-patiḥ pakṣ-ōnnataç = c = ābhavat Kaṁs-ārē ऽ sya samasta-vāsanam-abhūt = khyātō ha mē ca

dṛçaḥ | Dṛṣṭē ऽ smiṁn = adhip-ādhikāra-yugalē kāmē gatiḥ sam-
prati = ty = ākhyāt = taṁ Garuḍaḥ

l. 26. kṛt-āṁ(ñ)jalir = asau papha (?) purō vartatē ॥ [22]
Yēn = ākāri prasāri-dyuti-rajata-çataṁ **Guṇḍic-āgāram** = Īçō
yasmin = Kailāsa-vāsa-praṇayam = adhigatō = haṁta dēçē ऽ py =
amuṣmin | yasya prāgbhāra-khaṇḍa-sthala-vikala-nabhō—

l. 27. -maṇḍal-ājasra-hiṇḍan-mārttā(ta)ṇḍā(ṇḍa)ç = ca pracaṇḍa-çrama-
çamana-paṭur = mmaṇḍapē ऽ bhūd = akhaṇḍaḥ ॥ [23]
Svādhyāy-ābhyāsa-ghōṣair = mukharita-gaganē yajña-yūp-āvalī-
bhir = bhūyaḥ saṁçōbhamānē dvija-vara-gahanē çōbhanē çāsanē
ऽ smi—

l. 28. -n | āvairaṁ ca prapaṁ(ñ)caṁ Naraka-ripur = ayaṁ Kāmapālaḥ
Subhadrā grām-éçasy = āparēṣām = api bhavatu sadā maṅgalā
gō-jalāya ॥ [24]
Prahlād-Ōddhava-Pārthānāṁ bhaktānāṁ viraha-vyathāṁ |
tyājitō Gōpīnāthēna puṇḍarīka-vīlōcanaḥ ॥ [25]

l. 29. Mīmāṁsakasya nigam-ānta-vicāra-pāra-saṁcāriṇō ऽ sya kavi-
paṇḍita-Gōpīnāthāt | jātasya **Jāgali-kavē** ramaṇ-ōktir = ēṣā
harṣ-ōnnatiṁ sumanasāṁ sarasāṁ tanōtu ॥ ⊙ ॥ [26]
Çubham = astu ॥ **Vakākhyēna** likhitaṁ |

l. 30. Çrī-Gōpīnāthaḥ prasannō = stu siddhidō bhakta-vatsalaḥ | Guṇa-
ratn-ākaraḥ çrīmān = **Kapilēndra**-hṛdi-sthitaḥ ॥

Abstract of contents.

The inscription begins with a salutation to God Puruṣōttama. Verses 1 to 3 invoke His blessings. By order of the God enthroned on the blue hill (*i.e.*, Jagannātha), the king named Kapilēndra appeared in the Oḍra kingdom as an ornament of the solar line (v. 4). His constant gifts at the sacred places tempted even the gods to come down (v. 5). The king, surnamed Bhramaravara, conquered Karṇāṭa, Kalavaraga (Kulbargā), Mālava and Gauḍa, and destroyed the pride of the Delhi king (v. 6). His march was indicated by the huge dust raised by the hoofs of his high horses, and the loud sounds of his bugles frightened the other kings and made them fly to forests (v. 7). The arrows of his bow put to death his enemies, the tears of whose imprisoned ladies removed the land-barrier of the sea (v. 8). He had a faithful priest named Lakṣmaṇa Mahāpātra, an ornament of the Mahāpātra Kula (v. 9). Lakṣmaṇa's son was Nārāyaṇa, the head of the ministers (v. 10). Nārāyaṇa's younger brother was Gōpīnātha Mahāpātra, who was favoured by the king, and was in possession of the best qualities (v. 11). He got from the king sixteen umbrellas, took sixteen forts, imprisoned in war sixteen

chiefs, and after sixteen years became the chief minister (v. 12). Methinks Paraçurāma in the guise of Gōpīnātha conquered anew the circle of kings, but unlike his previous act, replaced each king in his territory (v. 13). Having made him the Commander-in-Chief, him who defeated the Mālava king, and who stood as a bar to the inroad of the Gauḍa king, the monarch Kapilēçvara enjoyed the Çrī of Karṇāṭa, levied taxes over the Khaṇḍa hill, and carried the Kāñcī city by force (v. 14). He (Gōpīnātha) dug tanks by the side of roads, clear watered, well-known, calm, wide and cool (v. 15). The Commander-in-Chief Gōpīnātha having crossed the terrible mountains on the way, and having conquered the Mālava king, the Gurjara king gave up his pride, the Delhi king felt dejected, and the Gauḍa king turned mean like a çavara (v. 16). The moon of the Hārīta line (Gopīnātha) erected this fine temple as a staff for deliverance from the mires of this unsubstantial world (v. 17). The temple is the highest with the solar *maṇḍala* as its finials, and serves as a staff for churning nectar (the meaning not clear throughout) (v. 18). In this temple he placed Rāma (Balarāma), Puruṣōttama (Jagannātha), and Bhagavatī Subhadrā, fully ornamented (v. 19). The Nārāyaṇa was made as described in the *dhyāna* (hymn)—then follows a description of his ornaments (v. 20). For garlands new gardens, *bhōgas* fit for heaven, maidens (charming) as Rambhā, many jewelled ornaments, ample dresses, he gave to the deities—what more shall be said about the servants given? (v. 21). "Oh Lord! May this Garuḍa be your steed." On his (Gōpīnātha's) saying this as if Garuḍa himself stood in front with hands clasped and wings spread (meaning throughout not clear) (v. 22). By him was raised a Guṇḍicā temple, bright and silver white, where Mahādēva felt the delights of Kailāça mountain, and on whose cloud-dividing top the sun rested (v. 23). In this Çāsana resounding with Vedic teachings, decked with numerous sacrificial posts and crowded with high class Brahmins, may Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā bring good to the village lord, the residents, (the village) cattle and (its) water! (v. 24). By consecrating this Viṣṇu, Gōpīnātha removed pangs of separation from the hearts of devotees like Prahlāda, Uddhava and Pārtha (*i.e.*, Arjuna) (v. 25). May these charming verses of the Mimaṁsaka Vaidāntika poet Jāgali, born of the poet and the learned Gōpīnātha, increase the delight of the wise! (v. 25). May it be good! Written by Vakākhya. May Gōpīnātha (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) beloved of Lakṣmī, meditated by the King Kapilēndra, fond of his devotees, fulfiller of desires, and like sea in qualities, may He be gracious (unto us)! (v. 27).

APPENDIX.

The last Hindu Kings of Orissa.

In the Gōpīnāthapura Inscription the King Kapilēndra Dēva is described as of the Solar line "bhāsvad-vaṁç-āvataṁça(h*)." Very little authentic is known about these kings of Orissa. The time has now come to throw light into this dark chapter, and to give some account of them based on inscriptions supplemented at places by the Mādaḷā Pāñji and other records.

A. SŪRYA VAṀÇA DYNASTY.

(5 Kings).

I. Kapilēndra *alias* Kapilēçvara Dēva, Bhramaravara.

(1434–35 A.D.—1469–70 A.D.)

Up to date the undermentioned authentic dates of this King—the founder of the Solar line—have been found [1] :—

No.	Dates.	References.
1. (O.)	4th Aṅka, Dhanu New moon, Sunday = 9th December, 1436 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 3 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 92–3].
2. (O.)	4th Aṅka, Kumbha (?) Çukla 13, Monday = 18th February, 1437 A.D.	The temple of Mukhaliṅgēçvara at Mukhaliṅgam, District Gañjām [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for 1895–6, No. 141, p. 14]. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch for an ink impression of this old Oṛiyā inscription.
3. (O.)	4th Aṅka, Mithuna Saṅkrānti Kṛṣṇa 1, Tuesday = 29th May, 1437 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 2 of the Bhuvanēçvara temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp. 103–4].
4. (O.)	19th Aṅka, Tulā Kṛṣṇa 2, Sunday = 2nd November, 1449 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 1 of the Bhuvanēçvara temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, p. 10–3]. *N.B.*—The *purṇimānta* scheme has been used here, instead of the usual *amānta* scheme.
5. (O.)	19th Aṅka, Mēṣa New moon, Sunday = 12th April, 1450 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 2 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 99].
6. (S. & T.)	Çaka 1373, Māgha Çukla 5, Thursday, Jovian year Prajāpati = 27th January, 1452 A.D.	The Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple (near Çikākōḷa), 20th pillar, east and north face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for 1895–6, p. 20, Nos. 317 and 318; and my Ms. transcript].

1 O. Signifies Oṛiyā in language, S. Sanskrit, and T. Telugu.

No.	Dates.	References.
7. (T.)	25th Aṅka, Çaka 1377, Bhādrapada] Çukla 3, Saturday =26th August, 1455 A.D.	The Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple, 18th pillar, west face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895–6, p. 20, No. 313; and my Ms.].
8. (S.)	Çaka 1377, Bhādrapada moon-eclipse (?), the year Yuvan =August (?), 1455 A.D.	Copper-plate inscription of the king Gāna-Dēva of Kōṇḍa-viḍu [Dr. Hultzsch, Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 391].
9.	1461 A.D.	... Ferishta, l. c. Elphinstone's History of India, Appendix, p. 755; and Sewell's sketch of the dynasties of Southern India, p. 23.
10. (T.)	32nd (33rd) Aṅka, Çaka 1382, Jyēṣṭha Va 5 (? 7), Monday, the year Vikrama=12th May, 1461 A.D.	The Çrī-Kurmaṁ temple, 18th pillar, west face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895–6, p. 19, No. 284; and my Ms.].
11. (O.)	35th (37th) Aṅka, Mēṣa Kṛṣṇa 4, Wednesday = 25th April, 1464 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 5 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp. 95–6].
12. (S.)	*Circa* 1465 A.D.	... The present inscription of the Gōpīnātha-pura temple.
13. (O.)	41st Aṅka, Dhanu Çukla 7, Sunday = 14th December, 1466 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 4 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp. 93–4].

From the Aṅka inscriptions, Kapilēçvara's accession year can be ascertained as follows :—

4th Aṅka or 3rd year	=1436–7 A.D.
19th Aṅka or 16th year	=1449–50 A.D.
25th Aṅka or 21st year	=1454–5 A.D.
33rd Aṅka or 27th year	=1460–61 A.D.
37th Aṅka or 30th year	=1463–4 A.D.
41st Aṅka or 33rd year	=1466–7 A.D.
*** The 2nd Aṅka or 1st year	=1434–5 A.D.

According to Aṅka calculations, the last Aṅka of Kapilēçvara and the second Aṅka of his successor Puruṣōttama should fall in the same year. Hence Kapilēçvara's death took place in 1469–70 A.D.[1]

Narasiṁha Dēva IV. of the Gaṅga dynasty was reigning in 1397 A.D. [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 133]. The thirty-seven years intervening between this date and the accession of Kapilēçvara Dēva in 1434–5

[1] According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji or the Chronicles of the temple of Jagannātha, the king ascended the throne at Camp Kṛttivāsa (Bhuvanēçvara) on Wednesday, Kakaṛā 2, Çu 4; and died on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa-Vēṇyā river (the Kṛṣṇā) on Pauṣa Kṛ. 3, Tuesday. Neither of the dates comes out correct with the week day mentioned.

A.D. are at present epigraphically blank[1]. If the Mādaḷā Pāñji is to be believed, Kapilēçvara succeeded a Bhānu Dēva, whose name (surname ?) was, according to one version, Akaṭā-Abaṭā, and according to another, Matta (drunk). Among the later Gaṇgas, the usual succession was a Narasiṁha Dēva followed by a Bhānu Dēva and so on. The thirty-seven years intervening will allow either of only one Bhānu Dēva after Narasiṁha Dēva IV, or of one Bhānu Dēva followed by a Narasiṁha Dēva, and then a second Bhānu Dēva. Looking to the rather short period, and the average long reigns of the Eastern Gaṇga Kings, the first supposition of only one Bhānu Dēva appears more probable.

The accounts given in the Mādaḷā Pāñji show that Kapilēçvara got to the throne probably with the aid of the Bahmanī king (Aḥmad Shāh I.). The present inscription gives him an *alias*, Kapilēndra, and a title Bhramaravara. Gānadēva's Copper-plate inscription speaks of his capital being at Kaṭaka on the bank of the river Mahānadī. He was evidently a powerful King, and extended his dominion from the bank of the Ganges on the north to that of the Kṛṣṇā on the south. His whole reign was spent in warring with the Hindu Kings of Vijayanagara, or with the Mahomedan Kings of the Bahmanī dynasty, or in suppressing internal revolts. The Mādaḷā Pāñji mentions that he had numerous sons, among whom Puruṣōttama Dēva was one, but not the eldest.

II. Puruṣōttama Dēva.

(1469–70 A.D.—1496–97 A.D.)

The following give all the reliable dates as yet known of this king:—

No.	Dates.	References.
1. (O.)	2nd Aṇka, Mēṣa Çu 12, Thursday = 12th April, 1470 A.D.	Left side No. 2 } Inscriptions of the Right side No. 1 } Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 91–2, 98.]
2. (T.)	3rd Aṇka, Çāka 1392, Āçvīja Çuddha pratipad, Tuesday = 25th September, 1470 A.D.	The Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple, 49th pillar, north face [Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report for 1895–6, No. 365, p. 23].
3. (O.)	3rd Aṇka Mārgaçira Kṛ. 13, Tuesday = 28th November, 1470 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 1 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, pp. 90–1].
4. (T.)	Çaka 1393, year Khara, Caitra Va (? Çu), Ādivāra (Sunday) = 31st March, 1471 A.D. (if *Va* be *Çu*).	The Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple, 49th pillar, west and south faces [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895–6, No. 366, p. 23].

[1] There is an inscription of probably this King in the Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple (11th pillar, east face) which purports to be dated in 1324 Çaka or 1402–3 A.D. (No. 299, Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep. 1895–6, p. 20). But I have not got the week day and the correct figures yet. Hence it is not taken into consideration.

No.	Dates.	References.
5.	1471 A.D.	Ferishta, l.c., Elphinstone's Hist. of Ind. (1889 ed.), Appendix p. 756; and Sewell's sketch of S. Indian dynasties, p. 23.
6. (T.)	7th (4th) Aṅka, Çaka 1393, Āsāṛha Çu 2, Thursday, the Jovian year Khara = 20th June, 1472 A.D.	The Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple, 2nd pillar, north and west face [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 19, No. 274; and my Ms.].
6. 7.	1477 A.D.	Ferishta, l.c. Elphin., App. p. 756; and Sewells' sketch, p. 23.
8. (O.)	15th (17th) Aṅka, Mēṣa, Di 10 (11), new moon, Monday, solar eclipse = 7th April, 1483 A.D.	My reading of the Oṛiyā Copper-plate grant to the Balasore Bhuñyās [Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 355]. The original reading seems to have been wrong, but Prof. Kielhorn has arrived at the correct English equivalent in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 108.
9. (O.)	19th Aṅka, Siṁha Çu 8, Thursday = 18th April, 1485 A.D.	Right side Inscription No. 4 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 100-1].
10. (T.)	Çaka 1411, the Jovian year Kīlaka = 1488-89 A.D.	A Koṇḍa-Viḍu Inscription [Sewell's sketch south, dyn., p. 48]. The Çaka year *current* was apparently used.
11. (O.)	25th Aṅka, Viṣā (Vṛṣa) Saṅkrānti, Çu 8, Thursday = 27th May, 1490 A.D.	Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple, 1st pillar (of Nos. 272 and 273), not reported in Ep. Rep. for 1895-6. I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch's for two ink impressions of this inscription.
12. (T.)	Çaka 1417, the Jovian year Rākṣasa, 32nd (? 33rd) Aṅka, Kārttika Çuddha 13, Mandavāra (Saturday) = 31st October, 1495 A.D.	The Çrī-Kurmaṁ temple, 41st pillar, north face inscription [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895-6, p. 202, No. 347].

With the help of the Aṅka inscriptions the precise year of Puruṣōttama Dēva's accession can be found out. The Aṅka dates are

2nd Aṅka or 1st year	= 1469–70 A.D.
3rd Aṅka or 2nd year	= 1470–71 A.D.
4th Aṅka or 3rd year	= 1471–2 A.D.
17th Aṅka or 14th year	= 1482–3 A.D.
19th Aṅka or 16th year	= 1484–5 A.D.
25th Aṅka or 21st year	= 1489–90 A.D.
32nd Aṅka or 26th year	= 1494–5 A.D.

*** The 1st year was 1469–70 A.D.

From his successor's Aṅka dates, the time of Puruṣōttama's death can be deduced. It took place in 1496–97 A.D.

On the death of Kapilēçvara Dēva, his sons fought with one another for the throne. Ultimately Puruṣōttama secured it with the help of the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh II. For this aid, he had to cede to the

Bahmanī king the southern-most districts of Kōṇḍapalli and Rājamahēndri. Ferishta calls him "Amber Rai" which is apparently a corruption of the title "Bhramaravara Rāya"—a title still given in Orissa to a prince, not always the eldest one. Later on, the Orissa king appears to have repented of the bargain, and to have attempted a conquest of the ceded districts. This led to an expedition into Orissa in 1477 A.D. by the Bahmanī king Muḥammad, which Ferishta reports as having been successful. Anyhow these districts passed ultimately into the hands of the Orissa king, as the Kōṇḍa-Viḍu inscription of 1488–9 A.D. shows.

The king also waged war with Vidyānagara (or as the Mahomedans put it Vijayanagar). *Caitanya-carit-āmṛta*, the well-known biography of the great Bengal Vaiṣnavite preacher, Caitanya, says that the King Puruṣōttama Dēva conquered Vidyānagara, and thence brought a jewelled *siṁhāsana* (throne) which he presented to Jagannātha, and also the image of *Sākṣi-gōpāla* which he kept in his capital at Kaṭaka (*Çait. car. āmṛ.*, Madhya Khaṇḍa, 5th Paricchēda). The first Vidyānagara dynasty was then tottering on its throne, and was shortly after replaced by the second dynasty.

The few details given in the Mādaḷā Pāñji are mainly taken up in describing an expedition of this King into Kāñcī. If there be any truth in it, then it is likely connected with the raid of the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh II, who in 1477–8 A.D. made a dash towards Conjeeveram, and returned with an immense booty. Puruṣōttama Dēva might have joined the said king as an ally.

According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji this king erected the Bhōgamaṇḍapa (refectory hall) of Jagannātha temple in his 7th Aṅka (1473–4 A.D.); and in his 9th Aṅka (1475–6 A.D.) he built the inner wall and the cooking rooms of that temple.

III. Pratāpa Rudra Dēva.

(1496–97— ?1539–40 A.D.)

The following dates of this King are known as yet:—

No.	Dates.	References.
1. (O.)	4th Aṅka, Kakṛā Çu 10, Wednesday = 17th July, 1499 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 6 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 96–7].
2. (O.)	5th Aṅka, Dhanu 3 (?) Kṛ. (?), Monday = ? December, 1500 A.D.	Left side Inscription No. 7 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, p. 97].
3. (T.)	Çaka 1425, the Jovian year Rudhirōdgārin, Kārttika Çuddha Purṇamī, Friday = 1503 A.D., (?) 3rd November.	The Çrī-Kūrmaṁ temple, 41st pillar, north face [Dr. Hultzsch's Ep. Rep., 1895–6, p. 22, No. 346].

No.	Dates.	References.
4.	1509–10 A.D. (17th Aṅka of the Mādaḷā Pāñji).	Mahomedan historians, l.c. Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 9–10, and App. VIII, p. 193.
5.	1510 A.D. (February and March).	*Caitanya-carit-āmṛta*, beginning of the 7th paricchēda, Madhyama Khaṇḍa; *Caitanya-maṅgala*, Antya Khaṇḍa, 2nd and 3rd Adhyāya.
6.	1511 A.D., Ratha festival.	*Cait.-car.-āmṛ.*, Madhya Khaṇḍa, 14th paricchēda; *cf. Cait. maṅ.*, Antya Khaṇḍa, 5th Adhyāya.
7.	Çaka 1436 = 1514-5 A.D.	Two Inscriptions at Udayagiri [Sewell's sketch of the southern dynasties, p. 48, note 4].
8.	1515–6 A.D.	An Inscription in the Varadarāja-svāmī temple at Conjeveram [Chingleput District Manual, pp. 435–6, l.c., Sewell's sketch south. dyn., p. 119 and p. 48 note 4].
9.	? 1519-20 A.D.	*Cait.-car.-āmṛ.*, Antya Khaṇḍa, 9th paricchēda.
10.	1522 A.D. (32nd Aṅka of Mādaḷā Pāñji)	Ferishta, l.c., Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., App., p. 760; Hunter's Hist. Orissa, Vol. II, App. VIII, p. 193.

Pratāpa Rudra's accession year falls in 1496–97, as calculated from his only reliable Aṅka date in the Jagannātha temple. The time of his death is uncertain. According to Mādaḷā Pāñji he was succeeded first by his son Kālu-ā Dēva who reigned for a year and five months, and then by another of his sons Kakhāru-ā Dēva who ruled for only three months. They were killed, one after the other, by their minister Gōvinda Vidyādhara. The latter then usurped the throne, and founded the small dynasty known as the *Bhoi*. One inscription of Gōvinda Dēva is known in the temple of Jagannātha. It is dated 4th Aṅka, Bichā Çukla Tṛtiyā, Tuesday, or 30th October, 1543 A.D. [J.A.S.B., Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 101–2]. From this it is deducible that Gōvinda Dēva began to reign in 1541–42 A.D. So that if the Mādaḷā Pāñji's dates as regards Kakhāru-ā and Kālu-ā Dēvas be accepted, Pratāpa Rudra's last year would fall in 1539–40 A.D. According to a tradition noticed in the *Jagannātha-carit-āmṛta*, an Oṛiyā biography of Jagannātha Dāsa —a disciple of Caitanya and the founder of the Atibaṛā subsect of Vaiṣṇavas in Orissa—Pratāpa Rudra survived Caitanya. The latter died, according to his biographies, in 1455 Çaka or 1533–4 A.D. So then Pratāpa Rudra might have been reigning at least in 1535 A.D., and there is nothing improbable in his reigning up to 1539–40 A.D.

It was a stirring time. In the north in Bengal, Ḥusain Shāh had been consolidating his kingdom; in the south the Vidyānagara monarchy

was rising again under Narasa of the 2nd dynasty; and a few years later Quṭb Shāh, general of the Bahmanī king, founded the kingdom of Gōlkōṇḍā. Pratāpa Rudra, after he had been on the throne for about 5 or 6 years, became engaged in a war with Narasa. Mādaḷā Pāñji says that he conquered the king; but two Vidyānagara copper-plates, one of Acyuta Rāya and the other of Sadāçiva Rāya, speak of Narasa conquering the Gajapati ruler.[1] In 1509 A.D Ismāīl Ghāzī (named Surasthāna in M. Pāñji), a general of the Bengal Nawab, made a dash into Orissa, ravaged the country, sacked Puri town and destroyed a number of Hindu temples. Pratāpa Rudra hurried from the south, and the Mahomedan general retreated. He was closely pursued and defeated on the bank of the Ganges (M. Pāñji). The general took refuge in Fort Māndāran (Subdivision Jehanabad, District Hooghly), and was besieged. But one of the Rāja's high officers, Gōvinda Vidyādhara, went over to the enemy's side; and so the Rājā had to raise the siege and to retire to Orissa. This war and the destruction of the Hindu images have been mentioned in several places in the *Caitanya-maṅgala alias Bhāgavata*, one of the earliest biographies of Caitanya the Bengal preacher (composed *circā* 1550–60 A.D.).[2]

It was also a period of considerable religious ferment. Vallabhācārya had begun his religious preachings in the north; and Caitanya began his religious wanderings in Bengal, Orissa and elsewhere. In February 1510 A.D., Caitanya came to Puri and stopped for two months. At that time Pratāpa Rudra had gone to the south, and was fighting with Kṛṣṇa Rāya who had just then come to the throne of Vidyānagara. Wandering in the south after a year Caitanya came back to Puri. There at the time of the Ratha festival the king and the preacher met; and according to the biographies, Pratāpa Rudra was converted and became a devoted disciple.

Several of the king's officers also became Caitanya's disciples, among whom the most prominent was Rāmānanda Rāya, for some time governor of Rājamahēndri. It is related in *Caitanya-carit-āmṛta* (Antya Khaṇḍa, 9th Paricchēda) that Rāmānanda's brother Gōpīnātha Baṛajēnā, who was the revenue officer in charge of Māljyātha Daṇḍapāṭa (at present the eastern part of Midnapur District) fell in arrear of a large revenue—two lakh Kāhāns of cowries, and was ordered by the king to be put to death. He was however saved and reinstated by the mediation of Caitanya's disciples.

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 152; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 12, "*Vīry-ōdagraṁ Turuṣkaṁ Gajapati-nṛpatiṁ c = āpi jitvā tad-anyān.*"

2 *Caitanya-maṅgala alias Bhāgavata*, Antya Khaṇḍa, 2nd Adhyāya, pp. 772, 779–80; 4th Adhyāya, pp. 865, 866.

In another Vaiṣṇavite work, Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgala*, it is said that Pratāpa Rudra consulted Caitanya about invading Bengal. The preacher dissuaded him, pointing out that the war would be disastrous for Orissa [l.c. the Bengali Magazine *Çrī-çrī-Viṣṇupriyā Patrikā*, Kārttik 1897, p. 477].

The latter part of Pratāpa Rudra's reign seems to have been spent chiefly in the south. Kṛṣṇa Rāya, the greatest king of the Vidyānagara second dynasty, invaded the Gajapati territory in 1514–5 A.D., defeated Vīrabhadra son of Pratāpa Rudra, took prisoner his uncle Tirumalappa Rāya, and conquered all the tract south of the Gōdāvarī. The Vidyānagara generals also made incursions northwards up to Ganjam; and finally Pratāpa Rudra had to make a treaty and to give his daughter in marriage to the victorious monarch.

In 1522 A.D. Pratāpa Rudra waged a long and desultory war with Quṭb Shāh of Gōlkōṇḍā. According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji neither side gained any decisive victory; but Ferishta says that the Hindu king was defeated, and lost a part of his territory.

IV. Kālu-ā Dēva.

(? 1539–40 A.D. — ? 1541–42 A.D.)

Pratāpa Rudra left several sons, and an ambitious and powerful minister, Gōvinda Vidyādhara. The eldest of the sons succeeded under the title Kālu-ā Dēva. No inscription of this king is known. According to the Mādaḷā Pāñji he ruled for one year, five months and three days. He was murdered by the minister.

V. Kakhāru-ā Dēva.

(? 1541–42 A.D.)

Another son of Pratāpa Rudra succeeded Kālu-ā Dēva under the above title. After a brief and disturbed rule of three months, he, too, was killed by the all-powerful minister. Gōvinda then had the remaining sons of Pratāpa Rudra murdered, and ascended the throne under the title of Gōvinda Dēva. He founded the small *Bhō-i* (writer) dynasty, which with Tēliṅga Mukunda Haricandana ruled up to the final Mahomedan conquest of Orissa in 1568 A.D.

B. BHŌ-I DYNASTY.

(4 Kings):

Gōvinda Dēva.

(1541–42 A.D.— ? 1549 A.D.)

Only one inscription of this king is known:—

4th Aṛka, Bichā Çukla 3rd, Tuesday= 30th October, 1543 A.D. (Oṛiyā).	Right side Inscription No. 5 of the Jagannātha temple [J.A.S.B., 1893, pp. 101–2].

*** The first year fell in 1541–42 A.D.

According to one version of the M. Pāñji he ruled seven years; according to another version 11 years and seven months. The shorter period is accepted as being more probable. It is more consistent with the reigning years which follow; and as Gōvinda Vidyādhara was in high service in 1509 A.D., he could not be expected to reign long after 1541 A.D. In his 7th Aṇka (1545–46 A.D.) he is said to have waged war with the king of Gōlkōṇḍā. While encamping in the south, his sister's son Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya revolted in Orissa. The king hurried back, defeated the rebels who were being assisted by Bengal Mahomedans, and drove them beyond the Gañges.

II. Cakā Pratāpa Dēva.

(? 1549 A.D.— ? 1557 A.D.)

This son of Gōvinda Dēva succeeded. According to one version, he ruled eight years; according to another, twelve years and a half. The shorter period has been accepted. He is represented as a bad king, who oppressed the people.

III. Narasiṁha Rāya Jēnā.

(? 1557 A.D.)

According to Mādaḷā Pāñji he had just ascended the throne of his father, when Mukunda Haricandana rebelled and murdered him. He was on the throne for only one month and sixteen days.

IV. Raghurāma Jēnā.

(? 1557 A.D.— ? 1559–60 A.D.)

The brother of the above succeeded. Mukunda Haricandana continued to revolt, defeated and imprisoned the king's chief minister Danē-i Vidyādhara, defeated and imprisoned Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya who had invaded again from the Bengal side, and finally murdered the king, after a disturbed rule of one year, seven months and fourteen days.

C. TĒLIṄGĀ DYNASTY.

(one king).

Mukunda Dēva, Haricandana.

(1559–60 A.D.—1568 A.D.)

The last independent Hindu King of Orissa:—

The following may be ascribed to his reign:—

1. A.H. 968=1560 A.D. ... A silver coin of Jalāl Shah, mint Jājpur [Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 417].

2.	A.H. 973=1564–65 A.D. ...	Stewart's History of Bengal, ed. 1847, pp, 95–6; Hunter's History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 12.
3.	A.H. 975=1568 A.D. (10th Aṇka of the M. Pāñji).	Hunter's Hist. Orissa, Vol. II, page 10. note 29, p. 31; Mr. Beames, J.A.S.B., Vol. LII, p. 233 note.

Mukunda Dēva was a Telugu by birth. He got to the throne by a successful revolt. The silver coin of Jalāl Shāh with the mint mark of Jājpur shows that the Mahomedan king of Bengal assisted in 1560 A.D. Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya in his invasion of Orissa, and the coin was struck apparently when on the march to Kaṭaka. Mukunda Dēva however defeated Raghu Bhañja, and imprisoned him. In 1564–65 A.D. the Emperor Akbar sent an ambassador to Orissa, and entered into a treaty with the king. The latter in return sent an ambassador to Delhi. The treaty was intended as a check to the Bengal king Sulaimān Karrarāṇī. The latter, however, kept quiet, until he found Akbar fully engaged in wars in the west. He then attacked the Orissa king who had come to the banks of the Ganges. Mukunda Dēva took refuge in Fort Kōṭsamā and defended himself therein. Then the Bengal king detached a part of his force, and sent them round to Orissa through Mayūrabhañja and thence southwards by the Kãsabãsa river. This force under Illāhābād Kālāpahāṛa began to ravage Orissa, and defeated the king's deputy; while one of the Oṛiyā chiefs raised the standard of revolt. Hearing this the Orissa king hurried south, fought with the rebels and was killed. The rebel chief was in turn killed by the Mahomedans. Raghu Bhañja Chōṭarāya who was lying imprisoned, escaped and attempted to take possession of the throne. After four months' fight with Kālāpahāṛa, he too was slain; and the Mahomedans took final possession of Orissa. This conquest took place in 1568 A.D.

An Inscription of the time of Nayapāla Dēva, from the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā Temple at Gayā.—*By* Babu Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

[Read April, 1899.]

This inscription is on a stone slab fixed in the right gateway of the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā temple in Gayā town. The present temple with its image of Kishenjī was built 70 or 80 years ago by a Gayāwāl Brahmin, Dāmōdar Lāl Dhōkṛī. But it has been evidently set up on an old site on which had stood a temple containing images of gods Kṛṣṇa and Mahādēva. The inscription was first brought to public notice by General Cunningham, and a facsimile was printed in the Archæological Survey Report of India, Vol. III, Plate XXXII. Dr. Rājēndra Lāl Mittra tried to decipher it, but did not succeed, (see the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August 1879). I edit the text from two fairly good ink impressions taken by Babu Paramēçvara Dayāl, Court of Wards' Head Clerk, Gaya. I have had also the advantage of consulting the original in cases of doubtful readings.

The writing consists of 18 lines and covers a space of 2′ 4″×1′ 0″. The letters are well cut, and where entire are legible. But in many lines the letters are more or less damaged, particularly in the 4th, and 7th to 14th lines. The large number of damaged letters has caused much difficulty in decipherment. In size the letters are $\frac{3}{10}''\times\frac{4}{10}''$. The written characters are of the type known as Kuṭila. The Mātrās (the top horizontal lines) are in full swing; the marks of medial vowels ē and ō are pendent from the top lines as in modern Bēngali and Oṛiyā; and the conjunct consonants including those of ŋ and ñ are carefully engraved.[1]

The inscription is in Sanskrit, and excepting the invocation at the beginning, is in verse throughout. The verses are twenty-one in number and are in various metres. The orthography shows little peculiarity.

[1] These peculiarities I have observed also in another Gayā inscription of the time of Nayapāla Dēva (*Çrī-Nayapāla-dēva-nṛpatē rājya-çriyaṁ bibhratah* l. 14). This inscription of 15 lines does not appear to have been published yet.

The conjunct consonants are correctly given; the nasals ŋ and ñ are generally properly used; with ç, ŋ is used and not anusvāra (as *vaŋcē* for *vaṁçē* in line 4, *aŋçu* for *aṁçu* in line 16); in line 12 one *lupta a* has been shown with ā (*yathārthā ऽ laŋkāraḥ*).

The inscription is a *praçasti* (l. 17) describing the erection of a temple to Lord Janārdana by a Gayā Brahmin named **Viçvāditya.** The dedicator was a **Mahā-dvija** (l. 4), an euphemistic term for a low class Brahmin who assists in the offering of piṇḍas. His genealogy is thus given:—

Paritōṣa (l. 5, v. 5).
|
Son
Çūdraka (l. 6, v. 7).
|
Son
Viçvāditya (l. 8, v. 9).

The *praçasti* was composed by one **Sahadēva,** who was also a *vāji-vaidya* or veterinary physician. The engraving was done by the artisan **Saṭṭa-Sōma** son of **Adhipa-Sōma.**

The historically valuable portion of the inscription is to be found in the last verse. It states that the *praçasti* was written, while **Nayapāla Dēva** was reigning. The year is given as *daça-pañca-saṁkhya-samvatsarē*, which ordinarily would mean "in the year 510." But unless the year be referred to some unknown era (like Harṣa or Cēdi), the inscription cannot by any means be referred to so early a date. It seems more reason able to take the expression as *daça* and *pañca*, or the **fifteenth year** of the king Nayapāla Dēva.[1]

The Nayapāla Dēva of the present inscription is apparently identical with the well known king of that name belonging to the Pāla dynasty of Magadha, who was the son of Mahīpāla, and who has been mentioned in several inscriptions. The epigraphical characters and the find-spot of the inscription do not allow of any other identification. The time of this Nayapāla Dēva has not yet been precisely ascertained. An approximate idea of his time can, however, be deduced from the *Tibetan Chronicles* compiled by Rai Çaratcandra Dās Bahādur, in his article on "Indian Pandits in Tibet" (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Vol. I, pp. 7–31). Ācārya Dīpaŋkara Çrī-Jñāna *alias* Atiçā was a contemporary of Nayapāla Dēva, and *Bu-Ston's Chos hbyuŋ* gives the following relevant facts. Atiçā was residing at Vajrāsana

[1] In the other unpublished inscription of Nayapāla Dēva's time, the year is distinctly given as fifteen "*Saṁvṛttē taras = aiva pañca-daçame rājyasya samvatsarē*" (l. 14).

(Bōdh Gayā) when the king of the Karṇya in the west invaded Magadha, and a war ensued between him and Nayapāla. The invaders sacked several towns at first, but were ultimately defeated. Atiçā mediated and succeeded in bringing about a treaty between the two kings (p. 9 note). Apparently some time before this he had been appointed by Nayapāla[1] as high priest of the Buddhist Vihāra at Vikramaçila (p. 9). When he had been there for some time, the Tibetan king, Lha Lama Yes'es hod, sent a deputation to India under Rgyā-tsan for inducing Atiçā to come to Tibet, but the latter declined to go (p. 13). Shortly after, this king died in captivity, and was succeeded by his nephew, prince Cān Cūb. After a year (p. 15) the prince sent Nāg-tsō to Vikramaçila again. In that monastery Nāg-tsō stayed for three years (p. 23), and at length persuaded Atiçā to start for Tibet. En route while in Nepal, Atiçā wrote an epistle to the king Nayapāla, named *Vimala-Ratna-Lēkhana* (pp. 26 and 31). Atiçā lived in Tibet for twelve years ("thirteen years" in another place), and died in 1053 A.D. (p. 30).

The above data enable us to arrive at the following dates:—

1.	Atiçā died in	1053 A.D.
2.	He proceeded to Tibet in (twelve years)	1042 A.D.[2]
3.	He met Nāg-tsō first in (three years)	1039 A.D.
4.	The Tibetan king died in (one year)	1038 A.D.
5.	Atiçā met Rgyā-tsan in	? 1036–7 A.D.
6.	He mediated between Nayapāla and the king of Karṇya in	? 1035 A.D.
7.	He was appointed (by Nayapāla) high priest of Vikramaçila	? 1033 A.D.

Apparently therefore the king Nayapāla Dēva was reigning in 1033 A.D. His accession could not have taken place much further back, for according to the Sārnāth inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 139-140), his father Mahīpāla was reigning in V.S. 1083 or 1026 A.D. Possibly the king of Karṇya invaded Magadha expecting to have better success with a new, and therefore young and inexperienced king. Considering the various facts, the king Nayapāla might be fairly assumed to

1 The name of the king has been given in pp. 2 and 11 as Mahīpāla, apparently by mistake.

2 "In 1042 A.D., the famous Atisha, a native of Bengal, who is known in Tibet as Jovo-rje or Jovo-rtishe, also came there." Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 227.

have ascended the throne between 1030 and 1033 A.D. The fifteenth year takes us to 1044 to 1047 A.D., or briefly, *Circa* 1045 A.D.

Babu Çaratcandra Dās has compiled his article chiefly from Bu-Ston's Cos hbyuŋ (rin-tsēn). Bu-Ston was the principal disciple of Atiçā (Rockhill, p. 227). Consequently his work might mainly be considered contemporaneous, and therefore more reliable than Tārānātha's or similar historical works, which appeared long after Atiçā's death.

Text.[1]

l. 1. Oṁ Namō Bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya ॥ Unnidra-nīlakamal-ākara-kāya-kāntiḥ svarṇṇ-ābhirāma-rucira-dyuti-pītavāsaḥ | udbhās-yamāna iva cañcalayā ghanaughō Viṣṇuḥ priyādvaya-varēna yunaktu yuṣmān ॥ [1 ॥].[2]

l. 2. Vyānirmmāya samasta-vastu-sukhinō viprān prajānāṁ patir=yām=adhyāsta iv=ātman=aiva paritō mūrtti-prapañcaṁ dadhat | uttuŋgaiḥ çarad-abhra-çubhra-çucibhiḥ saudhaiḥ kṛt-ālaŋkṛtir=mmōkṣa-dvāram = anarggalaṁ ja—

l. 3. -gati sā **Çrīmad-Gayā** gīyatē ॥ [2॥].[3] Vēd-ābhyāsa-parāya-ṇa-dvija-gaṇ-ōdgīrṇṇ-ōgra-pāṭha-kramād = uccair = uccarita-dhvani-vyatikarair = yatn-āvadhāryā girāḥ | kiñ = c = ājasrita-hōma-dhūma-paṭala-dhvānt-āvṛtau sāmprataṁ dharmmō

l. 4. yatra mahā-bhayād = iva Kalēḥ kālasya saṁtiṣṭhatē ॥ [3॥]. Atyādṛtair=guṇa-nayair=uru-nīla-padma-niçchadma-sadmani satāṁ sukṛt=ābhimarçē | nīhāra-hāra-çarad-indu-vivu(bu)ddha-kunda-sandōha-sundara-**Mahā-dvija**-rāja-vaŋ(ṁ)çē

l. 5. ॥ [4॥].[4] Ajāta-lakṣma-dvija-rāja-çēkharaḥ samantatō=bhūri-vibhūti-bhūṣaṇaḥ | va(ba)bhūva dhanyō giri-rāja-putrikā-priy-ōpamēyaḥ **Paritōṣa**-saṁñjakaḥ ॥ [5॥].[5] Ananya-sāmānya-dig-anta-mandiraiḥ tri-vargga-saṁsarggi-guṇ-ā—

l. 6. çrayair=jagat | çarat-sudhā-dhāma-gabhasti-taskaraiḥ samantatō yasya yaçōbhir=āvṛtaṁ ॥ [6॥]. Dvija-vara-vinatā-nandana-niramya-gatikaḥ samāçritō=lakṣmyā | tasya tad=anu tanu-janmā mura-ripur=iva **Çūdrako** bhūtaḥ ॥ [7॥].[6]

l. 7. Dūr-ōdyāta-çarat-sudhā-nidhi-sudhā-kund-ābhirāma-cchavi-cchā-yaiç=cchannam=abhūd=yaçōbhir=abhitō yasya tri-lōkī-talaṁ | karpūrair=iva pūritaṁ malayaja-kṣōdair = iv = ālēpitaṁ kṣuvdha(bdha)-kṣīra-payōdhi-tuŋga-laharī-lēhair = iv = āplā-

[1] From the original and two ink impressions.

[2] Metre Vasantatilakā.

[3] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

[4] Metre Vasantatilakā.

[5] Metre Vaṁçastha; and of the next verse.

[6] Metre Āryā.

l. 8. vitaṁ ॥ [8॥].[1] Satyaṁ dharmma-sutē sthiratvam = acalē gāmbhiryam=ambhō-nidhau va(ba)hv-āçcarya-guṇā matiḥ sura-gurau tējasvitā bhāsvati | ētē santi guṇāḥ pṛthak = param = udañcadbhir=jigīṣā-rasair=**Vviçvādityam**=ajījanat=sutam=a-

l. 9. sāv = ēbhiḥ samastaiḥ çritaṁ ॥ [9॥]. Yas = tāpānta-karaḥ sudhā-nidhir = iv = āpūrṇṇaḥ kalānāṁ gaṇair = yas = tuṇg-ābhyuday-āçritō ravir=iva prauḍha-pratāp-ōdayaḥ | pratyantaḥ karaṇ-ābhivāñchita-phal-ājasra-pradāna-çribhiḥ çliṣṭō

l. 10. jaṇgama-kalpa-vṛkṣa iva yō jātaḥ samast-ārthināṁ ॥ [10॥]. Dōrdaṇḍa-dvaya-caṇḍa-vikrama-kaçā-dig-vāji-çaury-ādbhuta-krīḍ-ōnmūlita-vairi-vargga-vipinaḥ prauḍha-pratāp(?)-āruṇaḥ | vāry-ālīṣu yath = āvdhi(bdhi)r = āpadi tathā pravya-

l. 11. kta-dhairya-kramaḥ kiñ = ca prākṛta-sarvva-garvva-vimukhaḥ sampatsv= analpāsv = api ॥ [॥11॥]. Çriy = ānya-vyāsaṇgō visadṛça-samācāra-vikalō janō madyēn = ēva skhalanam = upa-hāsañ = ca bhajatē | iyaṁ sā yasya çrīḥ samucita-vi—

l. 12. lās-ābhyudayinī yath-ārthā s laṇkāraḥ samadhika-jan-ānanda-viṣayaḥ ॥ [12॥].[2] Yasy = ākṛttrima-mēdur-āçrita-mahī-paryanta-samvāsibhir = nṛty-ārambha-vijṛmbhaṇ-ōddhata-bhu-jair=udgīyamānā janaiḥ | sānand-ōtpulakaṁ vi—

l. 13. -mānam=asakṛd=dēvair=vvilamv(b)-āmv(b)arē çlāghā-ghūrṇ-ṇita-mūrdhabhir=nipatitaiḥ kīrttiḥ samākarṇṇyatē ॥ [13॥].[3] Sābhyasūya-paritōṣa-lēçatō vīkṣitāni çanakaiḥ sakaṭākṣaṁ | yasya vidviḍ-anukūla-kulāni prāpnuvanti nidha—

l. 14. -nāni dhanāni ॥ [14॥].[4] Ninadanti danti-vara-hanti yāni kucitāni tāni ca durunnayāni | ati-manda-mandam = atigah-varāsu nivasanti santi giri-kandarāsu ॥ [15॥].[5] Saṁtatēna tatēna tējasā durnnayasya nayasya vidvi—

l. 15. -ṣāṁ | ākulāni kulāni durggamād = durggatāni gatāni durggama-maṁ ॥ [16॥].[6] Sapt-āmvu(mbu)-rāçi-visarat ç(ac-ch)latha-mēkhalāyā asyā bhuvaḥ kati na bhūmi-bhujō=va(ba)bhūvuḥ | siddhiṁ na kasya cid = agād = yad = analpa-kalpais = tēn = ātra kīrttanam = akā—

l. 16. -ri Janārdanasya ॥ [17॥].[7] Kailās-ācala-çṛṇga-sambhramam= adhaḥ-kurvat=prarūḍh-ōdaya-prālēya-dyuti-kunda-sundara-yaçaḥ-puñj-ōpamēy-ākṛti | yatr=ōttuṇga-çikh-āgra-saṇgata-çarac-candr-āṇ(ṁ)çu-çubhra-çribhir = mmuñcan = nūtana-mañja-rīr = iva patā—

[1] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next three verses.

[2] Metre Çikhariṇī.

[3] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.

[4] Metre of first *pāda* Rathoddhatā, the rest Svāgatā.

[5] Metre Jagatī.

[6] Metre Akṣarāvatī.

[7] Metre Vasantatilakā.

l. 17. -kābhir=nnabhō rājatē ॥ [18॥].[1] **Vāji-vaidya-Sahadēva-**
niruktiḥ tat-praçastir=iyam=astu nitāntaṁ । prēma-sauhṛda-
sukh-aika-dharitrī sajjanasya hṛdayē ramaṇ=īva ॥ [19॥][2]
Çrīmatō ऽ dhipa- Sōmasya ātmajēn=ārjitaṁ yaçaḥ । u—

l. 18. -tkīrṇṇa-karmmaṇi **Çrīmat-Satṭa-Sōmēna** çilpinā ॥ [20॥][3]
Samasta-bhū-maṇḍala-rājya-bhāram=āvi(bi)bhrati **Çrī-Naya-**
pāla-dēvē । vilikhyamānē daça-pañca-saṁ(ṃ)khya-samvatsarē
siddhim=agāc=ca kīrttiḥ ॥ [21].[4] ॥

Abstract of Contents.

Oṁ! Salutation to Vāsudēva. May Viṣṇu with his two wives, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, bless you (v. 1). The (town) Gaya where Brahmā has come to reside, and which is ornamented with high buildings, is praised as the unbarred door to salvation in this world (v. 2). There the loud reading of Veda-studying Brahmins makes talk hearable only with care; and the constant smoke of sacrificial fires makes it as if a hiding place for *dharmma* afraid of the *Kali-kāla* (iron age) (v. 3). In the Mahā-dvija family—ever the home of Lakṣmī on account of their virtues, and stainless as the *kunda* flower engrown by the autumnal moon—(v. 4), like Çiva was born Paritōṣa by name (v. 5); whose fame covered the whole world (v. 6). From him was born, like Nārāyaṇa, Çūdraka (v. 7). His fame spread over the three worlds (v. 8). From him was born Viçvāditya in whom the qualities hitherto found separate have combined (v. 9). Verses 10 to 16 sing the praises of Viçvāditya. Many chiefs arose on this earth, but none attained fulfilment so much as he (Viçvāditya) did by erecting a temple (*kīrttana*) of Janārdana (v. 17). V. 18 describes the temple in high-flown language. May this *praçasti*, the words of the veterinary physician Sahadēva, find its place in the hearts of good men like fair ladies! (v. 19). By the artisan Çrīmat Saṭṭa-Sōma, son of Çrīmat Adhipa-Sōma, (this) fame in inscribing was obtained (v. 20). While Çrī-Nayapāla Dēva was ruling the whole world, this monument written in (his) fifteenth year attained completion (v. 21).

[1] Metre Çārdūlavikrīḍita.
[2] Metre Svāgatā.
[3] Metre Anuṣṭubh.
[4] Metre Upajāti.

INDEX

TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

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ʿAbdullāh Khān, 2.
Açvins, shrine of, 84.
Acyuta Rāya, King of Vidyānagara, 186.
Adhipasoma, artisan, 191, 195.
Agarwa, mound at, 83.
Aḥmad Shāh, Bahmanī King, 182.
Akaṭā-Abaṭā, *biruḍa* of Bhānudeva, King of Orissa, 182.
Alberuni, statement by, regarding the use of palm-leaf and birch-bark for writing purposes, 124 ff.
A-li forest, 75.
Amnaur, 80.
Amra, 80.
Ancestor worship of Asur tribe, 149.
Arāḍa Kalāma, 77.
Araraj, 83.
Arrah, 77, 78.
Arrian, *Indica*, quotation from, 133 ff.
Asiwan, 75.
Asni, 84.
Asoha, 85.
Asoka pillars, site of, 83.
Asurs, non-Aryan tribe of Chota Nagpur, language of, 147 ff.
Atharban pargana, 85.
Atiçā, Buddhist teacher, 191 ff.
Ayodhyā, 75.

Bahmanī kings of Kulbarga, 182, 184.
Baitalgarh, 89.
Bāla grove, 81.
Ball, 81.
Ballia, 87.
Bakhshālī MS., 126.
Belwa, 79.
Bengal, Palm-leaf MSS. from, 113 ff.
Besarh, 74, 77 ff., 83.
Bhāgyadevī, *queen*, 69.
Bhānudeva, King of Orissa, 182.
Bharuhia, 89.
Bheriagarh, 89.
Bhikaband, 79.
Bhīmadeva, *sāndhivigrahika*, 68, 73.
Bhitaura, 84.
Bhoi dynasty of Orissa kings, 185, 187 ff.
Bhramaravara, *biruḍa* of Kapilendra Deva of Orissa, 174, 175, 178, 180.
Bihar, Palm-leaf MSS. from, 115 ff.
Bijaigarh, 89.
Bijaipur, 89.
Birch-bark, use of, as writing material, 93 ff.
———— MSS. from Northern and Central India, 125 ff.
BLOCH, T., article by, on a new copper-plate inscription of Jayādityadeva II., 88 ff.
Bon festivals in Ladakh, 137.
Borassus flabellifer, 93 ff.
———— earliest reference to, 134.
———— fruit of, 132 ff.
Bower MS., 127, 128.
Brāhmī script, origin of, 130 ff.
Bu-ston, Tibetan work by, called *chos hbyuṅ*, 191 ff.

Caitanya, visit of, to Puri, 186 ff.
Caitanya-carit-āmṛta, quotation from, 184, 186.
Caitanya-maṅgala, reference to, 186.
Cakā Pratāpa Deva, King of Orissa, 188.
Campāhiṭṭī, *town*, 68, 72.
Cān-Cūb, Tibetan King, 192.
Candrādevī, *queen*, 90, 91.
Caṇḍkaradevaçarman, *brāhmaṇa*, 62, 64.
Caṇḍkuṣaṇḍā, *village*, 76, 90, 91.
Cāpāla Caitya, 79.
Çaunakasvāmin, *brāhmaṇa*, 68, 72.
CHAKRAVARTI, M. M., article by, on an inscription of the time of Kapilendra Deva of Orissa from Gopīnāthapura, 173 ff.
————-———, article by, on the last Hindu kings of Orissa, 180 ff.
————————, article by, on an inscription of the time of Nayapāla Deva, from the Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple at Gaya, 190 ff.
Chen-Chu, kingdom of, 86 ff.
Cherand, 74, 78, 80.

Chilanla, 84.
Chos-hbyuṅ, Tibetan work by Bu-ston, reference to, 191 ff.
Citramatikā, *queen*, 68, 72.
Coin of Jalāl Shāh of Bengal from Jājpur Mint, 189.
Corypha elata, 97.
Corypha umbraculifera, 93 ff.
Çrāvastī, 75.
Çrīdhar (Murlīdhar), author of Jangnāmah of Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh, 1 ff.
Çrī-jñāna, *see* Atiçā.
Çūdraka. *brāhmaṇa*, 191, 193.
Çūrapāla, *king*, 67, 68, 70.
Cyavana Ṛṣi, 84.

Daddaraṇḍikā, *maṇḍala*, 76, 90, 91.
Daha, *river*, 82.
Dālabhya Ṛṣi, 84.
Dalman, 84.
Dane-i Vidyādhara, minister to Orissa King, 188.
Dead persons, burnt by Asurs, 150.
———— ————, not to be spoken of according to Ladakhi superstition, 142.
Delhi, *see* Ḍhillī.
Devaçarman, hermitage of, 75.
Devapāla, *king*, 69.
Deulī, *village*, 76, 90, 91.
Dharma Chak, 79.
Dharmāditya, *king*, 90, 91.
Dharmapāla, *king*, 69.
Dhemuka, *kāyastha*, 90, 92.
Ḍhillī, King of, 174, 175, 177, 178.
Dīpaṇkara Acārya, Çrī Jñāna, *see* Atiçā.
Domangarh, 89.
Dravidian words in Asur language, 151, 171.

Eastern India, paper MSS. from, 121.
Evil eye, means of protection against, used by Asurs, 150.

Farrukhsiyar, war of, with Jahāndār Shāh, 1 ff.
Francke, Rev. H., article by, on Ladakhi Proverbs,

Gāddhī, *village*, 76, 90, 91.
Gagason, 84.
Gandakī, *river*, 79.
Ganj-i-Shahīdān, 79.
Garga, *āçrama* of, 84.
Gauḍa, King of, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178.
Gaya, 77.
——, Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple at, 190.
Ghagharra, 82.
Ghazipur, 86.
Golkonda, Kingdom of, 186.
Gopāla I., *king*, 69.
Gopāla II., *king*, 69.
Gopāla III., *king*, 67, 68, 71.
Gopīnātha Barajena, revenue officer in Orissa, 186.
Gopīnātha mahāpātra, *minister*, 174, 176, 178.
Gopīnāthapura, temple of Jagannātha at, 173.
Gotama gate at Pataliputra, 77.
Govinda Deva, King of Orissa, 185, 187 ff.
Govinda Vidyādhara, minister of Orissa kings, 185 ff.
Grahakuṇḍa, *mahāsāmanta*, 76, 90, 92.
Grah Kuṇḍ, 76.
Guṇḍicā, garden house of Jagannātha at Gopīnāthapura, 173, 178, 179.
Gurhma, 88.
Gurjara, King of, 177.

Hahn, Rev. F., article by, on the *Asur dukmā*, a dialect of the Kolarian language, 149 ff.
Hālāvartta, *maṇḍala*, 71.
Haricandana, *see* Mukunda Deva.
Harpur, 78.
Hasanpur, 82.
Hastigāma, 80.
Hastilaṇḍa, *ditch*, 76, 90, 92.
Hathwa, 80.
Hemantasena, *king*, 61, 62.
Hiuen Tsiang, statement by, regarding use of palm-leaf for writing purposes, 124.
Hoernle, A. F. R., article by, on Palm-leaf, Paper, and Birch-bark, 93 ff.
Hoey, W., article by, on the identification of Kusinara, Vaisali, and other places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, 74 ff.
Ḥusain Shāh, King of Bengal, 185.

Inscription of Jayāditya II., 88 ff.
———— of Kapilendra *or* Kapileçvara Deva of Orissa, 118, 173 ff.
———— of Lakṣmaṇasena, 61 ff.
———— of Madanapāla, 66 ff.
———— of the time of Nayapāla from Gaya, 190 ff.
Irwine, W., article by, on the Jangnāmah of Farrukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh, 1 ff.
Ismā'īl Ghāzī, invaded Orissa, 186.

Jāgali Kavi, inscription composed by, 174. 178, 179.
Jagannātha-carit-āmṛta, by Jagannātha Dāsa, reference to, 185.

Jagannātha, temple of, at Gopīnāthapura, Cuttack, 173, 177, 179.
———————, at Puri, 184.
Jagattra, old tree near Hathwa, 81.
Jahāndār Shāh, war of, with Farrukhsiyar, 1 ff.
Jājpur, mint name on coin of Jalāl Shāh of Bengal, 189.
Jalāl Shāh of Bengal, coin of, 189.
Janārdana, temple of, at Gaya, 191, 195.
Jātaka, quotation from, 133.
Jau, Tibetan word, 146.
Jayāditya I., *king*, 90, 91.
Jayāditya II., *king*, inscription of, 76, 88 ff.
Jayapāla, *prince*, 69.
Jordanus, Friar, *Mirabilia descripta*, reference to, 134.

Kāghaz, etymology of, 123.
Kakhāru-ā Deva, King of Orissa, 185, 187.
Kālapahāṛ, general of Bengal King, conquers Orissa, 189.
Kalavaraga, *see* Kulbarga.
Kālu-ā Deva, King of Orissa, 185, 187.
Kaṇakamuni, stūpa of, 75.
Kanakavatī, *town*, 85.
Kanauj, 74.
Kanchavi, *princess*, story of, 86.
Kāñcī, 177.
Kankotah *or* Kanak Kot, 85.
Kapia, 79.
Kapilavastu, 75, 76.
Kapileçvara *or* Kapilendra Deva, King of Orissa, chronology of, 180 ff.
———————, inscription of, 118, 173 ff.
Karṇāṭa, King of, 174, 175, 177, 178.
Karṇa King (*i.e.*, probably the Kalacuri King Karṇa), 192.
Kasia, 83
Kāṣṭhāgiri (?), *village*, 68. 71.
Keçava, *kāyastha*, 76, 90, 92.
Kesaria, 83
Khaṇḍādri, 177.
Khwāja Pīr's mazār, 78, 79.
Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo, 74.
Ki-jou-i, 74.
Kolarian languages, Asur dialect of, 149 ff.
Kondapalli District, ceeded to Bahmanī Kings, 184.
Konkanapura, forest of Talipat trees near, 124.
Kosambī, 85.
Koṭigāma, 79.
Koṭivarṣa, *riṣaya*, 68, 71.
Kṛṣna Rāya, King of Vidyānagara, 186, 187.
Kulbarga, King of, 174, 175, 178.
Kumārapāla, *King*, 67, 68, 70.
Kumāraṣaṇḍikā, *village*, 76, 90, 91.
Kusinara, identification of, 74 ff.
Kuwalgarh, 89.
Kuchar, paper MSS. from, 129.

Ladakh, non-buddhistic festivals in, 137.
———————, proverbs from, 135 ff.
Lalitavistara, quotation from, 132.
Lakṣmaṇa mahāpātra, *purohita*, 174, 176, 178.
Lakṣmaṇasena, *king*, inscription of, 61 ff.
Leḍḍikā, *viṣaya*, 76, 90, 91.
Lha Lama Yes'es hod, Tibetan King, 192.

Madanadevī, *queen*, 67, 71.
Madanapāla, *king*, inscription of 66 ff.
Mahābhārata, reading of, 68, 72.
Mahādvija, low class Brahmin, 191, 193.
Māhaka, *mahāsāmanta*, 90, 92.
Mahīpāla I., *king*, 70.
Mahīpāla II., *king*, 67, 68, 70.
Maitra, A. K., article by, on a new copper-plate inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena, 61 ff.
Makhdūm Shāh's Dargāh near Harpur, 78.
Mālava, King of, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178.
Malayaketu, *royal family*, 90, 91.
Mandaran Tort, Hughli District, 186.
Manjhi, 82.
Marriage customs of Asur tribe, 150.
Marwargarh, 89.
Māta Kumwar, 83.
Mātharaṇḍiyā, *village*, 62, 64.
Matta, *biruda* of Bhānudeva, King of Orissa, 182.
Mayūradhvaja, *King*, 78.
Mīr Jumlah, 2.
Muhammadans introduce paper into India, 123.
Muhammad Shāh II., Bahmanī King, 183 ff.
Mukunda Deva Haricandana, last Hindu King of Orissa, 188 ff.
Muṇḍārī language, connection of, with Asur dialect, 151, 169 ff
Muṇḍāris, tradition regarding origin of, 151.
Murlīdhar, *see* Çrīdhar.

Nāḍika, 79.
Nāg-tso, Tibetan ambassador to India, 192.
Na-po-ti po-ku-lo, 74.
Narasa, King of Vidyānagara, 186.
Narasiṁha IV., Ganga King of Orissa, 181.
Narasiṁha Rāya Jenā, King of Orissa, 188.

Nārāyaṇa, *minister*, 174, 176, 178.
Nārāyaṇadatta, *sāndhivigrahika*, 62, 65.
Nārāyaṇapāla, *king*, 69.
Navagraha, image of, later used by Muhammadans, 79.
Nayapāla, *king*, 70.
——— , inscription of, from Gaya, 190 ff.
Newal, 74.
Northern India, Palm-leaf MSS., from, 99 ff.
——— ———, use of birch-bark in, for writing purposes, 125 ff.

Orissa, conquest of, by Kālapahār, 189.
———, last Hindu kings of, 180 ff.
——— , Palm-leaf MSS. from, 117.
Oriyā characters, earliest epigraphical record of, 118, 173.
'O-ye-mu-khi, 84.
'O-yu-t'o, 84.

Pabhosa, 85.
Pachgawan, 89.
Palm-leaf, use of, as writing material, 93 ff.
Palmyra palm, 93.
Papaur, 80.
Paper, use of, as writing material, 93 ff.
Paper MSS., occurrence of in India, 119 ff.
Paritoṣa, *brāhmaṇa*, 191, 193.
Pasha, 75.
Pataliputra, 77.
Patraṣaṇḍā, *village*, 76, 90, 91.
Pauṇḍravardhana, *bhukti*, 62, 64, 68, 71.
Pāva, 80.
Petrowski MS., 126.
Piçvān, *caste*, 86.
Pi-so-kia, 75.
Polygamy, permitted among Asur tribe, 150.
Prajāpatisvāmin, *brāhmaṇa*, 68, 72.
Pratāpa Rudra Deva, King of Orissa, 184 ff.
Puruṣottama Deva, King of Orissa, 182 ff.

Quṭb Shāh, founder of kingdom of Golkonda, 186, 187.

Raghu Bhañja Choṭarāya, Orissa chief, 188, 189.
Raghudevaçarman, *brāhmaṇa*, 62, 64.
Raghurāma Jenā, King of Orissa, 188.
Rajmahendri, ceeded to Bahmani kings, 184.
Rājyapāla, *king*, 69.
Rāmacarita, 68.
Rāmagāma, 82.
Rāmānanda Rāya, governor of Rajmahendri, 186.
Rāmapāla, *king*, 67, 68, 70, 71.
Rāmāvatī, *town*, 68, 71.
Ramgarh, 89.
Ramkot, capital of Ayodhyā, 75.
Religion of Asur tribe, 149 ff.
Rgyā-tsan, Tibetan ambassador to India, 192.
Rohiṇī, *river*, 76, 90, 92.
Rudra, *kāyastha*, 90, 92.

Sadāçiva Rāya, King of Vidyānagara, 186.
Sahadeva, *vājivaidya* and poet, 191, 195.
Saina Maina, 77.
Sākṣi-gopāla, image of, at Cuttack, 184.
Salannapur, 82.
Santhālī, connection of, with Asur dialect, 169 ff.
Saran, 77.
Saran Khass, 78.
Sarayū, *river*, 79.
Sārnāth Chak, 79.
Saṭṭasoma, *artisan*, 191, 195.
Set-mahet, 75.
Sewan, 74, 81.
Sha-chi, country of, 75.
Shergarh, 89.
Shi-lo-ta-lo, 84.
Siyboyā, name of creator in Asur language, 149.
Sondi, *river*, 82.
Southern India, palm-leaf MSS. from, 123.
Spiriting monastery in Ladakh, 137.
Sulaimān Karrarānī, King of Bengal, 189.
Sun, identified with the creator by Asurs, 149.
Sumergarh, 89.
Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, temple of, 87.

Talipat palm, 93.
Tarigach, *see* Palmyra palm.
Tathāgatasara, *artisan*, 68, 73.
Tea, used as barter in Ladakh, 146.
Telinga dynasty of Orissa kings, 188.
Telpa, 80.
Tibetan proverbs, *see* Ladakh.
Tirumalappa Rāya, 187.
Totemistic sections of Asur tribe, 149.
Tuṇga *Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief*, 69.
Turquoises, worn by Ladakhi women, 147.

Udaipur, kingdom of, 89.
Uruvilva Kāçyapa, 77.

Urwal, 77.
Utkala, King of, 176.

Vaisali, identification of, 74 ff.
Vakākhya, *scribe*, 174, 178, 179.
Vākpāla, *prince*, 69.
Valadduka, *kāyastha*, 90, 92.
Vallālasena, *king*, 61, 62, 63.
Vasu, N. N., article by, on the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāladeva, 66 ff.
Vaṭeçvarasvāmin, *brāhmaṇa*, 68, 72.
Vatsasvāmin, *brāhmaṇa*, 68, 72.
Veluva, 79.
Viçvāditya, *brāhmaṇa*, 191, 194.
Vidyānagara, Hindu kings of, 182, 184, 185.
Vigrahapāla I., *king*, 69.
Vigrahapāla II., *king*, 69.
Vigrahapāla III., *king*, 67, 70.
Vijayapura, *town*, 89, 90, 91.
Vijayasena, *King*, 63.
Vikramaçīla, vihāra at, 192.
Vikramapura, *town*, 62, 63.
Vimala-ratna-lekhana, a work by Atiçā 192.
Vipradāsadevaçarma, *brāhmaṇa*, 62, 64.
Vīrabhadra, son of Pratapa Rudra of Orissa, 187.
Vyāghraṭaṭī, *town*, 62, 64.

Waina, 87.
Western India, Palm-leaf MSS. from, 119, 121.
————, paper MSS. from, 121.

Yogādevī, *queen*, 90, 91.